Japanese Ink Painting

Early Zen Masterpieces

Hiroshi Kanazawa

translated and adapted by

Barbara Ford

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1. *Daruma.* Inscription by Lan-ch'i Tao-lung (1213–78). Hanging scroll. Ink and color on silk. H. 104.8, w. 46.4 cm. Before 1278. Kōgaku-ji, Yamanashi Prefecture.

This iconographic type of Daruma, dressed in a red robe and seated on a rock, completely filling the composition, predates the tradition of the patriarch facing a rock wall that was favored later. Fluid lines of fluctuating width with skillfully applied ink-shading produce a strong sense of volume. In limiting background elements to the rock dias, this composition is close to that of traditional iconic representations of Buddhist deities. The large size and commanding presence of the figure are characteristic of the earliest ink paintings. This portrait of the first Zen patriarch would have been revered in the same sense as the *chinsō* in plate 8, which like this painting was dedicated to Rōnen Koji by Lan-ch'i Tao-lung.

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A Note to the Reader

Japanese names are given in the customary Japanese order, surname preceding given name. The names of temples and subordinate buildings can be discerned by their suffixes: *-ji*, *-tera*, *-dera* referring to temples (Tōshōdai-ji; Ishiyama-dera); *-in* usually to a subtemple attached to a temple (Shōryō-in at Hōryū-ji); *-dō* to a building with a special function (Miei-dō); *-bō* and *-an* to larger and smaller monastic residences, respectively (Gokuraku-bō; Ryūgin-an).

INTRODUCTION

Ink painting, *suibokuga*, is the quintessential art form of the Far East. The flexible Chinese brush, impregnated with a carefully controlled mixture of water (*sui*) and ink (*boku*), has been used by countless generations of painters—by Chinese, Korean, and Japanese, both amateur and professional, and by Confucian, Taoist, and Buddhist alike. More than simply a technique, monochrome painting in ink is a distillation of a spiritual viewpoint, a condensation of the artist's poetic and philosophic perceptions. In Japan, this approach to the art of ink painting was introduced and fostered by priests of the meditative sect of Buddhism best known as Zen. Unlike Chinese ink painting, in which the relationship with Zen (or Ch'an in Chinese) was only one of many influences on its development, Japanese *suibokuga* is founded almost exclusively on the life and thought of medieval Zen.

The strength of the ink painting tradition in Far Eastern culture is satisfactorily understood only in light of the peculiar technical characteristics that make it an ideal medium for spontaneous intellectual and spiritual expression. Harshly transparent, ink painting inevitably reveals the painter's character, while giving immediate expression to his ideas and emotions. An inked brush must be applied without hesitation, with total concentration of mind and body. No correction is possible on the absorbant paper or smoothly sized silk that receives the ink, irrevocably recording the strength or weakness of the painter's training and resolve. A painter must have thorough mastery of the many possibilities of his brush, as well as of the various properties of different surfaces and dilutions of ink. Not only must his hand be arduously trained, but his mind finely concentrated; only then can he realize the image he has culled from accumulated experience of both the natural world and its transformations in art. Further, because an ink painting is unified in a monochrome of ink tones, both execution and perception are unimpeded by the multiplicity and sensual distractions of color. Subtly affirmed both in the act of painting and in the finished work, then, is the underlying identity of artist and subject, of the brush and its indelible traces, and, ultimately, of man, nature, and art. It is this philosophical approach that distinguishes *suibokuga* from other types of painting.

Many paintings classed as *suibokuga* are not executed solely in monochrome ink, but embellished with color. The basic linear structure of the ink technique, however, is unobscured by this addition of color, generally applied in light washes of vegetable pigment. On the other hand, there are paintings of later periods that, while technically akin to *suibokuga*, do not share its spiritual foundations, and are more appropriately grouped in separate classifications, as, for example, decorative screen painting (*shōhekiga*) and Southern school painting (*nanga*).

Early ink painting in Japan, the subject of this book, is a category of works produced during the century and a half from the mid-thirteenth to the late fourteenth century. Encompassing such disparate types of painting as realistic portraiture and expressive renderings of orchids and bamboo, the Japanese ink painting of this period was firmly grounded in Chinese art of the Sung and Yüan dynasties. It was part of the rich legacy of Chinese artistic and intellectual achievement that fell to Japan with the transplanting there of Zen Buddhism.

The origins of ink painting are obscure. As early as the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) the technical and expressive possibilities of brush and ink were explored in the art of calligraphy. Painting, too, from early times, was essentially an art of the ink line. Pre-T'ang painting, as far as can be reconstructed from archaeological and literary evidence, was a realistic, didactic art that dealt with themes from everyday life, history, and mythology, in a style based on line embellished with color. Indian and Western elements of color and shading came into Chinese painting with Buddhist art. Though supramundane in content, Buddhist painting depended for its aesthetic appeal on brilliant color and on modeling of form. This international style waned with the decline of the cosmopolitan T'ang empire (618-*ca.* 907); after the middle of the eighth century, Chinese painters reasserted the native preference for line, and began to refine the subtle aesthetics of brushwork in ink that was to be the preferred technique in subsequent Chinese painting.

Three essential elements of ink painting can be traced to the T'ang period. Its potential for description and modeling was realized in an eighth-century sketch of a bodhisattva in ink on hemp preserved in the Shōsō-in in Nara (pl. 2). Although striking for the animated line simultaneously rendering the figure's contour and form, it reflects but dimly the achievements of T'ang ink painters such as the legendary Wu Tao-tzu, supreme among painters of the second quarter of the eighth century. A second fundamental quality of ink painting is its capacity for highly personalized expression, inherent in its calligraphic origins. Done with the same brush and ink used for writing, ink painting, like calligraphy, is a sensitive record of a painter's personality and emotions. Wang Wei, a younger contemporary of Wu Tao-tzu, explored this aspect of painting in monochrome ink, epitomizing the gentleman-calligrapher-poet-painter idealized by literati painters of later times. Wang Wei is also credited with the third aspect of ink painting to take form in the T'ang period, landscape as a major subject.

2. *Bodhisattva.* Ink on hemp cloth. H. 138.5, w. 133 cm. Eighth century. Shōsō-in, Nara.

He painted scenes of his country home in a technique described as "broken ink" (*p'o mo*). Unlike the later "splashed ink," this technique was probably an early use of various ink tones and brushstrokes within the contours of an image to suggest texture and form, a technique that later became formalized as a variety of brushstrokes called "wrinkles" (*ts'un*).

During the succeeding centuries of the Five Dynasties and Northern Sung periods (tenth to early twelfth centuries), landscape in ink was established as the preeminent genre in Chinese painting. As a vehicle for thought about man's relation to nature, it was conditioned by broad movements in intellectual history. Monochrome landscapes reflected ancient Taoist aspirations to harmony with nature's primal forces, as well as a Neo-Confucian concept taking shape at that time which affirmed man's fundamental unity with the material universe. Tenth-century masters of landscape painting—such as Ch'ing Hao, Li Ch'eng, Fan K'uan (pl. 3), and Tung Yüan—perfected a realistic style of landscape in ink monochrome depicting man in an intimate, though overwhelmingly subordinate, interaction with the mountains and rivers of specific regions.

The formulation of a comprehensive aesthetic embodying this union of man and nature, however, was carried out by a later generation of painters, and arose from their struggle to personally realize this union in their art. During the eleventh century, a coterie of literati centered around the poet-calligrapher-painters Su Tung-p'o (1036–1101) and Mi Fei (1052–1107) crystalized an attitude toward painting that has served as the ideal for all subsequent wielders of the brush. Eschewing realistic depiction for symbolic expression, they transformed their depictions of mountains and rivers, rocks and bamboo, into extensions of themselves, into spontaneously executed mirrors of the soul. Ink painting had become a spiritual exercise, and this is the quality that sets it apart from other types of painting.

If ink painting was an appropriate vehicle for the poetic and metaphysical forays of literati painters, it was fostered in Ch'an monasteries for similar reasons. Practitioners of *ch'an* (Sanskrit *dhyāna*, "meditation") strove to realize their essential nature, or Buddhahood, as one with the myriad phenomena of the material-spiritual world. In this they emulated the experience of Śākyamuni, the historical Buddha. The sect originated in China with the legendary arrival in 520 A.D. of an Indian sage, Bodhidharma. At the southern court of Liang Wu-ti (r. 502–550) Bodhidharma espoused, somewhat unsuccessfully, the practice of meditation over devotional practice and study of scripture. He is said to have later crossed the Yangtze on a reed to spend the last years of his life in the kingdom of Northern Wei meditating in a rock cave at the Shao-lin temple. There he finally passed on the intuitive awareness of the Buddha-nature to Hui-k'o, who became the second patriarch of Ch'an. The transmission of Bodhidharma's unrecorded doctrine is mythologized in a line of patriarchs to the sixth, Hui-nêng (638–713). This enigmatic figure, insisting on the sudden realization of enlightenment, broke away from the adherents of gradual awareness to found the

3. *Traveling among Mountains and Streams*, by Fan K'uan. Ink on silk. Early eleventh century. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

Southern school of Ch'an. Although conditioned by long practice in meditation, enlightenment in this school was often precipitated by bizarre interactions between master and disciple. Passing through a lineage which came to be carefully recorded, this Southern branch became dominant. The Southern school came to Japan as early as the ninth century, but it did not take firm root for some three hundred years.

During the increasingly turbulent Sung dynasty, Ch'an monasteries became havens where educated laymen found a congenial intellectual atmosphere, and where ink painting was cultivated for its immediate and spontaneous spiritual expression. By this time Ch'an monks had moved away from the simple life devoted solely to meditation that was held up as the original ideal; increasingly they applied themselves to intellectual endeavors in poetry and painting. Throughout the Southern Sung it was the Ch'an monasteries that nurtured the essential spiritual qualities of ink painting, while the court turned to the precious worldliness of academic art. Of the schools of painting that evolved within the monasteries, the most influential was that of the painter-monk Mu-ch'i at the Liu-t'ung monastery, on West Lake near Hang-chou, in the thirteenth century.

As Ch'an life became more institutionalized, the practice of painting became diversified. In addition to the Ch'an painting that sprang from individual religious practice, works serving specific functions in monastic life were produced by painter-monks (Japanese *gasō*) whose primary role was that of artist. In a position akin to that of his contemporaries at the emperor's academy, the painter-monk of this type produced technically accomplished works to the specifications of patrons. Among these were finely detailed portraits of Ch'an masters (Japanese *chinsō*), essential to the maintenance of the religious lineages central to Ch'an. Other subjects include such religious figures as Śākyamuni, the White-robed Kuan-yin (Japanese *byaku-e Kannon*), *arhats*, patriarchs, and eccentrics from primitive Ch'an lore, which were viewed not as traditional icons, but as models for spiritual life. Frequently such paintings showed the subject at the moment of enlightenment, such as the sixth patriarch chopping bamboo, and are categorized as *zenkiga*, "paintings of Zen activity." After the thirteenth century the activities of the monasteries became more didactic, and these paintings became increasingly narrative in content. Meetings between master and disciple and debates between laymen and Zen monks appeared in the repertoire of themes. Secular genres of landscape and bird-and-flower painting were also assimilated into Ch'an art. Reinterpreted through a spiritual outlook that saw Buddhahood in the smallest part of nature, such paintings are sometimes considered a type of *zenkiga*.

This comprehensive art tradition began to filter into Japanese Zen circles at the end of the twelfth century, and in the mid-thirteenth century events in China and Japan greatly accelerated the process. The social and political turmoil in China attending the Mongol usurpation of the imperial throne in 1279 spurred emigration of Chinese priests to Japan, where they were welcomed by a newly established military ruling class. These independent-minded samurai were naturally drawn to the simplicity and

self-reliance of Zen, finding in it a congenial approach to mental discipline and the spiritual world. Having eschewed the enervating aesthetic preoccupations of the Kyoto court, the Kamakura rulers welcomed ink painting as an enrichment of their spartan culture. Throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Japanese Zen and the early stage of ink painting that accompanied it continued to be invigorated by the immigration of Chinese priests, as well as by constant travel to south China by Japanese monks in pursuit of training at the great monasteries there. Consequently, Japanese Zen closely followed Chinese practice, in both monastic life and organization. Designated temples in Kamakura and Kyoto were ranked in a hierarchial system known as the *gozan*, or Five Mountains, corresponding to Chinese ecclesiastic organization. Within the sphere of the Japanese *gozan*, contemporary movements in Chinese ink painting were eagerly followed. In this way, Zen temples became the channel through which a vast artistic tradition was transmitted to Japan.

Largely determined by the Zen context in which it was introduced and fostered, Japanese ink painting is divided into four stages. These stages mark an evolving aesthetic awareness that parallels a trend toward the secularization of Zen itself, as the religion and its art became assimilated into the mainstream of Japanese culture.

The first stage is the early period surveyed here, from the mid-thirteenth to the late fourteenth century. Because centuries of evolution in Chinese ink painting were adopted in a relatively short time, it is difficult to trace an organic artistic development during this stage. Widely varied styles and degrees of sophistication in composition and brushwork reflect the quality of specific Chinese models. By the accident of their availability or, in some cases, through a conscious choice by Japanese connoisseurs, certain paintings came to be seminal in Japanese ink painting. A common element in early Japanese ink paintings is that they were produced by or for Zen priests who cultivated painting as part of their personal religious life, or who required certain types of painting integral to monastic activity. This is indicated by the subjects treated. Most numerous are *chinsō*, portraits of Zen masters. Next are figure paintings that treat subjects from Buddhist and Taoist lore who were taken as Zen models (these are called *dōshakuga*). These two genres, *chinsō* and *dōshakuga*, the most intimately connected with monastic functions, reached artistic heights unmatched by the work of later generations. Bird-and-flower paintings of this period, symbolic and expressive rather than decorative, are among the finest ever produced in Japan. Landscape themes remained nascent, the only major genre of ink painting not mastered in the early stage. Foundations for other types of painting were also laid. As in Chinese monasteries, there were two types of ink painters in Zen temples. Kaō exemplifies the amateur painter-monk for whom painting was rooted in personal religious life. More professional, as opposed to avocational, artists of the early period are typified by Ryōzen and Gukei.

The second stage, from the late fourteenth to mid-fifteenth century, is marked by the ascendence of landscape themes and the increased specialization of the artist. Painters such as Josetsu and Minchō led schools of painting centered at the Kyoto

temples of Shōkoku-ji and Tōfuku-ji. These painters, epitomized by Shūbun, Josetsu's successor at Shōkoku-ji, were low-ranking priests who produced paintings in a standard format known as *shigajiku*, hanging scrolls combining poetry and painting. Their patrons, who were eminent priests and laymen close to the *shōgun* (the supreme military ruler), and who gathered in literary coteries known as *bunga no yūsha* ("Friends of the Arts"), inscribed these paintings with Chinese verses that emulate the Chinese tradition of literary eremitism. Although a reclusive life devoted to cultivation of self and art amid the solace and inspiration of nature was a near impossibility in troubled military palaces and in temples entangled in political affairs, this literati aspiration continued to be cherished, and is reflected in the idealized landscapes of the *shigajiku*. Also during this period, however, Josetsu and then Shūbun came to receive stipends from the shogun, withdrawing to a large extent from the original Zen context of ink painting.

The third stage covers the second half of the fifteenth century, which saw a dispersion of power and culture from the capital to the provinces following the Ōnin War of 1467–77. The special character of ink painting in this period is seen in the life and work of Sesshū Tōyō (1420–1506). Breaking with the shogunate-sponsored Shōkoku-ji school to pursue his art individualistically and as a way of life, Sesshū differed fundamentally both from the amateur painter-monks of the earliest period and from the professional painter-monks of the early fifteenth century. Securing the patronage of a powerful clan in western Japan, he crossed the sea to China in 1467, returning two years later to practice an increasingly self-conscious art. He attracted numerous students and also traveled widely, with the result that his style was much imitated. This period also saw the emergence of several schools of painting inspired by the style of Shūbun—those of Sōtan (Shūbun's successor as official painter to the shogun), Nōami, and Jasoku. In eastern Japan, a local school of ink painting centered at Kenchō-ji in Kamakura flourished under Kei Shoki and his followers. These schools were all still within the cultural sphere of the Zen temples.

In the fourth stage the process of secularization was completed. Official patronage of ink painting fell to lay painters of the Kanō school, whose works, synthesizing Chinese styles with Japanese decorative requirements, were typically executed in large-scale architectural formats. Ink-painted screens and sliding doors became as familiar in the castles and mansions of nobles, samurai, and merchants as they were in Zen temples. During this period, the art of ink painting as an integral manifestation of Zen awareness had a final, isolated flowering in the painting of Sesson, a painter-monk in northeast Japan. His individual, fundamentally Zen-informed art stands apart from the general trend in ink painting that culminated in the academic mannerisms of the later Kanō school.

In the past Japanese scholars have tended to concentrate on the paintings of the second and third stages, with the study of early works being limited to those of a few painters such as Kaō and Mokuan. This bias resulted from centuries of con-

noisseurship by tea masters, who played a crucial role in the preservation and appraisal of ink paintings: they tended to exalt a few names, ignoring anonymous works for the most part (if not stamping them with spurious seals of Shūbun and Sesshū), and favored certain types of painting to the detriment of others. As a result, anonymous paintings from the early period—comprising the majority of works produced at this time—were often neglected, and the early paintings related to monastic life were ignored as being largely unsuitable for display in the *tokonoma*, the alcove which is the focal point of the tea room.

In this survey, the largely anonymous corpus of early ink paintings is organized and analyzed for internal developmental trends. Paintings are grouped in categories according to subject matter, and arranged chronologically as far as possible from evidence in inscriptions and in the biographies of priests and artists. Within these groups, a trend toward increasing aesthetic emphasis over spiritual content is discerned. Although most early ink paintings are anonymous, or by artists about whom little is known, a few artistic personalities do emerge from the work of this period, such as the eccentric Gukei and the priest Kaō. Aspects of early ink painting seminal to later developments are also noted, placing the paintings of this stage in proper historical perspective.

Presumed in the analysis is an understanding of the major modes of brushwork. Because, in practice, brush techniques are naturally tempered by individual style and are used in combination, it is difficult to define precisely the terms commonly used to describe them. In China, brush techniques developed gradually, evolving naturally in response to the descriptive needs and expressive intentions of specific periods. Although not mutually exclusive, each of the major modes represent distinct traditions and perceptions of nature.

Hakubyō (Chinese *pai-miao*, "white drawing") is a method of depicting a motif, often a figure, in animated lines without color or shading in ink. This type of descriptive line drawing is supposed to have originated during the T'ang dynasty (618–*ca.* 907), when it was perfected by Wu Tao-tzu. Like the even "wire line" of T'ang Buddhist art, *hakubyō* is executed with a carefully controlled brush tip, but its fine lines are subtly modulated. By varying pressure on the brush, form as well as contour is rendered. This mode was favored by virtuoso calligraphers such as Li Lung-mien in the Northern Sung period (960–1126), and Chao Meng-fu in the Yüan period (*ca.* 1280–1368). Northern Sung Ch'an monks also painted in *hakubyō*. The scroll of *arhats* by the priest Fan-lung in the Freer Gallery of Art is one of the finest Sung paintings in this mode. Japanese paintings of the Heian period such as the scrolls of frolicking animals in the Kōzan-ji, as well as the iconographic drawings used in Shingon rituals, reflect the influence of this tradition. It was the Yüan style of figure painting in *hakubyō*, however, that was most influential in the early period of Japanese ink painting (see pls. 93, 96–97).

If *hakubyō* has its roots in the linear aesthetic of Chinese calligraphy, the method of

brushwork referred to as "boneless" (Ch. *mo-ku-hua*, J. *mokkotsubyō*) might be considered its conceptual and technical antithesis. During the tenth century, a method of painting without conspicuous linear structure, or "bones"—a term borrowed from calligraphic theory—was developed in the bird-and-flower painting associated with the Southern T'ang painter Hsu Hsi. In contrast to his contemporary and rival Huang Ch'uan, who worked in a style of fine outlines filled with flat washes of color (Ch. *kou-li t'ien-ts'ui*, J. *kōrokubyō*), Hsu Hsi rendered his forms directly, modeling them with graded washes of color that suggested volume as well as shape. These two methods sprang from fundamentally different approaches to both the natural world and the act of painting. Huang's method was analytical and naturalistic: specific characteristics of color and outline were isolated and painted in meticulous detail. Chinese writers have described this method as "painting from life" (*hsieh sheng*). Hsu Hsi's method was more direct and intuitive. While still basically realistic, his technique was an early type of "mind painting" (*hsieh i*). By directly rendering an image without differentiating outline and form, a painter could spontaneously transfer an intuitive vision to the pictorial surface. It was this quality that made the boneless style a favored mode in ink painting. The ink bamboo of literati painters as well as the impressionistic landscapes of Mu-ch'i exemplify this technique. Ch'an painters such as Mu-ch'i and Yü-chien took the boneless style to its ultimate extreme in their untrammeled "splashed ink" style (pls. 4–5). Their brushwork was so lacking in "bone structure" that Chinese

4. *Fishing Village at Dusk*, attributed to Mu-ch'i. From *Eight Views of the Hsiao-Hsiang*. Ink on paper. H. 32.9, w. 112 cm. Thirteenth century. Nezu Art Museum, Tokyo.

5. *Mountain Landscape*, by Yü-chien. Detail. From *Eight Views of the Hsiao-Hsiang*. Ink on paper. H. 33, w. 84 cm. Southern Sung dynasty.

critics dismissed it as lacking proper form. This splashed ink mode, because it allowed such spontaneous execution, and probably also because it could be practiced to some extent by technically unskilled amateurs, was adopted by many Japanese Zen painters.

Gempitsu-tai (Chinese *chien-pi*), a mode of abbreviated brushwork developed in the thirteenth century, brought the expressive and spontaneous potential of the brush to its ultimate capacity. Liang K'ai, a brilliant painter of the Southern Sung academy, perfected this style and provided the model for many Japanese paintings. His figure paintings describe form and movement in a few bold strokes that simultaneously suggest external form and inner character. A few fluid strokes complete his portrait of Li Po (pl. 6), mellow with wine and euphoric in his versifying, while similarly abbreviated, but sharp lightninglike strokes depict his sixth patriarch ecstatically shredding the sutras that obscure true enlightenment. A technical kinship can be seen in the figures of Kaō (pls. 30, 35), energetically rendered in a few bold, expressive lines. Liang K'ai worked during the latter part of his career in the artistic milieu of the Ch'an monasteries. Like the enigmatic Ch'an aphorisms used to free the mind from the shackles of ordinary perception, startling it into a realm of nonrational, intuitive awareness, the abbreviated brush mode minimizes rational description of form, elliptically capturing the essence of an image.

Variations of abbreviated brushwork developed in Ch'an painting during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and were influential in early Japanese painting. "Apparition painting" (Ch. *wang-liang-hua*, J. *mōrōga*) rendered ethereal forms in pale fluid lines, accenting only the facial features with fine, dark brushstrokes. By making impalpable both the figure and its spatial context, a painter could express in this mode the fundamental Zen paradox of the identity of form and emptiness. Examples in Japanese painting can be seen in plates 19, 54, and 112.

As painters became more conscious of the act of painting for its own sake rather than as a representational tool, certain modes developed that emphasized specific qualities of the media. *Kappitsu* (Ch. *k'o-pi*, "dry brush"), a technique used by painters such as Mokuan, utilizes the friction created between the painting surface and a dry, often worn brush. The tactile quality that results when separated hairs of the brush are drawn across the paper or silk was exploited in the depiction of drapery folds, hair, and body (pl. 29).

Certain types of line emphasizing the movement of the brush came to be standardized during the Sung period as aesthetic awareness of the lines *per se* deepened. *Atari*, the accentuation of the beginning of the line with a hook or a thickening produced by an increase of pressure on the brush, emphasizes the point of contact between brush and surface, and thus transfers something of the act of painting itself to the finished line. Examples of *atari* can be seen in the lines of the robe in plate 8. "Orchid leaf" drawing (Ch. *lan-miao*, J. *ranbyō*) refers to a fluid, supple line that, in response to fluctuating pressure on the brush, thickens and thins to suggest movement in space like the twisting and turning of a slender leaf in the wind (pls. 8, 135). "Bent reed"

6. *Li Po Reciting*, by Liang K'ai. Ink on paper. H. 80.9, w. 30.3 cm. First half of thirteenth century. Tokyo National Museum.

lines (Ch. *chê-lu-miao*, J. *setsurobyō*), as the name implies, turn at sharp angles, without break (pl. 43).

In landscape painting the surfaces of natural forms—rocks, earth banks, trunks of trees—are given texture and volume by modeling strokes called *ts'un* (Japanese *shun*) or "wrinkles." These strokes, usually added last, tie the parts of the painting together, their rhythmic patterns supplying the harmony that is one of the prime criteria of of artistic value in traditional connoisseurship. Since they are the part of the painting that can be most freely executed, they often disclose an artist's personal touch, and critics often decide the authorship of a work on the basis of these modeling strokes. Like the various types of line, different types of *ts'un* developed at certain times and reflect evolving artistic concerns. The "raindrop" stroke (Ch. *yü-tien-ts'un*, J. *uten-shun*) of Northern Sung masters such as Fan K'uan was a small stroke densely layered in varied tones with the tip of the brush. This type of modeling produced a realistic effect of light playing on a rough surface, similar to the juxtaposition of color tones by nineteenth-century Impressionist painters in France. By the twelfth century, this laborious technique had been all but replaced by the "axe-cut" stroke (Ch. *fu-p'i-ts'un*, J. *fuheki-shun*) associated with Li T'ang. By pulling the side of the brush in a direction nearly perpendicular to the contour line of a rock or earth bank, both the faceted surface and the vertical plane were depicted (pls. 21, 86–87). The resemblance of such areas of brushwork to the roughhewn surface of axe-cut timber gave name to this technique. Both the descriptive effect of this stroke and the economy of its execution stem from the suggestive rather than the realistic concerns of Southern Sung painters. "Hemp fibre" strokes (Ch. *ma-p'i-ts'un*, J. *hima-shun*) are produced by long soft strokes of a dry brush held at a slant and applied parallel to the contour of the image (pl. 40). This long, dry modeling stroke was favored by late Sung and Yüan painters. Not only did it effectively describe the verdant southern landscapes they took as subject matter, but it unassertively revealed the individual brushstroke and the painting process.

In the early period of Japanese ink painting, shading with ink wash was often used instead of standard modeling strokes to give three-dimensionality to an image. There are certain peculiar techniques such as "reverse shading" (*sakasaguma*, or *kaeriguma*) in which the wash is applied away from the line to create a highlight in an area, such as a drapery fold, where normally one would expect a shadow (pls. 22, 66). In landscape motifs, there are many examples of reserving a border of unpainted silk or paper just within the contour line to produce a three-dimensional effect (pl. 77).

A persistent problem in translating a book of this kind is the English rendering of names and terms from Sanskrit, Chinese, and Japanese. Absolute consistency often proves to be awkward. Here the Japanese reading is given priority since this is a study of Japanese painting; exceptions are made when the context requires it, as in discussions of the early history of Ch'an and the development of painting techniques in China.

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Barbara Ford

1

ORIGINS AND SCOPE

The history of Japanese ink painting can be said to begin in the mid-thirteenth century with the arrival of the Chinese Zen priest Lan-ch'i Tao-lung (Japanese: Rankei Dōryū, 1213–78). Although Zen, with its fundamental emphasis on meditation as the means to enlightenment, had been introduced into Japan in its Sung form somewhat earlier by Dōgen (1200–1253) and Eisai (1141–1215), its cultural manifestations had remained dormant. Some seeds of Zen culture were sown in the early thirteenth century by the Shingon priest Shunjō (1166–1227), who upon his return from China had instituted a rigorous regimen of meditation at Sennyū-ji in Kyoto. With the arrival of Lan-ch'i Tao-lung in 1246, however, a revolution was sparked in the Japanese religious world. At Kenchō-ji in Kamakura, which Dōryū founded with the backing of the regent Hōjō Tokiyori, the daily life and religious practice of Zen monks were ordered strictly on the rule of Ch'an as it had flourished in Sung China. Fostered there was the essential bond between master and disciple that was so important in the quest for enlightenment and in the preservation of the Zen tradition.

The *chinsō*, a specific type of portrait of a Zen master, was an integral part of this religious environment. When a Zen monk had attained a sufficient level of religious awareness to become independent of his master, he received a portrait from him as testament to the place he had earned in the transmission of the Buddha-mind from person to person, a process lying at the heart of the Zen sect. Occasionally, a *chinsō* of a deceased master would be painted to be kept at hand for inspiration as though it were a living master. With the testament type of *chinsō*, the master himself wrote an appropriate dedication on his portrait. When, as with the *chinsō* of a deceased master, the subject of the portrait did not write the inscription, an eminent priest would provide one referring to the bond between the master and the recipient of the portrait. In any case, the *chinsō* was more ardently treasured at Zen temples than either traditional icons or sutras.

As one of the canonical forms introduced by Lan-ch'i Tao-lung, the *chinsō* was stylistically under the direct influence of Sung painting. The traditional canon of Chinese portraiture, "realistic depiction of personality," calls for the artist to capture the inner spirit of a subject by exact rendering of physiognomy. This was a revolu-

tionary concept in Japan, where depiction of the human figure tended toward idealization and stereotype. Characteristic of the Sung technique was the use of fine, animated lines to create realistic effects, especially in the depiction of the face. Great care was taken with the delicate brushstrokes for hair, the precise delineation of the features, and, above all, the animated rendering of the eyes.

