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The historical role of Chan/Zen portraits—often referred to by the Japanese term *chinsō*—has undergone significant reinterpretation over the past fifteen years. Because of their extraordinary verisimilitude and the rich, allusive nature of their inscriptions, these painted likenesses were for many years enshrouded in a strong sense of religious and aesthetic exceptionalism. While individual examples of famous sitters were prominently exhibited, forming a canon of early works of high pictorial quality, they were also subject to unambitious commentary, ensuring that the *chinsō* genre as a whole remained passively positioned within an interpretative framework conditioned by popular expositions of Zen Buddhism. According to this framework, *chinsō* were understood as objects bequeathed from master to disciple as proofs of dharma transmission, somehow akin to the certificates of enlightenment (*inkajō*) that were issued to acknowledge the awakening of a Chan/Zen practitioner. In keeping with this view, the intense realism of the portraits and the seemingly personal nature of their inscriptions not only reinforced their authenticating function but also ensured the continuity of the spiritual bond between master and disciple. In recent years, however, historians of religion have forcefully challenged this view, arguing for the primacy of a ritual and specifically mortuary context within which to understand the function and historical nature of Chan/Zen portraiture. Their intervention has made *chinsō* paradigmatic of the increasingly contested and interdisciplinary space occupied by artifacts of East Asian Buddhism in current scholarly discourse.

T. Griffith Foulk and Robert H. Sharf, two specialists in Chinese Buddhism, published an article in 1994 that challenged the prevailing understanding of Chan/Zen portraiture promulgated in numerous art history surveys and exhibition catalogues.¹ Foulk and Sharf were the first to argue systematically that *chinsō* were used primarily in a mortuary context as ritual icons.² As such, these likenesses decidedly were *not* intended to serve as proofs of dharma certification. Indeed, modern definitions of *chinsō* were “not merely descriptive of an existing body of portraiture, but actually function in a normative and stipulative way to delineate a corpus and create a genre for art historical study.”³ Historically these portraits were often situated within the patriarch halls that architecturally embodied the notion of a

spiritual genealogy in Chan communities. The memorial services in which such portraits were used were “clearly based on the guest-host model underlying all Buddhist invocation rites: an honored guest is received into one’s abode [in this case a monastic hall], feted and sent off with gifts.” Portraits thus functioned in a manner similar to traditional East Asian Buddhist icons, serving as a receptacle for a deity within a ritual context. Animated by the presence of the summoned entity, *chinsō* would be presented with offerings, perhaps mobilized to perform a service or promote some agenda on behalf of the ceremony’s participants, and then dismissed. As such, Chan/Zen portraits were “always objects of ritual veneration that invoked the presence of their subject for disciples and followers, much like mummies, relics, and stupas.” Foulk and Sharf further assert that the Chan/Zen master portrayed in such paintings played an essentially passive role in the production of his or her own likeness, countering the idea that they were personalized keepsakes exchanged between two intimates. An additional corollary of direct art historical concern is their argument that the vaunted realism of *chinsō* was achieved specifically to denote the master’s presence as a focus of ritual worship.

The basic idea that *chinsō* did not serve to authenticate dharma transmission historically has been accepted to varying degrees by every subsequent commentator in the English-language sphere, although new wrinkles to this concept have been introduced by various authors.⁴ In this regard, the influence of the Foulk-Sharf thesis has been nothing short of profound. In polemicizing against nearly the entirety of what had previously been stated about the function of Chan/Zen portraiture, they did not so much formulate an alternative viewpoint as set the very terms of debate. By placing the question of *chinsō* within the longer trajectory of the mortuary and institutionally legitimizing function of Buddhist portraiture, Foulk and Sharf established a historical and conceptual framework within which to think through the uses to which *chinsō* were put. In the process, they have forced anyone who wishes to participate in the discourse on *chinsō* to formulate their inquiry and articulate their terms of engagement with much greater precision than had previously been the case. Their study has played a key role in the ongoing academic demystification of Zen culture as it was popularly conceived in both Japan and the West through the writings of D. T. Suzuki, Hisamatsu Shin’ichi, and others from the mid-twentieth century.⁵

Chinsō have thus been effectively returned to the fold of traditional Buddhist portraiture, which has always been understood to perform in a largely institutional and mortuary capacity. It is still an open question, however, to what extent the na-

ture and function of Chan/Zen portraits can be differentiated, if at all, from those of other Buddhist schools. According to the analysis of Foulk and Sharf, while ritual protocols may have differed in details, Chan/Zen portraiture was hardly distinguishable from the portraiture traditions of other monastic cultures in East Asian Buddhism. The present essay addresses this question by considering the Japanese context for *chinsō* production and use during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The study of Japanese portraits provides an interregional perspective to the propositions put forth by Foulk and Sharf, which claim an East Asian purview but draw examples almost exclusively from Chinese texts and contexts.⁶ It is in Japan that one finds the overwhelming majority of extant *chinsō*, the use and function of which can be documented in many instances. Here the role of portraiture in the socioreligious practice of the monk Musō Soseki (1275–1351) will be the primary focus. Musō's case demonstrates the extent to which *chinsō* served as a vehicle for the establishment in the archipelago of habits associated with Chinese portraiture practice in general, including the private ownership of portraiture, verse inscriptions, and other textual enclosures, and its role in commemorating social intercourse.

Musō was the most influential Zen monk of the fourteenth century, having served as the personal religious instructor to both Emperor GoDaigo (1288–1339) and the early Ashikaga shoguns. Not only was he instrumental in the establishment of Zen monastic infrastructure in Kyoto after the fall of the Kamakura regime, but his expansive dharma community would go on to monopolize many of the most important abbacy positions in the Five Mountains system of temple administration throughout the medieval period.⁷ Musō's circle was characterized by a keen sensitivity to the role portraits could play in enabling lineal assertions inside and outside of Zen communities, and during his time genealogical claims came to be underwritten by *chinsō* possession to an unprecedented degree. This phenomenon evolved from continental portraiture practice, including individual ownership of portraits, the uniquely commentarial status of their inscriptions, and the role likenesses played in mediating social relationships. These practices, while never displacing the primary mortuary function of *chinsō* as articulated by Foulk and Sharf, lent these portraits a social multivalency that greatly complicated their profiles as ritual artifacts. While portraits may not have authenticated dharma transmission in any so-called religious sense, in Japanese Zen communities they were functionally equivalent to succession documents (*shisho*) in the way they enfranchised their owners—whether persons or institutions—within specific genealogical affiliations. In this regard, the pictorial qualities of Zen portraits, first and foremost their high

degree of verisimilitude, not only enabled their iconic work but also made them more efficacious in all of the capacities in which they were mobilized. In sum, early *chinsō* represented a fundamentally new type of icon in Japan, one that had a complex social life. This uniquely interpersonal form of likeness was both ritual presentment and painterly embodiment, and played a central role in the inheritance claims of Zen practitioners.

In considering the various capacities in which Chan/Zen portraiture functioned historically, it is useful at the outset to survey its formal features. *Chinsō* emerged

from mainstream traditions of Chinese portraiture that evolved during the Song period (960–1279). In visual terms, nothing distinguished the portraits of Chan monks from those of other members of elite Chinese society; Chan communities adopted the same conventions for pictorial likenesses found in many different communities, whether secular or sacred. These conventions are reflected in *Portrait of Yi Jehyeon* (fig. 1), one of the few works of Chinese portraiture to survive from the fourteenth century or earlier. The sitter of the portrait, Yi Jehyeon (1287–1367), was a Korean scholar-official of the late Goryeo period (918–1392). In 1319, while accompanying the retired Goryeo king Chungseon to the Chinese capital Dadu, he had his likeness painted by the Chinese court painter Chen Jianru, considered the greatest portraitist of the era.⁸ *Portrait of Yi Jehyeon* resulted from protocols governing Sino-Korean diplomatic exchange at the time and reflected the highest standards of portraiture production at the Mongol court.⁹ Its sitter is depicted in the attire of a Korean scholar-official, seated in three-quarter profile toward the viewer's right,



Fig. 1. Chen Jianru (Chinese, active early 14th century). *Portrait of Yi Jehyeon*, 1319. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 69 1/4 x 36 1/4 in. (177.3 x 93 cm). National Museum of Korea, Seoul