The portrait of Lan-ch'i Tao-lung in plate 8, dedicated by him in 1271, displays in full these characteristics. Among the oldest *chinsō* in Japan, this has long been considered by some scholars to be a Chinese painting, and its severe brushwork lends credence to this theory. If this work is compared to a high Sung painting, however, such as the portrait of Wu-chun Shih-fan in Tōfuku-ji (pl. 7), it appears somewhat stiff and subdued, a common trait of Japanese paintings done in imitation of Chinese works. In any case, Lan-ch'i Tao-lung's portrait marks the inauguration of Japanese Zen painting, and its technical characteristics, the use of line and shading, as well as the severity of treatment reflecting its Zen context, should be carefully noted.

Conceptually related to *chinsō* are paintings which depict ancient patriarchs of Zen (*soshizō*). Although the early history of the sect is obscure, all Japanese Zen monks trace their lineage to Bodhidharma (the Indian sage said to have introduced the Zen sect to China) through Hui-nêng, the sixth Chinese to receive the transmission and the founder of the Southern school. Daruma, as Bodhidharma is known in Japanese, and the five Chinese who succeeded him are regarded as the six patriarchs of Zen. Their portraits are revered for the same reasons as *chinsō*.

The earliest example of a patriarch portrait is the *Daruma* in Kōgaku-ji inscribed by Lan-ch'i Tao-lung (pl. 1). Here the brushwork is more fluent than in the portrait of Lan-ch'i Tao-lung. Beginnings of strokes are accentuated (*atari*) and the lines thicken and thin in an animated rhythm. The swelling forms of the robe and the solidity of the rock dias give a sense of volume. The strong iconic quality in this frontal image is significantly different from the more secular, purely aesthetic appeal of a similar work of about half a century later, the Daruma under a tree in plate 21. The depth of religious feeling in the Kōgaku-ji *Daruma* suggests the possibility that it, like the *chinsō* inscribed by Lan-ch'i Tao-lung in plate 8, might be a Chinese painting. Doubts concerning the provenance of these two ink paintings, which stand at the threshold of the Japanese tradition, set the pattern for the next 150 years; works of this period are invariably discussed in terms of the religious and artistic affiliations of the painter or, when there is neither seal nor signature, in terms of Chinese or Japanese origin.

Most of the surviving paintings from this early period are *dōshakuga*, a category of figure painting derived from the Confucian, Taoist, and Buddhist lore. In the first stage of ink painting in Japan, however, there are relatively few Confucian or Taoist subjects, a reflection of the unadulterated Zen context of early Japanese painting. Landscapes (*sansuiga*) and paintings of birds and flowers (*kachōga*) are relatively few. In this book, the ratio of *dōshakuga* (excluding *chinsō*) to landscapes and bird-and-flower paintings is 14 to 1 and 3.5, respectively—not counting copies.

7. *Wu-chun Shih-fan.* Ink and colors on silk. H. 124.8, w. 55.2 cm. Southern Sung dynasty. Tōfuku-ji, Kyoto.

Further evidence on the distribution of subjects is provided by the writings and poems that Zen priests inscribed on paintings, and which are available in their collected works. The seven monks whose works provide the most numerous examples are the immigrant Chinese Wu-hsüeh Tsu-yüan (Mugaku Sogen; d. 1286), Ching-t'ang Chiao-yüan (Kyōdō Kakuen; d. 1306), I-shan I-ning (Issan Ichinei; d. 1317), and Ch'ing-cho Chêng-ch'eng (Seisetsu Shōchō; d. 1339), together with the Japanese Kempō Shidon (d. 1361), Gidō Shūshin (d. 1388), and Zekkai Chūshin (d. 1405). Among the approximately eight hundred inscriptions for paintings recorded in their works, there are 5 for figure subjects to every 1 for landscapes and every 1.5 for bird-and-flower paintings. The discrepancy between literary sources and extant paintings can be explained in several ways. When the writings of these seven priests were compiled, there were undoubtedly some cases in which it was decided to include only one of several poems on the same poetic theme, and other cases in which a given poem, although it had been inscribed on several paintings, would be recorded only once. On the other hand, the comparatively small number of surviving landscapes and bird-and-flower paintings might be due to the fact that these genres, valued chiefly for their aesthetic qualities and much on display, were more vulnerable to damage and loss.

When the distribution of subjects is analyzed within this group of seven priests' writings, a marked change of emphasis appears after the mid-fourteenth century. Inscriptions by the four who were active in the early part of the century are in a ratio of twenty figure subjects to every landscape and every four bird-and-flower paintings. Poems on landscape and bird-and-flower paintings increase dramatically in the writings of the three who were active in the second half of the century, producing a ratio of 3 figure paintings to 1 landscape and 1.3 bird-and-flower paintings. This shift indicates a trend which culminated in the fifteenth century, when landscape painting in the *shosaijiku* genre, hanging scrolls designed to evoke a contemplative natural setting in the priest's study, became predominant.

Some idea of the Chinese models available during this period can be gotten from the Sung and Yüan paintings listed in the *Butsunichi-an kōmotsu mokuroku*, a 1363 record based on an inventory taken in 1320 of the collection of art objects in the Butsunichi-an, a subtemple of Engaku-ji dedicated to the spirit of Hōjō Tokimune (1251–84). In this list, there are only four landscapes, but twenty-five bird-and-flower paintings, and, apart from the numerous *chinsō*, eighteen figure paintings. The large number of bird-and-flower paintings is due to their use in triptychs, where two of them flanked a central image of a Buddhist patriarch (*soshizō*).

The subjects of these patriarch paintings are most often Daruma and Kannon, followed by Shaka (Śākyamuni), Monju (Mañjuśrī), and Hotei (Pu-tai). Surprisingly, there are few representations of the Zen eccentrics Kanzan (Han-shan) and Jittoku (Shih-tê), who later figure so prominently in the repertoire. Kannon is usually represented in the form of the White-robed Kannon. Including historical

figures such as Daruma and Hotei in the pantheon is consistent with Zen belief. Essentially, Zen is the realization of the Buddha-nature within oneself by a direct transmission of intuitive awareness from mind to mind through meditation, without reliance on scripture or ecclesiastical cannons. Great emphasis is therefore given to the lineage from Shaka to his disciple Kāśyapa, through twenty-eight Indian patriarchs to Daruma, and from him to Hui-nêng, the sixth Chinese patriarch, and finally to all the lines of the Southern school of Zen. In view of the importance of these predecessors in Zen, it is quite understandable that Hotei and Daruma are so often treated in sculpture and painting.

Some figures from traditional iconography, such as Shaka, Kannon, and Monju, are given prominence in the Zen pantheon, but the humanistic manner in which they are conceived is radically different from that of pre-Zen religious painting. Shaka is often represented as an emaciated figure coming down from a mountain to sit in mediation under the Bodhi-tree at Bodh Gaya, having failed in his quest for enlightenment despite six years of withering austerities. The bodhisattva Kannon is most frequently depicted wearing a white robe, seated in contemplation on a rock at the edge of a mountain stream. This aspect of Kannon is not taken from any sutra and, like the representation of Shaka coming down from the mountain, is a pointed departure from the supramundane emphasis of earlier Buddhist painting. Underlying this iconographic change is Zen's fundamental belief in discipline and self-reliance, with the corollary view of Buddhist deities as inspirational models rather than objects of worship. This attitude is also seen in the special reverence accorded paintings of *arhats* (*rakan* in Japanese), Buddhist holy men of India who achieved enlightenment solely through their own efforts. Zen monks strongly identified with these ancient sages, who prefigured the Zen quest for the Buddha-nature within oneself.

The preponderance of patriarch paintings in the early period, and the fact that the iconography remained unchanged in later ink painting, points to the seminal importance of this period in figure painting. On the other hand, the scarcity of figure subjects from Confucian literature and Taoist lore, which survive in large number from later periods, shows that early ink painting in Japan was relatively faithful to the Zen tradition as imported from Sung China.

There are a few surviving landscapes, such as *Wild Geese Alighting on a Sandbar* with the seal "Shitan" (pl. 89), followed by the works of Gukei and Kaō (pls. 88, 92). This material is insufficient, however, to support a detailed analysis of the influences from Chinese painting, the internal development of early landscape painting, or the relationship to later landscape painting.

Among the bird-and-flower paintings produced in this period are to be found the finest works of this type in the whole of Japanese ink painting, both in brushwork and in the depth of spiritual content. Although there are examples of bird-and-flower paintings with the addition of color in this period, most paintings in this category were painted solely in monochrome ink, beginning with the hanging scrolls depicting

plum branches inscribed by Hakuun Egyō (pls. 98–99) and including paintings by Kaō, Gukei, and Tesshū Tokusai. In the fifteenth century this tradition was continued by Gyokuen Bompō, but bird and flower subjects were eventually eclipsed by landscape during this second stage of Japanese ink painting, the era of the landscape-dominated *shosaijiku*. In the third stage, covering the latter half of the fifteenth century, bird and flower themes, embellished with color, again figured prominently in the repertoire. Although the finest monochrome paintings of bird and flower subjects belong to the first stage, there are too few surviving examples to fully assess stylistic development during this period.

8. *Lan-ch'i Tao-lung*. Inscription by Lan-ch'i Tao-lung (1213–78). Hanging scroll. Ink and light color on silk. H. 105, w. 46.1 cm. 1271. Kenchō-ji, Kamakura.

Lan-ch'i Tao-lung (Rankei Dōryū), later known as Daikaku Zenji, was invited to Kamakura in 1246 by Hōjō Tokiyori, the fifth Kamakura regent. With his establishment of the Kenchō-ji in 1253, Sung-style Zen was transplanted to Japan. The acute realism of this portrait, achieved by meticulously rendering the details of the face, follows Sung canons of portraiture calling for the spirit of the subject to be captured in the physical likeness. Thin fluid lines, harmoniously combined with pale shading in ink, and the subtle coloring are new elements in Japanese portraiture. This *chinsō* was inscribed in 1271, during Lan-ch'i Tao-lung's second residency at Kenchō-ji. Rōnen Koji, the lay recipient of the portrait named in the inscription, is thought to be Hōjō Tokimune, son of Tokiyori, and the sixth Kamakura regent.

2

MAJOR THEMES AND EVOLUTION OF STYLE

There were undoubtedly a great many painters actively engaged in the art of monochrome ink painting during the 150 years of the early period, yet those whose personal style can be determined from extant examples of their work number only five or so. Moreover, the majority of the surviving paintings from this period are anonymous and undated. Fortunately, however, many of these works bear inscriptions by Zen priests, and can be arranged in approximate chronological order according to the dates of the priests' death. Thus it is possible, by basing our study on this chronology and a classification of the paintings into categories of subject matter, to get some idea of the stylistic evolution of early ink painting and its relevance to painting of subsequent periods. It should also be kept in mind, as mentioned earlier, that Japanese ink painting is founded on the two paintings associated with Lan-ch'i Tao-lung—his Sung-style portrait in precise ink lines and meticulous shading (pl. 8), and the *en face* iconic *Daruma* with his inscription (pl. 1), characterized by fluctuating lines and simple palette, fine detail in the face, and, on the negative side, rudimentary brushwork in the rock dias.

Chinsō

In the orthodox portrait of a Zen master, there are no extraneous ornamental elements such as trees and mountains in the background. There is, on the one hand, an attempt to capture the individual characteristics of the face in great detail, and, on the other, a highly standardized depiction of the rest of the figure, varied only in the decorative details of the priest's robe. The importance of facial depiction can be felt in a sketch for a *chinsō* of Hakuun Egyō, which has miraculously survived (pl. 9). A small work of little more than twenty centimeters in height, it exhibits an astonishing level of artistry in capturing the priest's personality; significantly, the sketch is of the head only. Such sketches as this served as models for numerous portraits of the same priest.

The basic elements and treatment of the *chinsō* remained unchanged throughout the 150 years of the early period and into the Muromachi period (1392–1572). For this reason, *chinsō* provide scant material for discussion of the basic characteristics of ink painting or of stylistic development. In a few seals and signatures, they do, however, record the names of several artists who were active during the early period. From the standpoint of portraiture, the finest *chinsō* were done in the early period. With the exception of works by Minchō (1352–1431) and various portraits of the fifteenth-century reformer Ikkyū Sōjun, there were no innovations in the genre during subsequent periods.

Stylistically, early *chinsō* can be broadly classified either as executed under the influence of Sung painting or as stemming from the native tradition of *yamato-e* portraiture. Two *chinsō* depicting the Chinese priest Wu-an P'u-ning (Gottan Funei), who was in Japan between 1260 and 1265, illustrate these contrasts (pls. 11–12). The painter of the portrait in plate 11 signed himself Seian, but nothing is known about him. Chōga, the painter of the portrait in plate 12, is thought on the basis of literary evidence to be Takuma Chōga, a professional painter of Buddhist paintings. His painting is done in schematic, soft lines, and depicts a rather mild personality. The Seian version, on the other hand, is characterized by fluctuating ink lines and shows a severity hidden within the gentle exterior of this eccentric priest. The painting by Chōga provides evidence that artists who specialized in Buddhist paintings in the *yamato-e* style were active in Zen temples of the thirteenth century. Other artists who did such Japanese-style *chinsō* were Kakue, whose portrait of Muhon Kakushin was inscribed in 1315 by I-shan I-ning (pl. 13); Mutō Shūi, who painted the portrait of Musō Soseki (pl. 10); and the anonymous painter of the portrait of Shūhō Myōchō in Daitoku-ji. Although there are no artist's seals or signatures on Sung-style *chinsō*, many portraits in this style are extant, beginning with the *chinsō* of Enni Ben'en (1202–80) of 1279 in the Manju-ji in Kyoto. By the fifteenth century, the two styles had fused, and it is difficult to differentiate them in the second stage of ink painting. This may be one of the reasons why, as noted above, the *chinsō* declines in artistic quality as portraiture after the early period.

Kinhinzō

There is one type of *chinsō* in which landscape is painted in the background. Known as *kinhinzō*, it portrays the master in meditation while walking. *Kinhin* (Sanskrit *caṅkramaṇa*) is an alternative to sitting meditation. According to one text, "When you become drowsy during meditation, get up and walk [*kinhin*]. . . . The correct method is to take half a step with each breath. Walk as though not walking, quiet and unmoved." These portraits are then not simply depictions of the master in an outdoor setting, but paintings illustrating a particular Zen practice.

9. Sketch from life for a *chinsō* of Hakuun Egyō (1228–97). Ink on paper. Before 1297. Rikkyoku-an, Tōfuku-ji, Kyoto.
Hakuun Egyō, a disciple of Enni Ben'en (1202–80), went to China in 1266. He returned after fifteen years to become the fourth abbot of Tōfuku-ji. A sketch such as this, taken from life, is the first step in the making of a *chinsō*, and the extremely lifelike facial expression is fundamental to such portraits. A copy of the *chinsō* based on this sketch has been preserved.

10. *Musō Soseki*, by Mutō Shūi. Hanging scroll. Ink and color on silk. H. 119.1, w. 63.9 cm. 1349. Myōchi-in, Tenryū-ji, Kyoto.
Musō Soseki (1275–1351) was one of the most influential priests in the history of Japanese Zen. Among the seven honorary titles bestowed on him was Kokushi, "Teacher to the Nation." In his last years he was spiritual mentor to the Ashikaga shoguns. He founded such important temples as Tenryū-ji and Shōkoku-ji in Kyoto. Through his introspective nature and proclivity for cloistered life, he transformed pure Sung-style Zen into its Japanese form. This portrait sensitively captures his personality. The eclectic brush-style of the painter, Mutō Shūi, disciple of Musō Soseki, is well suited to his subject. This masterpiece is a successful combination of brilliant decorative color and sharp realism. The half-length composition is unusual for a Zen portrait.

11. *Wu-an P'u-ning*, by Seian. Inscription by Wu-an P'u-ning (1197–1276). Hanging scroll. Ink and colors on silk. 1260–65. Shōden-ji, Kyoto.

12. *Wu-an P'u-ning*, attributed to Takuma Chōga. Inscription by Wu-an P'u-ning (1197–1276). Hanging scroll. Ink and colors on silk. H. 111.5, w. 50 cm. 1260–65. Shōden-ji, Kyoto.

Wu-an P'u-ning is noted as one of the four great disciples of the Sung master Wu-chun Shih-fan (1177–1249), the abbot of the Wan-shou monastery on Mount Ching in Chekiang and master to no fewer than sixteen Japanese Zen students. At the request of Hōjō Tokiyori, Wu-an P'u-ning came to Japan with his fellow disciple under Wu-chun Shih-fan, the Japanese Enni Ben'en. He returned to China after six years, dissatisfied with the state of Japanese Zen. These two portraits present contrasts in brush style, coloring, and facial depiction. In the Seian version, the skilled use of ink wash indicates an acquaintance with ink painting. The other portrait, dedicated to Tōgan Ean (1225–77), the founder of Shōden-ji, is attributed by accompanying documents to Takuma Chōga.

13. *Muhon Kakushin*, by Kakue. Inscription by I-shan I-ning (1247–1317). Hanging scroll. Color on silk. H. 175, w. 87 cm. 1315. Kōkoku-ji, Wakayama.
This is a *chinsō* done in the style of traditional Buddhist painting, with rich color and decorative patterning on the robe and red lines done over the contour lines of the lightly shaded body. Kakushin (Hōtō Kokushi; 1207–98) was trained in Shingon temples. His teaching combined Zen and Esoteric Buddhist concepts. The painter, signed Kakue, is mentioned in the *Kii zoku-fūdoki*, a local history, as one of Kakushin's disciples. The inscription is dated 1315, seventeen years after Kakushin's death.

14. *Fukuan Sōki in Walking Meditation.* Inscription by Fukuan Sōki (1279–1358). Hanging scroll. Ink and color on silk. H. 90, w. 52.1 cm. Before 1358. Hōun-ji, Ibaraki Prefecture.
Fukuan Sōki was among several Japanese who traveled to Mount T'ien-mu near Hang-chou to study with the famous recluse Chung-fêng Ming-pên. When he returned to Japan he followed his master's example and led a solitary life outside the *gozan* establishment. Here the light, austere lines aptly describe his character. Although some ink shading is used in the robe, this *chinsō* is in the tradition of Japanese portraiture. Compared to the portrait of Lan-ch'i Tao-lung in plate 15, there is a stiffness of movement in the figure and a certain mannerism in the background landscape. Silk has been added on all four sides of the painting to make it match the *chinsō* of Fukuan's master Chung-fêng Ming-pên and his predecessor, Kao-fêng Yüan-miao, to form a set in the Hōun-ji collection.

15. *Lan-ch'i Tao-lung in Walking Meditation.* Hanging scroll. Ink and color on silk. H. 90, w. 38.7 cm. Kenchō-ji, Kamakura.
Compared to orthodox *chinsō*, the style of painting is rather superficial, and the colors more subdued. Moving naturally in a peaceful setting, the figure is caught in an attitude of strict meditation. This painting was probably done at about the same time as the orthodox portrait of this priest in plate 8. Depiction of a waterfall and tree bough in the background is common in figure paintings of this period, but the quality of the brushwork is noteworthy, especially in the pine branch, indicating that the painter of this portrait was an artist of considerable talent.

The *kinhin* portraits of Lan-ch'i Tao-lung (pl. 15) and Fukuan Sōki (pl. 14) adroitly convey the quality of this aspect of Zen, walking as though not walking, quiet and unmoved. There is neither seal nor signature on the portrait of Lan-ch'i Tao-lung, but it so vividly renders the individual characteristics of this priest that it was probably done not long after his death, at the end of the thirteenth century. Fukuan Sōki's portrait was done during his lifetime, in the middle of the fourteenth century, and so there is about fifty years' difference in time between the two paintings. Comparing them for style, significant differences appear. In the earlier work, long supple ink lines in the "bent reed" manner are sharply accentuated at the beginning of the stroke, and there is a small amount of shading. The later painting is more subdued, done with the heavy color and thin outlines of the native *yamato-e* style.

Variations in the treatment of landscape details in these two paintings serve as important clues to the nature of contemporary landscape painting, of which there are few extant examples. The cliff behind the figure of Lan-ch'i Tao-lung is painted with a margin of unpainted silk between the contour lines and the surfaces of rocks and earth, which are rendered in ink wash. The pine branch is realistically done with expert handling of the brush. In the portrait of Fukuan Sōki, the pine is again done in the Sung manner, but it is treated more decoratively, forming an arch that frames the priest.

The most outstanding difference between these two paintings is the size of the figure in relation to the picture space. Whereas the figure of Lan-ch'i Tao-lung, with its sharply detailed countenance, dominates the composition, that of Fukuan is much smaller in relation to the whole, in which, moreover, greater attention is given to depiction of the natural setting. As the period progresses, there is a general trend for the size of the subject to become smaller in relation to the total composition.

Related to these two *kinhinzō* is the portrait of Po Chü-i, the T'ang poet, inscribed by Wu-hsüeh Tsu-yüan in 1284 (pl. 16). This work with its quiet coloring and formal brushwork is the type of painting on which the *kinhinzō* were based. Its severe brushwork is similar to that of the *chinsō* of Lan-ch'i Tao-lung in plate 8.

An unusual *chinsō* is that of Shun'oku Myōha (pl. 17), in which his disciple Dōin Shōju portrayed the master as he had seen him in a dream. The use of the *hakubyō* technique of fine line drawing without color is unique in the corpus of Zen portraits.

Another painting unusual for its total absence of color is the portrait of Zaichū Kōen (pl. 18), abbot of Kamakura's Hōkoku-ji, which was inscribed in 1388 by Chūzen Hōei, who was also active in Kamakura. Although this painting is indeed a rarity among extant *chinsō*, there does seem to have been a tradition of *chinsō* in ink alone in the Kamakura area, as demonstrated by the later portrait of Kikō Zenji, inscribed in 1500 by Gyokuin Eiyo and preserved at Kamakura's Kenchō-ji.

16. *Po Chü-i.* Inscription by Wu-hsüeh Tsu-yüan (1225–86). Hanging scroll. Color on silk. H. 94.8, w. 43.7 cm. 1284.

This portrait of the T'ang poet Po Chü-i is thought to be an iconographic type related to the portraits of Zen masters in walking meditation (*kinhinzō*). It is a good example of the pervasive taste for Chinese literature in the earliest phase of Japanese Zen. Technically, this painting with its rich color and fine lines for facial details is in the mainstream of Sung-style portraiture. This point of difference with the two paintings of Zen masters in plates 14–15, in which the brushwork shows more ink painting technique, may be a result of the different nature of the subjects, a Chinese literatus as opposed to Zen priests.

17. *Shun'oku Myōha as Seen in a Dream*, by Dōin Shōju. Detail. Inscription by Shun'oku Myōha (1311–88). Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. H. 102, w. 32.5 cm. 1379. Rokuō-in, Kyoto.
Shun'oku Myōha was one of the greatest of Musō Soseki's disciples. He became the first to hold the shogunate-appointed office of *sōroku*, or administrator of the *gozan* temple system. In technique, this painting is close to *hakubyō* line drawing without color in the native Japanese (*yamato-e*) style. According to the title inscription by the painter, a disciple of Shun'oku Myōha, it portrays the master at age sixty-eight. The straight-backed chair is unusual for a Zen portrait, and more commonly seen in portraits of Pure Land patriarchs. Also unusual is the fact, recorded in the inscription, that the portrait was based on a vision of the subject as he appeared in a dream.

18. *Zaichū Kōen*. Detail. Inscription by Chūzan Hōei. Hanging scroll. Ink on silk. H. 80.2, w. 38 cm. 1388. Hōkoku-ji, Kamakura.
Accented ink lines and the use of two tones of ink give this portrait a sense of three-dimensionality. The elborately carved chair adds to this effect by contrasting sharply with the figure. *Chinsō* done in ink alone may be a tradition peculiar to the Kamakura area, and include the later portrait of Kikō Zenji of 1500 in the Kenchō-ji temple. Zaichū Kōen was the third abbot of Hōkoku-ji, and Chūzan Hōei was also active in Kamakura.

Paintings of Daruma

As in the two *kinhinzō* discussed above, there is a notable difference in the proportion of figure to space in the two anonymous paintings of Daruma illustrated in plates 1 and 21. The form of the figures is similar in the two works, but the overall effect is considerably different. In contrast to the earlier painting dedicated by Lan-ch'i Tao-lung (pl. 1), where the only background element is the rock seat, the painting inscribed some fifty years later by I-shān I-ning (pl. 21) contains such additional elements as billowing clouds, a pine tree, bamboo, and Daruma's straw sandals. The position of the figure has changed from absolute frontality to a three-quarter profile. These differences mark a shift from iconic depiction to a more naturalistic representation with emphasis on the aesthetic appeal of the landscape setting. In this respect these two paintings show clearly the trend of development during the first fifty years of ink painting in Japan.

Iconographically, the posture of seated meditation is most common in paintings of Daruma, but there are also other types of representation in early paintings. Depictions of "Daruma on a reed" are based on the legend that he came from India to China by crossing the sea on a single reed stalk; a thirteenth-century source describes his crossing the Yangtze in this extraordinary fashion when he left the kingdom of Liang for the Shao-lin monastery in Northern Wei. Paintings of "Daruma holding one sandal" refer to his encounter, three years after his death, with the Central Asian monk Sung-yun in the Pamir desert: Daruma was holding one of his sandals, the other was found at the mouth of his grave. These depictions, unlike the meditating pose, required movement in the figure and allowed the artist more freedom. The paintings in plates 19–20, 25–26, ranging in date from 1296 to about 1360, are all characterized by animated drawing of the figure and freely conceived treatment of the staff, halo, and hands held folded within the robe. Taking these works in chronological order, we can see an increasing sophistication in brushwork.

It is significant that there is no natural setting in these paintings beyond the essential reeds and waves. Even in such cases as this, where it was possible to elaborate on the background depiction, the artist was inclined to exclude extraneous elements. This stance reflects the fundamental Zen belief in intuitive enlightenment within the individual self, without reliance on props such as icons and sutras. It is one of the virtues of early Zen painters that they avoided purely aesthetic embellishment in their portraits of the patriarchs.

Later, a type of caricature of Daruma gained favor. A rare early example is illustrated in plate 23, a representation of Daruma painted and inscribed by Ganseki Donsei in the mid-fourteenth century. This tradition includes the self-portrait as Daruma by Shōkai Reiken (1316–96), in which everything but the face is depicted with one stroke of the brush (pl. 24).

19. *One-sandaled Daruma.* Inscription by Nampo Jōmyō (1235–1308). Hanging scroll. Ink on silk. H. 69.5, w. 31.4 cm. 1296. Masaki Art Museum, Osaka Prefecture.
Drawn in fluctuating lines of pale wet ink, this painting shows an extraordinary command of ink painting technique for such an early date. The facial type, with its staring eyes and clenched teeth, is related to the painting in plate 112. Nampo Jōmyō inscribed this work at Sōfuku-ji in Hakata, Kyushu, in 1296, after he returned from China.

20. *Daruma on a Reed.* Detail. Inscription by I-shan I-ning (1247–1317). Hanging scroll. Ink on silk. H. 101.6, w. 40.8 cm. Before 1317. Jōdō-ji, Shizuoka Prefecture.
This painting, with its finely detailed face and convoluted lines in the wind-lashed robe, had an appeal quite different from that of the colored portraits of the first patriarch with covered head (pls. 25–26). Not only is the figure in motion, but the lines themselves are animated, resembling Chinese *hakubyō* brushwork in ink alone. This painting is probably a copy of an iconographic type and brush style that was developed in Ch'an circles in the Sung and Yüan periods.

21. *Daruma.* Inscription by I-shan I-ning (1247–1317). Hanging scroll. Ink and light color on silk. H. 99, w. 50.4 cm. Before 1317. Tokyo National Museum.

This painting, almost fifty years older than the *Daruma* in plate 1, illustrates the trend toward objective representation and naturalism, away from iconic depiction. This effect is produced by elements such as the three-quarter profile pose of the figure, the addition of landscape details in the background, the tree and billowing clouds, and the more complicated drawing of the rock. Unique to this painting are the fluid, rounded lines that define the figure and the absence of the stern facial expression common in later depictions. I-shan I-ning came to Japan in 1299, and was influential in the development of literary culture in Zen circles.

22. *Daruma.* Inscription by Chūgan Engetsu (1300–1375). Hanging scroll. Ink on silk. H. 76.5, w. 35.3 cm. 1367. Masaki Art Museum, Osaka.

There is an aloofness to this portrayal of Daruma shown standing erect with hands clasped close to his body. A forceful, direct effect is created by the straight lines of the robe put in relief by the adjacent border of unpainted silk. The ground plane is suggested by a single line that effectively closes the space in the composition. Chūgan Engetsu studied with Tung-yang Tê-hui of the Ta-hui (Daie) line. When he returned from China he lived at Kennin-ji and Kenchō-ji. He was the foremost literatus of the *gozan* literary movement, and set the course of subsequent literary trends.

24. *Daruma*, by Shōkai Reiken. Hanging scroll. Inscription by the artist (1315–96). Ink on paper. H. 62.2, w. 32.5 cm. Umezawa Memorial Gallery, Tokyo.

23. *Red-robed Daruma*, by Ganseki Donsei. Detail. Inscription by the artist (d. 1376). Before 1376.

This caricature of Daruma, founder of the Zen sect, is done with a few unbroken lines. Portraits of Daruma were painted in great number from the early days of Zen in Japan, but here the element of caricature is novel, and this is probably one of the first such paintings. It has been considered to be a kind of self-portrait in the tradition of the "one-stroke" Daruma by Shōkai Reiken (pl. 24). This self-identification with Daruma in painting and poetry epitomizes the literati character of fourteenth-century Zen monks.

The inscription above the painting reads:

With missing teeth, this son of a distant land Defies belief, one sandal gone.

His simple message, a finger pointed at the heart of man—All return to dust.