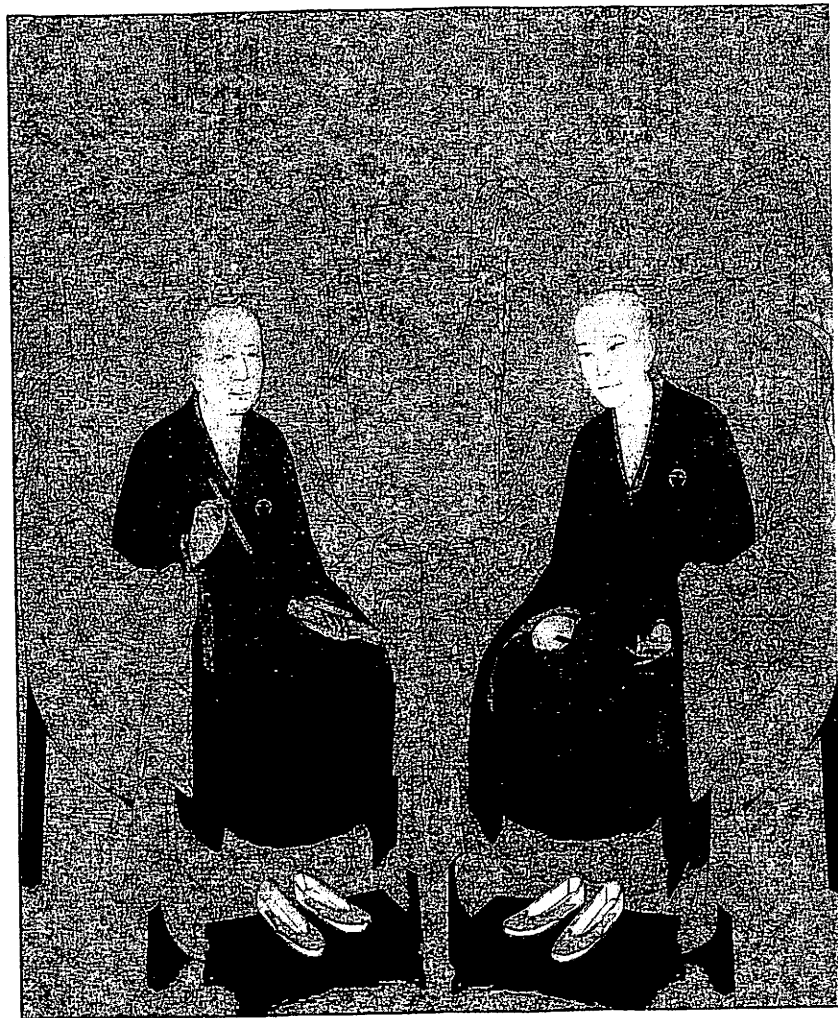


Fig. 2. Chinese painter unknown, *The Priest Yuanzhao* (left) and *The Vinaya Master Daoxuan* (right), 1210. Hanging scrolls, ink and colors on silk, each 67 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 32 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (171 x 81.7 cm). Sennyūji Temple, Kyoto. Important Cultural Property

against a blank background. His low-backed chair is made of carved black lacquer and draped with a figured cloth of blue and red silk, with a similarly black lacquer footrest supporting his feet. On a table at his side rests a copy of the *Book of Changes* (*Yijing* in Chinese), a bronze incense burner, and a Chinese seven-stringed zither (*qin*), objects that reinforce the identity of the sitter as a scholar-official of appropriate cultivation. Yi has his arms folded within the sleeves of his white scholar's

robe, with only his right thumb revealed, sitting upright and looking straight ahead with a placid gaze. The details of his face—including the meticulous rendering of facial hair and the refined modeling of skin tones—demonstrate why Chen Jianru was referred to by critics of the period as the court's most accomplished portraitist.¹⁰

The small number of other formal portraits that have survived from the Song period, including those of the dynasty's emperors, follow the same basic template.¹¹ Chinese religious communities similarly followed this formula, as reflected in a pair of patriarch portraits associated with the Lǚ (Vinaya) School, *The Priest Yuanzhao* and *The Vinaya Master Daoxuan* (fig. 2).¹² The sitters in this pair are depicted according to the same conventions found in *Portrait of Yi Jehyeon*, with variations in details. The subjects are seated in lacquered chairs in three-quarter profile (each facing in a different direction) against a blank background, accompanied by footstools; each scroll bears an inscription at the top, in this case by the Ningbo literatus Lou Yue (1137–1213); and both sitters' faces are depicted according to the highest standards of painterly verisimilitude at the time. Unlike Yi Jehyeon, both figures are dressed in keeping with their shared identity as monks of the Lǚ sect, wearing several layers of dark robes covered by a black surplice over the left shoulder fastened by a ring.¹³ While there is no table next to either figure, as in the portrait of Jehyeon, each monk holds attributes that reflect his historical image; in the case of Yuanzhao (1048–1116), for example, a brush and scroll that convey his image as a scholiast and reviver of the Lǚ sect.

Such extant portraits provide a context within which to understand the relationship between portraiture in Chan communities and portraiture in Chinese society at large during the Song and Yuan periods. The formal qualities of Chan and other Buddhist portraits are indistinguishable. In famous *chinsō* of the Song period such as *Portrait of Wuzhun Shifan* (fig. 3), dated to 1238 and now in the Kyoto monastery Tōfukuji, the similarities are readily apparent. As demonstrated by Wuzhun's likeness, the compositional template is the same, while variations might include the presence of a high- or low-backed chair, differently patterned brocade silk draped over the chair, and the sitter's own robes and handheld attributes. Based upon the recorded sayings (called *yulu* in Chinese, *goroku* in Japanese) of Chan/Zen monks and extant portraits in Japan, further variations in format and setting are known to have existed, such as the half-length bust portrait or roundel frame, or the depiction of a monk seated underneath a tree or walking in a natural setting.¹⁴ Most of these variations were characteristic of Chinese portraiture in gen-



Fig. 3. Chinese painter unknown, *Portrait of Wuzhun Shifan*, 1238. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 49 1/4 x 21 1/4 in. (124.8 x 55.2 cm). Tōfukuji Monastery, Kyoto

eral and reflected permutations current in the culture of portraiture at large. Because the overwhelming majority of Song portraits transmitted to Japan were of Chan monks, and were qualitatively different from the established conventions of Japanese portraiture at the time, the formal characteristics of Song-period portraiture practice came to be associated almost exclusively with Chan/Zen Buddhism.¹⁵ This association distinguished *chinsō* from other types of painted semblance circulating in Japan at the time.

An understanding of the role of *chinsō* in Japanese contexts, however, can be further enhanced by a consideration of Chinese practices surrounding portraiture. A recent study by Yen Yamei demonstrates how portraits in Chan communities were often included among ensembles of artifacts given by a master to a disciple on the occasion of his designation as a dharma heir.¹⁶ Yen observes that portraits were by no means the most important objects bequeathed on such occasions; robes were generally of far greater importance, and other possessions such as fly whisks could also serve as heirloom objects of special prominence. As Foulk and Sharf argued, the portraits and other ob-

jects in these instances did not authenticate or certify dharma transmission in any official capacity. They did, however, play a ceremonial role and legitimated in a uniquely material way an affiliation with the master's spiritual genealogy, thus functioning as commemorative gifts that were referred to in period documents as "objects of belief" (*xinwu* in Chinese).¹⁷ Portraits could also be among a Chan monk's possessions distributed among disciples at the time of his passing, although in such cases the portrait a disciple received would not necessarily be that of his master. Such bequests need not always have been posthumous; portraits might also be included in regular acts of gifting by Chan masters for disciples and patrons.¹⁸

The extent to which these occasions of dispersal relate to "the more general transmission (diffusion) of an eminent master's charisma effected through the dissemination of relics and portraits" has been debated by historians of religion.¹⁹ Yet the multiple ways in which a Chan abbot's likeness could enter into circulation suggest that the question itself needs to be understood at a number of registers. Chan portraiture appeared to serve a stratigraphy of different purposes for somewhat dissimilar recipients and networks of viewership. At one register were those disciples designated formally as dharma heirs; again, while the portraits were not succession documents, they played an important role in both rituals of transmission and the personal and institutional iconographies of lineal succession. This dimension is underscored by the fact that a number of extant examples depict their sitters in surplices (or *kesa*, in Japanese) associated with specific dharma lineages.²⁰ At a second register are those monks and lay patrons who may have trained under or otherwise had meaningful engagements with a master but were not formally members of his line of religious transmission. This demography is not always easy to distinguish from the first, especially as protocols of successorship became more and more diluted over time, but nevertheless merits differentiation in order to articulate with greater precision the different types of master-disciple relationships that were mediated by portraiture.²¹ A final register would include anonymous recipients of Chan portraiture, as in the case of those who acquired *chinsō* from itinerant fundraisers (or *huazhu* in Chinese). The recorded sayings texts of Chan monks indicate that autographed and self-inscribed portraits of religious masters were used to raise funds for monastic communities, as in the case of Hongzhi Zhengjue (1091–1157).²² Transactions of this kind might not be explicitly monetary but take the form of favors and other noncommercial modes of exchange within an economy of obligation characteristic of elite Chinese society as a whole.²³

In this manner, portraits of Chan masters could be viewed, circulated, and

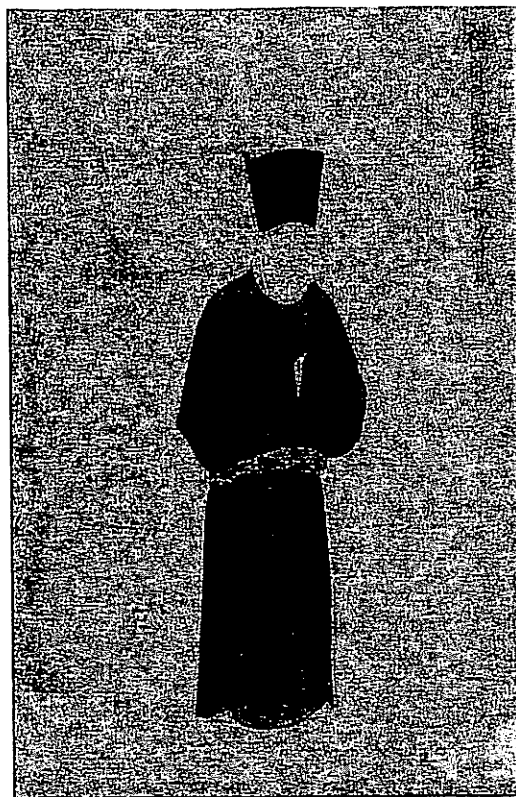


Fig. 4. Chinese painter unknown, *Portrait of Wang Huan*, mid-11th century. Hanging scroll, ink on silk, 16 1/4 x 17 1/2 in. (41.7 x 31.7 cm). Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

depicting famous scholars had always ornamented the courtly environment, more intimate, smaller-scale portraits came to be exchanged among officials as an affirmation of individual ties and group affiliation based on shared politico-personal loyalties.²⁵ These portraits tended to be owned privately and could take the form of group representations in which a gathering of scholars might personate celebrated literati coterries of the past.²⁶ Such role-playing appears to characterize the subjects in the eleventh-century set *Five Old Men of Suizang*, which depicts a clique of close-knit scholar-gentlemen modeled after “The Nine Old Men of Luoyang” (fig. 4), an exemplary gathering immortalized in the poetry of Bai Juyi (772–846).²⁷ Individual and collective self-fashioning by pictorial means achieved new heights during the Yuan period, when the practice of “intimate images” (*xiaoxiang* in Chinese) spread

worshiped in multiple contexts for audiences with different prerogatives and modes of spectatorship. At times this spectatorship could take place on a mass scale, as in the case of the “Patriarch Assemblies” (*zushi-hui* in Chinese) held by Chan monasteries in Hangzhou to mark the New Year.²⁴ Yet it is the more informal circuits through which *chinsō* moved that complicate any attempt to understand this type of portraiture in strictly ritual terms, because this type of circulation parallels contemporary practices governing the exchange and conferral of painted likenesses in Chinese literati culture. During the Song and Yuan periods portraiture was invested with new agency in the embodiment of scholar-official identity.

While sets of figure paintings

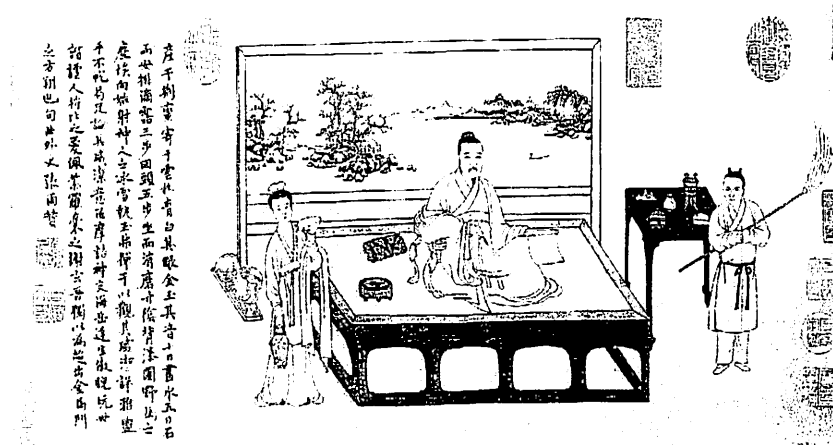


Fig. 5. Chinese painter unknown, *Portrait of Ni Zan*, c. 1340s. Hanging scroll, ink and light colors on paper, 11 1/2 x 24 in. (28.7 x 60.9 cm). National Palace Museum, Taipei

among literati networks of the Jiangnan region.²⁸ Within such networks, like-minded scholars often collaborated to stage, through the genre of portraiture, one among their ranks as a particular kind of cultivated individual. A paradigmatic example is *Portrait of Ni Zan* (fig. 5), painted sometime during the 1340s and inscribed by his close friend Zhang Yu (1283–1350). Seated on a dais with a posture that recalls the famous Indian recluse Vimalakirti, against the backdrop of a monochrome landscape screen painted in his own austere style, Ni Zan is depicted with brush and paper in hand as if on the verge of authoring a poem, while appropriate antiques and scholarly accoutrements are arranged on a table nearby. Zhang Yu’s inscription amplifies upon this mise-en-scène with invocations of Ni Zan’s eremitism.²⁹

Such examples of informal scholar-official portraiture suggest the value of expanding the purview of Chan portraiture’s interpretive framework. Although *Portrait of Ni Zan* and similar likenesses might not initially strike a viewer as proximate to *chinsō* in appearance or function, the two genres of portraiture nevertheless share a number of qualities. Despite their otherwise disparate pictorial modes, both place a strong emphasis on physiognomic verism. The psychological subtleties of Ni Zan’s countenance can also be found in the facial features of Chan monks such as Wuzhun. Both types of portraiture were typically painted by professional painters who specialized in achieving convincing physiognomic likenesses.³⁰ Even more importantly, both genres adopted similar methods of individuating their sitters through



Fig. 6. Chinese painter unknown. Portrait of Jianxin Laifu, 1365. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 37 1/4 x 17 1/4 in. (94.5 x 44.9 cm). Manjuji Temple, Saga Prefecture

subtle iconographic wrinkles, even when working within a restrictive set of conventions. In the case of *chinsō*, the portraits of the Chan master Zhongfeng Mingben (1263–1323) offer a compelling example. Zhongfeng was one of the most reclusive and respected of the Chan abbots around whom Japanese pilgrim-monks congregated during the early Yuan period, and portraits of Zhongfeng reflect in various ways the intensity and idiosyncrasy of his religious commitments. While some depict the reclusive monk seated in a natural setting underneath a pine tree, others represent him with a full head of hair, thereby violating *vinaya* regulations governing hair growth, while all tend to depict him in simple robes unadorned by the ornately embroidered surplices fastened with tortoiseshell clasps found in many

other Chan portraits. And most likenesses of Zhongfeng depict him without the last digit on the little finger of his left hand; this disfigurement reflects an anecdote from his youth in which the master is reported to have practiced numerous austerities, including a form of self-mutilation in which his fingers were burned.³¹ Such details make it clear that portraiture was a primary means of managing and disseminating Zhongfeng's image among his various constituencies.

The carefully calibrated self-presentation found in Zhongfeng's portraits reflects the influence of a centuries-long symbiosis between Chan and scholar-official communities.³² Zhongfeng himself was known to be on close terms with the renowned literatus Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322), who is even recorded to have painted the master's portrait.³³ Indeed, direct literati intervention in the pictorialization of Chan masters was not unusual, as a self-inscribed portrait of the monk Jianxin

Laifu (1319–1391) reveals. While Jianxin was a prominent Chan abbot especially active in literati circles during the decades surrounding the Yuan-Ming transition, his only surviving portrait was given to the Japanese monk Ikō Tokken (d. 1407) and preserved at Manjuji Temple in Saga Prefecture (fig. 6). It was inscribed by both Jianxin and the scholar Zhang Zhu (1286–1368), whose encomium was actually brushed by the calligrapher Yang Yi in the first month of 1365.³⁴ As Ide Seinosuke has demonstrated, Jianxin took an active role in conceiving the format and the nature of the textual enclosures surrounding his likeness, and had personally requested the inscription from Zhang Zhu—a cherished friend and trusted advisor on all matters literary—the year before.³⁵ The case of Jianxin thus demonstrates the manner in which the self-portrayal of Chan monks could be directly mediated by literati sensibilities.

This mediation is not always evident when *chinsō* portraiture is examined from the perspective of Japanese Zen practice but crucial nevertheless to understanding its most salient characteristics. Even when scholar-officials were not directly involved in *chinsō* production, as was the case in the overwhelming majority of portraits surviving in Japan, their protocols of representation had been internalized not only in the Zen community but in the genre itself. Thus traces of their strategies of self-fashioning, the manner in which painted likenesses mediated social relations, and the idea of the private possession of portraiture all informed the production and circulation of portraiture in Japanese Zen Buddhism from the outset.

Perhaps the most important context in which Song portraiture practice took hold in Japan was in the circle of the monk Enni Ben'en (1202–1280).³⁶ Enni was one of the earliest monks to undergo intensive training at Chan monasteries in China, where he stayed from 1235 to 1241. *Portrait of Wuzhun Shifan* (see fig. 3), inscribed for Enni by the sitter in 1238, was one of many objects the monk brought back with him. Almost immediately upon his return Enni is known to have inscribed his own portrait for a certain Zhang Sigang, and intermittently did so for others thereafter, thereby establishing the custom of portraiture conferral in his long residency at the Kyoto Zen monastery Tōfukuji. Revealingly, at least seven and possibly many more of his own portraits were inscribed for disciples soon before his passing in the tenth month of 1280, indicating that this type of pictorial commentary had become something of a deathbed ritual.³⁷ Despite the fact that the likenesses

appeared to play no official role in formalizing successorship, the timing of their conferral is indicative of the status they were intended to confer. As Higuchi Tomoyuki notes, Enni indicated months before his death his desire to see the Tōfukuji abbacy assumed only by members of his dharma genealogy, and at least three of his deathbed recipients and possibly more went on to assume abbacies at Tōfukuji as Enni's dharma heirs. To further solidify the infrastructure of his religious community, Enni had Wuzhun's *chinsō* and other artifacts deposited in the subtemple Jōrakuan and bequeathed the subtemple Fumon'in to his disciple Shōjō Shunken (active late thirteenth to early fourteenth century) in the same month Shōjō received a portrait.³⁸ Numerous Enni disciples of the next generation left their own self-inscribed portraits for posterity, and at least one, Mukan Fumon (1212–1291), did so at the request of followers just before his demise.³⁹

A self-inscribed portrait of Chikotsu Dai'e (1229–1312), another Enni disciple, suggests the degree to which the Enni dharma lineage was saturated with a consciousness of the genealogizing function of portraiture. Chikotsu's striking portrait (fig. 7), now kept at Ganjōji Temple in Kyoto, bears the following inscription:

The gray old man is now in his seventies
When his parents bore him,
He had not yet assumed this appearance, though he had this
same body.
Those who would strive to understand the ultimate truth
Must rid themselves of spiritual attachments.
The master of Shōin'an had my portrait drawn and came requesting
an inscription,
and I was unable to refuse his request.
Third year of the Shōan era, fifth month, first day.
Inscribed directly by the abbot of An'yōji.