Ganseki Donsei served as the fifty-second abbot of Kennin-ji in Kyoto and died in 1376.

25. *Daruma on a Reed.* Inscription by Kian Soen (1261–1313). Hanging scroll. Ink and color on silk. 1303. Nanzen-ji, Kyoto.

26. *Daruma on a Reed.* Detail. Inscription by Kozan Ikkyō (1295–1360). Hanging scroll. Ink and color on silk. H. 102.3, w. 38.8 cm. Before 1360. Gyokuzō-in, Kyoto.

This subject, also referred to as *Daruma Crossing the Sea*, is based on the legend that Daruma, wearing a red robe and head covering, crossed the sea on a single reed, bringing the practice of meditation from India to China. It may also refer to the story that Daruma crossed the Yangtze River on a reed on his way from the court of the Southern Liang to the kingdom of Northern Wei in the early sixth century. Among the various representations of the first patriarch of Zen are depictions in meditation before the cave wall at the Shao-lin monastery, or carrying one sandal, or in a half-length portrait. During the early period the theme of "Daruma on a reed" was particularly favored, second only to the iconographic type of "Daruma in meditation."

There is perhaps a span or fifty of sixty years between these two works of identical iconographic type. Progress in technique can be seen in the strong lines and accented strokes that effectively and naturally render the figure in plate 26. In contrast, the treatment of the robe in plate 25 is relatively hesitant and weak, even though the fluttering of the hem is emphasized. In both paintings, the waves and reeds are painted with a pleasing assurance.

Kian Soen was a disciple of Wu-hsüeh Tsu-yüan (Mugaku Sogen in Japanese). He was the second abbot at Nanzen-ji and its virtual founder. Kozan Ikkyō was a disciple of Zōsan Junkū (1233–1308) at Tōfuku-ji, and became twenty-second abbot there.

Paintings of Hotei

Ambling about with his sack full of belongings, eating and sleeping whenever he pleased, and performing strange and miraculous deeds, Hotei (Pu-tai in Chinese) was thought by his contemporaries in the tenth century to be an incarnation of the future Buddha, Miroku (Maitreya). Though considered like Daruma to be one of the Zen patriarchs, he was a more congenial figure, and his caricatured treatment in painting is closer to depictions of the eccentrics Kanzan and Jittoku than to representations of the patriarchs.

Although in later periods there are many iconographic variations, Hotei riding an ass, walking on water, looking at a waterfall, dancing, sleeping or pointing at the moon, in the early period his representation is rather limited and, like paintings of Daruma, without background details. In brush technique, a formula was developed for depicting Hotei, using a few simple strokes to render his great size, concentrating on the expanse of his huge belly. As a result, the lines come to have a life of their own. This quality can be seen in Mokuan's *Hotei* (pl. 116), enlivened by his characteristic dry brush (*kappitsu*). Soft, wet lines characterize the figure in plate 28, which is inscribed by Kempō Shidon. Gukei's *Hotei* (pl. 125) is animated by quick, light brushwork. Paintings of Hotei do not show a marked chronological development, but if one feature were to be singled out, it would be an increasing caricaturization as the period progresses.

28. *Hotei.* Detail. Inscription by Kempō Shidon (1285–1361). Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. H. 88, w. 32 cm. Before 1361. Masaki Art Museum, Osaka Prefecture.
Paintings of Hotei are commonly characterized by broad, unhurried lines describing his body and robe, evoking a sense of abundance and magnitude; especially for the robe, it was standard practice to use thick, blunt lines. As a result, paintings such as this one and the Hotei in plate 27 have a quality of ink painting that is remarkable for their early date. Here the lines of medium-dark ink create the desired impression. The sleeves and the circumference of the belly are particularly well delineated. Kempō Shidon was a priest at Tōfuku-ji and was connected with Ryōzen.

27. *Hotei.* Detail. Inscription by Nampo Jōmyō (1235–1308). Hanging scroll. Ink on silk. 1290. Shinju-an, Daitoku-ji, Kyoto.
Lines of pale ink applied with a freely moving brush rhythmically capture the great size and open-hearted nature of this favorite Zen character. The rich wet ink used here is also characteristic of the Daruma in plate 19, also inscribed by Jōmyō, presenting the possibility that the two paintings are by the same artist. For a painting of the late thirteenth century, there is a remarkable control of the various effects of ink painting technique.


老豐手抱虎睡拾得
寒山打作一處做場大
夢省風流依二老樹
寒巖底
祥齋

29. *The Four Sleepers*, by Mokuan. Inscription by Hsiang-fu Shao-mi. Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. Mid-fourteenth century. Maeda Ikutoku-kai, Tokyo.

Bukan (Fêng-kan), a Chinese monk whose spiritual perception and powers led him to take a tiger for his constant companion, is said to have sheltered the beloved Zen eccentrics Kanzan (Han-shan) and Jittoku (Shih-tê) at his temple, the Kuo-ch'ing-ssu. Here the four sleep peacefully, a circular unit centered on Bukan. Mokuan captured their unfettered bliss with abbreviated lines of light ink done with a dry brush. The inward curve of the tiger's body intercepts the strong flow toward lower right set up by the background cliff and branches, thus stabilizing the composition. Spatial structure is skillfully handled. Nothing is known of Hsiang-fu Shao-mi, who inscribed the painting, but he must have been a Yüan priest associated with Mokuan. The inscription reads:

Slumbering Fêng-kan embraces his tiger,
Huddled as one with Shih-tê and Han-shan.
Their great dream reaches for infinity.
A hoary tree clings to the base of the cold cliff.

Paintings of Kanzan and Jittoku

Although the Chinese Ch'an eccentric poet Kanzan (Han-shan in Chinese) and his companion, the scullion Jittoku (Shih-tê), figure prominently in Zen lore, there are surprisingly few paintings of them extant from the early period. Besides Mokuan's *Four Sleepers* (pl. 29), the only paintings of this subject discussed here are the two paintings of Kanzan by Kaō (pls. 30–31). Literary references, however, belie this apparant scarcity. The *Butsunichi-an kōmotsu mokuroku*, a record of paintings imported from China in the fourteenth century, lists a painting of Kanzan and Jittoku inscribed by the Sung monk Hsü-t'ang Chih-yü (Kidō Chigu in Japanese). There are also many inscriptions for paintings of these figures included in the anthologies of the writings of Zen masters. Further evidence of early paintings is found in copies made in the seventeenth century by Kanō Tan'yū, including those of Kanzan with inscriptions by the eminent priests I-shan I-ning and Ch'ing-cho Chêng-ch'eng (pls. 32–33). There is a strong secular element in the paintings of Kanzan and Jittoku, in contrast to paintings of Buddhist figures such as Daruma, and this leads us to the conclusion that the scarcity of extant examples is likely due to the fact that the paintings of this category were much used as display pieces in a secular context, with a subsequently high incidence of damage and loss.

The painting styles of Mokuan and Kaō will be discussed later in detail, but it should be noted here that the paintings of theirs mentioned above, as well as that by Kaō in plate 35, are remarkable for the early fourteenth century in the depiction of rocks and trees, done in abbreviated brushwork, and in the way these elements contribute to the mood of the whole.

30. *Kanzan*, by Kaō. Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. H. 98.6, w. 33.5 cm. Before 1345.
31. *Kanzan*, by Kaō. Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. H. 102.5, w. 30.9 cm. Before 1345. Freer Gallery of Art.

Undoubtedly these are the finest paintings of this subject. Lines of varied ink tones capture the forms freely and precisely. An effective contrast is achieved between the lines used for the upper body and the dry, nonlinear rendering of the lower part of the figure. The Freer version is nearly identical to the painting in plate 30, except for the tree in the background. Kanzan, with his companion, Jittoku, lived during the T'ang dynasty at the Kuo-ch'ing temple on Mount T'ien-t'ai in Chekiang. He was a solitary hermit who is reported to have lived on scraps left from temple meals, and to have been given to bizarre behavior accompanied by loud laughter. Later he and Jittoku were identified as manifestations of the bodhisattvas Monju and Fugen. Zen monks were naturally drawn to these eccentric figures and frequently took them as subjects for their paintings. Something of Kaō's own spiritual zeal emanates from the animated figure of Kanzan with his unkempt hair and shabby clothes. Comparing the two paintings, the figure in plate 30 surpasses the other in the flawless facial depiction and in the clearly articulated beginning and ending of the brush strokes, especially in the sleeves.

32. *Kanzan.* Copy of a lost painting inscribed by Ch'ing-cho Chêng-ch'eng (1274–1339), from the sketches of Kanō Tan'yū (1602–74). Original before 1339. Kyoto National Museum.

33. *Kanzan.* Copy of a lost painting inscribed by I-shan I-ning (1247–1317), from the sketches of Kanō Tan'yū (1602–74). Original before 1317. Kyoto National Museum.

34. *Kanzan.* Copy of a lost painting inscribed by Kempō Shidon (1285–1361), from the sketches of Kanō Tsunenobu (1636–1713). Original before 1361. Tokyo National Museum. A large number of copies of old paintings done by Kanō-school painters in the Edo period survive and provide valuable information about paintings no longer extant. Tan'yū's are most famous. He copied an overwhelming number of paintings and provided notes on connoisseurship. Naturally, it is almost impossible to derive much knowledge about the quality or authenticity of the original works from such copies, but they do give valuable information on the subjects, the inscriptions, and the dates of lost paintings.

35. *Priest Kensu*, by Kaō. Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. H. 87, w. 34.5 cm. Before 1345. Tokyo National Museum.
The monk Kensu (Hsien-tzŭ) is an obscure figure. He lived on Mount Tung, but shunned conventional monastic life, mingling with common folk, wearing the same tattered rags the year round, and passing his days along the shore where he caught the shrimp and clams on which he subsisted. Here, his enlightened exuberance is expressed in his entire body. As in Kaō's Kanzan paintings, there is a careful balance between the fine detail of the face and the thick, wet lines used for the cliff, vines, and robe. The entire work is animated by a feeling of spiritual intensity.

Other Patriarch Paintings

There is one more important subject in the category of patriarch painting—the sixth Chinese patriarch, Hui-nêng (Enō in Japanese; 638–713), the spiritual father of all of the seven schools of Zen. Although there are some works in the manner of *chinsō* that treat him as one of the Zen patriarchs (pl. 36), there are also many that show him as a gaunt lay worker bent under the weight of a threshing mallet. This refers to the eight months prior to his enlightenment when he labored in the rice-hulling room at the temple of the fifth patriarch, Hung-jên, in 671. One such depiction, inscribed by Wu-hsüeh Tsu-yüan, is forcefully executed in an abbreviated manner based on the style of the Southern Sung painter Liang K'ai (pl. 37). The technique employed in this work, using ink as color by applying shades of light ink within heavy outlines, is not often seen in Japanese paintings, although two or three similar examples will be discussed later. The painting of the fifth patriarch in plate 38, bearing a close resemblance to this work, is thought to form a pair with it, but the refinement of brushwork and the realistic quality seen in the figure of the sixth patriarch are missing.

The painting of the layman Vimalakīrti (Yuima in Japanese) inscribed in 1374 by Chūgan Engetsu (pl. 39) seems to be a copy based on an original by Chu-hsien Fan-hsien (Jikusen Bonsen in Japanese), a Yüan priest who came to Japan in the early fourteenth century. It is expertly done in a *hakubyō* style that was associated, according to the inscription, with the Sung painter and literatus Li Lung-mien.

37 (right). *The Sixth Patriarch.* Inscription by Wu-hsüeh Tsu-yüan (1225–86). Hanging scroll. Ink and light color on paper. H. 83.7, w. 34.7 cm. Before 1286. Masaki Art Museum, Osaka Prefecture.

The sixth patriarch, Hui-nêng, espousing the doctrine of spontaneous enlightenment, broke away from the adherents of Shên-hsiu, his fellow disciple, who believed in enlightenment as a gradual process. The schism produced two branches, and the Southern school initiated by Hui-nêng became predominant. All schools of Japanese Zen belong to this Southern school. Here the expressive lines done in strong dry brushstrokes are related to the style of figure painting associated with Liang K'ai. The portion below the the knees has been restored, and a loss of strength can be felt.

36. *The Sixth Patriarch.* From a set depicting the six patriarchs of Zen. Inscription by Hsi-chien Tzu-t'an (1249–1306). Hanging scroll. Ink and color on silk. Before 1306. Shōten-ji, Fukuoka Prefecture.

Paintings of the first six patriarchs of the Zen sect from Bodhidharma and Hui-k'o to the sixth, Hui-nêng, shown here, were frequently painted from the Southern Sung period onward. Conceptually and stylistically, this painting belongs to the tradition of *chinsō*. Hsi-chien Tzu-t'an was a Chinese priest who came to Japan with I-shan I-ning in 1299. He resided at Kenchō-ji and Engaku-ji in Kamakura and died in 1306.

38. *The Fifth Patriarch.* Inscription by Ch'ing-cho Chêng-ch'eng (1274–1339). Hanging scroll. Ink and light color on paper. H. 82, w. 41 cm. Before 1339. Masaki Art Museum, Osaka Prefecture.

This painting was probably paired with the painting in plate 37. Rather stiff lines and the lack of movement in the figure suggest that this was done by an amateur priest-painter.

39. *Yuima.* Inscription by Chūgan Engetsu (1300–1375). Ink on paper. 1374. Chōhō-ji.
Yuima (Vimalakīrti) was an Indian layman who became a bodhisattva without leaving his secular life. There is a famous legend of his discourse with the bodhisattva Monju (Mañjuśrī), who came to visit him as he lay sick. This learned man was revered in Zen from Sung times, and was often painted in the *hakubyō* style of line drawing without color that was associated with Li Lung-mien. This is a superb example of this finely detailed style.

Paintings of Kannon

The most frequently depicted Buddhist deity in paintings used in Zen temples is Kannon (Avalokiteśvara) in the aspect of the White-robed Kannon (*byaku-e Kannon*). Other common iconographic types are the *yōryū Kannon* (Kannon with a willow branch) and the *nyoirin Kannon* (Kannon with the sacred jewel). There is no scriptural source for the White-robed Kannon, and it probably developed in China during the T'ang period. The other forms also depart from the traditional iconography, and are treated much like the White-robed Kannon. Instead of following the tradition in which the deity holds the willow branch in the right hand, the *yōryū Kannon* is shown seated next to a vase containing the branch, looking like the White-robed Kannon. Similarly, the *nyoirin Kannon* is not depicted in the traditional six-armed aspect, but is represented seated in meditation on a rock, like the White-robed Kannon. One of the thirty-three traditional manifestations of Kannon, the "waterfall-contemplating Kannon" (*takimi Kannon*) is also often incorporated into the iconography of the White-robed Kannon. This image of the White-robed Kannon is then best understood, not as a depiction of any specific idea expounded in the sutras, but as a comprehensive expression of the power and benevolence of the compassionate bodhisattva.

Listed below, in chronological order, are eleven early paintings representing Kannon in various forms related to the favored aspect of the White-robed Kannon.

Plate	Painter	Inscriber	Date
44–45	?	Ching-t'ang Chiao-yüan	*ca.* 1300
42	?	I-shan I-ning	before 1317
43	?	Yakuō Tokuken	before 1320
46	Mokuan	P'ing-shih Ju-ti	*ca.* 1340
47	Mokuan	Liao-an Ch'ing-yü	before 1344
48	Kaō	none	before 1345
51	?	Tettō Gikō	1352
41	Ryōzen	none	*ca.* 1361
52	Ryōzen	Kempō Shidon	before 1361
53	?	Kogen Shōgen	before 1364
49	Gukei	none	*ca.* 1370

The work that comes immediately to mind in any discussion of the White-robed Kannon is the famous painting by Mu-ch'i (pl. 40), which is the central scroll in a triptych, with flanking scrolls depicting a crane and gibbons. The figure of the bodhisattva sits in quiet meditation on a rock overlooking a mountain stream. This beautiful image is rendered in graceful lines, with volume created by layer upon layer of light, wet ink. The drawing of the robe suggests an ethereal form beneath. There is a near perfect equilibrium in the composition, and the depiction of the natural setting is

40. *White-robed Kannon*, by Mu-ch'i. Hanging scroll. Ink on silk. H. 172, w. 98 cm. Middle of the thirteenth century. Daitoku-ji, Kyoto.
This painting is one of the great masterpieces of Chinese painting. Japanese artists strove to emulate its flawless sense of composition, the quality of volumetric form created by subtly layering ink tones, and especially the intense spirituality pervading the image. This is the central painting of a famous triptych, flanked by Mu-ch'i's paintings of a crane in bamboo and gibbons on a pine branch. Chinese histories of painting hardly mention Mu-ch'i. One Yüan critic, Hsia Wên-yen, condemned his work as crude and lacking conformity to the traditional standards of brushwork. In Japan, however, he has been so loved that he is traditionally referred to as "the master." Extant paintings bear out this assessment, and show the discernment of early ink painters such as Mokuan and Kaō in choosing Mu-ch'i's work as a model for their art.

flawless. From this magnificent prototype, the early ink paintings of the White-robed Kannon developed in various ways outlined below.

In the earliest work discussed here, the *Nyoirin Kannon* in plate 44, the figure of the bodhisattva is reminiscent of traditional Buddhist icons, an impression strengthened by the use of color and gold. However, in the slight inflection at the beginnings of the lines, the pale ink shading used on the figure, and the definition of the rock in ink alone, there is a quality of ink painting that goes beyond simple imitation of Sung and Yüan painting. The technique of shading and the modeling strokes on the rock are similar to the painting of Daruma inscribed by I-shan I-ning (pl. 1), and indicate that the two paintings were done at about the same time in the early fourteenth century. The figure of Kannon in Ryōzen's painting (pl. 41) is very close in composition to this painting, differing mainly in the definition of the figure in ink alone, except for touches of gold on the crown, jewelry, and rocks. The fully developed landscape with arching pine and distant mountains in this work, painted only fifty years later than the *Nyoirin Kannon* in plate 44, indicates the direction in which early ink painting developed.

The painting in plate 42, inscribed by I-shan I-ning, is also colored. The composition as a whole, the shape of the figure, and the modeling strokes on the rock are very similar to the *Daruma* in plate 21, also bearing an inscription by I-shan I-ning. A new element is the small bird on a withered branch painted in the upper left corner, but the depiction of the figure does not yet exploit the aesthetic qualities of the ink lines.

The work inscribed by Yakuō Tokuken in plate 43 is similar to Kaō's *White-robed*

Kannon (pl. 48). In both, a waterfall is painted at the left, and a vase with a branch of willow is placed on the tip of the promontory where Kannon, with eyes downcast, sits against a halo defined by reserving a circle of blank silk from the surrounding ink wash. In Kaō's version, a cliff and withered tree replace the billowing clouds and bamboo grove of the slightly earlier anonymous painting, and breaking waves appear where Kannon's boy devotee, Zenzai, is depicted in the other. There is clearly an attempt to follow a Sung model in both, not only in the delineation of the figures with ink lines, but also in the emphasis on the natural setting. Considering just the elements of the bamboo and the withered tree, it is obvious that the painters strove to make that portion of the painting coherent. Also, an increasing awareness of the visual richness of the painting is evident in the use of the waterfall to offset the weight of the right side, giving stability to the composition.

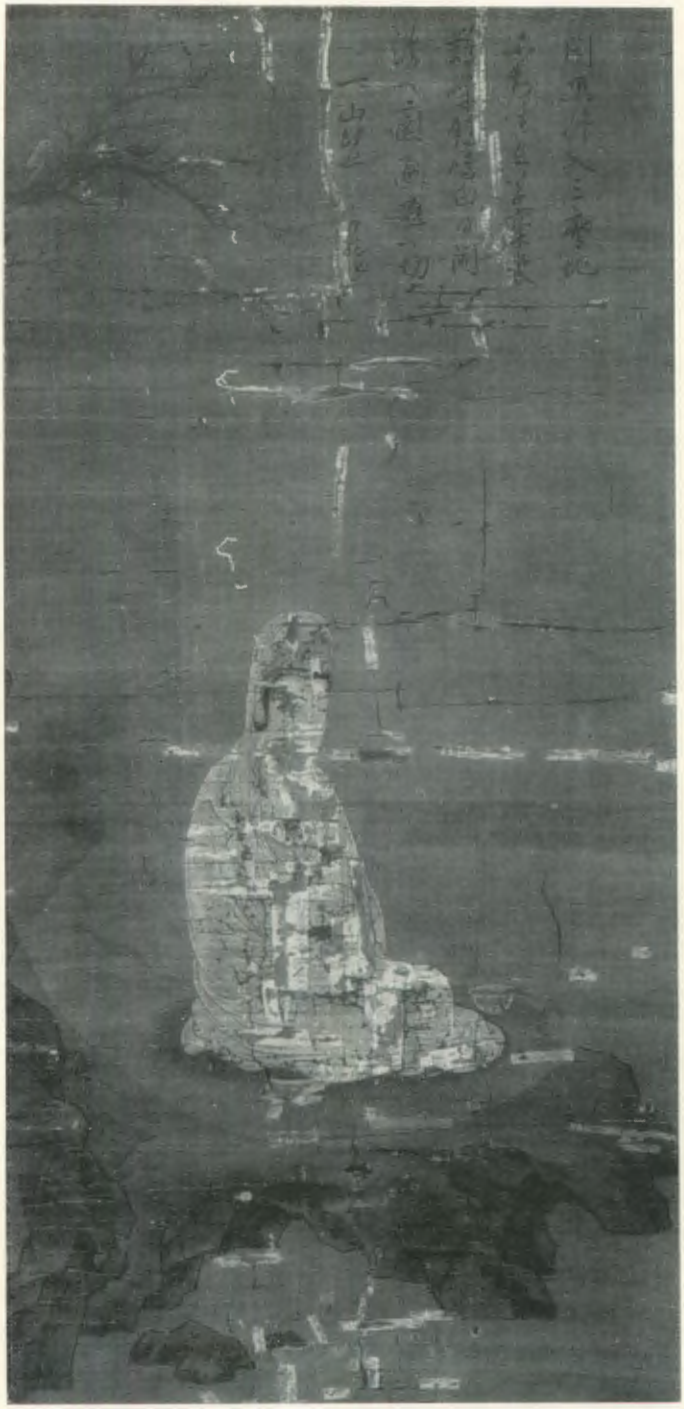
In Mokuan's paintings (pls. 46–47), there is even more self-conscious artistry in the setting of the deity in a landscape, and a continental polish in the brushwork that is characteristic of this painter. Because he worked in China, Mokuan's paintings are similar to contemporary Yüan-dynasty paintings, differing from the slightly archaic style of Kaō's works. In comparison to other Japanese ink paintings of the fourteenth century, they seem the products of an advanced aesthetic sensibility.

The two paintings inscribed by Tettō Gikō (pl. 51) and Kogen Shōgen (pl. 53) show interesting variations in the pose of the figure. The former, though done as late as 1352, retains early elements of traditional Buddhist icons, and there is a conspicuous use of convoluted lines. In the latter, fine lines inflected strongly at the beginning of the stroke are used for the figure, and the "boneless" style of brushwork in the background has a quality suggestive of non-Buddhist landscape painting. Both works are variants of the iconography of the White-robed Kannon.

The *White-robed Kannon* by Ryōzen (pl. 52) and that of Gukei (pl. 49) are both representative of painting of the second half of the fourteenth century. They are discussed later in the sections dealing with these two painters, but here it should be noted that the Ryōzen version, with the figure sitting erect in a completely frontal position, retains the iconography of older Buddhist painting.

Unique in this group is the *Eleven-headed Kannon* inscribed by Shūhō Myōchō (pl. 50). A magnificent figure of Kannon stands on a rock in the middle of the ocean, the rock representing Mount Potalaka, the legendary abode of the bodhisattva in the P'u-t'o islands off Chekiang in south China. A fisherman in a boat and the boy devotee Zenzai appear in the lower portion of the painting. The image completely fills the composition, suggesting that the work was not intended as a Zen painting to be inscribed. The quality of the ink lines, however, indicates that the painter was well versed in the technique of ink painting. Even though it is colored in the style of Sung Buddhist icons, elements of ink painting appear throughout the work. Because of the inscription, this painting can be dated prior to 1337, and is noteworthy as an unusual example of a traditional icon inscribed by a Zen priest.

41. *Kannon*, by Ryōzen. Hanging scroll. Ink on silk. H. 109.6, w. 44.1 cm. *Ca.* 1361. Except for the gold applied to the crown and jewels, this image is a true ink painting. There is a lack of expressive use of ink tones, however, since a dry brush was used throughout. The iconography follows the traditional form, and like Ryōzen's *Monju on a Lion* (pl. 66) it shows no specific Zen elements.



42. *White-robed Kannon.* Inscription by I-shan I-ning (1247–1317). Hanging scroll. Color on silk. Before 1317. Kōmyō-ji.
Painted with color, the figure of Kannon is small and calm, and even in the trees and rocks there is not a strong sense of ink painting. A tree branch in the upper left is rendered in dark ink. The small bird whitened with *gofun*, a pigment often made from powdered shells, is an unusual iconographic feature.

43. *White-robed Kannon.* Inscription by Yakuō Tokuken (1245–1320). Hanging scroll. Ink on silk. H. 100.8, w. 41.7 cm. Before 1320.
Smooth strokes beautifully define the slender form of the bodhisattva. There is a carefully wrought harmony between the waterfall at left and the bamboo grove shrouded in clouds at upper right. In the bamboo and rocks there is effective use of contrasting ink tones, and the method of creating an aureole by applying faint ink wash around a halo of unpainted silk is a true ink painting technique. Yakuō Tokuken was one of the most prominent followers of Lan-ch'i Tao-lung. He resided at Kennin-ji and Nanzen-ji in Kyoto and and at Kenchō-ji in Kamakura.

44–45. *Nyoirin Kannon.* Inscription by Ching-t'ang Chiao-yüan (1244–1306). Hanging scroll. Color on silk. H. 88.7, w. 36.6 cm. *Ca.* 1300. Daiju-ji, Aichi Prefecture.

Traditional techniques of Buddhist painting are used here—the decorative touches of gold for the crown and jewels and for the delicate pattern of waves against the grey and green robe, as well as the method of going over the lines of the body in red. In the rock, however, ink painting techniques are evident in the unpainted area at the top of the rock that is reserved against clearly delineated contour lines and darkly shaded vertical facets. A similar technique was used in the painting of Daruma in plate 21. Ching-t'ang Chiao-yüan was an eminent priest who came to Japan with Wu-hsüeh Tsu-yüan. He served as the sixteenth abbot of Kennin-ji in Kyoto, and as the seventh abbot at Kenchō-ji in Kamakura. This painting was probably inscribed while he was at Kenchō-ji.

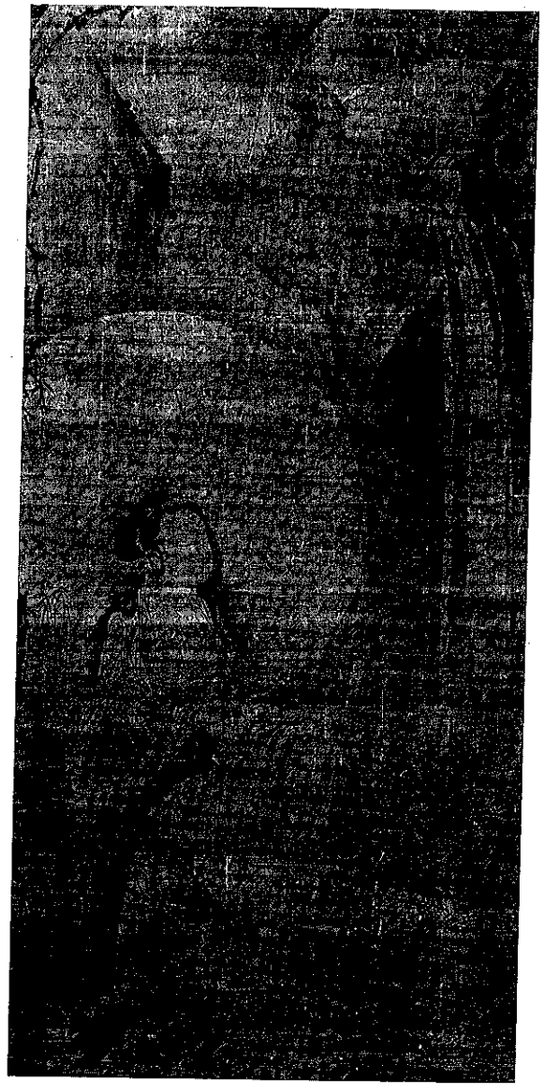
46. *White-robed Kannon*, by Mokuan. Inscription by P'ing-shih Ju-ti (1268–1357). Hanging scroll. Ink on silk. H. 121, w. 49 cm. 1329–42.
The bodhisattva sits in a relaxed manner on a rock beneath an overhanging cliff and gazes at the distant waterfall. The simply drawn figure is in pleasing contrast to the rock and cliff rendered in soft wet brushwork. There are several aspects related to Yüan painting here, such as the use of the splashed ink technique in the lower portion of the rock. P'ing-shih Ju-ti belonged to the line of Wu-chun Shih-fan. He was renowned even in Japan, and Mokuan went to study with him at Mount T'ien T'ung.

47. *White-robed Kannon*, by Mokuan. Inscription by Liao-an Ch'ing-yü (1288–1363). Before 1345.
This composition is nearly identical to that in plate 46. Kannon's small figure is closer to the viewer, and a distant mountain replaces the waterfall. As in Mokuan's other painting, the brushwork is soft and rounded for the figure while the rock and cliff are done in the "boneless" manner with very wet ink. Here, too, spatial depth is increased by the addition of the distant mountain, and the emphasis on landscape elements is characteristic of Mokuan's style. Liao-an Ch'ing-yü was a Yüan priest in the line of Ku-lin Ch'ing-mao, and Mokuan practiced under him at the Pên-chüeh monastery.