As Helmut Brinker has observed, the overall composition of the portrait and many expressive details, right down to the “unusually spread fingers of the left hand,” closely resemble those of the famous *chinsō* of Wuzhun given to Enni (see fig. 3). The borrowings are so direct that the production of *Portrait of Chikotsu Dai'e* must have been overseen by someone with intimate knowledge of and access to the Wuzhun likeness.⁴⁰ Just as importantly, the inscription itself refers to Wuzhun's famous death verse, which ends with the lines “For those who would explore the

ultimate essence of things, there is the Stone Bridge of Mt. Tiantai.”⁴¹ The phrase “ultimate essence of things” was also employed in a similar construction in Enni's own death verse, with the intertextuality an apparent effort to draw on Wuzhun's spiritual authority even in this allegedly most spontaneous of genres.⁴² Chikotsu's portrait thus clearly establishes the genealogical sequence Wuzhun–Enni–Chikotsu through word and image.

Portrait of Chikotsu Dai'e demonstrates one manner in which the use of portraiture in Japanese Zen communities was evolving in ways distinct from continental practice. In this regard, the case of his contemporary Muhon Kakushin (1207–1298) is also revealing. Muhon studied in China from 1249 to 1254 and was eventually designated a dharma heir to the Chan master Wumen Huikai (1183–1260), famous for his authoritative *kōan* compilation *The Gateless Barrier* (*Wumenguan* in Chinese, *Mumonkan* in Japanese) of 1228. In Japan Muhon founded a highly distinct line of Zen transmission based at Kōkokuji Monastery in Wakayama Prefecture, one with close ties to Esoteric practice and Mt. Kōya, where Muhon had undergone extensive training earlier in his career.⁴³



Fig. 7. Japanese painter unknown, *Portrait of Chikotsu Dai'e*, 1301. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 43 1/4 x 20 7/8 in. (111 x 53 cm). Ganjōji Temple, Kyoto

At least two of the monk's extant portraits bear self-inscriptions that repeat verbatim a *gatha* verse (*jiesong* in Chinese, *geju* in Japanese) authored by Wumen for Muhon during his training in China.⁴⁴ Even more directly than Chikotsu, Muhon ventriloquized his master's voice as a form of dharma engineering through portraiture.⁴⁵

The case of Muhon also demonstrates the ongoing establishment of the ritual use of portraiture in death anniversary observances in Zen communities. Several of his posthumous portraits inscribed by other monks, for example, are known to have been painted specifically on the occasions of important death anniversaries. A well-known *chinsō* inscribed by the émigré Chan master Yishan Yining (1247–1317) in 1315, for example, was prepared for Muhon's seventeenth-year mortuary observance, while another example inscribed by Mingji Chujun (1262–1336) in 1330 was first hung for the ritual program of the thirty-third-year observance. On both occasions disciples of the Muhon lineage turned to renowned continental masters residing in prominent Japanese monasteries—Yishan at Nanzenji, Mingji at Kenchōji—to autograph the likenesses.⁴⁶ The Yishan-inscribed portrait is furthermore signed by a certain Kaku'e, who, as his name suggests, was a disciple of Muhon; that a monk-painter in his circle could produce a painting of such accomplishment on such a large scale indicates the degree to which such Song-style portraiture was a significant part of the Muhon dharma community.⁴⁷

As the Muhon portraits make clear, *chinsō* were regularly hung for ritual observances in a mortuary context, further bearing out the argument put forth so thoroughly in a Chinese context by Foulk and Sharf. In East Asian monastic environments these ritual occasions were codified in the various “rules of purity” or Chan/Zen monastic regulations.⁴⁸ The massive *Imperial Edition of Baizhang's Rule of Purity* (*Chixiu Baizhang qinggui* in Chinese, *Chokushū Hakujiō shingi* in Japanese), compiled between 1335 and 1338 by the Chinese monk Dongyang Dehui, became the most authoritative version of the monastic code in Japan during the fourteenth century and included instructions for the hanging of a deceased master's portrait (*shen* in Chinese, *shin* in Japanese) above his coffin in the Dharma Hall (*fatang* in Chinese, *hattō* in Japanese) three days after his death, and for prayers and offerings of incense and tea to be made.⁴⁹ While the use of portraiture in mortuary ritual had long been a characteristic of earlier courtly and monastic environments in Japan, however, *chinsō* portraits were complex, layered icons that are in many ways difficult to reconcile with pre-existing practices and cultures of portraiture.⁵⁰ Several episodes regarding likenesses in the dharma family of the Zen monk Musō Soseki help to map out areas of differentiation.

From the mid-fourteenth century onward Musō's dharma lineage became the most important presence in the Five Mountains community. Among the members of

his dharma family, the monk established an unprecedented degree of awareness concerning the institutional and socioreligious power of *chinsō*. In so doing he transformed the culture of Zen portraiture in Japan. Not only did Musō inscribe a large number of his own portraits for distribution, but he also acted with a clear understanding of the symbolic importance of portrait possession in the affirmation of dharma lineage.⁵¹ The seeds of this understanding were inherited from Musō's master Kōhō Kennichi (1241–1316), a monk trained under the Chinese émigré master Wuxue Zuyuan (1226–1286). From his arrival in Kamakura in 1279 until his death seven years later, Wuxue did much to further disseminate continental monastic practice, including the use of self-inscribed portraiture for ritual and lineal ends; his recorded sayings include some twenty-five inscriptions on his own painted images.⁵² Kōhō's continuation of his master's portraiture practice is demonstrated by the survival of at least eleven *chinsō*, of which the majority depict him apparently wearing the surplice (*kesa*) bequeathed to him by Wuxue as a symbol of his dharma successorship.⁵³ By the time Musō achieved positions of prominence, therefore, a tradition of portrait production had been firmly established within his dharma lineage.

Musō, however, appears to have taken this production to a qualitatively new level of intensity and significance. Two events, recorded in various biographical texts of the period, bear out this observation. The first concerns a portrait Musō sent to his teacher of their mutual dharma ancestor Wuxue. According to *Chronology of National Master Musō*, a compilation by Musō's nephew and disciple Shun'oku Myōha (1311–1388), one evening in the autumn of 1310 Musō had a dream in which Wuxue made an appearance.⁵⁴ The details of his oneiric encounter remain obscure, with the entry in the *Chronology* indicating only that Musō recorded the venerable Chinese master's “true” aspect and requested an inscription of Kōhō.⁵⁵ Yet it is the context in which this request took place that is most suggestive of its significance. During the previous year, when Musō was in residence at Kōhō's monastic headquarters at Unganji, his relations with his fellow disciples became so contentious that Musō eventually left the monastery—without his master's permission—and returned to his home province of Kai.⁵⁶ The reasons for this friction remain unclear but may have had to do with the jealousy aroused by the seeming privilege accorded to Musō, who most recently had been promoted to the position of secretary (*shoki*). Along with the portrait of Wuxue, Musō also added a capping phrase (*jakugo*) to a *gāthā* verse that Kōhō had authored, in an apparent effort to win back his master's favor. The significance of the portrait in this context is am-

biguous; given that it was not Kōhō's likeness, it was unlikely to have played any role in rituals of transmission. In any case Musō had already received a portrait of Kōhō several years earlier, along with a robe, bequests that were understood to acknowledge the former as a dharma heir.⁵⁷ The later portrait of Wuxue, then, appears to have represented a reaffirmation of a master-disciple relationship. The status of the painting merits attention because in its actualization of their relationship in this manner, it closely resembles the ways in which the brush arts leveraged relationships among men of letters in China. By requesting an inscription on the portrait from Kōhō, Musō was asking that he himself be re-inscribed into the latter's dharma family.

A second event involving Musō and portraiture is even more telling. This occasion concerned Musō's retirement as abbot of the monastery Tenryūji in the spring of 1346. Tenryūji was founded by Musō under the patronage of the Ashikaga shogunate and served as the headquarters of his dharma family. Its abbacy was thus a matter of no small significance, and accordingly the appointment went to Mukyoku Shigen (1282–1359), a figure of impeccable pedigree. Mukyoku, who was not much younger than Musō, was both a descendant of Emperor Juntoku (1197–1242) and a great uncle to the eventual third Ashikaga shogun Yoshimitsu (1358–1408), and had even studied in his youth with Wuxue. In the rituals that were conducted as a part of his assumption of Tenryūji's abbacy, however, Mukyoku failed to indicate unambiguously his successorship to Musō, raising suspicions among the latter's disciples that Mukyoku intended to somehow maintain an affiliation with the dharma lineage of the Chinese master Wu'an Puning (1197–1276).⁵⁸ Eventually, in the first month of 1349, these suspicions led to an extraordinary sequence of events that reveal the extent to which *chinsō* possession was understood to convey dharma allegiance. First, Musō's disciples had a portrait made of their master that they forced Mukyoku to accept as his own. The portrait was produced by Mutō Shūi (active mid-fourteenth century), a monk serving under Musō who specialized in the various painting tasks required by his teacher, including both *chinsō* and architectural interiors.⁵⁹ Musō's disciples then had Mukyoku request an inscription from Musō, who was apparently happy to oblige. Finally, Mukyoku was made to take on as his own disciple the monk Kūkoku Myō'ō (1328–1407), a member of Musō's dharma lineage, thus ensuring that he was bracketed from above and below on the genealogical family tree. This sequence of events established at least the outward appearance of a master-disciple relationship and left a material trail of dharma successorship.⁶⁰

Aside from its coercive nature, the Mukyoku episode is revealing in two further respects. Although Musō's disciples are described as taking the initiative, their activities are unimaginable without the implicit sanction of their spiritual leader. In this regard, the incidents surrounding Mukyoku's abbacy continue to reflect Musō's sensitivity to—and skillfulness at—manipulating the practices surrounding portraiture to support lineal aspirations. At the same time, however, the status of Musō's portrait seems to go well beyond affirmation, serving in this instance as something like a contractual agreement. The context in which this portrait "conferral" took place suggests that the acts of possession and inscription procurement—no matter how scripted or otherwise induced—were rituals of a kind themselves and conditioned communal ideas of religious kinship.

Musō's politics of portraiture were developed under unique historical circumstances. As discussed earlier, *chinsō* conferral was already prevalent in Japanese Zen communities several generations before his emergence. Yet Musō's ostracism from the Kōhō community based at Uganji effectively replaced physical proximity and monastic participation with epistolary correspondence and the inscriptive trappings of a master-disciple relationship, including and especially those related to portraiture. Despite the fact that Kōhō never seems to have formally excommunicated Musō, the latter's alienation from the Kōhō dharma family was clear; Musō was not present at his master's death in 1316, and oversight of Uganji passed into the hands of other disciples; it is even speculated that a conflagration that destroyed Musō's hermitage several years earlier was the result of arson committed by his former dharma brothers. Under these circumstances, the shift of the institutional center of Zen from Kamakura to Kyoto during the early to mid-fourteenth century coincided with Musō's attempt to reinvent himself as something other than the black sheep of the Kōhō dharma family. The Tenryūji monastery he founded in Kyoto, therefore, may have been secure in its patronage base but was insecure in the authenticity of its spiritual etiology. The community based there thus tended to overemphasize all of the material symbols of dharma kinship in a prolonged attempt to validate Musō's dharma inheritance.

A consideration of the inscription on Musō's most famous portrait underscores the unusual degree to which he was invested in his own likenesses (fig. 8). The *chinsō* in question, a bust portrait found in the temple Myōchi'in in Kyoto, is renowned for its extraordinary verisimilitude and fineness of technique, and because it is one of the few signed works of early Japanese Zen portraiture. The artist, Mutō Shūi, was the same author of the above-mentioned Mukyoku portrait, but

the Myōchi'in *chinsō* is his only firmly attributable surviving work. Musō's verse-inscription above his own likeness has been understood as a rhetorical sanction of the bust portrait format, unusual in Japanese Zen portraiture at the time: It reads as follows:

That which is underfoot cannot expound a theme,
Only the upper torso, then, is visible within the Gate of Zen.
Written by Musō Soseki.⁶¹

The "Gate of Zen," or *Kenkemon* (literally "Gate of Erection and Change"), marks an entryway to spiritual insight that can be accessed through expedient means such as painterly representation. As Helmut Brinker and Hiroshi Kanazawa explain, "[provisional methods and instruction] are tentative, sometimes unconventional ways to guide unenlightened people, to 'erect' and to 'change' them."⁶² The inscription implies that while the portrait only represents the more accessible upper half of Musō's body, the essence of the sitter is underfoot, silent and invisible to the eyes. A happy mutualism is thus achieved between the inscription and the half-length format itself, in which Musō's words suggest a metaphorical function for the bust portrait that addresses the Buddhist doctrine of Emptiness and the illusory nature of representation. This symbiosis takes on added significance when one considers that Mutō's *Portrait of Musō Soseki* is the earliest surviving Japanese *chinsō* in the half-length format, and that the many other extant Musō portraits in bust format bear similar inscriptions.⁶³

Often overlooked, however, is the reference made in the first line of *Portrait of Musō Soseki*, "That which is underfoot" (*kyakkonka no koto*), to a celebrated episode in the life of Kōhō Kennichi. The phrase itself had been well known for centuries as a metaphor for that which is out of sight—and of such seeming insignificance that it is easily trampled—but for that very reason essential to be mindful of as a way of conceptualizing the relationship between truth and illusion, between the noumenal and phenomenal worlds. This analogy was reflected in the exhortation, with which Chan/Zen literature is replete, to "look underfoot." The Chan monk Yuanwu Keqin (1063–1135), in a commentary to the first case study in the *kōan* anthology *The Emerald Cliff Record* (*Biyan lu* in Chinese, *Hekiganroku* in Japanese), famously invoked this analogy when posing the rhetorical question, "What is under *your* feet?"⁶⁴ And the Japanese Zen master Dōgen (1200–1253) observed in the ninth chapter of *Guidelines for Studying the Way* (*Gakudō Yōjinshū*)



Fig. 8. Mutō Shūi (Japanese, active mid-14th century), *Portrait of Musō Soseki*, late 1340s. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 46 1/4 x 25 1/4 in. (119.4 x 63.9 cm). Myōchi'in Temple, Kyoto

that "The Buddhist Path lays beneath one's feet."⁶⁵ Yet the most significant invocation of this saying for Musō was surely found in an incident involving Kōhō and the Chinese master Wu'an Puning. As recounted in Kōhō's biography, one day Wu'an challenged his congregation at the monastery Kenchōji by posing the following cryptic query: "Why do those of limitless strength not raise their feet?" Kōhō, who at the time was training under Wu'an, was the only one to reply, raising his own leg and exclaiming, "Look at the soles of my feet!" This answer greatly impressed the master, who promptly appointed Kōhō as one of his personal attendants.⁶⁶ This episode became a signature moment of his career; its key phrase was reiterated by Kōhō numerous times in his own lectures, verse, and various other inscriptions, and the Chinese monk Gulin Qingmao (1262–1329) invoked it in the first line of his colophon to Kōhō's *Recorded Sayings*.⁶⁷ Kōhō's most memorable line was also recounted with reverence many years later by the monk Gidō Shūshin (1325–1388) in his diary.⁶⁸ Its presence in Musō's

portrait inscription, therefore, leaves the unmistakable footprint of a master with which Musō was only perilously associated in his own lifetime. And remarkably, Kōhō's footloose behavior is linked to the *raison d'être* of the *chinsō* itself, identifying the very practice of portraiture with Kōhō's teachings.

The ability of Musō's disciples to weave matters underfoot into their own versifying activity became a mark of lineal identity, an instance of lexical transmission doubling as dharma transmission.⁶⁹ Indeed, after Musō's passing, his politics of portraiture continued unabated in the milieu of his nephew Shun'oku Myōha (1311–1388), the de facto head of the Musō lineage for almost four decades after his death. During Shun'oku's generation, however, narratives of origin were folded into the surfaces of *chinsō* in ever more literal ways. *Dream Portrait of Shun'oku Myōha* (fig. 9), for example, represents an unusual portrait of Shun'oku by his disciple Dōin Shōju (active late fourteenth century) dated to 1383. Lengthy inscriptions by both Shun'oku and Dōin relate the origin of the image to Dōin's encounter with his master's likeness while on an oniric journey to China. Their texts also situate Shun'oku as a reincarnation of the Chinese monk Dahui Zonggao (1089–1163), one of the most revered masters of the Chan/Zen tradition.⁷⁰

Another portrait involving Shun'oku, similarly framed by lengthy textual enclosures, continues to convey the stemmatics of monks of the Musō extraction. Here the Chinese émigré master Wuxue Zuyuan is depicted in a diminutive and unusual representation with a white dove perched on his left arm, a blue dove on his left knee, and a golden dragon around his right arm. Three inscriptions, one authored by Shun'oku and one by Musō (but brushed by Shun'oku), indicate that the portrait was produced again at the request of Dōin. The top inscription explains that the birds and beasts accompanying Wuxue are all messengers of the Hachiman deity. According to lore, before Wuxue received a formal invitation to assume an abbacy in Kamakura, the Hachiman deity appeared in the monk's dreams urging him to travel to the archipelago, always accompanied by a golden dragon and a pair of blue and white doves.⁷¹ Such legendary

episodes were common at the time as Zen Buddhism, while attempting to establish itself within a crowded religious landscape in Japan, imagined a welcome reception from indigenous *kami* deities.⁷² In this instance, *Portrait of Wuxue Zuyuan* not only affirms a prominent dharma lineage that now spans five generations (Wuxue—Kōhō—Musō—Shun'oku—Dōin) but also implicitly presents this transmission as nothing less than the national dharma lineage of Japan itself.

Under Musō and his immediate disciples, Zen portraiture experienced a significant shift in the way it signified and expressed spiritual pedigree. While its ability to do so stemmed from qualities inherent in the genre of portraiture in East Asia, the social networks that were reinforced and even enabled by the circulation of likenesses in Chinese society made portraiture—even religious portraiture—that much more effective a vehicle for the confirmation of intercultural and interpersonal bonds. The establishment of a culture of *chinsō* in Japanese Zen communities in the thirteenth century brought with it not so much a specifically Chan/Zen theology of the image as highly sophisticated and multilayered practices associated with Chinese portraiture as they had evolved by the Southern Song period (1127–1276). Indeed, the two portraits associated with Shun'oku reorder and internalize within the vertical hanging-scroll format the types of colophonic texts that accompanied horizontal handscroll paintings and calligraphies in Chinese literati culture. In Japanese Zen communities, however, those practices that marked ancestral or otherwise diachronic ties tended to be isolated for development, from Enni's practice of echoing his master's death verse in his own portrait inscriptions, to private possession, to Musō's invocation of Kōhō's most memorable demonstration of awakened insight on his own *chinsō*. Musō's bastardized relationship to his own teacher only exacerbated this trend, charging his *chinsō* with keen anxieties of filiation. By the end of the fourteenth century, Zen portraiture in Japan could be a pictorial object of great complexity: a ritual icon, a spiritual heirloom, a genealogical artifact, a private keepsake, an institutional treasure, a narrative of origins, and a communal marker of dharma kinship.