48. *White-robed Kannon*, by Kaō. Hanging scroll. Ink on silk. Before 1345.
In both iconography and style this painting is very close to the version of this theme in plate 43. The boy devotee is missing, and a withered tree clinging to an overhanging cliff replaces the bamboo grove. Lines are emphasized in the rock. Advances in ink painting technique are evident in the use of ink dots for moss and the increased transparency of the clouds. By moving the figure closer to the viewer, and trying to clearly define the figure, Kaō has created an effect similar to the version of this theme by Mu-ch'i (pl. 40). This may be an early work by Kaō. (See plate 143 for seals.)

49. *White-robed Kannon,* by Gukei. Hanging scroll. Ink on silk. H. 97.2, w. 40 cm. Before 1375. Yamato Bunkakan, Nara.
This White-robed Kannon, the central piece in a triptych with the pair of landscapes in plate 91, is depicted in the typical setting of a rocky promontory on a mountain stream. The full-cheeked face has a peculiar charm and there is a pleasant quality of naiveté in the abbreviated brushwork. The rock pedestal shows none of the angular lines of earlier depictions such as those in plates 21 and 45, marking a step toward the ability to render rounded volumes. However, something of the weakness of early ink painting is revealed in the spatial ambiguity and complicated planes in the cliff behind the Kannon. This is the result of the experimentation that took place in the early stage of Japanese ink painting on the basis of poorly understood Chinese models.

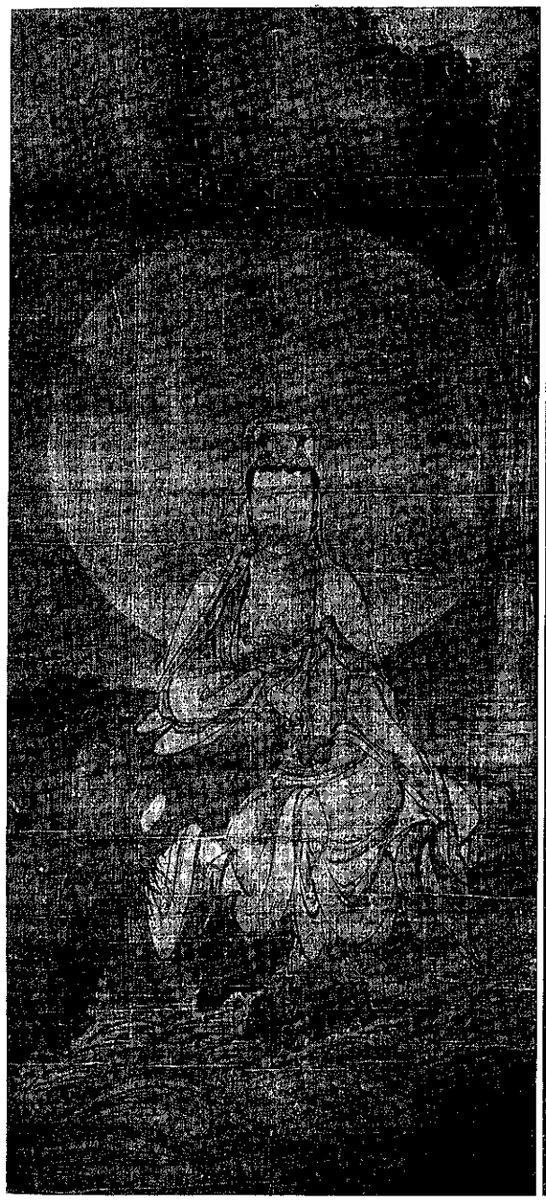
50. *Eleven-headed Kannon.* Inscription by Shūhō Myōchō (1282–1337). Hanging scroll. Ink and color on silk. H. 99.4, w. 45.9 cm. Before 1337. Shinju-an, Daitoku-ji, Kyoto.
This elegantly rendered Eleven-headed Kannon standing on a rock is flanked by the boy-pilgrim Zenzai and a fisherman in a boat in the foreground. Although this figure of Kannon is not suited to depiction in ink monochrome, the freely handled linework exhibits to a considerable degree the monochrome style. The rocks symbolizing Potalaka, the island abode of the bodhisattva, and the swelling waves suggest the hand of a professional Buddhist painter in the Japanese *yamato-e* style who had adopted Sung and Yüan modes. Although the combination of Kannon, Potalaka, Zenzai, and fisherman is not unusual, it is not a subject that is particularly pertinent to Zen practice. The fact that it was inscribed by Shūhō Myōchō (Daitō Kokushi), the founder of Daitoku-ji, reflects the special place of the cult of Kannon in Zen temples.



51. *White-robed Kannon.* Inscription by Tettō Gikō (1295–1369). Hanging scroll. Ink on silk. H. 108.3, w. 50.7 cm. 1352. Shinju-an, Daitoku-ji, Kyoto.
This painting is marked by detailed facial depiction and a superb rendering of the body in traditional Buddhist painting techniques, which are also evident in the flowing lines of the robe. In contrast, the background is rather crudely rendered. Poor understanding of "boneless" brushstyle and a lack of naturalism in the rocks and trees suggest that the painter was schooled in traditional iconic painting rather than ink painting. Tettō Gikō succeeded Shūhō Myōchō as the second abbot of Daitoku-ji.

52. *White-robed Kannon,* by Ryōzen. Inscription by Kempō Shidon (1285–1361). Hanging scroll. Ink on silk. H. 88.4, w. 40.2 cm. Before 1361. Myōkō-ji, Aichi Prefecture.
Compared to the painting in plate 41, Ryōzen's technique is fully developed here. The contour lines of the figure, the soft delineation of the face, rhythmical brushwork in the waves, and the rendering of volume in the rock by contrasting ink tones are so different from the brush technique in the other work that it is difficult to imagine that they were done by the same hand. However, the frontality of the figure and the classic facial features are in the tradition of orthodox Buddhist icons. This superb work indicates Ryōzen's masterly range of technique.

53. *White-robed Kannon.* Inscription by Kogen Shōgen (1294–1364). Hanging scroll. Ink on silk. H. 61, w. 30 cm. Before 1364. Masaki Art Museum, Osaka Prefecture.
A slightly different approach to this subject is seen here as the bodhisattva leans on the rock as though it were an arm rest. The strongly accented lines on the robe are atypical, as are the flat contrasts in ink tones. New developments in ink painting technique are evident in this conscious contrast between lines and planes. Kogen Shōgen succeeded Sōhō Sōgen as the twenty-fifth abbot at Tōfuku-ji.

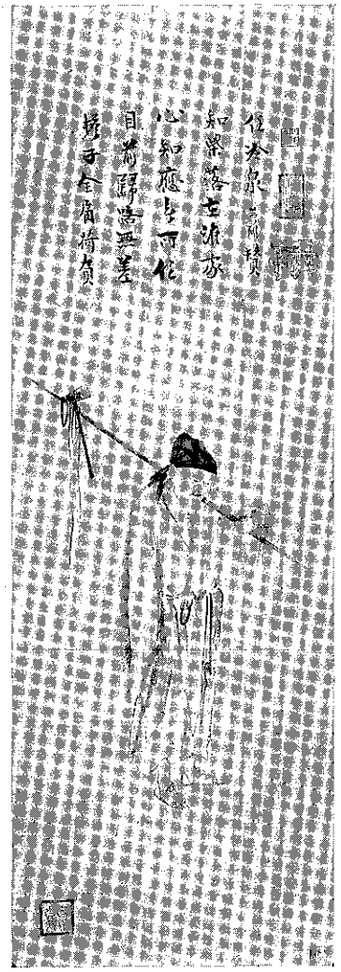


54. *Shaka Descending the Mountain.* Inscription by Hakuun Egyō (1228–97). Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. H. 78.2, w. 28.4 cm. Before 1297. Rikkyoku-an, Tōfuku-ji, Kyoto.
This painting has been matched in size and combined in a triptych with the two paintings of plum branches in plates 98–99. The extremely simple brushwork here is more in the tradition of *hakubyō*-style iconographic drawings than academic Sung painting or ink painting.

Shaka Descending the Mountain

"Shaka descending the mountain" (*shussan Shaka*) represents Śākyamuni in the very human aspect favored in the Zen conception of the Buddha, and is a frequent subject in early ink painting. A work done at the end of the thirteenth century, inscribed by Hakuun Egyō, depicts the subject simply, defining the body with a few broad strokes in light ink, using a worn-down brush in a manner akin to the "one-stroke" technique (pl. 54). Only in the face is there detailed brushwork. This style seems to be modeled on works by Ch'an painters of the Sung dynasty, such as the painting of the sixth patriarch by Chih-wêng (Chokuō) in the Daitōkyū Memorial Library (pl. 55). The iconography, showing the figure without any background, is related to the *hakubyō* sketch of Shaka descending the mountain that formerly belonged to the Kōzan-ji and is now in the Seattle Art Museum.

In contrast to this painting, the version inscribed by Tung-ming Hui-jih (Tōmyō

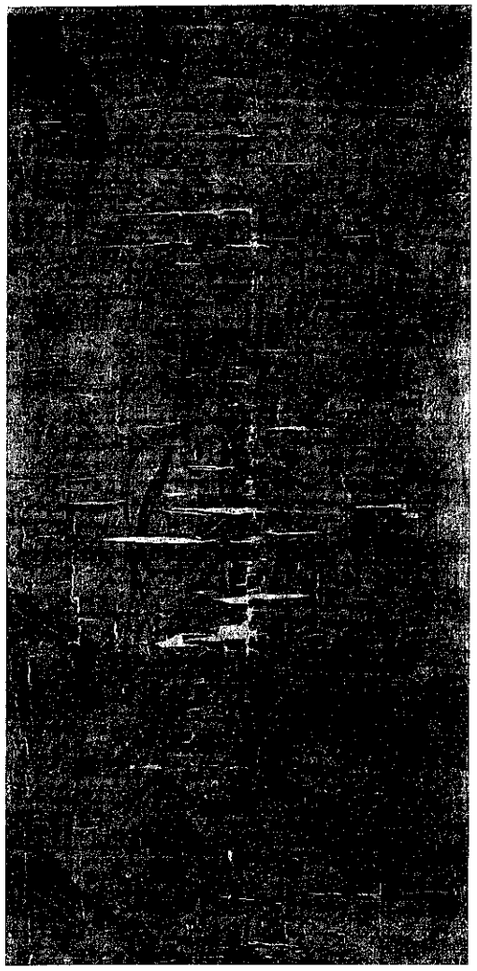


55. *The Sixth Patriarch*, by Chih-wêng (Chokuō). Ink on paper. H. 93, w. 36.4 cm. Southern Sung dynasty. Daitōkyū Memorial Library, Tokyo.

E'nichi), a Chinese priest who came to Japan in 1309, is animated by soft lines that, although uninflected at the beginning of the stroke, are enlivened by modulations of breadth (pl. 56). Pictorial content is enriched by the addition of the mountain path and a cliff in the background. The prototype for this painting is the famous painting of this subject by Liang K'ai (pl. 57).

Kaō's painting in plate 58 shows a further stage in the trend toward elaboration of the landscape background. Rendered in "boneless" brushwork, the landscape elements have become more realistic. Emphatic, thick strokes used for the robe contrast with fine lines on the body, and the emaciation of Shaka's body is even more pronounced. This work too is derived from Liang K'ai's painting.

Gukei's version of the subject (pl. 59) is even closer to Liang K'ai's painting in the revival of red coloring for the robe, and in the complicated twisting and turning lines of its folds. Tentative use of modeling strokes on the cliff and rock marks a step toward the landscape painting of the second stage.

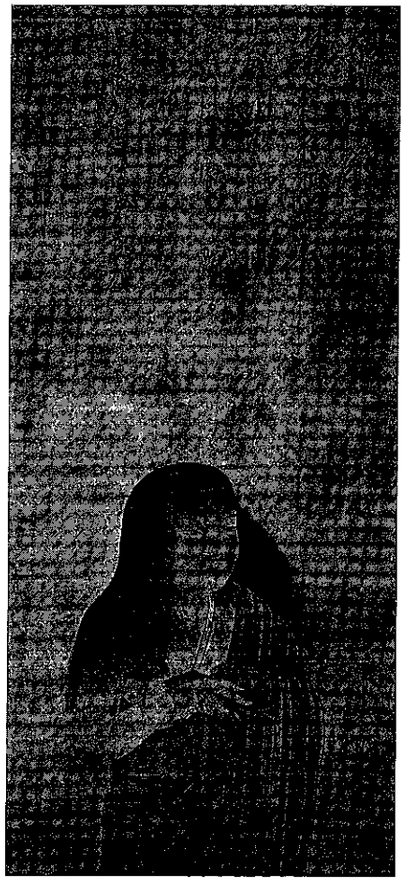


56. *Shaka Descending the Mountain.* Inscription by Tung-ming Hui-jih (1272–1340). Hanging scroll. Ink on silk. H. 74.5, w. 36.9 cm. Before 1340. Chōraku-ji, Gumma Prefecture.
Tung-ming Hui-jih (Tōmyō E'nichi) was of the Hung-chih (Kōchi) school, the only branch of the Sōtō sect of Zen to be active in the *gozan* system. He came to Japan in 1309 at the invitation of Hōjō Sadatoki. Toward the end of his life he founded the Hakuun-an at Engaku-ji in Kamakura. This painting, marked by a free use of a relatively wet brush, is obviously derived from Liang K'ai's composition (pl. 57). The absence of modeling strokes in the rocks and mountain suggest that the painter was not a professional artist. Probably this is the work of a Zen priest who was an amateur painter in the Kamakura area.

58 (right). *Shaka Descending the Mountain,* by Kaō. Hanging scroll. Ink on silk. H. 78, w. 37 cm. Before 1345. Rokuō-in, Kyoto.
Although this painting is based on Liang K'ai's (pl. 57), the lines are stiff and do not effectively capture the form of the body. Difference in iconographic interpretation from Liang K'ai can also be seen in the gentleness of the face and the addition of an aureole behind the figure suggesting that this is a peaceful, enlightened being rather than one intently resolved to attain the goal of awareness. Incipient elements of Kaō's distinctive brush style can be seen in the cliff and vines of the background that point to the fully evolved landscape backgrounds in Kaō's figure paintings, such as that in his *Priest Kensu* (pl. 35). This is perhaps the earliest extant painting by Kaō.

59. *Shaka Descending the Mountain,* by Gukei. Hanging scroll. Color on silk. H. 125.1, w. 43.8 cm.
An emaciated Shaka is shown departing the mountain where he had failed to overcome the bonds of worldly attachment despite six years of austerities so severe that his body had become like a withered tree. He is proceeding to the place of meditation, the "diamond seat" where he would attain enlightenment. Among the Eight Aspects of Shaka, this one and that of Shaka Fasting were most favored in the Zen temples, as inspiration to those who seek enlightenment through their own efforts, without the aid of the Buddhas or scriptures. Gukei's painting, while based on Liang K'ai's (pl. 57), adds a note of mysterious intensity to the superb realism of his model by giving a transcendent expression to the face of Shaka. The emphasis on the complicated lines of the robe and landscape setting underscores this mood. (See plate 147 for signature.)

57 (left). *Shaka Descending the Mountain,* by Liang K'ai. Detail. Hanging scroll. Ink and color on silk. H. 119, w. 52 cm. Early thirteenth century.
Liang K'ai was a painter at the Southern Sung academy where he attained the highest rank, the *tai chao,* in the early years of the thirteenth century. But, shunning the prize, a golden girdle, he left the establishment and became addicted to wine. He is recorded to have excelled in paintings of figures, landscapes, Buddhist and Taoist figure subjects, and paintings of ghosts and demons. His abbreviated style of figure painting seems to have been related to the untrammeled style of ink painting being practiced in Ch'an circles. This painting is one of his more conservative, refined figure paintings. The features, robe, and background landscape are all painted in careful detail. The physical and spiritual suffering of the ascetic Shaka who has not yet realized his goal is exquisitely depicted.



60. *Monju in a Hemp Robe.* Inscription by Sekishitsu Zenkyū (1294–1389). Hanging scroll. Before 1389. Tokyo National Museum.
This representation of the bodhisattva Monju as an ascetic beggar with unkempt hair, wearing a rope robe and holding a sutra, is typical of the human interpretation Zen artists gave to Buddhist deities. Like the representation of Shaka as an ascetic, it served as a model for Zen monks. Inscriptions relating to this subject increase from the second half of the fourteenth century. Many of these refer to the Yüan painter Hsüeh Chien, whose paintings existed in number in Japan at that time and provided the model for this type of image. Sekishitsu Zenkyū went to Yüan China and studied with Ku-lin Ch'ing-mao. He was instrumental in the introduction of Yüan Ch'an literature to Japan, and resided at Tenryū-ji in Kyoto and at Engaku-ji in Kamakura.

Paintings of Monju

Depictions of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, or Monju in Japanese, are also conspicuously numerous in the early period. Monju is believed to have been incarnated as the T'ang monk Tu Shun (557–640), a meditation master who founded the Hua-yen (Kegon) sect. Another tradition, in the *Vimalakīrti Sutra* relates that Monju visited the astute and eloquent layman Vimalakīrti (Yuima) on his sickbed, and engaged with him in a debate on the doctrine of non-duality. Monju was revered as the bodhisattva of intrinsic wisdom, and the Zen priests who went to China were sure to make a pilgrimage to the mountain sacred to him. Special reverence for this deity, the embodiment of wisdom, was natural for Zen priests who had, from the early days of the sect in Japan, a scholarly bent, and emulated the literati of China.

An iconographic type that was particularly congenial to Zen, like that of Shaka descending the mountain, was the *jōi Monju*, representing Monju as a youth wearing the rough "rope garb" of an ascetic. The painting of this subject in plate 60 was based on a Yüan painting attributed to Hsüeh-chien (Sekkan), a thirteenth-century artist known only through Japanese sources. By the time this painting was done, sometime

61. *Fugen.* Detail. Inscription by Zōsan Junkū (1233–1308). 1307. Yōmei-in, Tōfuku-ji, Kyoto.
This is a mate to the painting of Monju in plate 67. Here, too, the boyish depiction of the bodhisattva makes this an easily approached image. The strong, free lines aptly convey this feeling, but there is an awkwardness in the rendering of the drapery that is characteristic of early ink painting.

before 1389, there were many paintings credited to him already in Japan. This iconographic type continued unchanged into the fifteenth century. Common to these representations of the bodhisattva Monju is the expression of his pure wisdom by depicting him as a boy or intense youth.

Although the *jōi Monju* is the most closely related to Zen ideals, it is not the most frequently depicted aspect of the bodhisattva in early paintings. A large number of works depict Monju on a lion (*kishi Monju*), and others show him crossing the sea (*tokai Monju*) and in the guise of a monk (*seisō Monju*).

The painting of Monju on a lion in plate 67, inscribed in 1307 by Zōsan Junkū, was probably paired with the image of Fugen (Samantabhadra) in plate 61 to flank a central image of Shaka. Both the form of the figure and the brushwork are somewhat stiff. The figure of Monju is absolutely motionless, and not skillfully realized. In comparison, the figures are alive with movement in the version attributed to Mokuan and done solely in ink (pl. 62), and in the work inscribed by Muin Genkai prior to 1358 (pl. 63). The lines of the robes and hair are freely rendered, and the expressive elements of true ink painting are more prominent.

62. *Monju on a Lion*, attributed to Mokuan. Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. *Ca.* 1326–45. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
The attribution to Mokuan is without conclusive proof. Done mainly in profuse lines of dark ink, this painting is embellished by coloristic washes of ink applied to the hem of the the *dhoti* and the sutra cover. This type of intricate line drawing is typical of Yüan painting in the *hakubyō* style. Mokuan, who lived more than twenty years in China, may well have worked in this mode.

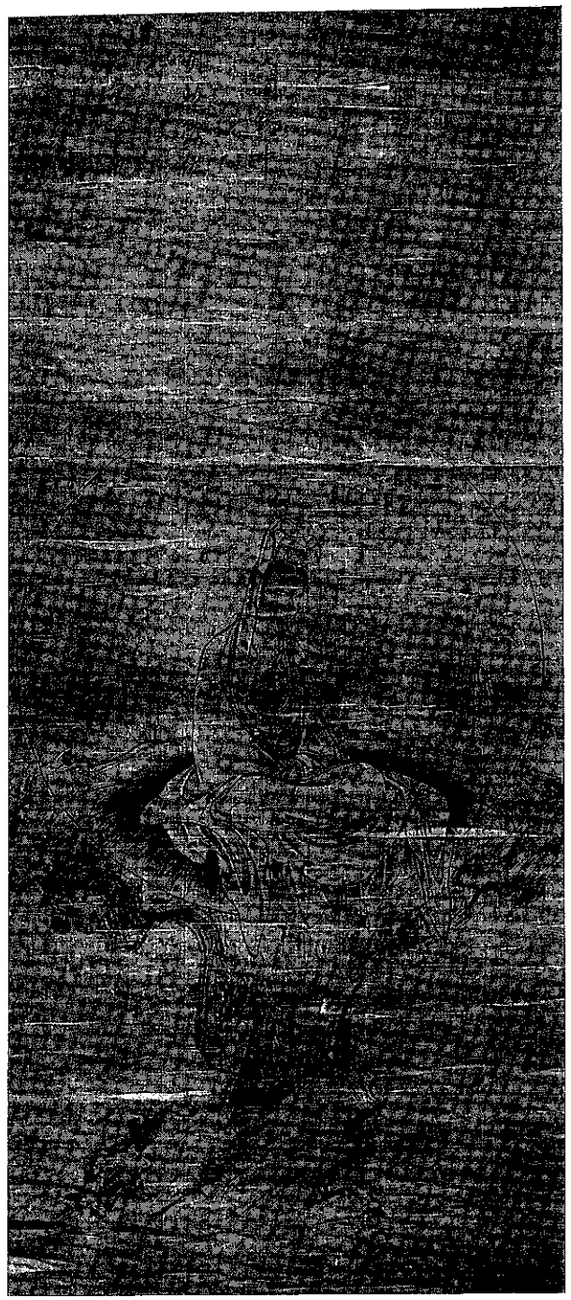
Ryōzen's version of Monju on a lion is striking for the emphasis given the figure by the triangular composition, the head of the bodhisattva forming the apex and the lion serving as the base (pl. 66). In the Monju by Takuma Eiga (pl. 72), a trend of the times can be clearly seen in the addition of a tree and rocks to the background, the mark of a secular interest in aesthetic expression, placing this painting closer to the second stage of ink painting than that by Ryōzen. In the painting of Monju inscribed by Kokan Shiren (pl. 71), skillful use of light and dark ink produces a sense of corporeality in spite of the iconic quality lent to this image by the decorative touches of gold; ink painting technique can also be felt in the soft rendering of the billowing clouds.

Monju in the Guise of a Monk, dated 1338, is done solely in ink, a rarity in Japanese painting (pl. 65). Some scholars consider this to be a Yüan painting, but since the inscription by Ch'ing-cho Chêng-ch'eng was done while he was at Nanzen-ji in Kyoto, the painting could be a Japanese copy of a Yüan model. There is a beautiful harmony of fine lines and shading in wash. Although the exclusive use of ink for even the patterns of the robe and implements is unusual, the depiction of the cliff and vine is in line with developments noted in other Japanese paintings. This could well be seen as the initial step in the evolution of landscape setting that stretches from Kaō's *White-robed Kannon* (pl. 48) to Gukei's *Shaka Descending the Mountain* (pl. 59), placing this painting, for all its uniqueness, in the Japanese tradition. As in the *Daruma* illustrated in plate 21,

63. *Monju on a Lion*. Inscription by Muin Genkai (d. 1358). Hanging scroll. Ink and light color on silk. H. 85.9, w. 39 cm. Before 1358. Nara National Museum.
This painting, like that in plate 62, is based on linear drawing, but here the lines are modulated and exploit the possibilities of the brush more effectively than the Boston Museum painting, where the ink is used in flat washes. Advances in ink painting technique are seen in the increased sense of movement in the robe, and in the bold free lines that give the figure a remarkable sense of volume. Muin Genkai was a priest at Kennin-ji and Nanzen-ji in Kyoto.

which is considered to be the work of a *yamato-e* painter who adopted Chinese landscape styles by copying directly from a Chinese model, these paintings were probably done by Japanese painters who developed their ink painting techniques from Chinese paintings without reference to their *yamato-e* training. Differences in style among them must be interpreted as reflections of the specific model used, and do not contradict an attribution to a Japanese painter. Looked at in this context, *Monju in the Guise of a Monk* can be seen more easily as the work of a Japanese artist.

Also in the *hakubyō* style of line drawing in ink alone are the paintings of *rakan* (*arhat*) in the Kyoto National Museum (pl. 68) and the Benzai-ten (Sarasvatī) preserved in the Hōjō-in (pl. 69). Although the figures of the *rakan* are done in the detailed and precise style of Yüan paintings, there is a confused rendering of distance in the landscape setting, indicating that this very accomplished figure painting was done by a Japanese painter who was a contemporary of the painter of *Monju in the Guise of a Monk* (pl. 65). A definite date cannot be given to the lovely image of Benzai-ten, but its expert use of ink wash as color places the work in the highest rank of early ink paintings. A valuable example of a Benzai-ten painting done in a style somewhat resembling *yamato-e* exists in the form of a copy of a lost work inscribed by Kogen Shōgen prior to 1364 (pl. 70).

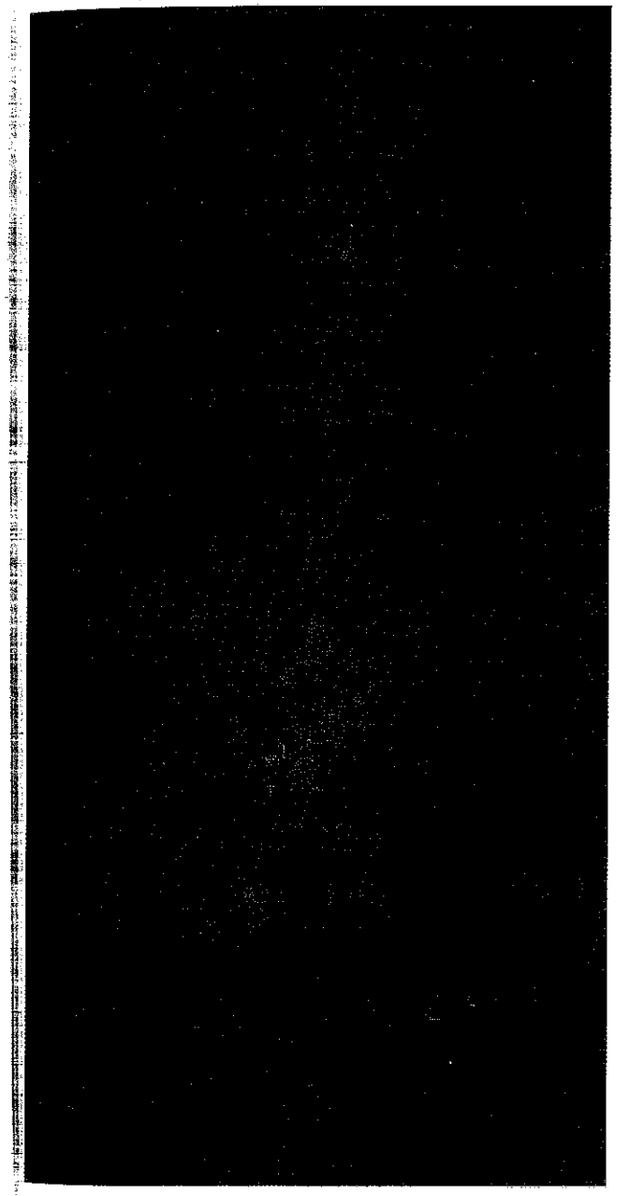


64. *White-robed Kannon.* Inscription by Yün-wai Yün-hsiu. Hanging scroll. Ink on silk. H. 124.7, w. 53.7 cm. *Ca.* 1328. Kyoto National Museum.
Yün-wai Yün-hsiu was a priest of the Hung-chih (Kōchi) school of the Sōtō sect to which Tung-ming Hui-jih belonged. He was abbot at Mount T'ien T'ung in Ming-chou when Mokuan arrived there. This painting seems to date from that period, around 1328. Technically, its fine, adroit lines and ink shading present an interesting contrast to Mokuan's style. The mushroomlike pedestal also seems rather archaic. This work is interesting evidence of the existence in Yüan times of a painting tradition distinct from the untrammeled mode which became so influential in Japan. This was an ink painting tradition practiced by well-trained painters such as the artist of this painting and of the *hakubyō*-style painting of Monju as a monk (pl. 65).