This multiplicity of identities, however, was predicated upon Zen portraiture's most important quality, its verisimilitude. The sheer virtuosity of the pictorial illusionism of Song-period and early Japanese *chinsō* distinguished this group of portraiture from that being produced in other contexts throughout the archipelago during the medieval period. But it was the manner in which this verisimilitude was both animated and negated by accompanying inscriptions that gave *chinsō* its special charge and enabled its polyvalency. One final example of a



Fig. 9. Dōin Shōju (Japanese, active late 14th century), *Dream Portrait of Shun'oku Myōha*, 1383. Hanging scroll, ink and light colors on paper, 40 7/8 x 12 1/4 in. (102 x 32.5 cm). Rokuōin Temple, Kyoto



Fig. 10. Japanese painter unknown, *Portrait of Shun'oku Myōha*, c. 1382–83. Hanging scroll, ink, colors, and gold on silk, 40 x 20 1/2 in. (114.3 x 52 cm). Sylvan Barnet and William Burto Collection, Cambridge, Massachusetts

portrait of Shun'oku Myōha bears out this observation. The self-inscribed *Portrait of Shun'oku Myōha* (fig. 10) in the Barnet and Burro Collection in Cambridge, Massachusetts, dated to sometime around 1383, depicts its sitter with many of the characteristics apparent in the Myōchi'in portrait of Musō. Thin lines delineate with precision Shun'oku's world-weary eyes, tightly pursed lips, upturned nose, and other facial features, complemented by softly inflected flesh tones; razor-thin hairs close to the ears and on the eyebrows further enhance the effect of verism; the patterns on his robe and mantle, meticulously rendered in mineral pigments, complete a representation that is convincingly illusionistic despite many centuries of aging and wear. Shun'oku's inscription above makes clear the painting's ritual function:

There are no eyes on his head
 His eyebrows hang down below his chin
 This is everything this is nothing
 I also could not become a phoenix.
 Inscribed by Tenryū Myōha for a commemorative ritual at Muryōjuin⁷³

These lines typify the oftentimes witty self-deprecation characteristic of most portrait inscriptions by Chan/Zen monks. The first line presents a variation on a common saying, "He has eyes on his head," that refers to the superior qualities of a fully awakened monk. The second line, continuing the tone of self-deprecation, alludes to the image of long and shaggy eyebrows as a metaphor for a lack of clear vision or understanding.⁷⁴ The self-mocking references, which are specifically about facial appearance, play off of and in fact directly contradict the appearance of Shun'oku depicted below; the painted representation of his face, after all, contains both eyes and short eyebrows. This portrait thus provides a compelling instance of a condition common to many *chinsō*: a fundamental tension between the high degree of pictorial realism and the accompanying inscription that rhetorically condemns it. Indeed, the often extraordinary degree of verisimilitude seen in self-inscribed *chinsō* was predicated upon this kind of discursive negation. This negative verisimilitude distinguished *chinsō* from any other tradition of portraiture, anywhere else in the world. It marked the Zen portrait as a strange and self-annulling icon, a painted object whose suspended state of impossibility somehow made of it an ideal vehicle with which to commemorate transmissions of the Buddha's wisdom for posterity.

1. T. Griffith Foulk and Robert H. Sharf, "On the Ritual Use of Ch'an Portraiture in Medieval China," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 7 (1993–94): 149–220.
2. It should be noted, however, that their description of the traditional historiography on Zen portraiture somewhat mischaracterizes the views of art historians working in a Japanese context. In the earliest modern study of the *chinsō* genre, for example, Sawamura Sentarō acknowledges and discusses the ritual role of portraits. See "Zenshū no kōryū to honpō no shōzōga ni suite," pts. 1 and 2, *Kokka* 317 (October 1916); 318 (November 1916). See also the text of sinologist Naitō Konan's 1920 lecture "Nihon no shōzōga to Kamakura jidai," included in Naitō Konan, *Nihon bunkashi kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kōbundō Shobō, 1924).
3. Foulk and Sharf, "On the Ritual Use of Ch'an Portraiture," 157.
4. The most significant exploration of Zen portraiture in the wake of the Foulk-Sharf essay has been carried out by Gregory Levine, who studies specific contexts for the production and use of *chinsō* in the Zen monastery Daitokuji in Kyoto. See Levine, *Daitokuji: The Visual Cultures of a Zen Monastery* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2005), 1–143.
5. See Robert H. Sharf, "The Zen of Japanese Nationalism," in *Curators of the Buddha: The Study of Buddhism under Colonialism*, ed. Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 107–60.
6. The authors offer the following qualification to their study: "This paper is a preliminary report of our ongoing research and does not deal in any detail with the evidence provided by portraits of Ch'an and Zen abbots extant in Japan. Nor have we presented the considerable Japanese textual evidence bearing on our topic. For reasons of length we must reserve our analysis of the Japanese materials for our full report. Suffice it to say that all available evidence points to the fact that portraits of Japanese Zen abbots functioned in precisely the same manner as did their Chinese counterparts: in Japan, as in China, the portraits played a central role in funeral and memorial rites, and, in addition to these explicitly mortuary settings, commemorative portraits of Japanese Zen abbots were produced and disseminated rather freely by their followers and admirers, monk and lay alike." See Foulk and Sharf, "On the Ritual Use of Ch'an Portraiture," 206. While their "full report" has yet to appear, this essay takes issue with the absolute equivalence posited between the Chinese and Japanese contexts for this body of portraiture.
7. For a survey of Musō's life and achievements, see Martin Collcutt, "Musō Soseki," in *The Origins of Japan's Medieval World: Courtiers, Clerics, Warriors, and Peasants in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Jeffrey P. Mass (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 261–94. On the Five Mountains system see Collcutt, *Five Mountains: The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1981).
8. The circumstances surrounding the production of this portrait can be gleaned from the two inscriptions at the top of the scroll. One was authored by the Chinese official Tang Pinglong at the time the

- portrait was made, and the other thirty-three years later by Yi himself, upon reencountering his own likeness in Dadu. See Ebine Toshio, "Chin Kanjo Ri Seiken zō zaijiku," in *Gen*, vol. 7 of *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, ed. Ebine Toshio and Nishioka Yasuhiro (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1999), 400.
9. For further context of Sino-Korean artistic exchange during this period, especially during the years 1315 to 1327, see Nishigami Minoru, "Shu Tokujun to Shinō," *Bijutsushi* 104 (March 1978): 127–144.
 10. This is the characterization, for example, made by Xia Wenyan in *Mirror of Precious Painting* [*Juhui baojian*, 1365]. For an in-depth discussion of this text see Deborah Del Gais Muller, "Hsia Wen-Yen and his T'u-Hui Pao-Chien (Precious Mirror of Painting)," *Ars Orientalis* 18 (1988): 131–48.
 11. See Wen C. Fong, "Sung Imperial Portraits," in *Possessing the Past: Treasures from the National Palace Museum, Taipei*, exh. cat., ed. Wen C. Fong and James C. Y. Watt (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), 141–45.
 12. The scrolls were brought to Japan by the monk Shunjō (1166–1227). See Susan Bush and Victor H. Mair, "Some Buddhist Portraits and Images of the Lü and Ch'an Sects in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century China," *Archives of Asian Art* 31 (1977–78): 32–51.
 13. For a careful study of the scrolls see Ogawa Hiromitsu, "Sennyūji zō Shunjō risshi, Naizan daishi, Daichi risshi zō sanpuku: Tōyō kaiga ni okeru renpuku hyōgen no mondai," in *Nihon kaigashi no kenkyū*, ed. Yamane Yūzō sensei koki kinenkai (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1989), 67–108.
 14. On Chan/Zen portraits of monks in natural settings, see Helmut Brinker, "Ch'an Portraits in a Landscape," *Archives of Asian Art* 27 (1973–74): 8–29. Since the publication of Brinker's article, further examples of such portraits have been introduced by Ebine Toshio; see "Ko Zenshi hitsu Sengan Genchō zō," *Kokka* 1208 (July 1996): 19–20; and "Toku zenshi zō," *Kokka* 1139 (October 1990). Miyajima Shin'ichi describes the variety of portraits listed in the anthology of the Chan monk Zhuxian Fanxian (1292–1348) in *Shōzōga* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1994), 181–82. The half-length format appears to have been very common in China as well, especially for sets of patriarch portraits made for portrait halls. In Japan, the term *chinsō* itself was often glossed in commentarial literature of the Sōtō school as referring to half-length portraits. See Ebine Toshio's survey of this commentary in "Chinsō kanki: seiritsu o megutte," in *Zōkei no ba*, vol. 4 of *Kōza Nihon bijutsushi*, ed. Nagaoka Ryūsaku (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 2005), 125–50.
 15. There is a sizable body of literature on Japanese portraiture of the Kamakura period (1185–1333), of which Mori Tōru's early studies remain a primary reference. See Mori Tōru, *Kamakura jidai no shōzōga* (Tokyo: Misuzu Shobō, 1971). Other important references include Maribeth Graybill, "Kasen-e: An Investigation into the Origins of the Tradition of Poet Pictures in Japan," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1983; Yonekura Michio, "Kamakura jidai no kaiga: monogatari to keikan to hito no kaiga o megutte," in *Engi-e to Nise-e*, vol. 9 of *Nihon bijutsu zenshū* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1993), 146–57; Miyajima Shin'ichi, *Shōzōga*, op. cit.; Maribeth Graybill, "Kagyō to shite no kaiga seisaku:

- Nobuzane to sono kōkeisha no kaite shōzōga," *Bijutsu kenkyū* 360 (October 1994): 91–108; and Yonekura Michio, *Minamoto Yoritomo zō: chinmoku no shōzōga*, vol. 4 in *E wa kataru* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1995).
16. See Yen Yamei, "Sōgen jidai no chinsō ni okeru nisan no mondai," *Kyōto bigaku bijutsushigaku* 3 (2004): 95–129.
17. *Ibid.*, 115.
18. *Ibid.*, 117–18.
19. Foulk and Sharf, "On the Ritual Use of Ch'an Portraiture," 209. Foulk and Sharf are responding to Bernard Faure's understanding of the complementarity between *chinsō* and succession documents (*shisho* in Japanese), articulated in *The Rhetoric of Immediacy: A Cultural Critique of Chan/Zen Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 174–75.
20. On the issue of *kesa* represented in Zen portraiture, see Miyajima Shin'ichi, "Kōhō Kennichi zō ni suite," *Kanazawa Bunko kenkyū* 281 (1988): 15–33, and Miyajima, *Shōzōga*, 201–4. There are potentially many more undiscovered cases of specific *kesa* being depicted in chinsō portraits.
21. The line between formal dharma heirs and less formal disciples is blurred by the fact that these designations appear to be determined in many cases by social and institutional concerns and do not always correspond to the quality or duration of a given monk's training under a Chan master. Furthermore, Chan Buddhism during the Southern Song period was institutionalized in such a way that it was to the master's advantage to count as many disciples as possible in order to reflect upon his prestige and demonstrate his fitness for abbacy positions. This condition provides one context for understanding how so many Japanese Zen monks could be designated dharma heirs to prestigious Chan masters despite relatively brief periods of engagement.
22. See Morten Schlütter, "The Record of Hongzhi and the Recorded Sayings Literature of Song-Dynasty Chan," in *The Zen Canon: Understanding the Classic Texts*, ed. Steven Heine and Dale S. Wright (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 181–205, especially 194–95.
23. Such an economy has been analyzed in the case of the literatus Wen Zhengming (1470–1559) in Craig Clunas, *Flegant Debus: The Social Art of Wen Zhengming* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004).
24. The festival-like atmosphere of these assemblies was recorded by the monk Zhongfeng Mingben in the early fourteenth century. In a text in his recorded sayings, Zhongfeng describes a visit to Miaoxingsi in which several thousand patriarch scrolls were on display. See Ide Seinosuke, "Nansō no dōshakuga," in *Nansō, Kin*, vol. 6 of *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū Tōyō hen*, ed. Nakazawa Fujio and Shimada Hidemasa (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2000), 126.
25. See Itakura Masa'aki, "'Juka yūen zu byōbu' (Darasu bijutsukan zō) no sokei o meguru shomondai: Tōyō kaiga ni okeru yūen no zuzō ni kansuru josetsu," *Bijutsushi ronsō* 10 (1994): 1–20; Scarlet Jang, "Representations of Exemplary Scholar-Officials, Past and Present," in *Arts of the Sung and Yuan*, ed. Cary Liu and Dora Ching (Princeton: Princeton Art Museum, 1999), 43–53.

26. See Itakura Masa'aki, "Baen 'Seien gashū zukan' (Nerison Atokinsu bijutsukan) no shiteki ichi: kyōkō toshite no 'Seien gashū' to sono kaigaka o megutte," *Bijutsushi ronsō* 16 (1999): 49–78.
27. *The Five Old Men of Suiyang* was originally painted as a handscroll bearing a preface dated to 1056 but currently is mounted as an album with individual leaves in the Freer Gallery of Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Yale Art Gallery. See Thomas Lawton, *Chinese Figure Painting* (Washington: Freer Gallery of Art, 1973), 165–70; Peter Sturman, "Portrait of Chu Kuan" and "Portrait of Tu Yen," in *The Communion of Scholars: Chinese Art at Yale* (New York: China Institute, 1982) ed. Mary Gardner Neill, 97–100; and Ide Seinosuke, "Hitsu Seichō zō (Suiyō gorō zukan dankan)," in *Godai, Hokusō, Ryō, Seika*, vol. 5 of *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū Tōyō hen* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1998), 347.
28. For a discussion of the genre of intimate images, see Itakura Masaaki, "Chōu dai Geisan zō (Taïpei Kokyū Hakubutsukan) o meguru shomondai," *Bijutsushi ronsō* 17 (2001): 159–86.
29. *Ibid.*
30. While the painters of most surviving Chan portraits are unknown, a few Yuan-period examples are signed, such as *Portrait of Zhongfeng Mingben* in Kōgenji Temple (Hyōgo Prefecture), which records the name of a certain monk-painter Yi'an. Despite a strong emphasis on the amateur ideal in scholar-gentlemanly culture, many literati portraits were also painted by professional artists. A notable example from the Yuan period is Wang Yi, the author of an important treatise on portraiture, who collaborated with Ni Zan on the famous *Portrait of Yang Zhuxi in a Landscape* (1363) in the Palace Museum, Beijing. See Herbert Franke, "Two Yuan Treatises on the Technique of Portrait Painting," *Oriental Art* 3 no. 1 (1950): 27–32. Ebine Toshio surveys the emergence of professional portraitists in China in "Taiwa no Shō shi: aru denshin ikka," *Kokka* 1255 (May 2000): 30–37.
31. Zhongfeng's portraits and accounts of his finger mutilation are discussed in Ide Seinosuke, "Chū hō Minpon jisan zō o megutte," *Bijutsu kenkyū* 343 (1989): 99–116. Ide further notes that the representation of Zhongfeng's countenance may be conditioned by a will to cast him as the Bodhidharma.
32. The Chan-literati interface during the Song period has become the focus of increasing scholarly attention. Recent studies include Mark Halperin, *Out of the Cloister: Literati Perspectives on Buddhism in Sung China, 960–1279* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006), and Albert Welte, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati: The Political Ascendancy of Chan Buddhism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
33. The relationship between Zhongfeng and Zhao Mengfu is documented, among other ways, by six letters addressed from the latter to the former that are preserved in an album in the Seikadō Library Museum in Tokyo. See *Seikadō hōkan* (Tokyo: The Seikado Foundation, 1992), pl. 99.
34. Ide Seinosuke analyzes the painting and documentation related to it in the following series of articles: "Mansaiji no Kenshin Raifuku zō kō," *Bijutsushi* 195 (1986): 42–56; "Kenkyū shiryō Kenshin Raifuku hen 'Bokuyūshū' henmonku ichiran," *Bijutsu kenkyū* 373 (March 2000): 207–29; "Chinsō ni okeru zōshu no hyōgen: Kenshin Raifuku zō no baai," *Bukkyō geijutsu* 282 (Sept. 2005): 13–33.

35. Ide, "Chinsō ni okeru zōshu no hyōgen," 21–28. Jianxin and Zhang had a close relationship that went back to 1346, and Zhang played a key role in helping Jianxin compile a record of his own literary interactions over the years with other monks and officials.
36. According to later accounts, the earliest recorded *chinsō* in Japan was requested by Dainichibō Nōnin, who was anointed a dharma heir of the Chan master Zhuo'an Deguang, and through two disciples received his self-inscribed portrait in 1189. This episode is discussed in Tokunaga Hiromichi, "Nansō shoki no Zenshū soshizō ni tsuite: Setsuan Tokkō san Daruma zō o chūshin ni," pts. 1 and 2, *Kokka* 929 (January 1971): 7–17; 930 (February 1971): 5–22. The Japanese monk Dōgen (1200–1253) studied in China from 1223–27 and records in *Treasury of the Eye of the True Dharma* (*Shōbōgenzō*) a famously critical account of the unscrupulous use of portraiture to legitimate claims to prestigious spiritual bloodlines, although Dōgen himself was the recipient of a portrait by Tiantong Rujing (1164–1228). The arrival in Japan of émigré Chan masters Lanqi Daolong in 1246 and Wu'an Puning in 1260, both of whom are survived by self-inscribed portraits, further established the culture of *chinsō* on Japanese soil. But it was the dharma community mentored by Enni that did the most to disseminate Chinese portraiture practice during this period. See Higuchi Tomoyuki, "Enni Ben'en saibannen no chinsō chakusan ni tsuite: wagakuni e no chinsō bunka teichaku no ichikyokumen," *Sendai shi hakubutsukan chōsa kenkyū hōkoku* 18 (1997): 1–11.
37. Higuchi, "Enni Ben'en saibannen no chinsō chakusan," 1–3.
38. *Ibid.*, 3–4.
39. Extant self-inscribed portraits by Enni disciples include those of Mukan Fumon (Tenju'an), Sansō E'un (Shōkaku'an), Chikotsu Dai'e (Ganjōji), Nanzen Shi'un (Desō'an), Sōhō Sōgen (Keishōin), and Haku'un Egyō (Rikkyoku'an, in this case a model sketch or *kamigata*); all of those listed survive in Tōfukuji subtemples. See *ibid.*, 6.
40. Helmut Brinker and Hiroshi Kanazawa, *Zen: Masters of Meditation in Images and Writings* (Zurich: Artibus Asiae Publishers, 1996), 163–64.
41. Wuzhun's death verse was authored just before his passing on 18 March 1249 and circulated in print by his disciples. See Higuchi Tomoyuki, "Ganjōji shōzō Chikotsu Dai'e kō," *Bijutsushigaku* 17 (1995): 61–84.
42. The practice of departing verses during the Kamakura period is studied in Sugawara Shōci, "Kamakura jidai no yuige ni tsuite: Enni ni itaru Rinshū sahō no keifu," in *Kamakura jidai bunka denpan no kenkyū*, ed. Osumi Kazuo (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1993). Helmut Brinker translates Enni's death verse as follows: "[I have tried] to benefit all sentient beings, rishō, by skillful means [to be used for salvation], hōben. For seventy-nine years. Those who actually indulge in desire and perception shall not transmit [the Dharma] of the Buddhas and patriarchs." See Brinker and Kanazawa, *Zen*, 109.
43. See Harada Masatoshi, *Nihon chisei no Zenshū to shakai* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1998),

199–232.