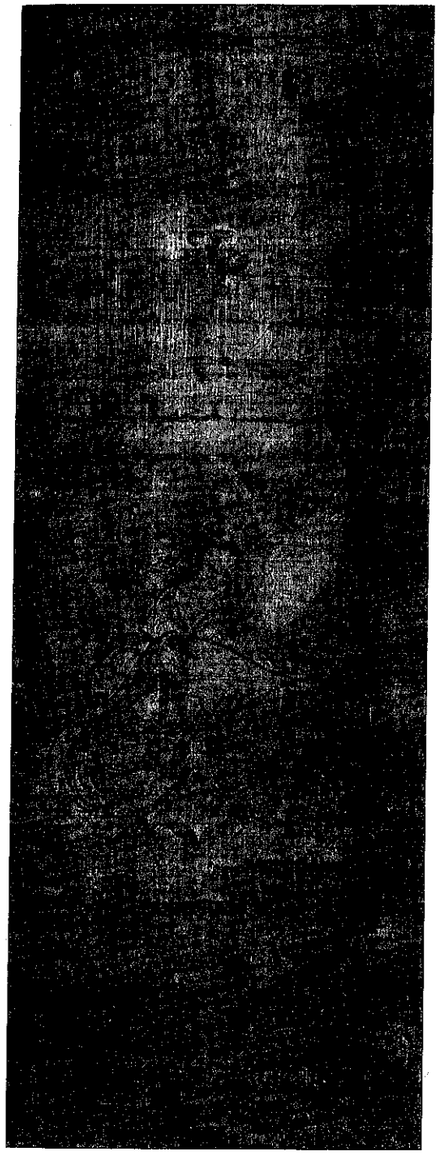
65. *Monju in the Guise of a Monk.* Inscription by Ch'ing-cho Chêng-ch'eng (1274–1339). Hanging scroll. Ink and light color on silk. H. 85.6, w. 41.3 cm. 1338. Nanzen-ji, Kyoto.
The image of the bodhisattva Monju in the form of a monk was customarily enshrined in the refectory of a Zen temple. Thin, rhythmic lines are used in combination with ink shading. Rich patterns adorn the dias and implements in ink used as color. This work falls into the tradition of ink line drawing (*hakubyō*) as practiced in the Yüan period. Ch'ing-cho Chêng-ch'eng inscribed this painting in 1338 while he was residing at Nanzen-ji.

66. *Monju on a Lion*, by Ryōzen. Inscription by Kempō Shidon (1285–1361). Hanging scroll. Color on silk. H. 78.6, w. 39.3 cm. 1348–55. Masaki Art Museum, Osaka Prefecture.
Seated on a lion in the princely *lalitā* posture, Monju, a sword in his right hand and a sutra in his left, is the apex of a triangle in this carefully symmetrical composition. The soft, thick lines of the lion's contours and the hairline strokes used for its fur stand out in technical contrast to the orthodox brushwork used for the figure of the bodhisattva. Colors—white, red, and gold—are skillfully used but there is an avoidance of decorative effects. Kempō Shidon was the twentieth abbot at Nanzen-ji around the middle of the fourteenth century. Ryōzen's activity was at its height at that time. (See plate 149 for signature.)

67. *Monju on a Lion*. Inscription by Zōsan Junkū (1233–1308). Hanging scroll. Ink on silk. 1307.
This is the earliest known painting of Monju in Japanese ink painting. A similar painting of Fugen (pl. 61), inscribed only one month later than this painting, is thought to be a companion piece. For a painting of this date, the figure with a sweet boyish face and slender body is painted in relatively hard, sharply undulating lines. The flesh of the figure and body of the lion are beautifully detailed. There are touches of color, but the overall effect is of a monochrome painting. Zōsan Junkū trained under Yen-ch'i Kuang-wên in Sung China. He returned to Japan in 1300, and later became the sixth abbot of Tōfuku-ji.

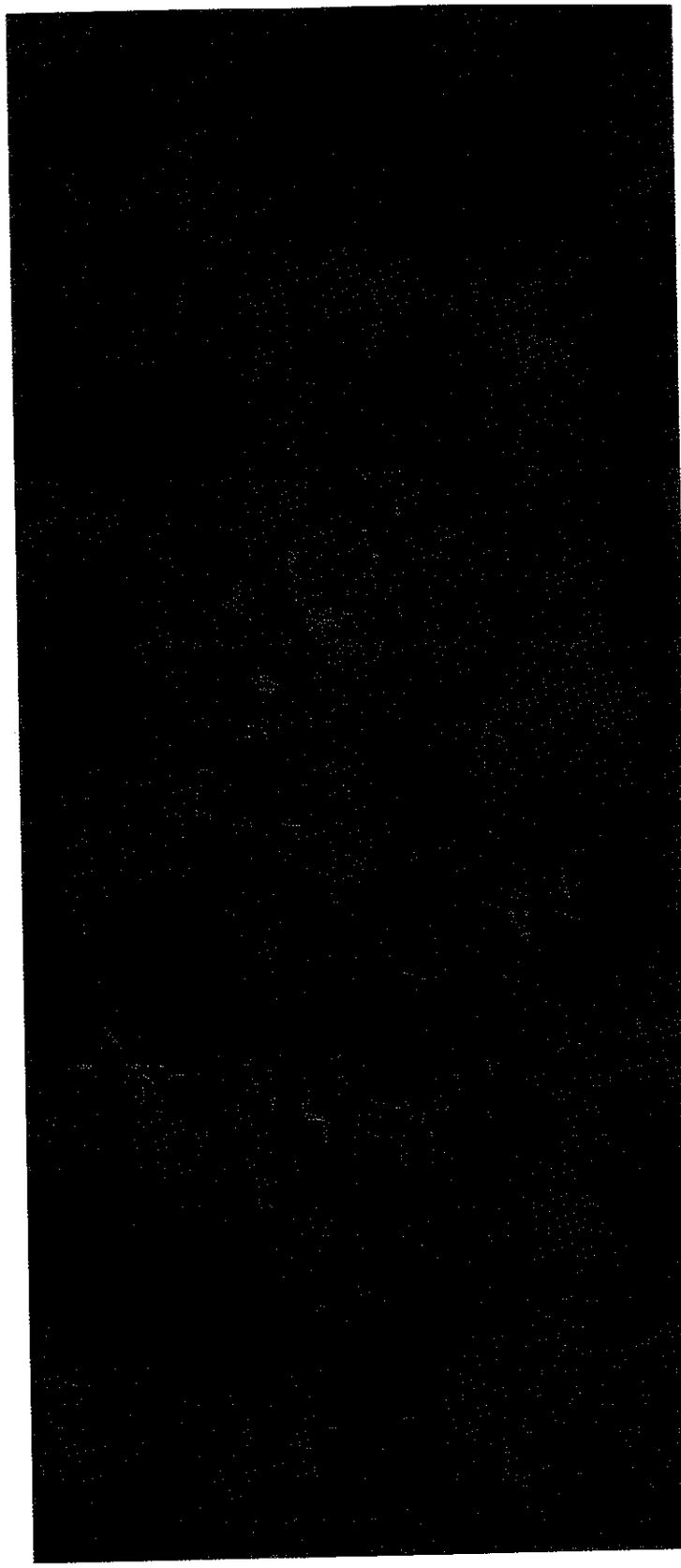


68. *Rakan.* Hanging scroll. Ink, light color, and gold on silk. H. 120, w. 54 cm. Kyoto National Museum.
At first glance this painting seems to be a Yüan painting. The figures are superbly realistic, but there is a rather precarious relationship among the trees and rocks, suggesting a Japanese origin. This is one of the few works done in Japan in this Yüan *hakubyō* manner.



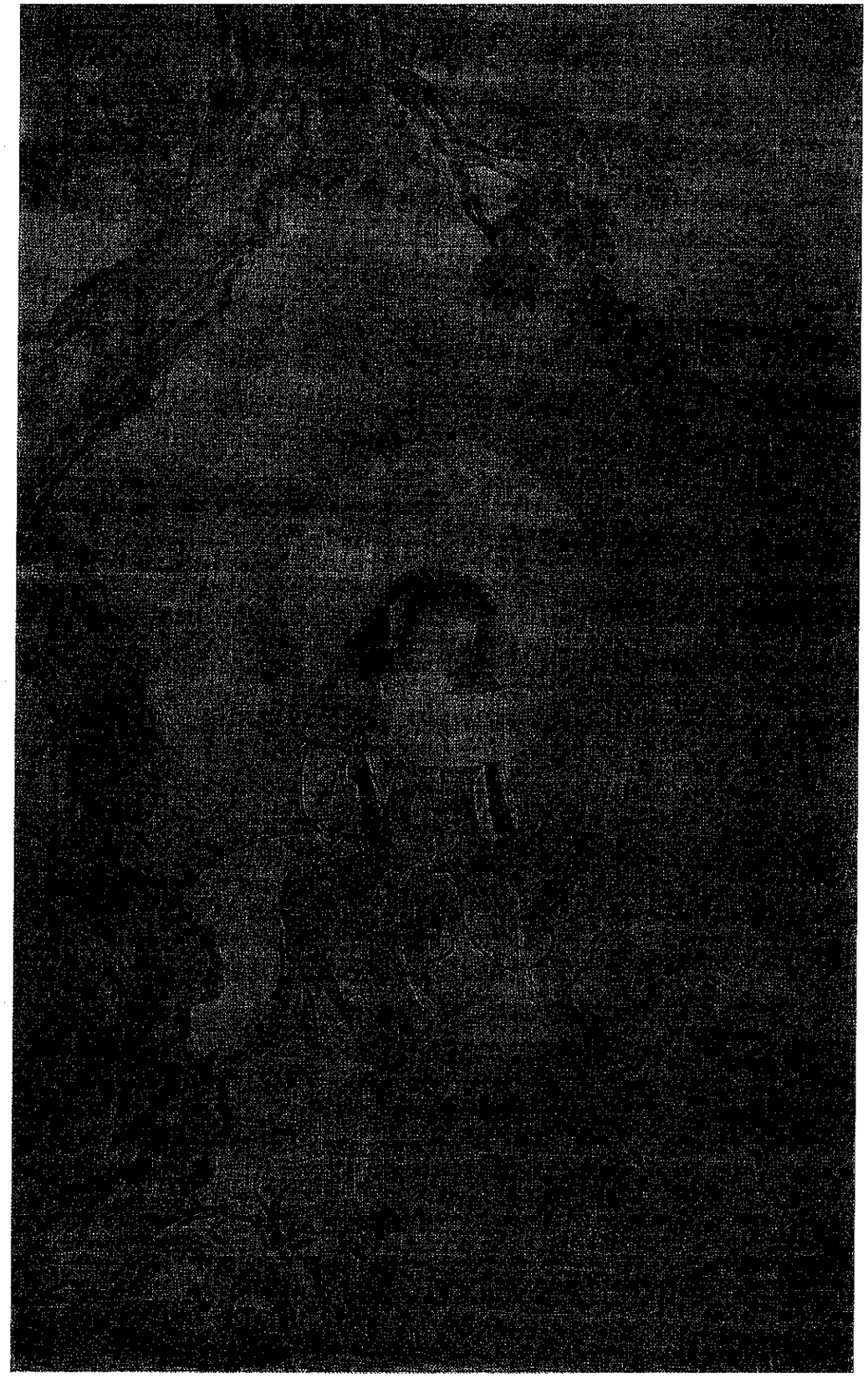
69. *Benzai-ten.* Hanging scroll. Ink on silk. Hōjō-in.
Done entirely in ink monochrome, Benzai-ten, a Hindu deity incorporated into the Buddhist pantheon and worshiped as the goddess of music, sits calmly on a wave-swept rock, plucking the strings of her lute. Techniques used here anticipate the style associated with Minchō at a later date: the depiction of the aureole by leaving an area of blank silk against surrounding wash, coloring the robe with flat areas of varied ink tones rather than with shading in ink, the vertical application of modeling strokes only in the fissures of the rock, and the animated depiction of the waves.

70. *Benzai-ten.* Copy of a painting inscribed by Kogen Shōgen (1294–1364). Original before 1364. Tokyo National Museum.



71. *Monju on a Lion.* Inscription by Kokan Shiren (1287–1346). Hanging scroll. Ink and color on silk. H. 98.5, w. 42.5 cm. Before 1346. Masaki Art Museum, Osaka Prefecture.
Monju (Mañjuśrī) was said to live on Mount Wu-t'ai amid ten thousand holy ones. Revered as the embodiment of wisdom, Monju was made an exception in Zen's general rejection of traditional deities, reflecting the sect's literary bent. The complicated technique of using gold on the crown, robe, and ornaments, as well as the rendering of the figure in fine lines without shading, is in accord with traditional Buddhist painting. On the other hand, the lines used for the lion are slightly accented, and the strong shading reveals familiarity with techniques of ink painting. Kokan Shiren was a disciple of Tōzan Tanshō (1231–91) of Tōfuku-ji. A scholar-priest of the highest order, he served as Tōfuku-ji's fifteenth abbot.

72. *Monju,* by Takuma Eiga. Hanging scroll. Ink on silk. H. 67.7, w. 41.1 cm. Second half of the fourteenth century. Freer Gallery of Art.
Eiga was a painter of the Takuma school, which specialized in Buddhist painting and adopted elements of Sung painting as early as the beginning of the twelfth century. He was active during the second half of the fourteenth century. His extant works range from figure subjects in the native *yamato-e* style to paintings such as this one in the style of Chinese Sung and Yüan monochrome ink. The bodhisattva, traditionally identified as Monju, is shown in an iconographic attitude—seated on an elephant—that is more usual for his counterpart, Fugen, and this identification may be in error. Light, fluid strokes are used throughout, making this work more typical of the ink painting manner than any other depiction of Monju. Yet the harmonious composition of the figure in the setting indicates Eiga's background as a *yamato-e* painter. This painting was probably originally the left-hand attendant to a representation of Shaka in a triptych. It is unique among Monju paintings in its having a landscape setting.



Paintings of Rakan

One final category of *dōshakuga* is the *rakan* (*arhat* in Sanskrit). These legendary Indian figures represent the ideal of Hīnayāna Buddhism in having attained enlightenment and an end to rebirth. That they did so through their own efforts without recourse to devotional practices gave them a place of honor in the Zen sect. In contrast to other types of painting which could be used by an individual for his private inspiration, paintings of *rakan* were used in Buddhist memorial services. Because they were painted for this more public function, they were rarely inscribed and so it is difficult to date them.

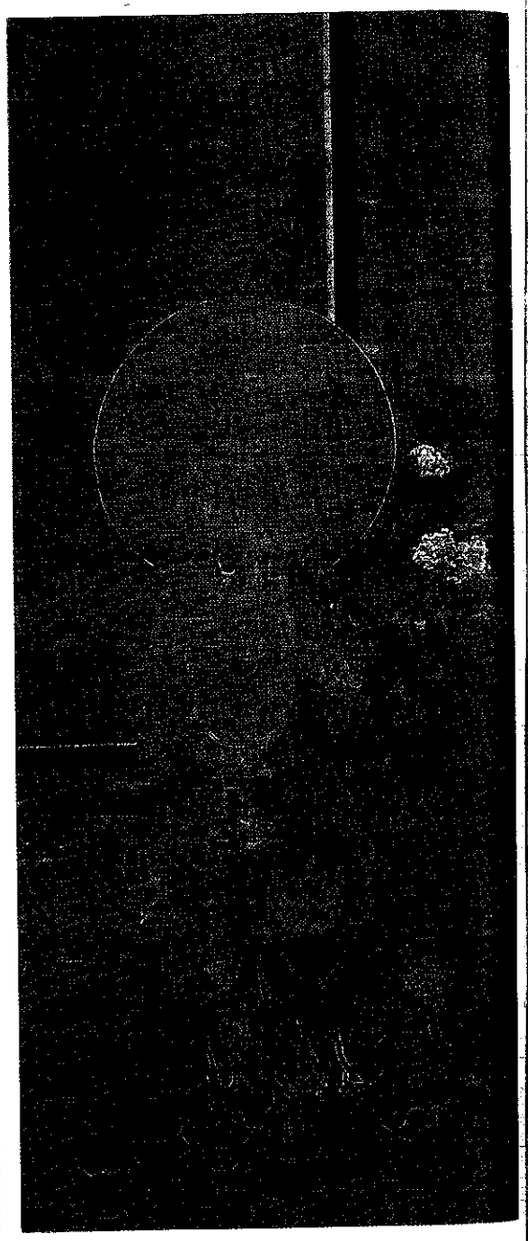
Depicted as aged, sometimes weird recluses, *rakan* are painted in various formats. The most common is a set of sixteen paintings, one *rakan* painted in each. Other types are diptychs with eight *rakan* in each painting, and single hanging scrolls that depict the entire group of sixteen. No matter which format is used, *rakan* are generally depicted in an outdoor setting. Many follow the pictorial styles of Lu Hsin-chung and Chang Szŭ-kung, Sung dynasty painters who specialized in Buddhist painting in the region of the port city of Ning-po. These painters emphasized the natural setting in their *rakan* paintings, and so Japanese paintings of *rakan* also include landscape elements not seen in other types of figure painting. Paintings depicting *rakan* in groups rather than individually are more interesting as material for the study of ink painting.

In the *Sixteen Rakan* in plate 73, dated by its inscription to 1362, there is no setting except for the depiction of a single crane in flight. The figures are of uniform size and skillfully arranged in a diagonal grouping. In contrast, the *rakan* in Takuma Eiga's painting are placed freely in a mountain landscape (pl. 78). The depiction of the rocks, pine tree, and waterfall provided the artist an opportunity to express his individuality. Here the figures are smaller than in the painting of Eiga's predecessor, Takuma Chōga, and there is an increase in movement and detail in the natural setting.

Paintings that depict the *rakan* individually tend to be standardized. In order to correctly represent the *rakan* and his attendants, many of them are exact copies of certain Chinese paintings, and are categorized as being in the manners of either the Sung painter Li Lung-mien or Kuan Hsiu, a late T'ang-dynasty Ch'an painter. Depictions of individual *rakan* appear in works by Ryōzen (pls. 74–76) and Eiga (pls. 78, 84–85), but the discussion of their stylistic differences will be deferred to the following section on the individual painters.

The iconographic scheme in the paintings of individual *rakan* was largely fixed. Each *rakan* was depicted in a specific attitude, worshiping a stupa, wearing a head cloth, accompanied by a tiger, and so on. In style, too, there were specific types derived from the Chinese models. These paintings were copied countless times, deviating hardly at all from the original. It was only in the background depiction that the painter's originality was allowed to express itself. In the *rakan* paintings by Ryōzen and Eiga, techniques of drawing trees and modeling rocks were used that, as has been noted in other paintings, were developing in the second half of the fourteenth century.

73. *Sixteen Rakan.* Detail. Inscription by Sekishitsu Zenkyū (1294–1389). Hanging scroll. Ink and light color on silk. 1362. Chishaku-in, Kyoto.
The composition is unusual for a painting of *rakan.* Sixteen figures of approximately the same size are arranged in a diagonal line. There is no background save the single crane in flight, and it is redolent of *raigō* paintings in which the Buddhist deities proceed over the mountains to rescue the believer. The addition of an inscription, not visable here, is also unusual for a painting of this subject.



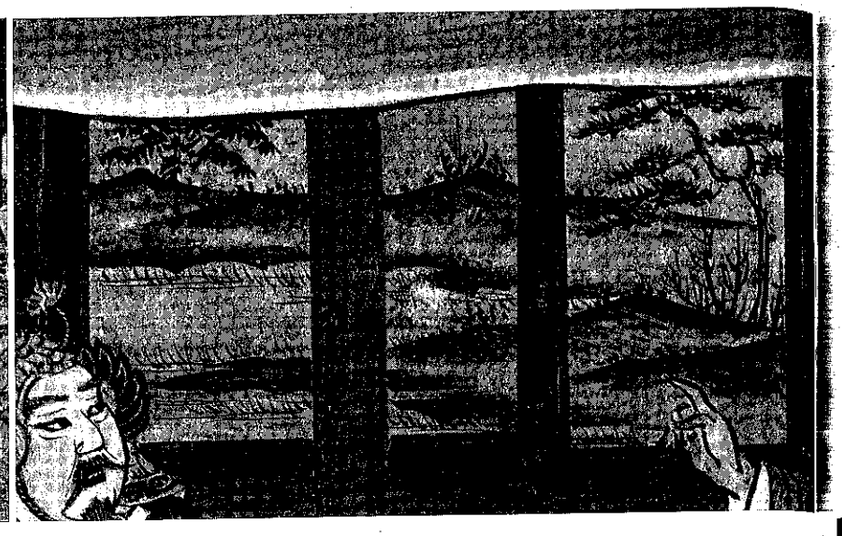
74 (far left). *Sixteen Rakan*, by Ryōzen. The tenth *rakan* in a set of sixteen. Hanging scroll. Ink and color on silk. H. 113.1,w. 58.8 cm. *Ca.* 1348. Freer Gallery of Art.
75 (near left). *Sixteen Rakan*, by Ryōzen. The tenth *rakan* in a set of sixteen. Hanging scroll. Ink and color on silk. H. 143.5, w. 57 cm. *Ca.* 1348. Kennin-ji, Kyoto.
Inscriptions on these paintings clearly indicate their original provenance: the Kennin-ji version belonged to Tōfuku-ji, and the Freer Gallery set to a subtemple there, the Sanshō-ji. Ryōzen's signature appears on the first *rakan* of the Kennin-ji set (pl. 76). The Freer version is also assigned to him because of its similarity in style and composition to the signed work. Considering the relatively minor differences in brushwork and the fact that one set was used at the main temple and the other at a subtemple, the two sets may have been done at almost the same time, the Freer version as a duplicate of the set now at Kennin-ji. Ryōzen is thought to have accompanied Kempō Shidon to Tōfuku-ji from Kyushu, and these paintings may have been those recorded as having been dedicated in 1348. They are in the stylistic tradition associated with Li Lung-mien, in which the *rakan* are depicted in a relatively naturalistic manner. These animated figures show none of the stiffness of Ryōzen's colored icons. The well-drawn trees and rocks in the background reveal a facility with ink painting techniques.

76 (right). *Sixteen Rakan*, by Ryōzen. The first *rakan* in a set of sixteen. Hanging scroll. H. 143.5, w. 57 cm. *Ca.* 1348. Kennin-ji, Kyoto. (See also captions 74–75.)

77. *Sixteen Rakan.* Hanging scroll. Ink and color on silk. Late fourteenth century.
Like the painting in plate 78, this is probably a work by a painter of the Takuma school. Here the figures have become smaller and are arranged naturally in the landscape. Already the interest in the landscape seems paramount, but each of the *rakan* is depicted in his traditional iconographic attitude. This painting probably dates to the late fourteenth century.

78. *Sixteen Rakan*, by Takuma Eiga. Hanging scroll. Ink and color on silk. Chōmyō-ji, Kyoto.
One of two scrolls (the other is lost) that flanked Eiga's *Shaka Triad* (pl. 134), this painting depicts eight *rakan* with their various attributes in a setting of trees, rocks, and waterfall. The composition is very close to that of the *rakan* paintings of Eiga's predecessor Chōga, and seems to be the traditional arrangement. Close to one hundred years separate the two paintings, but the treatment of the background details is conspicuously unchanged. The trees are rendered in a formalized manner, and a similar conservatism can be noticed in the treatment of the trees as well as in the rocks depicted by outlines and modeling strokes that lack solid delineation. However, the overall impression of the work, its reliance on tonal values of ink, is consistent with the florescence of ink painting in the second half of the fourteenth century.

79. Landscape painting on a sliding screen depicted in the narrative scroll *Tōsei eden*. 1298. Tōshōdai-ji, Nara.
Many miniature paintings are found in this scroll, providing valuable information on contemporary ink painting. Here, in a detail from the third illustration in the second scroll, there is a landscape painting that emphasizes foreground elements. The convention of "crab-claw" branches in the trees and the "boneless" style brushwork in the mountains are archaic elements of the Northern Sung style.



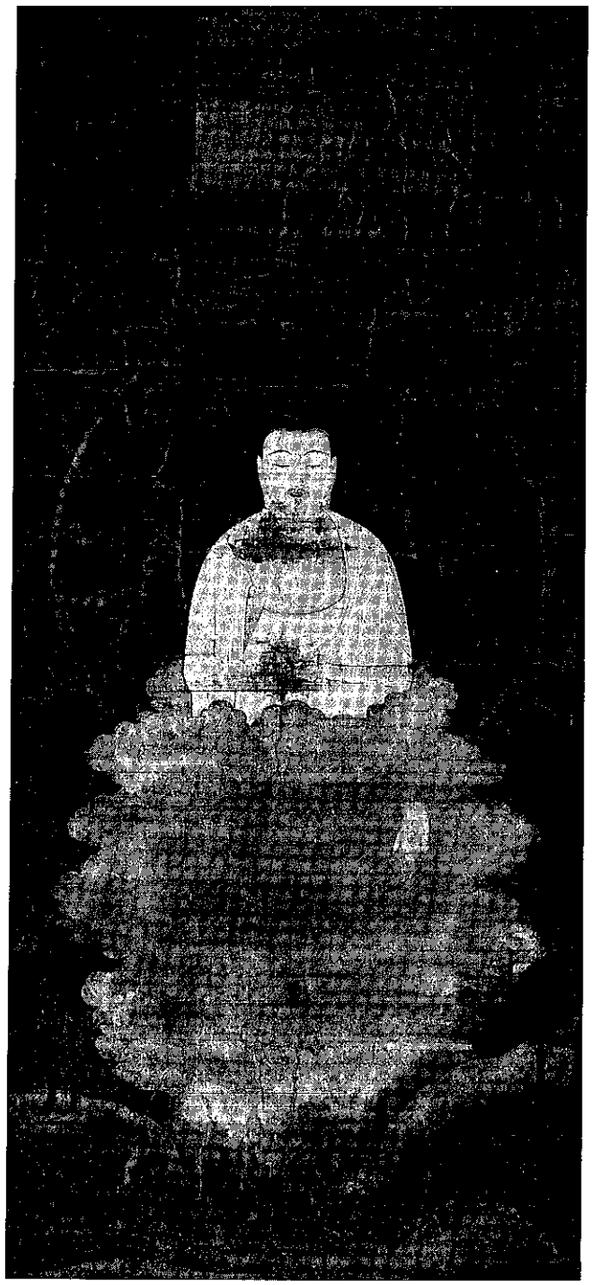
80. Landscape painting on a sliding door, from the narrative scroll *Genjō sanzō-e*. *Ca.* 1310–30. Fujita Art Museum, Osaka.
The *Genjō sanzō-e* is another early fourteenth-century scroll that is a rich source of material on ink painting of the time. In this work, however, it is only in the interior scenes of Chinese buildings that ink paintings are shown. In Japanese settings, the interior decoration is in the Japanese style. In this detail from the sixth section of the twelfth scroll, there is a coherent landscape depicted on the screen. It is not certain, however, that such landscapes were depicted in paintings in the independent format of the hanging scroll at this time.

In contrast to this type of background landscape, which still shows somewhat stiff, immature brushwork, the miniature screens (*gachūga*, "paintings within paintings") behind the figures have fully accomplished ink landscapes. Remarkable for the refinement of the ink painting technique are the small paintings on screens behind the sixth and tenth figures in Ryōzen's set in the Kennin-ji (pl. 75) and the third *rakan* of Eiga's set (pl. 83). Precipitously rising mountains, rendered without modeling strokes, and withered trees done in the *kappitsu* mode of dry brushwork are particularly striking. The use of the "crab-claw" style for the old trees in Eiga's painting clearly indicates that these miniature paintings followed the older style of landscape painting of the Northern Sung tradition. This style is also evident in the miniature screens depicted within narrative scroll paintings (*emaki*) such as the *Tōsei eden* of 1298 (pl. 79) and the *Genjō sanzō-e* done in the first part of the fourteenth century (pls. 80–81). Since these *emaki* are pure Japanese paintings, it is immediately apparent

81. Reeds and geese in a miniature painting from the narrative scroll *Genjō sanzō-e*. Early fourteenth century. Fujita Art Museum, Osaka. This scene from the first section of the twelfth scroll shows a complete composition of the subject of reeds and geese in the last two panels of a set of eight sliding screens. The birds are rendered in ink against a green and white background and the painting has the flavor of a Chinese-style bird-and-flower painting.

that the landscapes on the miniature screens and sliding doors are derived from a distinctly different, non-Japanese source. The most likely model for these paintings in the *emaki*, as well as for the screens behind the *rakan* by Ryōzen and Eiga, are the *gachūga* in Chinese paintings of *rakan* and the Ten Kings of Hell imported in great number at that time. It is doubtful that the Japanese painters were consciously painting in the Northern Sung style in the miniature paintings, but they must have been at least aware that the style they used for these "paintings within paintings" was distinct from that which they used for background landscapes. Because of this difference, the miniature paintings were copied exactly and any individual touch or innovation was suppressed.

Another problem of these miniature paintings is that by their very nature they differ radically from other landscape paintings, for they were never intended to be viewed independently. In both style and function, these small paintings were considered distinct from the main painting in which they appeared. This accounts for the fact that the style used in them was not carried over, as a unity, into the brushwork or compositions of early ink paintings.



82. *Manifestation of Amida Buddha at Nachi in Kumano.* Inscription by Nanzan Shiun (1254–1335). Hanging scroll. Colors on silk. H. 114.5, w. 51.5 cm. 1329. Dannō-hōrin-ji, Kyoto.
A *suijaku* painting, expressing the synthesis of Shinto and Buddhist belief, this is consequently done in a traditional technique. Nanzan Shiun was a follower of Enni Ben'en and lived at Tōfuku-ji in Kyoto and Kenchō-ji and Engaku-ji in Kamakura. The eclectic interests of Zen priests is indicated by his inscription on a *suijaku* painting.

83. *Sixteen Rakan,* by Takuma Eiga. The third *rakan* in a set of sixteen. Hanging scroll. Color on silk. H. 90.7, w. 40.5 cm. Second half of the fourteenth century. Fujita Art Museum, Osaka.

Of particular interest here is the landscape painted on the screen standing behind the figure. A huge central mountain rising vertically in the background and the "boneless" brushwork are elements derived from Northern Sung landscapes. These archaic styles were preserved by professional painters in the area of Ning-po, which was an important port in the commerce between China and Japan in the fourteenth century. Early ink painters in Japan often based their work on such models. (See also plates 84–85).

84–85. *Sixteen Rakan,* by Takuma Eiga. The thirteenth (right) and fourteenth (left) *rakan* in a set of sixteen. Hanging scrolls (now framed). Color on silk. H. 90.7, w. 40.5 cm. Second half of the fourteenth century. Fujita Art Museum, Osaka.

In most cases, paintings of *rakan* were copied exactly from Sung and Yüan models and preserve ancient iconographic forms, showing little of the painter's individuality. These paintings, however, while in the same Li Lung-mien tradition as Ryōzen's paintings, are strikingly idiosyncratic. Immediately noticeable variations are the smaller size of the figures and the additional background elements. Stylistically, the figures are closer to Japanese style painting, the rocks and trees have become mannered, and the colors are heavy and brilliant. Each painting in this set of sixteen is signed "Takuma Hōgen Eiga." (See plate 151 for signature.)

Landscape Painting

Despite the idiosyncratic nature of the miniature "paintings within paintings," it is unlikely that the Northern Sung style used for them had no influence whatsoever on contemporary painting. There are examples of at least an unconscious influence in brushwork and composition in several paintings. One such work is the landscape by Kaō (pl. 92). Although the mountains in this painting have faint outlines, they merely delineate shape, serving no organic function in the composition, and the ink wash tends to flatten the forms. Aligned parallel to the picture plane, they are not convincingly related to the surrounding space, and the painting as a whole lacks a sense of spatial depth. Distortions such as this in the rendering of volume and depth, unnoticed in the small scale of the miniature paintings, become conspicuous when transferred to the larger format of the hanging scroll. This is a telling example of how crucial the rendering of three-dimensionality is to the effect of a painting as a whole.

The weakness in this painting is easily discerned in comparison to another of the rare landscape paintings of the fourteenth century, *Landscape in Rain* by Gukei (pl. 88). In this painting, as in a similar pair by this artist, the *Landscape with Fisherman and Woodcutter* (pl. 91) that formed a triptych with the White-robed Kannon in plate 49, the foreground and background are divided by mist in the middle ground. As a result, they seem at first glance to be in the compositional tradition of Southern Sung paintings that leave a considerable area of the painting empty, a mode familiar in later Japanese landscapes. Analyzed more carefully, however, these landscapes by Gukei reveal a Northern Sung derivation, having none of the refinement that marks the later works of Josetsu and Shūbun. The compositional technique of placing a central mountain so as to occupy the entire background of the painting, and lining up the foreground trees and rocks directly below on a vertical axis, cannot be considered innovative, but it does overcome the instability that flaws Kaō's painting. Moreover, by obscuring in mist the lower portion of the main mountain, a sense of space is achieved. Thus, though there is only a slight difference in date between these two paintings, they indicate a tremendous advance in ink painting during the thirty or forty years that separate them, from about 1345 to 1375. Although both Gukei and Kaō were undoubtedly influenced by paintings such as the landscapes by Li T'ang in plates 86–87, Gukei's paintings are closer to contemporary works of Yüan China and Korea.

A remote ancestor of these paintings is the *Wild Geese Alighting on a Sandbar* (pl. 89), which bears the seal "Shitan" and an inscription by I-shan I-ning, dating it to the second decade of the fourteenth century. A copy by Kanō Tan'yū of a painting from the same set, *Autumn Moon over Lake Tung-t'ing* (pl. 90), indicates that this was originally one of a series of eight on the theme of the "eight views of the Hsiao and Hsiang rivers," but today only this painting survives. It shows an inadequate grasp of volumetric form, and a conspicuous immaturity in the description of the trees and

86–87. *Landscape*, by Li T'ang. Hanging scrolls. Ink on silk. H. 98, w. 43.5 cm. *Ca.* 1130. Kōtō-in, Daitoku-ji, Kyoto.
These paintings mark the transition from the Northern Sung styles of Fan K'uan and Kuan T'ung to the Southern Sung style epitomized by Ma Yüan and Hsia Kuei. Essentially, this transition is a narrowing of viewpoint from panoramic, monumental scenes to intimate views of isolated motifs. Here, the Southern Sung formula of dividing the composition diagonally to concentrate the foreground scene in one corner is only incipient, and the approach is still fairly realistic. Kaō and Gukei probably based their landscape painting on models such as this.

88. *Landscape in Rain,* by Gukei. Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. H. 82.3, w. 32.2 cm. *Ca.* 1360–75. Tokyo National Museum.
In this landscape, which is similar to those that flank the *White-robed Kannon* by Gukei (pl. 91), the dry brushwork is more noticeable because it is done on paper, but the method of "boneless" brushwork is like that used in the landscape setting in the painting of the White-robed Kannon itself. The composition of this landscape, in which the fore, middle, and far grounds are piled up on a vertical axis, is similar to Kaō's landscape in plate 92 and reflects a Northern Sung derivation.

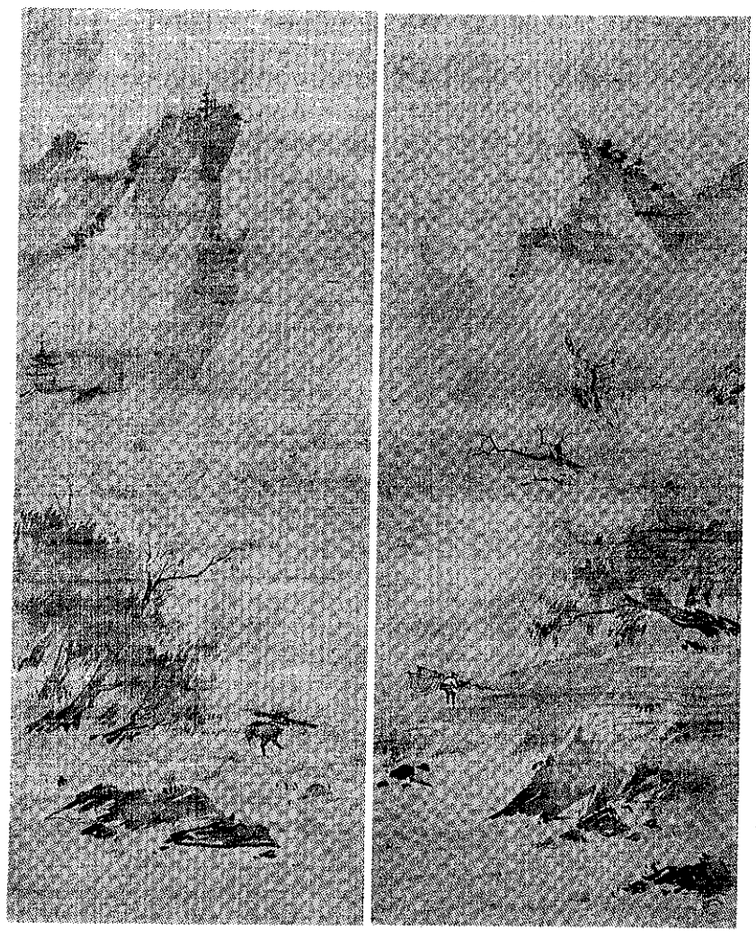
89. *Wild Geese Alighting on a Sandbar,* by Shitan. Inscription by I-shan I-ning (1247–1317). Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. H. 57.6, w. 30.3 cm. Before 1317.
This painting, done no later than 1317, the year of I-shan I-ning's death, is the oldest known landscape in Japanese ink painting. Copies of other paintings from the same set indicate that this was originally part of a series of eight paintings on the theme of the eight views of the Hsiao and Hsiang rivers. The unsatisfactory rendering of three dimensions and the absence of modeling strokes in the rocks indicate that the artist was a Japanese painter of *yamato-e* who adopted the style of Sung and Yüan ink painting. Similar treatment of ink landscape can be seen in the paintings on miniature screens that are depicted in the interior scenes in narrative scrolls. The fact that the composition is more convincing than in works of a later date, such as Kaō's landscape in plate 92, might be due to the simple requirements of the subject: a line of geese descending to the foreground sandbar defines depth of space. This is the only extant painting by the painter Shitan, and nothing is known of his life. (See plate 150 for seal.)

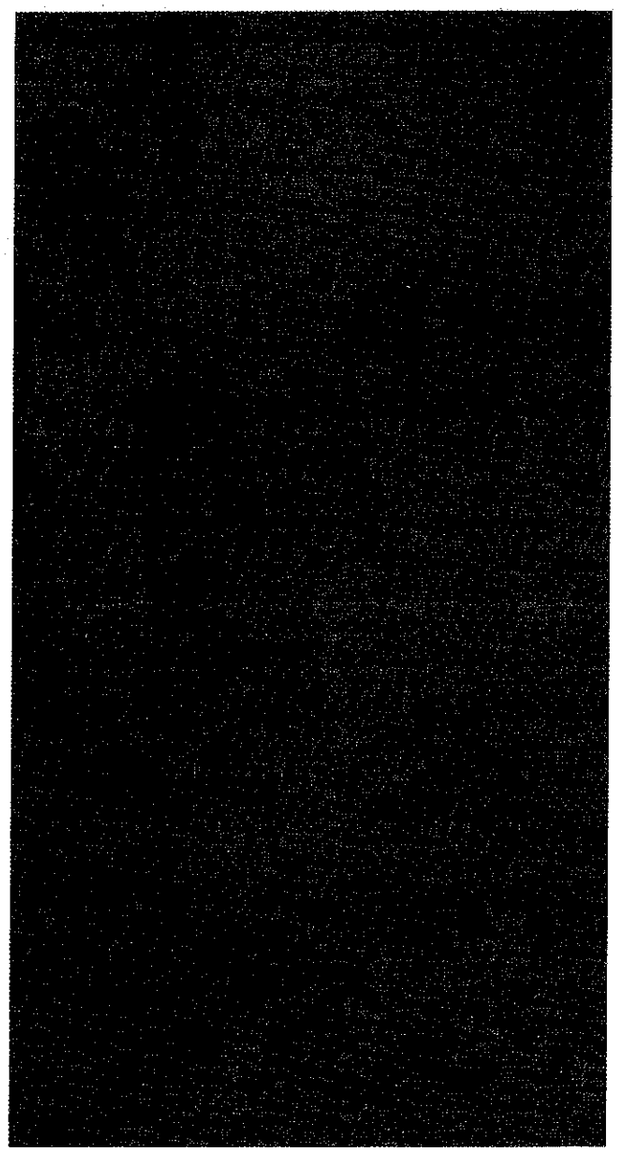
the modeling strokes on the rocks. Yet, in that most important quality in landscape painting, the rendering of spatial depth, this painting succeeds. This is achieved by careful arrangement of various elements: the diagonal placement of the rock and tree in the foreground, the line of the river bank, the trees and mountains in the distance, and the meandering line of descending geese. The composition and brushwork, however, do not, in all likelihood, derive from the ink painting tradition itself; they are probably the work of a *yamato-e* painter who reconstructed a landscape painting in the Sung-Yüan style by enlarging a painting that he knew from a miniature screen (*gachūga*) depicted in a narrative scroll. In contrast to Kaō's attempt to represent a foreign landscape, here the painter depicts a Japanese landscape, giving a natural feeling to the scene. The success of this painting, the earliest pure landscape in Japanese ink painting, is most likely due to the simple elegance of this native scenery. Its effective use of Chinese "level-distance," one of the traditional modes of perspective in Chinese landscape painting, and this pure landscape theme were not revived until the second stage of Japanese ink painting in the middle of the fifteenth century.

Despite the scarcity of extant examples, it is possible to infer from available evidence that there were two strains of landscape painting in the hanging scroll format during the early period. One, rooted in the Northern Sung tradition, was learned from the miniature screens depicted in paintings of *rakan* and the Kings of Hell. Examples of this type are the paintings by Kaō and Gukei. The second trend can be seen in the landscape background in figure paintings and in early landscape paintings like the *Wild Geese Alighting on a Sandbar*. The first type was developed by artists who were Zen priests; the second was produced by artists such as Shitan, Ryōzen, and Eiga, who were originally professional painters of traditional Buddhist icons or *yamato-e* artists. In simple compositions based on *yamato-e* painting, they skillfully interpolated Sung and Yüan modes of brushwork.

90. *Autumn Moon over Lake Tung-t'ing*. Copy of a lost painting by Shitan inscribed by I-shan I-ning (1247–1317), from the sketches of Kanō Tan'yū (1602–74). Original before 1317. Kyoto National Museum.

91. *Landscape with Fisherman and Woodcutter*, by Gukei. Hanging scrolls. Ink on silk. H. 98.6, w. 40.3 cm. (See also caption 49.)





92. *Landscape*, by Kaō. Hanging scroll. Ink on silk. H. 72, w. 38.3 cm. Before 1345.
93. *Bamboo and Sparrow*, by Kaō. Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. H. 90.5, w. 30.1 cm. Before 1345. Yamato Bunkakan, Nara.

Among the various identifications of the painter Kaō given in early records, that of the eminent priest Kaō Sōnen who spent time in Yüan China is most compatible with the evidence of paintings such as these. The *Bamboo and Sparrow*, like the *Kanzan* in plates 30–31, is inforced by a Zen spirit; the *Landscape* and his *White-robed Kannon* (pl. 48) are clearly derived from Chinese paintings. While the *Bamboo and Sparrow* is undeniably in the tradition of literati painters of bamboo such as Su Tung-p'o, the inclusion of the sparrow, a living creature, transforms the subject into a Zen theme. An intense animation, felt in the bird's eyes and alert pose, suggests the spontaneously realized awareness of reality that is the quest of Zen. In the *Landscape*, the forms of the mountains are not fully understood, and the painting is flawed by incoherent spatial representation as a result. Its composition derives from the Northern Sung tradition, paintings such as Li T'ang's in plates 86–87 probably providing the model for this work. The brushwork, in contrast to that in the *Wild Geese Alighting on a Sandbar* (pl. 89), reveals a solid grasp of ink painting technique.

Bird-and-Flower Painting

Bird-and-flower painting (*kachōga*), a traditional category in the Far East, includes subjects such as flowers, grasses, trees, birds, and animals. Two main types can be distinguished according to the way in which the subject is conceived. The first depicts the subject in a large-scale, close-up view. The second treats the subject at a distance in a realistic setting. Paintings of the first type tend to treat a single motif in isolation, emphasizing exact representation. In the second type, the subject is often depicted in groups and attention centers on the natural environment; as a result, this type approaches the genre of landscape painting. Representative examples of the two types are quite different, but there are many works that fall into a middle ground and are difficult to categorize.

Two paintings displaying affinities with landscape painting are the two *Rocks and Bamboo* in plates 94–95, inscribed by I-shan I-ning and Ch'ing-cho Chêng-ch'eng. Both have been traditionally considered Yüan paintings, attributed to an artist named T'an Chih-jui (Dan Shizui). This painter, however, seems to have been invented in the fifteenth century by Japanese connoisseurs. When these paintings are compared to a Yüan painting of the same type in plate 96, a certain lack of finesse is noticed. While undeniably based on Yüan models, these two paintings, bearing inscriptions by Chinese priests who had come to Japan, were no doubt produced in Japan. Common to the two are the motif of an eroded calcerous rock, a composition confining most of the elements to one side, and the technique of representing the bamboo grove by

using two tones of ink to render the overlapping of the branches. It may seem strange that these paintings, with their refined compositions and emphasis on polished brushwork, are earlier than the ponderous landscapes of Kaō and Gukei, but this puzzling situation is explained by the way Chinese paintings were used as models in the early period. Paintings of bamboo and rocks were derived directly from Chinese paintings of that subject, and landscapes were taken from models of landscape themes. Specific modes were rigidly followed, and there was no synthesis or assimilation of the different techniques or aesthetic conceptions in the various types. Paintings of bamboo and rocks were an important genre in the early period, and are found on the miniature screens and sliding doors depicted in *emaki* of the fourteenth century.

The fact that bird-and-flower paintings focusing on an isolated subject were done at a surprisingly early date in Japan is known from a late thirteenth-century diptych, *Plum Blossoms* (pls. 98–99). Both paintings were inscribed by the Tōfuku-ji priest Hakuun Egyō, and the inscriptions are recorded in the anthology of his writings. Yet a close comparison of the paintings reveals slight differences in style. In the left-hand painting, buds sprout like sharp claws from a branch rendered in the "boneless" brush mode, and the lines defining the petals are fine and precise. In the right-hand scroll, on the other hand, there is a tortuous feeling in the downward thrust of the branch, and despite the linear rendering of the thick branch with its sharply angular form, the image suffers from a lack of strength; the blossoms, too, although drawn with animated lines, reveal a lack of understanding of organic form. The right-hand scroll is signed Inkokushi Egyō ("Egyō of the Hidden Valley"). The left-hand painting lacks a signature, and the placement of the inscription is slightly different. A strict comparison of the calligraphy indicates that it, too, might be by another hand. In view of these various discrepancies, it seems reasonable to interpret the left-hand scroll as a Sung painting and the right as a painting done in Japan to match it. Today this pair is arranged in a triptych, flanking the *Shaka Descending the Mountain* in plate 54. This pair of paintings elucidates the relationship between imported Chinese paintings and the early Japanese ink paintings derived from them. It is remarkable that paintings with this much command of ink painting technique were being done as early as the end of the thirteenth century.

Another favorite motif in early ink painting was small birds with bamboo, plum branches, or withered trees, as in the two early examples by Kaō (pls. 93, 97). Also in this mode are the *Wagtail on a Rock* inscribed by the Kamakura priest Taiki Genju (pl. 100) and the *Haha Bird* with inscription by Sekishitsu Zenkyū (pl. 101). Kaō's paintings are quiet, simple compositions. Although there is a certain naiveté in the depiction of the birds and the branches, the paintings have a seriousness, an almost elegant austerity. In the two later works (pls. 100–101), the branches are rendered with sophisticated brushwork, and the birds, animated by powerful or sprightly brushwork, are also notably polished. A similar change, from simple painting informed by an intensely religious spirit to that dominated by the aesthetic appeal of polished

brushwork, has already been noted in landscape and figure paintings, but it is especially striking in these bird-and-flower paintings, possibly because of the nature of the subject. Perhaps the ultimate in refinement are the works of Tesshū Tokusai. His paintings of orchids (pls. 102–3), done daily as a religious discipline, the two paintings of *Reeds and Geese* (pls. 106–8), and the *Gibbon* in the style of Mu-ch'i (pl. 104) are all done with extremely polished brushwork, and the compositions are remarkably coherent. The orchid paintings are derived from Yüan paintings by painter-monks such as Hsüeh-ch'uang P'u-ming and Tzu-t'ing Tsu-pai. In their refinement, they represent nearly a century's progress in Japanese ink painting in the bird-and-flower genre. Tesshū's achievement was inherited in the early fifteenth century by Gyokuen Bompō.

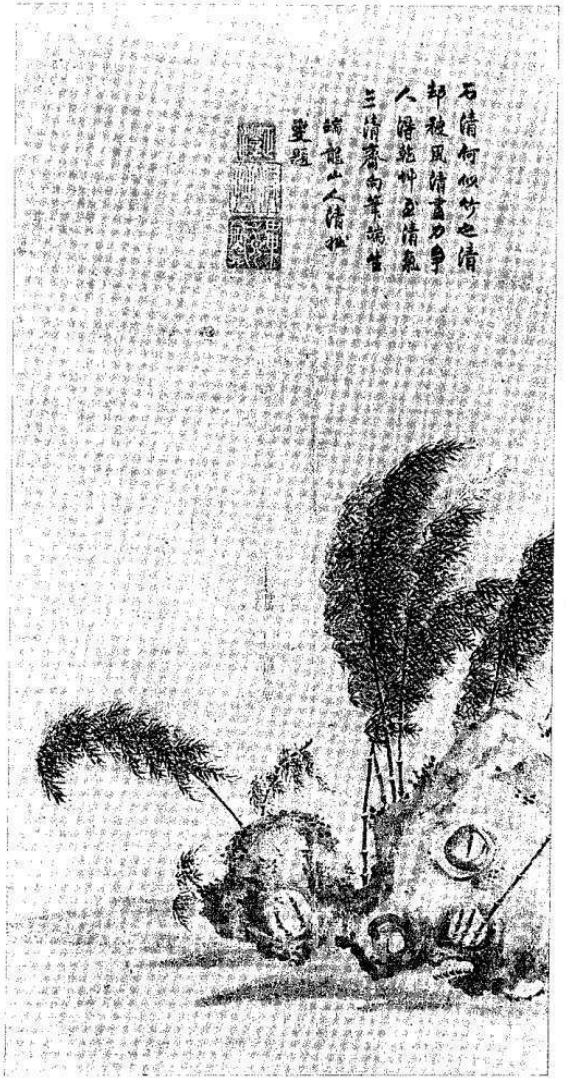
The *Peonies* in plate 109 is an unusual bird-and-flower painting for the early period. This is a lightly colored painting in which three huge peonies are set among rocks in foreground and background. Two small insects hover in the space at upper left. If the writer of the inscription, signed "Tung-ming," is taken to be Tung-ming Hui-jih (Tōmyō E'nichi), the Ts'ao-tung (Sōtō) master who came to Japan in 1309 and taught in the temples of Kamakura, this painting must be no later than 1340, the year he died. This seems quite early for this type of colored bird-and-flower painting, but it is not inconceivable. Similar painting can be found on the screen depicted behind the emperor Goshirakawa in a thirteenth-century portrait (pl. 105). Such colored bird-and-flower paintings seem not, however, to have been favored in early Zen circles, and this type of painting lay dormant until revived in the second half of the fifteenth century by Sesshū and painters of the Soga and Oguri schools.

Also unusual is the *White Heron* by Ryōzen (pl. 131). It stands alone in the fourteenth century, with nothing quite like it in earlier or later extant paintings. The heron, stalking a shallow marsh in search of food, is left unpainted, its form skillfully reserved against the surrounding ink wash. Sharp eyes, beak, and legs are finely detailed in dark ink. The ripples stirred up at the bird's feet and in the upper part of the painting are free from stylization. In the lower right, a few rocks and grasses are touched in with "boneless" brushwork.

Kaō's *Oxen* (pls. 122–23) is also rather anomalous. The subject probably derives from a favorite Zen allegory, the "ten stages of oxherding." Here the austerity that marked Kaō's paintings of birds in bamboo and plum branches is missing. The landscape setting is related to the backgrounds seen in contemporary figure paintings.

Since there is such a wide variety of types among the relatively few surviving bird-and-flower paintings of the early period, it is impossible to trace a coherent development. This situation is the result of these paintings being based on specific Chinese models of various styles. Within this limitation, however, the trend observed in other types of painting, from crude, imitative work to freely executed ink painting, can be seen here also. To view this development from another standpoint, technical progress was not always accompanied by spiritual content. In fact, it is in the earlier works that a true Zen flavor can be discerned.

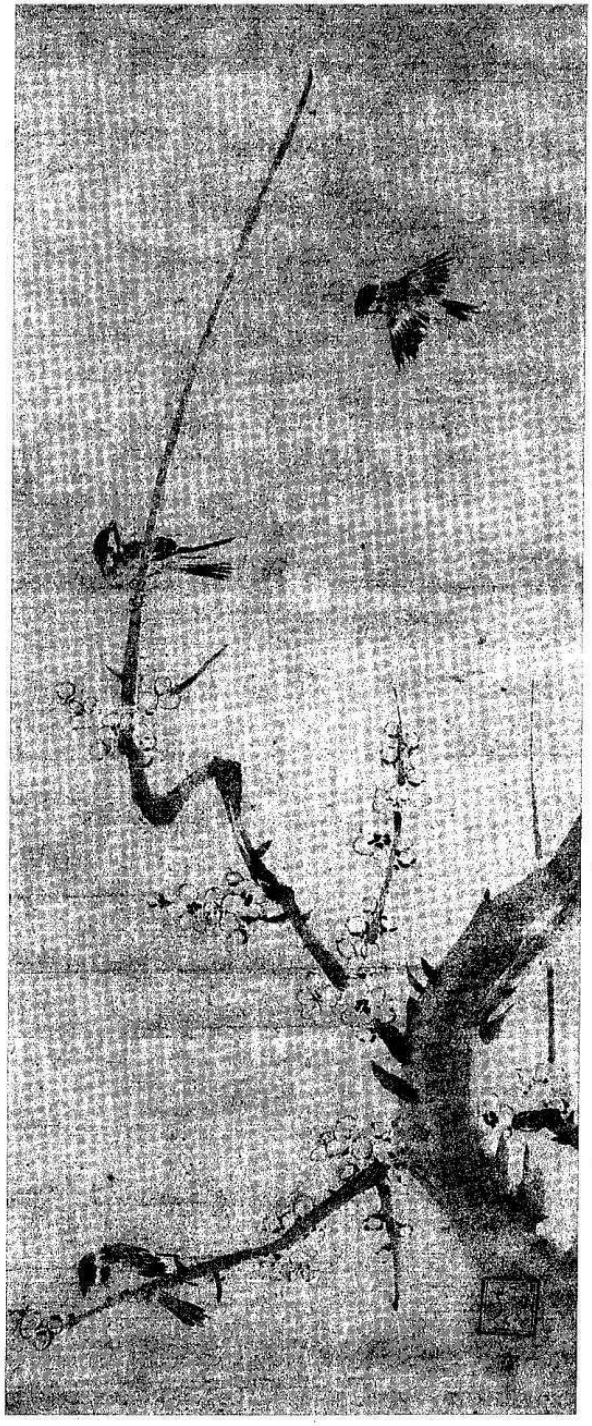
94. *Rocks and Bamboo.* Inscription by I-shan I-ning (1247–1317). Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. Before 1317.
Light strokes render the connecting ground between two groups of bamboo and rocks in the foreground of this somewhat squarish pictorial space. A unity of poetry and painting is emphasized by the effective placement of the poem done in I-shan's cursive calligraphy. Although the bamboo and rock are well painted, the forms are flat and lack substance. Neither is there a sense of spatial recession. For a work of this early date, however, it is a skillful rendering of a natural scene. Possibly the painting as well as the poem is from the hand of I-shan I-ning.



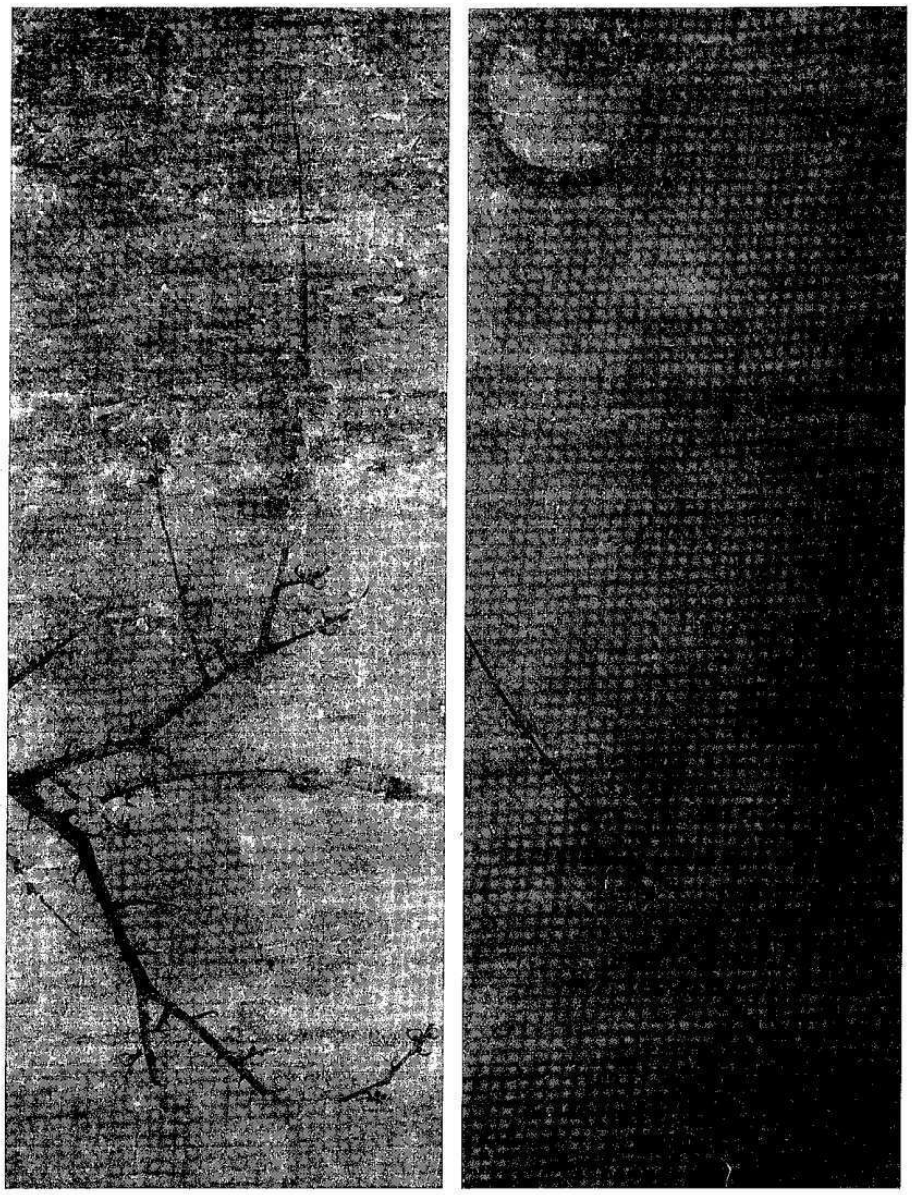
95. *Rocks and Bamboo.* Inscription by Ch'ing-cho Chêng-ch'eng (1274–1339). Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. H. 53, w. 29.1 cm. 1336–39. Nezu Museum, Tokyo.
The date of this painting can be deduced from the inscription by Ch'ing-cho Chêng-ch'eng, a priest who came to Japan in 1326 and died in 1339. The immature phase of Japanese ink painting is characterized by an inadequate grasp of natural form, such as can be seen here in the flat rendering of the rocks and the repetitious piling up of modeling strokes. However, at a time when landscape was painted only rarely, it is remarkable that paintings with such a strong flavor of pure landscape painting were produced. This is due to the phenomenon of literati taste in Zen monasteries, which inspired an appreciation for paintings of bamboo in ink. Thus paintings such as this were copied faithfully from Chinese models while the demand for original landscape painting remained small.