44. These and other examples of Muhon's portraiture are surveyed in Kajitani Ryōji, "Shiryō shōkai Muhon Kakushin no gazō," *Museum* 394 (January 1984): 15–22.
45. See also Takeuchi Naoji, "Hattō-ha no shōzōga ni tsuite: shinshutsu Mumon Ekai zō nado," *Museum* 208 (July 1968): 4–21.
46. Although by the Japanese method of counting Muhon's seventeenth-year anniversary observances should have taken place in 1314, for reasons that are unclear they took place during the following year, along with a Japanese publication of *The Gateless Barrier*. The delay could result from the fact that the seventeenth-year death anniversary was not typically observed in China but emerged as a crucial period for mortuary observance in Japan from the twelfth century onward. See Kayaba Mayumi, "Chinsō to keshin: Kōkokuji-bon Hattō Kokushi zō kara no kōsatsu," *Bijutsushi kenkyū* 33 (1995): 93–108. Kayaba describes an intriguing legend surrounding Mingji's inscription. According to several biographical accounts, when Muhon's disciple Kozan Shien brought the scroll to Mingji at Kenchōji for inscription, the venerable master put it aside by draping it over a folding screen. There it lay until the sixth day, when the ground shook and the portrait, suddenly animated, flew up and struck the screen four times. Mingji's inscription was quickly applied. This legend then found its way into a picture scroll illustrating the life of Muhon, *The Miraculous Origins of National Master Hattō Enmei* (*Hattō Enmei Kokushi no engi*).
47. The character "kaku" is taken from Muhon Kakushin, while the character "e" is taken from Muhon's master Wumen Huikai. For a formal analysis of the Yishan-inscribed scroll see also Ota Takahiko, "Kamakura jidai no chinsō: keishikika e no katei," *Bigaku geijyutsugaku* 11 (1996): 1–32.
48. See T. Griffith Foulk, "Chanyuan qinggui and Other 'Rules of Purity' in Chinese Buddhism," in *The Zen Canon: Understanding the Classic Texts*, ed. Steven Heine and Dale S. Wright (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 275–312. As Foulk discusses, in China the *Rules of Purity for Chan Monasteries* (*Chanyuan qinggui*), compiled in 1103 by Changlu Zongze, "represents an important milestone in the history of Chinese Buddhism, for it was the first indigenous set of monastic rules to attain a status roughly equivalent to that of the Vinaya, which had been translated into Chinese (in various recensions) from Indic languages, and was traditionally regarded as the word of Śākyamin Buddha" (275).
49. Described in Kabaya, "Chinsō to keshin," 102.
50. The role of portraiture in continentally derived Buddhist and Confucian rituals in Japan is surveyed in Yonekura Michio, *Minamoto no Yoritomo zō: chinmoku no shōzōga*, vol. 4 of *E wa kataru* (Tokyo: Heihonsha, 1995), 12–15. See also Yonekura Michio, "Kamakura jidai no kaiga: monogatari to keikan to hito no kaiga o megutte," in *Engi-e to nise-e: Kamakura no kaiga, kōgei*, vol. 9 of *Nihon bijutsu zenshū*, ed. Hirata Yutaka et al. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1993), 146–57.
51. For a large compilation of extant Musō portraits see Katō Masatoshi, *Musō kokushi ihō* (Kyoto: Daihonzan Tenryūji, 2000). This list is complimented by the portraits of Musō lineage members

recorded in Takeuchi Naoji, "Zenrin bijutsushi kō: Musō-ha kyōdan no bijutsu ni tsuite," *Tōkyō kokuritsu hakubutsukan kiyō* 11 (1976): 37–150.

52. See *Tokubetsuten Bukkō Kokushi: Mugaku Sogen no iboku to Engakuji shiryō* (Kamakura: Kamakura Kokuhōkan, 1985). A self-inscribed portrait of Wuxue from 1284 has survived at the monastery Engakuji in Kamakura; according to his recorded sayings, it was inscribed for a certain monk Donge, about whom otherwise nothing is known, and is discussed in Shimada Shūjiro, "Shigen Sogen zō," *Bijutsushi* 8 (April 1953), reprinted in *Shimada Shūjiro chosakushū ichi: Nihon kaigashi kenkyū* (Tokyo: Chūōkōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1987), 284–92.

53. This point has been developed in Miyajima Shin'ichi, "Kōhō Kennichi zō ni tsuite."

54. The compilation is titled *Tenryū kaizan Musō shōgaku shinsō fuzai kokushi nenpu*, and is transcribed among other places in *Zoku gunsho ruijū*, vol. 9 (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kenseikai, 1927), 496–523.

55. See Takakusu Junjirō and Watanabe Kaigyoku, eds., *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* vol. 81, no. 2555 (Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924–32), 486.

56. The circumstances surrounding this discord are discussed in Tamamura Takeji, *Musō kokushi* (Kyoto: Heirakuji shoten, 1969), 41–42.

57. *Tenryū kaizan Musō*, 502.

58. Mukyoku's initial training was carried out under the monk Nanjū Kōkai (active late thirteenth century) at the temple Ganjōji. Because Nanjū was a disciple of Wu'an, Mukyoku appears to have affiliated himself with the Wu'an dharma lineage from his youth.

59. For more on Mutō, see Ebine Toshio, *Suibokuga: Mokuan kara Minchō e* (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1994), 51–53.

60. This episode is described in Tamamura Takeji, *Gozan zensō denki shūsei shinsōban* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2003), 634.

61. Two previous English translations were consulted and modified for this translation. See Jan Fontein and Money L. Hickman, *Zen Painting and Calligraphy* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1970),

59, and Brinker and Kanazawa, *Zen*, 258.

62. Brinker and Kanazawa, *Zen*, 258.

63. See Asaga Hiroshi, "Shōzōgasan no tenkai," 128–39 in *Tokubetsuten Shōzōgasan: hito no sugata, hito no kotoba* (Osaka: Osaka Municipal Museum of Art, 2000), 132.

64. The italics are my own, based on the context of the passage. Yuanwu posed this question amidst his annotation to the verse added to the *kōan* by the Chan monk Xuedou Zhongxian (980–1052). The *kōan* in question is the famous "Emperor Wu Asks Bodhidharma." I have consulted the commentary in Sucki Fumihiko, ed., *Gendaigyaku Hekiganroku jō* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2001), 46.

65. See Okada Cihō, ed., *Gakudō yōjinshū* (Tokyo: Yōyogi Shoin, 1939).

66. See Takakusu Junjirō and Watanabe Kaigyoku, eds., *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, vol. 80, no. 2551, 280.

67. Ibid.

68. See the entry for 10 February 1371 (Oan 4) in Kageki Hideo, *Kunchū Kuge nichiyō kōfu ryakushū: Chūsei Zensō no seikatsu to bungaku* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1982), 95–96. The wording of the exchange here is somewhat different from that found in Kōhō's biography.

69. The same phrase appears, for example, in Mukyoku Shigen's inscription on his own portrait in the temple Jisai'in, dated to 1351, and in numerous verse inscriptions by Shun'oku. See Yukio Lippit, "Mitasarenu shōzō: Baanetto ando Baato korekushon no 'Shun'oku Myōha zō' ni tsuite," in Satō Yasuhiro et al., *Bijutsushika, ooi ni urau: Kōno Motoaki sensei no tame no Nihon bijutsushi ronshū* (Tokyo: Brucke Press, 2006), 467–500, 489–90.

70. Dōin's inscription states that he took the scroll to Kyoto in 1395, probably on the occasion of the seventh death anniversary of Shun'oku. For a fuller discussion see Shimada Shūjiro, "Shigen Sogen zō," *Bijutsushi* 8 (April 1953), reprinted in *Nihon kaigashi kenkyū*, vol. 1 of *Shimada Shūjiro chosakushū* (Tokyo: Chūōkōron Bijutsu Shuppan), 284–92. See also Ebine Toshio, "Shun'oku Myōha muchū zō," in *Suibokuga no seiritsu*, vol. 1 of *Nihon suiboku meihin zūfu*, ed. Ebine Toshio and Takizawa Sachie (Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbun, 1993), 154–55, and "Rokuōin shōzō no 'Shun'oku Myōha zō'," *Rokuōin monjo no kenkyū*, ed. Rokuōin monjo kenkyūkai (Kyoto: Shibunkaku shuppan, 2000), 440–49.

71. The portrait and the Wuxue legend are discussed in Shimada, "Shigen Sogen zō." As Shimada demonstrates, although this anecdote is not recorded in his various epitaphs and biographies, it is attached to the preface to an older version of his recorded sayings listed in the version published in the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*. It is also found in the entry on Wuxue in the *Genkō shakusho* of 1320, suggesting that portraits of Wuxue with similar iconography may have existed by the late Kamakura period.

72. For several more examples of such legends, see Masatoshi, *Nihon chūsei to zenshū to Shakai*. The most extreme example of Zen-kami interaction is the legend of "Tenjin Visiting China," discussed in Yukio Lippit, "Awakenings: The Development of the Zen Figural Pantheon," in *Awakenings: Zen Figure Painting in Medieval Japan*, ed. Gregory P. Levine and Yukio Lippit (New York: The Japan Society of New York, 2007), 35–51.

73. Translation adapted from Anne Nishimura Morse and Samuel Crowell Morse, eds., *Object as Insight: Japanese Buddhist Art and Ritual* (Katonah, N.Y.: Katonah Museum of Art, 1996), 90.

74. For a detailed analysis of the inscription, see Lippit, "Mitasarenu Shōzō," 487–90.

ASIAN ART HISTORY IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Edited by Vishakha N. Desai

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