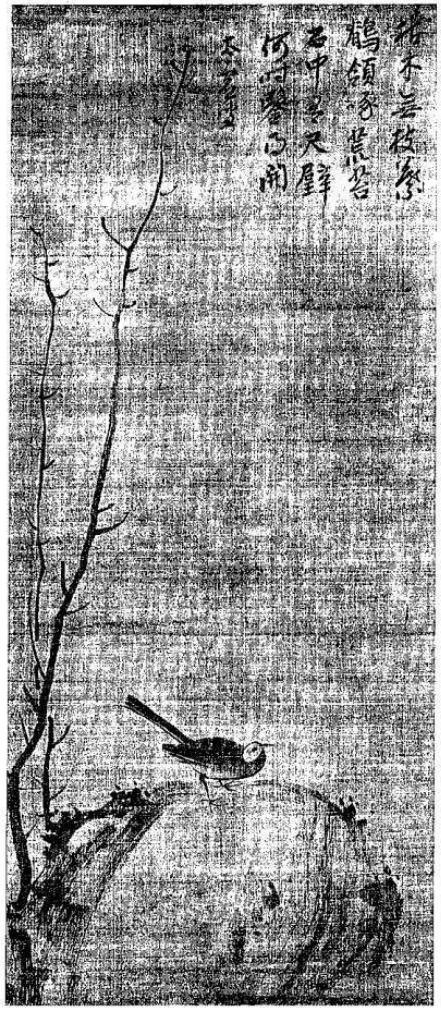
96. *Bamboo Grove.* Inscription by Chien-hsin Lai-fu (d. 1391). Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. Before 1391. Seikadō, Tokyo.
Paintings like this served as models for the paintings illustrated in plates 94–95. It may be a slightly later work than these paintings, judging from the dates when the priests who inscribed the paintings died, but its close resemblance to these Japanese paintings indicates that there was not a great technical difference between Chinese and Japanese works in this genre, but here there seems to be a greater feeling of pure landscape painting and a sense of spatial recession in the line of the river bank and the depth of the bamboo grove.

97. *Sparrows and Plum Branches,* by Kaō. Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. H. 84.9, w. 32.2 cm. Before 1345. Umezawa Memorial Gallery, Tokyo.
This painting is probably a mate to the painting of a sparrow and bamboo shown in plate 93. In contrast to the repose and latent energy of that painting, here the scene is of a complementary activity. The entire natural world is symbolized by the combination of such antithetical forces. This pair is thus a classic expression of the Zen tenet that the nature of the Buddha is to be found in all of creation. (See plate 142 for seals.)



98–99. *Plum Blossoms.* Inscription by Hakuun Egyō (1228–97). Two hanging scrolls. Ink on paper. H. 78.2, w. 28.4 cm. Before 1297. Rikkyoku-an, Tōfuku-ji, Kyoto.
There are differences in both paper and brushwork between these two paintings, now combined with the *Shaka Descending the Mountain* in plate 54 to form a triptych. In the right-hand scroll, the painting is done against a horizontal wax impression of a peony in a vase. This incongruity was overlooked in the concern to use such precious Chinese paper regardless of its suitability to the vertical format. The left-hand scroll is probably a Chinese painting of the Yüan period, the right-hand one a copy done in Japan and an exemplary early ink painting of a bird and flower subject.



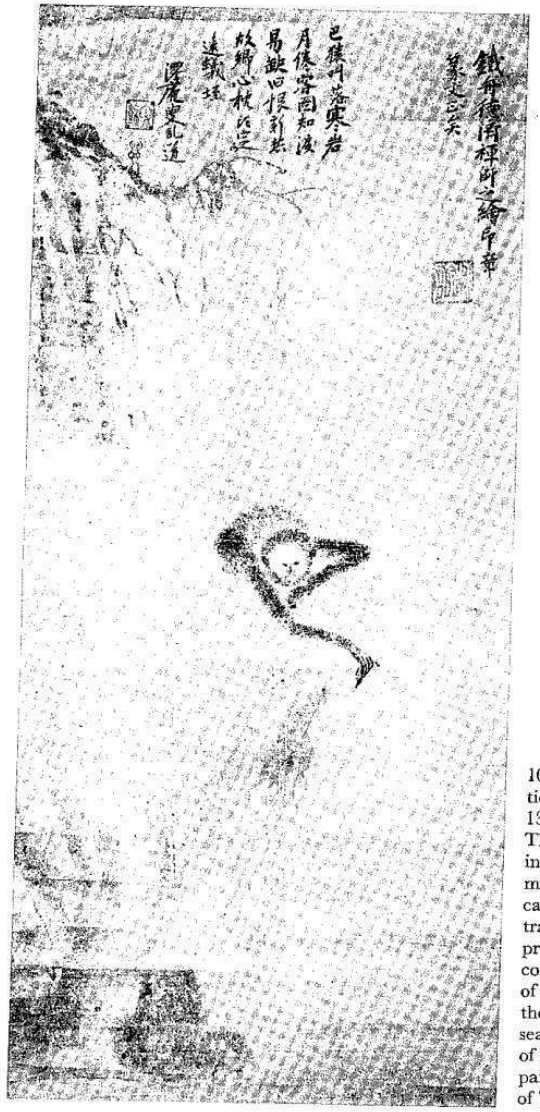


100. *Wagtail on a Rock.* Inscription by Taiki Genju. Hanging scroll. Ink on silk. H. 81.1, w. 35 cm. *Ca.* 1374.
The brush style here is more refined than in Kaō's work (pl. 93). A carefree élan enlivens the deftly defined bird, the simple dry brush-work of the rock, and the two withered branches rising in animated isolation to fill the entire left portion of the painting. Such spirited naiveté is characteristic of amateur painter-priests, and the painting as well as the poem is probably the work of Taiki Genju. The dates of his birth and death are unrecorded, but he is known to have come to Kamakura in 1374 after he returned from China, where he underwent training from masters such as Yüeh-chiang Ch'êng-yin, and Ling-shih Ju-chih. He is said to have declined the shogunate appointed post as head of Jōchi-ji in Kamakura.

101. *Haha Bird.* Inscription by Sekishitsu Zenkyū (1294–1389). Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. H. 35.6, w. 33.3 cm. Before 1389.
Motionless and with head turned back, a bird perches firmly on a sharply drawn branch. Its keen gaze toward the lower right crosses the upward rising line to the left of the branch. At nearly a right angle to this thin branch, a strong line of a thicker branch parallels the line of the bird's body, giving the composition great stability. The sure grasp of three-dimentional form here is a characteristic not seen in early ink painting. Sekishitsu Zenkyū was a disciple of Ku-lin Ch'ing-mao and lived at Tenryū-ji in Kyoto and at Engaku-ji in Kamakura.

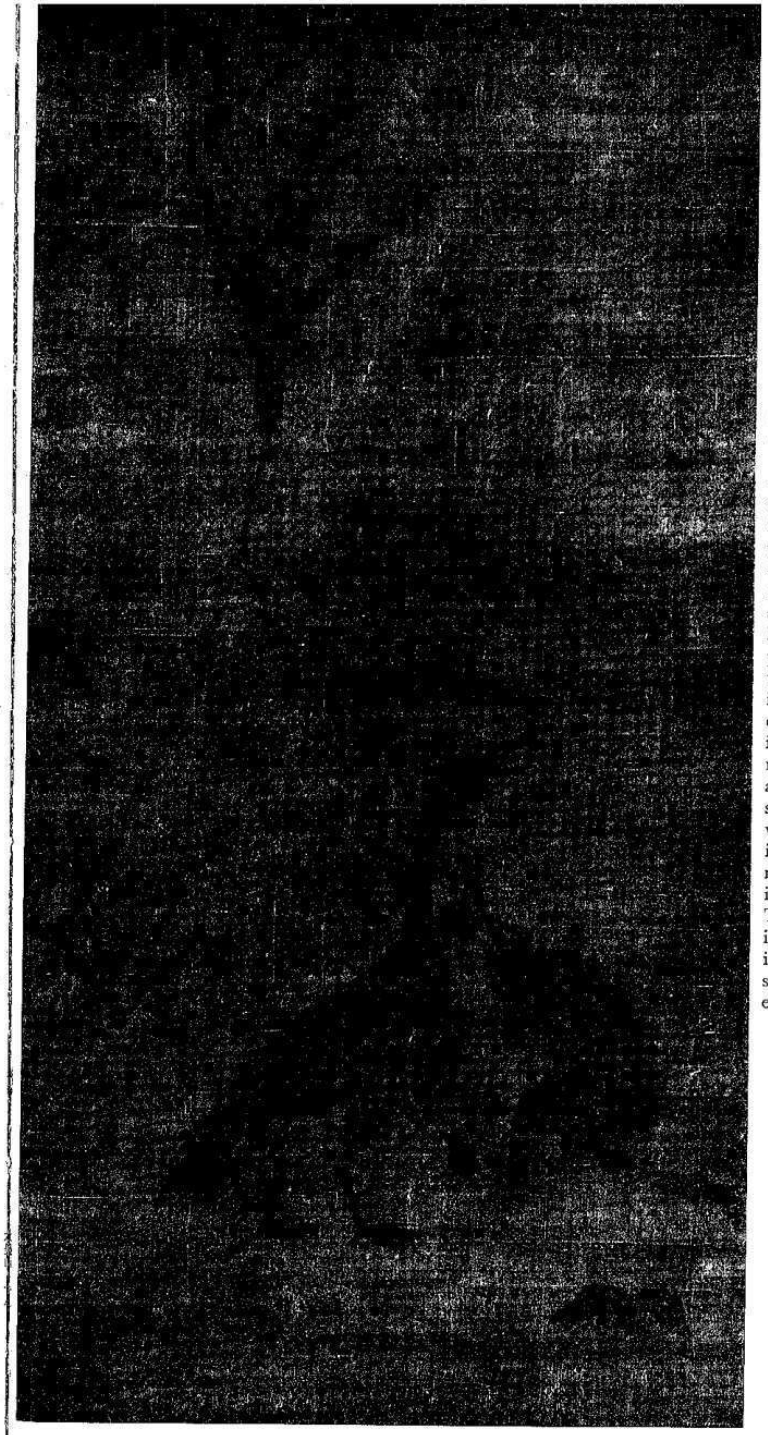
102. *Orchid and Bamboo,* by Tesshū Tokusai. Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. H. 40, w. 32.6 cm. Before 1366. Gotō Art Museum, Tokyo.
The orchid paintings of Tesshū Tokusai (d. 1366) are based on those of the Chinese painter-priest Hsüeh-ch'uang P'u-ming, which he studied in China. Tesshū's paintings are expressive in contrast to his models, which were basically realistic, a quality of Chinese painting in general. This approach to the subject was also true of Tesshū's follower, Gyokuen Bompō. The long leaves of the orchid are rendered freely but without ostentation in wet dark-bluish ink, and the bamboo is forcefully executed. A sense of spontaneity animates the work. (See plate 146 for seal.)

103. *Orchid,* by Tesshū Tokusai. Inscription by Gidō Shūshin (1326–88). Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. H. 51.3, w. 32.6 cm. Before 1366.
Among the many paintings of orchids by Tesshū Tokusai, this one conforms most faithfully to the canons of Chinese brushwork. Its beauty is enhanced by the calligraphy of Gidō Shūshin's inscription. The two were close friends, fellow disciples of Musō Soseki. The *Kūge nikkōshū,* Gidō's diary, contains as many as four poems that refer to Tesshū's paintings of orchids and grapes, indicating the high esteem in which these works were held during the painter's lifetime. The essence of nature is poignantly expressed in this detail of the opposing elements of the massive rock, rendered in dry abrasive strokes, and the fragile, supple plants growing in its shadow. The resiliant strength of the leaves and the cursive calligraphy give this work great vitality.



104. *Gibbon*, by Tesshū Tokusai. Inscription by Takuan Sōhō (1573–1645). Before 1366.
This painting is one of the oldest paintings of this subject in Japan. Mu-ch'i's famous painting in the Daitoku-ji collection can be seen as a prototype, but the penetrating realism of that work is only faintly preserved here. Rather, it is the spiritual content that is emphasized in this depiction of the gibbon reaching for the reflection of the moon, an allegorical reference to the search for enlightenment. The refinement of brushwork is unexpected for this type of painting, but this is a characteristic of all of Tesshū's paintings.

105. *The Cloistered Emperor Goshirakawa*. Detail. Hanging scroll. Color on silk. H. 134.3, w. 84.7 cm. Second half of the thirteenth century. Myōhō-in, Kyoto.
This, the oldest extant portrait of Emperor Goshirakawa (1127–92), is a masterpiece of native Japanese (*yamato-e*) portraiture. In the background, a pillar separates two paintings on sliding doors. Flowers and a blue magpie at the right and, at left, rocks, flowering plants, and several magpies are painted in Sung academic style. Shading is meticulously applied to the rock, the birds are delineated in fine lines, and there is an overall decorative impression in these miniature paintings. It is not certain that such flower and bird themes were regarded as independent subjects for painting in hanging scroll formats, but this painting shows that there were artists capable of high quality work in this genre when there was a demand for it. Yet, like the landscape painting on the miniature paintings on the screens behind the figures in *rakan* paintings, this probably did not develop outside the incidental context of such paintings within paintings (*gachūga*).



106–7 (far left). *Reeds and Geese*, by Tesshū Tokusai. Pair of hanging scrolls. Ink on paper. Before 1366.

108 (left). *Reeds and Geese*, by Tesshū Tokusai. Hanging scroll. Ink on silk. Before 1366.

Famed primarily as a great painter of orchids, Tesshū Tokusai (d. 1366) also frequently painted the theme of reeds and geese. The version in plate 108 is very close in feeling to the pair of scrolls in plates 106–7, revealing a common approach favored by this painter. In the foreground are small rocks and spare indications of a bank of land. Poses of the birds are complementary. Countering the depiction of a goose in flight or one gazing skyward are introverted figures of birds pecking for food or nestling into a wing in sleep. Although the reeds are few and simple, they amply evoke a marsh setting. The softness of feathers and a sense of volume is rendered by layers of ink of varying tonal values. Richness of the ink can be felt as well in the quickly executed reeds. Tesshū Tokusai's facility in varying ink tones enlivens these paintings, making them among the most sophisticated ink paintings of the early period.

109. *Peonies*. Inscription by Tung-ming Hui-jih (1272–1340). Hanging scroll. Ink and color on silk. Before 1340.
This painting is unusual for a bird-and-flower painting of the early thirteenth century. It adheres to the Yüan style of bird-and-flower painting in its detailed drawing and sensuous color, but the brushwork is not particularly polished. The composition is not arranged to make the large blossoms stand out as in similar Yüan paintings. Other characteristics of Japanese essays in this mode are the awkwardness of the drawing of the leaves and the absence of proper modeling strokes in the rocks.

3

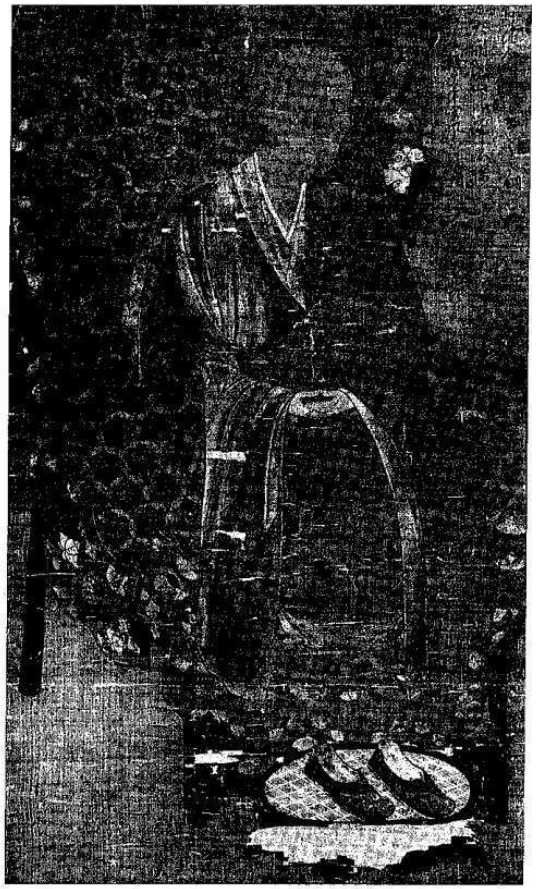
THE PAINTERS

From the beginning of its history, Japanese Zen had a strong literary bent. Ultimately, with the formation of literary societies from about the end of the fourteenth century to the middle of the fifteenth, literary activities overshadowed religious practice, and the study of Chinese literature became a major aspect of monastic life. The story is well known of how the fifteenth-century reformer Ikkyū Sōjun walked the streets of Kyoto with a bamboo sword, proclaiming that the Zen monks of his day, like bamboo swords, were hollow and without edge, merely stand-ins for the genuine article. Such scholarly tendencies are evident, in fact, as early as the mid-fourteenth century. For instance, Gidō Shūshin (1326–88), in his diary *Kūge nikkōshū*, admonishes his followers against turning to literary pursuits. This trend began at the end of the Kamakura period (1185–1332) with the introduction of Yüan Ch'an literature by monks such as Chu-hsien Fan-hsien (Jikusen Bonsen), Getsurin Dōkō, and Chūgan Engetsu, all disciples of the venerable master Ku-lin Ch'ing-mao who formed a group known as Kongō Tōka ("Bannermen of the *Vajra*"). Ku-lin Ch'ing-mao, renowned as a writer and as a calligrapher, was eagerly sought out by Japanese monks who traveled to China.

It is generally held, however, that the Yüan emigré I-shan I-ning (in Japan 1299–1317) played a significant early role in making Zen temples centers of Chinese literature and art. His cursive calligraphy was especially esteemed, and there are more extant paintings with his inscriptions than of any other priest. Here, skirting the question of whether or not it was he who initiated Zen literati culture, we shall examine some of the paintings he inscribed for what light they shed on the scope of his cultural interests.

Paintings Inscribed by I-shan I-ning

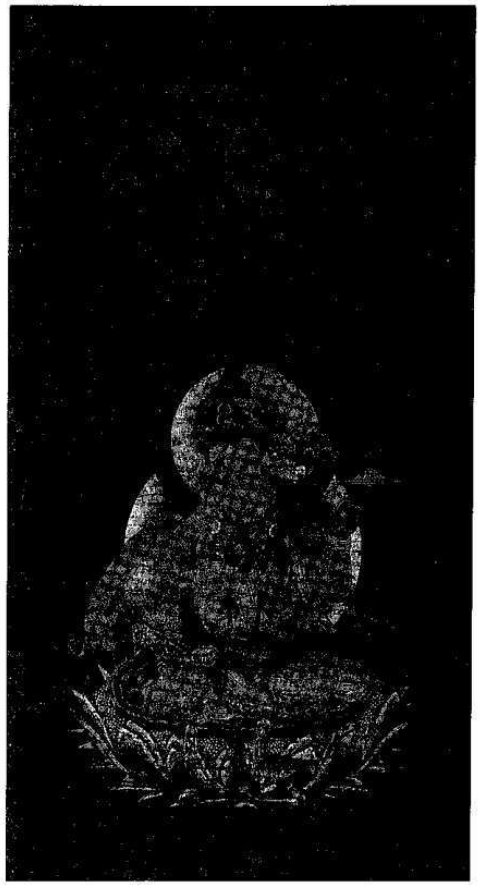
I-shan I-ning arrived in Japan in 1299, and by the time of his death in 1317 had presided at such important Zen temples as Kenchō-ji and Engaku-ji in Kamakura, and Nanzen-ji in Kyoto. Of the ten paintings with his inscription discussed here, which are richly varied in subject and style, only four are by artists whose names are indicated on the paintings themselves: *Wild Geese Alighting on a Sandbar* by Shitan, the



110. *Shinkai Shōnin.* Inscription by I-shan I-ning (1247–1317). Hanging scroll. Colors on silk. H. 91.5, w. 53 cm. Before 1317. Shōmyō-ji, Kanagawa.
Shinkai Shōnin, also known as Myōshōbō, established Shōmyō-ji as a temple of the Shingon sect. He died in 1304 at the age of seventy-two. It is uncertain whether this painting, which must have been inscribed before 1317, the year of I-shan I-ning's death, was painted during the master's lifetime or as a posthumous portrait. Exactly as in Zen portraits, the full figure is shown in a Chinese-style chair, and the drawing emphasizes the ink lines. But the lack of space at the top indicates that it was not intended to include an inscription, an essential element in *chinsō*. The great breadth of I-shan I-ning's interests and influence is indicated by his inscription on this portrait of a Shingon priest. The two men were closely related as leading intellectuals of the late Kamakura period.

chinsō of Muhon Kakushin by Kakue, the *Nyoirin Kannon* by Kikkei, and the *Daruma on a Reed* by Li Yao-fu (Rigyōfu), probably a Yüan artist who came to Japan. Since no two of these paintings are by the same artist, and the rest anonymous, it is impossible to discern a special relationship between I-shan I-ning and any one artist. On the other hand, the fact that as many as four artists are associated with I-shan testifies to his prominent interest in the arts.

Among the *chinsō* he inscribed are the portrait of Muhon Kakushin (pl. 13), close in style to traditional Japanese portraits, and that of Shinkai Shōnin (pl. 110). The latter portrays a Shingon priest and is thus not a true *chinsō*, but it is done in the manner of Zen portraits and is stylistically close to Sung painting. Figure paintings with I-shan's inscriptions are widely varied, beginning with the *Nyoirin Kannon* in plate 111, which is an orthodox Buddhist icon of the Six-armed Kannon that can in no way be associated with Zen ideas. The *White-robed Kannon* in plate 42 is a colored painting, but ink painting techniques are used in the trees and rock. Similar to this in iconography and composition is the *Daruma* in plate 21. Another painting of Daruma,



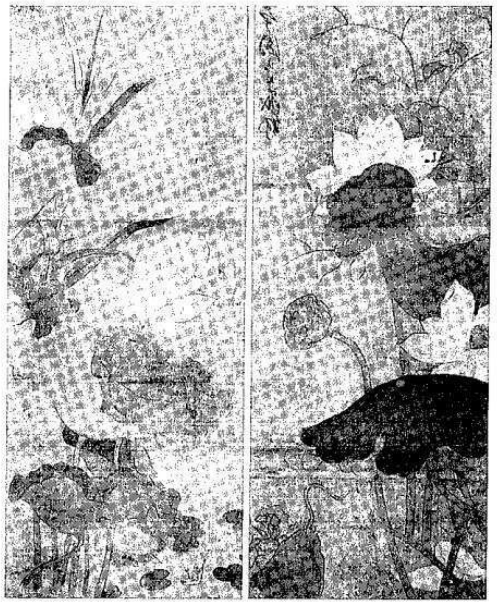
111. *Nyoirin Kannon,* by Kikkei. Inscription by I-shan I-ning (1247–1317). Hanging scroll. Color on silk. H. 101.6, w. 54.3 cm. 1307. Matsuo-dera, Kyoto.
This traditional Buddhist icon is strongly influenced by Sung painting in both style and iconography. Slight shading on the robe and body, and the extremely fine line drawing are unmistakable Sung characteristics. The calligraphy is rather stiff compared to other examples of I-shan I-ning's work, but this is probably a change made in response to the subject of the painting.

shown beneath a cliff (pl. 112), is a profile image enlivened by tonal variations of dilute ink lines that concisely capture the form. Other renderings of Daruma are the *Daruma on a Reed* depicting a hooded figure in effective light ink lines (pl. 113) and another version of this iconographic type showing the figure bare-headed in expert *hakubyō* style (pl. 20). Two works are of landscape themes, *Wild Geese Alighting on a Sandbar* (pl. 89) and *Rocks and Bamboo* (pl. 94). Other interesting paintings, known only through later copies, are the *Kanzan* in plate 33, the *Ox* in plate 114, and the *Lotus* in plate 115. In addition to these inscribed paintings, an inscription by I-shan I-ning that was attached on a separate piece of silk to a lost imaginary portrait of Shōtoku Taishi (574–622) survives as a fragment. This extremely diverse group of works reveals no dominant preference. The fact that serveral of the paintings did not originally allow space for the addition of an inscription suggests that I-shan I-ning's literary bent was a step ahead of the times, and that it was he who fostered the practice of adding poetic inscriptions to paintings, encouraging a literati trend in Zen circles.

112. *Daruma.* Inscription by I-shan I-ning (1247–1317). Hanging scroll. Ink on silk. H. 74.5, w. 29.1 cm. Before 1317.
Like the other portrait of Daruma inscribed by I-shan I-ning (pl. 21), this painting depicts him meditating beneath a tree. This version is distinguished by the sophisticated composition presenting the patriarch in exact profile. Mature ink painting technique can be seen in the "boneless" line depicting branches of the overhanging tree and delineation of the shoulders and knees in single strokes of the brush. Not only the inscription but also the painting may have been done by I-shan I-ning, who embraced the artistic and philosophical attitudes of the Yüan literati.

113. *Daruma on a Reed,* by Chi-t'ang Li Yao-fu (Kidō Rigyōfu). Inscription by I-shan I-ning (1247–1317). Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. Before 1317.
In contrast to the painting in plate 20, this version is done in relaxed lines with refined brushwork. Also new is the technique of "blown ink" that can be seen on the face and part of the hem. The painter who signed himself Chi-t'ang Li Yao-fu has been linked to I-shan, and is presumed to be a Chinese painter who emigrated to Japan. The theory that he was a Yüan painter is supported by the soft brushwork and quiet mood of this painting, unusual in Japanese versions of this theme.

114. *Ox.* Copy of a lost painting inscribed by I-shan I-ning (1247–1317). Original before 1317. Tokyo National Museum.
This is another example of the wide variety of paintings inscribed by I-shan I-ning. Of course, all such copies may not have been made from authentic works, but at least they give some idea of the varied subjects of interest of this Zen prelate.



115. *Lotus.* Copy of a lost painting inscribed by I-shan I-ning (1247–1317). Original before 1317. Tokyo National Museum.

Mokuan

Along with Kaō, Mokuan Reien is one of the rare major painters of the early period whose biography can be reconstructed and whose paintings survive in more than one or two examples. Some time between 1326 and 1328 Mokuan went to China and never returned, dying there around 1345. He was long thought to be a Chinese painter, and is so listed as early as the mid-fifteenth century in such Japanese sources as the *Kundaikan sōchōki*, a critical classification of painters initially compiled by Nōami, the shogun's artistic advisor. No paintings are known from the time prior to his departure for China, and in the strictest sense it is questionable whether he should be considered an early Japanese ink painter at all.

The most detailed information about Mokuan is found in Gidō Shūshin's diary, *Kūge nikkōshū*, from which we learn the following: Mokuan's name was originally Ze'itsu, and he was a disciple of Kenzan Sūki (1286?–1323) of the Jōchi-ji in Kamakura. Crossing the sea to Yüan China, he sought out such famous Ch'an masters as P'ing-shih Ju-ti at T'ien-t'ung-shan, Yüeh-chiang Chêng-yin at A-yü-wang-shan, and Liao-an Ch-ing-yü and Ch'u-shih Fan-ch'i of Pên-chüeh-ssu at Shou-shan, all in southern China. His skill in painting was soon recognized, and he was renowned from the time he was at Ching-tz'u-ssu in Lin-an. Once, when Mokuan visited the Liu-t'ung-ssu at West Lake, a monastry revived by Mu-ch'i and later maintained by his disciples, the abbot joyfully greeted him, as though he had been expecting his arrival. The abbot told of a dream he had had the previous night in which he had envisioned Mu-ch'i returning to the monastery. Mokuan was thereupon recognized as the reincarnation of Mu-ch'i, and presented with the seals he had used.

Later Mokuan is known to have done paintings of the twenty-two patriarchs of the Zen sect, which were inscribed by Ch'u-shih Fan-ch'i, who had become abbot of the Pên-chueh-ssu monastery in 1343. Judging from a farewell poem addressed to him about that time by Ch'u-shih, Mokuan was planning to return to Japan, but unfortunately he died in China before he could do so, a great loss to Japanese ink painting.

Five works will be considered here to assess Mokuan's painting style: the *Four Sleepers*, a work bearing his seal and famed for centuries (pl. 29); two depictions of Hotei, one inscribed by Liao-an Ch'ing-yü (pl. 117), the other by Yüeh-chiang Chêng-yin (pl. 116); and two paintings of the White-robed Kannon inscribed by P'ing-shih Ju-ti (pl. 46) and Liao-an Ch'ing-yü (pl. 47). The "four sleepers" depicted in the painting of that title are the eccentric T'ang-dynasty Zen monk Bukan (Fêng-kan), the tiger he is said to have ridden much to the amazement of his fellow monks, and Kanzan and Jittoku; all are sleeping blissfully, the epitome of repose. The ink lines in Mokuan's soft, dry *kappitsu* brushwork are extremely facile, and create the impression that the four are a single body. In the foreground, scattered clumps of grass and rocks and a bank of earth solidly render the ground plane. In the left background, withered branches hanging from a cliff are painted in darker ink. This arrangement

116. *Hotei*, by Mokuan. Detail. Inscription by Yüeh-chiang Chêng-yin (1267–1350). Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. H. 114, w. 48.8 cm. *Ca.* 1333.
A few strokes with a dry brush boldly render Hotei's magnitude. In the tradition of abbreviated figure painting (*gempitsu-tai*) and "apparition" painting (*mōrō-tai*) that developed in Sung Ch'an circles, this painting has an ethereal quality which offsets the great weight and size of the figure. Mokuan studied with Yüeh-chiang Chêng-yin, who wrote the inscription at Mount A-yü-wang in Ning-po. With Ch'u-shih Fan-ch'i, he is considered one of the greatest Ch'an masters of the Yüan period. The inscription was written on a separate sheet of paper, making it difficult to discuss a direct relationship between the painting and the inscription.

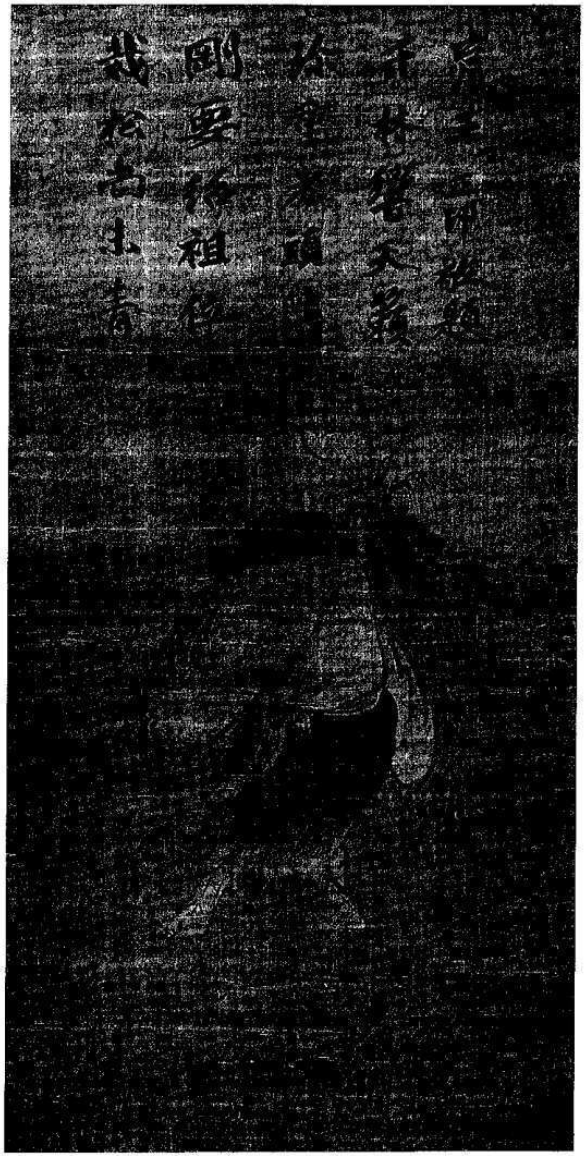
of figures framed by a background cliff is a standard composition of the time, but there is a refinement in this work, foreign to contemporary Japanese works, that is characteristic of Mokuan. Nothing is known of Hsiang-fu Shao-mi who wrote the inscription, but he was probably a Ch'an priest of the Yüan period.

The two paintings of Hotei are in the abbreviated manner of a group of Sung figure paintings typified by the work of the obscure mid-thirteenth century painter Chih-wêng (Chokuō; pl. 55). The two paintings of Hotei differ in that one uses wet brushwork and the other dry, but in both, the expressive rendering of the face and animation of the figure are in no way inferior to Chinese painting. Mokuan's genius for capturing the human figure is easily appreciated in comparison to such later paintings as Gukei's *Hotei* in plate 125. In Mokuan's paintings the figure is realized without any unnaturalness or superfluous lines. In the *White-robed Kannon* (pl. 46), probably executed shortly after his arrival in China, the sharpness of Mokuan's line is not as conspicuous because the painting is on silk. Again the image is perfectly realized: a nimble figure of Kannon seated at the edge of a rock is unified by rich ink tones with the concisely rendered cliff and waterfall. The *Lin-chi Gathering Pine Fagots* in plate 118 can be attributed to Mokuan although there is no seal or signature. Yüeh-chiang Chêng-yin, who inscribed Mokuan's *Hotei*, wrote the inscription for this painting, and the fluent drawing in tactile brushwork with dark, dry ink is akin to that seen in the *Four Sleepers*.

117. *Hotei*, by Mokuan. Inscription by Liao-an Ch'ing-yü (1288–1363). Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. H. 80.2, w. 32 cm. Before 1345. Atami Art Museum.
In contrast to the painting inscribed by Yüeh-chiang Chêng-yin in plate 116, this figure is drawn with a wet brush. Both have the ethereal quality of abbreviated figure painting, and exhibit the great range of Mokuan's technical expertise in manipulating tonal values of ink and varying the quality of lines. Liao-an Ch'ing-yü, who also inscribed Mokuan's *White-robed Kannon* (pl. 47), was closely connected with the artist. (See plate 144 for seals.)

By hiding the face, the painter gave the figure an arresting sense of spiritual tension.

Although there are other paintings associated with Mokuan, such as the *Heron* supposed to have been copied by Nōami and Sesson, and paintings of gibbons, geese, dragons, and tigers mentioned in old records, these are all questionable, and the most appropriate assessment of Mokuan is that he specialized in figure subjects related to Zen. From the fact that he was considered an incarnation of the great painter-priest Mu-ch'i, and the record of such a major project as the portraits of twenty-two Zen patriarchs, it seems that painting was a serious undertaking for Mokuan. On the other hand, the primacy of his religious endeavor is emphatically suggested by his pilgrimages to various temples where he underwent training from great Ch'an masters. The impression is inescapable that Mokuan was a painter whose art was an avocation that grew out of his religious practice. Beneath the intensity and religious content in his paintings is the personality of Mokuan the Zen monk.



118. *Lin-chi Gathering Pine Faggots*, attributed to Mokuan. Inscription by Yüeh-chiang Chêng-yin (1267–1350). *Ca.* 1333.
This image of Lin-chi (Rinzai), founder of one of the most influential schools of Zen, typifies the humble state and eccentric mien attributed to figures of Zen legend. The visual conceit of depicting the patriarch with his back to the viewer emphasizes these unworldly characteristics. Vitality and strength inform the light, simple brushwork. Although there is no seal or signature to identify the painter, the inscription Yüeh-chiang Chêng-yin links the work to the monastery at Mount A-yü-wang, supporting the attribution of this work to Mokuan.

Kaō

Kaō has traditionally been considered the father of Japanese ink painting. There is still disagreement, however, as to his true identity. On the one hand, he is taken to be the eminent painter-priest Kaō Sōnen, and on the other to have belonged to the traditional painting school of the Takuma line under the name of Kaō Ninga; the latter theory is based on the fact that a seal found on his paintings, slightly below the one reading "Kaō," is construed as "Ninga," and the character for *ga* is traditionally used in the names of Takuma-school painters (pls. 142–43). Furthermore, because the name Kaō has been renowned for centuries, the work of several other artists has been confused with his. Two of the more common theories identified Ryōzen and Shitan as pseudonymns of Kaō. Before taking up the problem of Kaō's identity, however, let us first examine his paintings.

Kaō's masterpiece is certainly the painting of Kanzan in plate 30. Standing beneath a huge pine, shabbily dressed, hands clasped behind his back and great sleeves dangling, the unworldly hermit is vividly evoked. Thick strong lines of dark ink outline the figure concisely, and rough strokes of ink wash render the volumes of the lower robe and tree. The feet and hair, done in sharp, abrasive strokes, become accents in the painting. The nonchalant face, free of worldly concerns, well expresses the spirit of this untrammeled recluse. The prototype for this work is probably to be found in a Yüan painting inscribed by Ta-ch'ien Hui-chao (pl. 119), which is nearly identical in figure type. Note, however, that Kaō's brushwork is superior to that of the Chinese product, a good indication that Kaō was far above the ordinary run of painter. The same figure type is seen in another painting of Kanzan, this time without background (pl. 31), and in a pair of paintings depicting Kanzan and Jittoku (pls. 120–21), though the brushwork is not as masterly as in the version described above. Likewise, Kaō's *Priest Kensu* (pl. 35) does not given an impression of great strength because, in its present condition, the ink tones have become very pale, but it is nevertheless a keen depiction of this Zen eccentric's openhearted delight at snaring a shrimp.

The *Bamboo and Sparrow* (pl. 93) and the *Sparrows and Plum Branches* (pl. 97) are so similar in brushwork that they may have been a pair. A complementary balance is set up between them: in one, an expertly drawn bird is poised for flight on a rock in the lower left corner, over which a bamboo branch is forcefully executed in strong dark brushstrokes; in the other, a livelier painting, three animated sparrows are depicted around a central arc of a blossoming plum branch. There is an antithesis here of stillness and motion, of potential and active energy. In these small paintings, one feels that some basic principle of nature has been perfectly expressed. Representing the essence of nature in a single branch or in a small bird, the artist has infused the work with the fundamental Zen concept that enlightenment is the awareness of the Buddha-nature in all things. Again, the pair of paintings of oxen in plates 122–23 at first seems to be rather humorous, but revealed in the tiny eyes of the beasts gazing far into the

distance is an energy which bespeaks enlightenment. Here, too, a fundamental aspect of Kaō's art can be discerned.

On the basis of the foregoing analysis of Kaō's paintings, we can make certain deductions about the man himself. First, the intense spirituality pervading his work indicates that he had a significant degree of Zen training. Second, noting the close affinity of Kaō's figure paintings to those of the Yüan period, one easily imagines that he studied Yüan painting at firsthand in China. A further clue to Kaō's identity is the fact that none of his accepted works are inscribed. As is apparent from the previous discussion, it was the rule in the fourteenth century for paintings of figure and bird-and-flower subjects to be provided with poetic inscriptions by eminent priests. Whether the paintings were the work of Zen painter-priests or of professional painters of traditional Buddhist icons, they were complete, and given proper significance, only with the addition of an inscription by a high-ranking priest. On Kaō's paintings, however, there are no inscriptions. The reason for this is that the paintings themselves are charged with a high degree of Zen content, indicating that the artist was a Zen adept. In this they resemble the later landscapes of Sesshū; without poetic inscription, his paintings represent a rejection of the Shūbun-type of landscape in the *shigajiku* format, where the painting merely complemented the Chinese poetry inscribed above. The absence of inscriptions on Kaō's paintings might further indicate that the painter himself was a high-ranking Zen priest.

In conclusion, we see that these various inferences about Kaō, based on his work discussed above, negate the theory that he was a professional painter of the Takuma school and support his identification as the eminent priest Kaō Sōnen, whose history may be briefly outlined as follows.

A native of Chikuzen in Kyushu where he began Zen training under Nampo Jōmyō, Kaō Sōnen went to China in 1317. There he practiced meditation under such masters as Chung-fêng Ming-pên and Ku-lin Ch'ing-mao, both noted also for their literary abilities. After ten years he returned to Japan, where he rose in prominence, eventually serving as the eighteenth abbot of Nanzen-ji. He died in 1345.

Three paintings by Kaō that are slightly different from those discussed previously are *Shaka Descending the Mountain* (pl. 58), the *White-robed Kannon* (pl. 48), and the landscape in plate 92. Each of these bears the same two seals, "Kaō" and the smaller "Ninga," and are accepted as genuine. *Shaka Descending the Mountain* is painted in the "bent-reed" style of long, sharply turning lines, the *White-robed Kannon* in somewhat stiff lines strongly inflected at the beginning of the strokes; in both the brushwork is strictly orthodox. As noted previously, the painting of Shaka was modeled after Liang K'ai's work, and the *White-robed Kannon* is typical of post-Sung paintings on this theme. Unlike Kaō's *Kanzan* (pl. 30), which surpassed its Yüan prototype and stands on its own, these paintings are faithful copies that do not rise above their models. Much the same assessment can be made of the landscape in plate 92. Its "boneless" brushwork and the frieze arrangement of the mountains are derived from Chinese

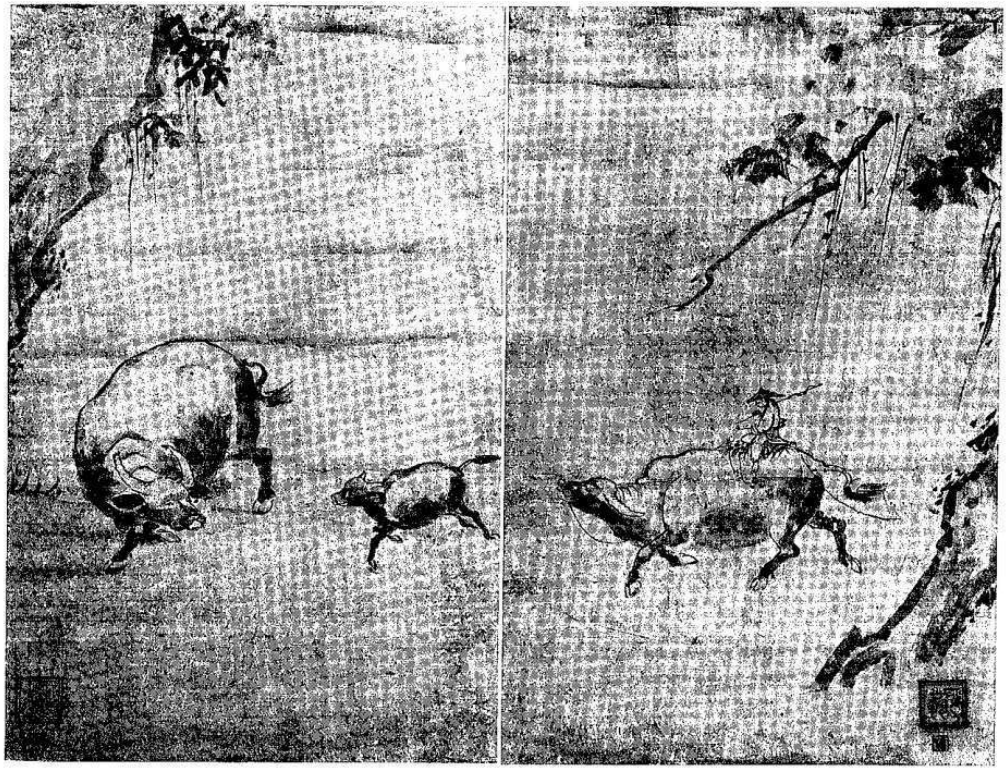
119. *Kanzan.* Inscription by Ta-ch'ien Hui-chao (1289–1373). Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. H. 89.4, w. 31.3 cm. Before 1373.
Almost exactly like Kaō's representations of Kanzan, this Chinese painting shows the standard iconographic type used in the fourteenth-century Ch'an milieu. Ta-ch'ien Hui-chao was a priest who lived on Mount A-yü-wang in Ning-po.

paintings like Li T'ang's pair of landscapes in the Kōtō-in, Daitoku-ji, but these elements are not fully assimilated in Kaō's landscape. Another common point in these three paintings is that, unlike Kaō's other productions, they are all on silk. With this in mind, the least that can be said as to their dates, setting aside the thorny question of whether they come before or after Kaō's sojourn in China, is that there is a good possibility they precede such paintings as those of Kanzan, which so remarkably embody the spirit of Zen.

Considering Kaō's work as a whole, the masterpieces of his later years are seen not as merely skillfully executed works with a Zen flavor, but as manifestations of his genius, transcending his mastery of the Sung and Yüan manners to penetrate to the heart of Zen. Kaō, like Mokuan, was a painter whose art was part of his religious life, but Kaō was able to return to Japan and infuse new life into the techniques he had learned in China, giving free expression to his profound understanding of the Zen way of life.

120–21. *Kanzan and Jittoku,* by Kaō. Two hanging scrolls. Ink on paper. H. 89, w. 34.2 cm. Before 1345.
Kaō frequently painted eccentric figures from Zen lore such as the monk Kensu (pl. 35) and Zen monks in their daily activity, reading sutras by moonlight and mending robes in the sun. Kanzan and Jittoku were subjects he particularly favored. Compared with his other depictions of Kanzan (pls. 30–31), these two paintings are weaker in both composition and brushwork. Neither the style nor the animation of his mature work is seen here, and these are probably paintings of his early career.

122–23. *Oxen,* by Kaō. Two hanging scrolls. Ink on paper. H. 53.5, w. 34.4 cm. Before 1345. Masaki Art Museum, Osaka Prefecture.
Zen masters likened the process of attaining awareness of one's real nature to ten stages of difficulty in catching an ox. Poems called *Ten Oxherding Songs* referred to this allegory. In these scrolls, sure, light brushstrokes effectively render the shapes and volumes of the beasts. There is a lighter touch in the background cliff and foliage than in the landscape settings of other paintings by Kaō, but it gives a pleasing harmony to these paintings, rare as examples of Kaō's animal painting.



Gukei

Premodern art histories give varied identifications of the fourteenth-century painter Gukei. He is listed as Gukei Chishi, of the temple Jōten-ji in Hakata, in the seventeenth-century *Gakō Benran*; as Gukei Jōe, a disciple of Mukan Ryōkin of Jufuku-ji in Kamakura, in the seventeenth-century *Honchō gashi*; as a Chinese painter-monk in the nineteenth-century *Koga bikō*; and as Kaō, or a pseudonym of Kaō's, in the seventeenth-century *Bengyokushū*. Recently, however, his biography has emerged from obscurity and a number of works definitely verified as his. Consequently, Gukei has suddenly become one of the luminaries of early ink painting.

An outline of Gukei's career can be gleaned from several references in the *Kūge nikkōshū*, the diary of Gidō Shūshin. Ue Gukei was a disciple at Manju-ji in Kyoto of of Tesshū Tokusai, a fellow priest of Gidō who is famed for his orchid paintings. The artistic name Gen'an ("Hermitage of Apparitions") recalls the illusory quality of his painting. Inscriptions are recorded for paintings of bamboo by Gukei, and reference is made to his skillful paintings of trees and flowers. The only evidence for the period and scene of his activity points to ten years or so prior to 1375, when he was probably active in Kamakura. One of Gidō's poems refers to Gukei as a "painter-monk" (*gasō*), suggesting that in relation to Gidō he was a lower-ranking priest who probably painted to the specifications of more eminent members of the temple community.

Gukei's eight surviving paintings present a wide range of subject matter and treatment. The *Shaka Triad* in plate 124 is redolent of traditional iconic painting, but other figure paintings treat quintessential Zen themes, as in *Shaka Descending the Mountain* (pl. 59), the *White-robed Kannon* (pl. 49), and *Hotei* (pl. 125). His surviving work is rounded out with the bird-and-flower paintings *Grapes* (pl. 126) and *Bamboo and Sparrows* (pl. 127), and the landscapes *Landscape in Rain* (pl. 88) and a similar pair illustrated in plate 91.

Shaka Descending the Mountain (pl. 59) can be profitably compared to Kaō's version in plate 58, both of which, as already noted, derive from the painting by Liang K'ai (pl. 57). Kaō's work is closer to the original in composition, Gukei's in overall feeling. The keen spirituality of Kaō's painting is missing in Gukei's version, which is rather more impressionistic, emphasizing the aesthetic qualities of the painting itself. This is especially apparent in the abstract depiction of the hanging vine, which is rendered with a simplicity calculated to contrast with the complicated lines of the robe.

Another painting where such exaggerated line drawing is a major element is the *Shaka Triad* (pl. 124). While the symmetrical arrangement of this iconic composition, traditional in Buddhist painting, is uncharacteristic of Gukei, it has been executed in his own personal style—the lines of the robes emphasized, billowing clouds added in the background, and the faces treated realistically. The result, however, is not entirely successful; the painting lacks the iconic quality of a work that is intended to serve as an object of worship. It should be noted, however, that this painting exhibits

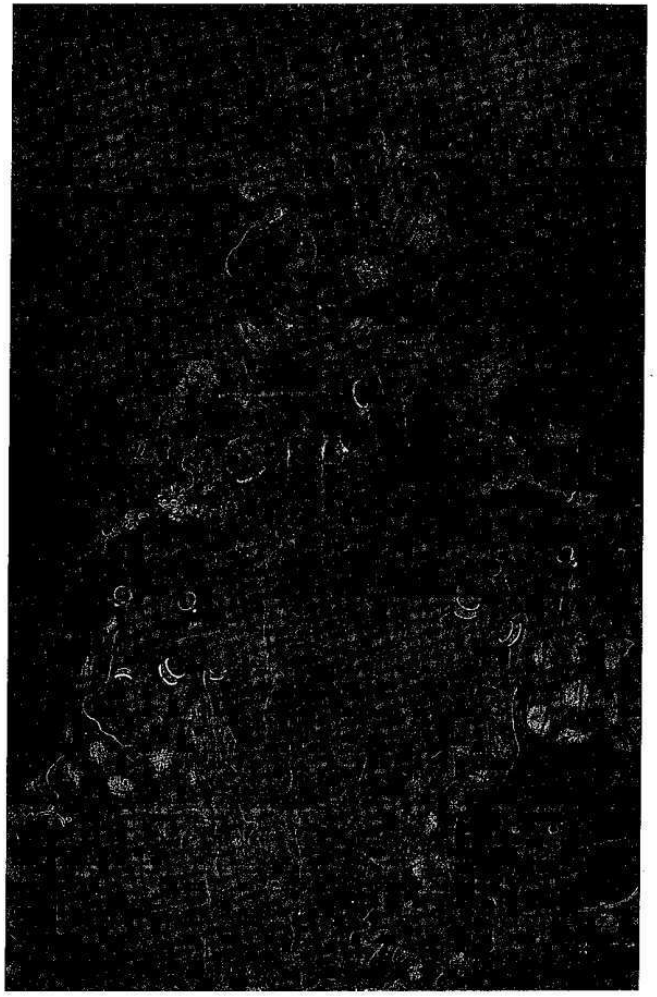
that sense of latent, mystic power found in classic paintings of this type; in a way, this also applies to *Shaka Descending the Mountain* (pl. 59), which on the surface is so reserved and self-contained.

Gukei's Hotei (pl. 125), an otherworldly smile flickering on his face, turns to gaze over his shoulder as he walks with his huge belly protruding and robe slipping off his shoulders. The legs are abnormally short, the fingers and toes extremely large. The strong lines of the robe may at first seem unneccessary, but they serve to intensify the sense of supernatural freedom characteristic of the subject. Here, again, the smile hides a mysterious awareness.

The recently discovered *White-robed Kannon* (pl. 49) was originally the centerpiece of a triptych, flanked by the landscapes with woodcutter and fisherman illustrated in plate 91. The *Landscape in Rain* (pl. 88) was part of a similar triptych with a White-robed Kannon, as is known through a later copy, but the triptych centered on the White-robed Kannon in plate 49 is the earliest extant example of such a grouping. There is nothing particularly unusual in the composition of this Kannon, but the depiction of the cavernous rock behind the figure is peculiar to Gukei. Like the landscapes that were combined with this painting, and the *Landscape in Rain*, the rocks are rendered without contour lines or modeling strokes. Another technique characteristic of Gukei's style is the obliteration of the middle ground in the landscape by an unpainted area suggesting mist. One interpretation of these two stylistic elements is that they reflect the early influence in Japan of the "splashed ink" technique epitomized by the work of the Southern Sung painter Yü-chien (pl. 5). This distinguishes Gukei's landscapes from Kaō's, which are conspicuous for their massive feeling. The compositions of Gukei's landscapes, however, are also derived from the Northern Sung tradition in so far as the main elements are aligned on a central, vertical axis.

The *Bamboo and Sparrows* (pl. 127) is inscribed by Ten'an Kaigi, eighth abbot of the Daiji-ji in Kumamoto and a disciple of the Chinese monk Tung-ming Hui-jih, who introduced Sōtō Zen in the Rinzai temples of Kamakura. This inscription, and the fact that Ten'an is known to have died in 1361, suggest the possibility that Gukei worked in Kumamoto (where this painting is preserved) prior to 1361, some fifteen years before he was active in Kamakura. But since Ten'an himself was connected with Gidō Shūshin in Kamakura, it was not necessarily in Kumamoto that Gukei came into contact with this priest. Despite its small size, this is a work of intense presence, with superb detail in the drawing of the birds.

Gukei's *Grapes* (pl. 126) is modeled on the works of the Sung painter Jih-kuan, just as Tesshū Tokusai and his followers followed the style of Hsüeh-ch'uang P'u-ming in their orchid paintings. It can be inferred that both Gukei and his master Tesshū Tokusai were devoted to painting in the Sung and Yüan styles. Gukei's refined brushwork admirably adapts that of the Chinese painter Jih-kuan. The painting is inscribed by one Baisetsu Seiin, who is known by name only.



124. *Shaka Triad*, by Gukei. Hanging scroll. Ink, light color, and gold on paper. H. 141, w. 89.8 cm. 1362–66. Manju-ji, Kyoto.

In this primarily monochrome ink painting, light red shading is applied to the bodies, and the robes and jewels are decorated with gold. The pyramidal triad arrangement is a typical Sung and Yüan iconographic form, but the representation of Shaka with the bearded visage of an ascetic is unusual. Excess attention is given to the complicated "bent-reed" brushwork, and the crowded drapery folds are not well organized. Although he based his work on Yüan Buddhist painting, Gukei was able to imitate only the general impression but not the style of his Chinese model. This painting is interesting in that it displays in full the idiosyncratic quality that marks Gukei's other works.

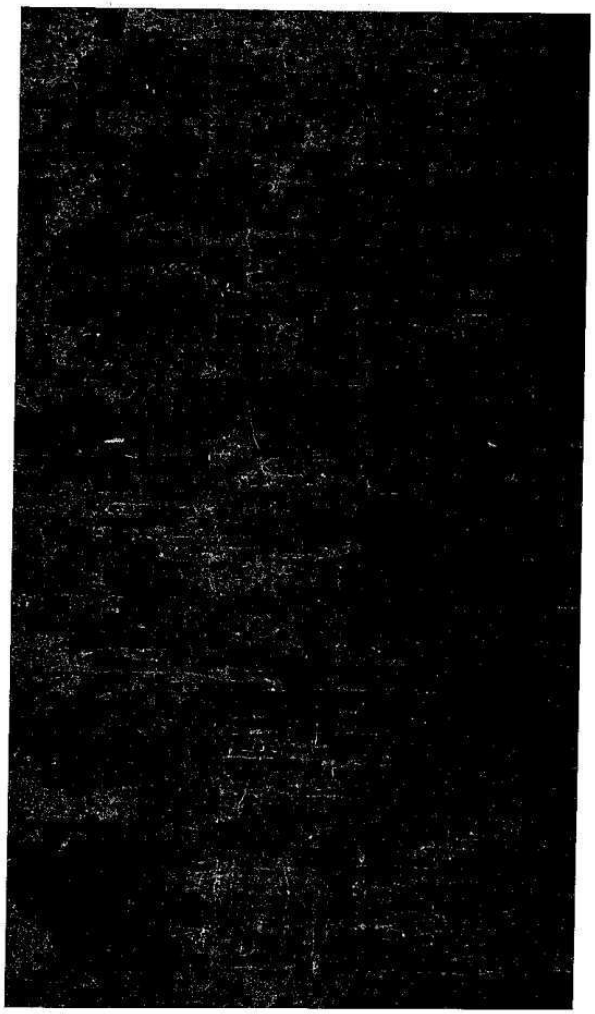
125. *Hotei*, by Gukei. Detail. Inscription by Gyokushitsu Sōhaku. Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. H. 89, w. 29 cm. Masaki Art Museum, Osaka Prefecture.
This painting is quite sophisticated for a figure painting by this artist. Tiny laughing eyes and a generous smile characterize the face; the lines for the body are soft and fluid. Sharp vertical lines for the robe and the outward thrust of the sleeves make an effective contrast, and accents are added in the rhythmic dark lines of the rope sash and staff. The perceptive grasp of Hotei's eccentric, otherworldly character attests to Gukei's technical expertise. Gyokushitsu Sōhaku (d. 1641), the one-hundred forty-eighth abbot of Daitoku-ji, added an inscription on a separate sheet of paper in the seventeenth century.

Thus, although Gukei was adept in a wide variety of painting modes, he was more successful in landscapes and bird-and-flower subjects than in Buddhist figure paintings. He is the earliest known painter to show an inclination toward these more secular themes.

Gukei is also noteworthy in that he developed his own personal idiom; in this sense he typifies the artist in monochrome ink at his finest, in contrast to the more conventional Ryōzen and Eiga, who will be discussed below. Unlike Kaō, who was a high-ranking priest for whom painting was essentially an avocation, Gukei is the earliest example of a professional painter to grow up in the milieu of the Zen temples. In this respect he is the forerunner of Josetsu and Shūbun, but his paintings show that he had greater artistic freedom than these later painters.

Seals and signatures appear on Gukei's eight known paintings in as many as five variations. The triptych with two landscapes flanking the White-robed Kannon, the similar *Landscape in Rain*, and the *Shaka Triad* have two seals, *Ue* and *Gukei*; *Bamboo and Sparrows* is signed *Gukei-saku* ("Done by Gukei"); *Hotei* is signed *Gukei-hitsu* ("Painted by Gukei"); *Shaka Descending the Mountain* is signed *Ue Gukei-sho* ("Written by Ue Gukei"; pl. 147); and *Grapes* has the more literary signature, *Gukei Dōjin-hitsu*, which might be translated "Painted by the Taoist, Gukei" or "Painted by Gukei, the Seeker of the Way." None of the paintings have both seals and signature, and it is not clear from information presently available what significance this variety of seals and signatures has.

126. *Grapes*, by Gukei. Inscription by Baisetsu Seiin. Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. H. 65.7, w. 48.4 cm. *Ca.* 1362–75.
Gukei's broad technical competence and acquaintance with Sung and Yüan painting are exhibited in this painting. Obviously derived from the paintings of this subject by the Sung painter Jih-kuan, this work shows Gukei's stylistic peculiarities in the intricate and intense brushwork of the entangled leaves and meandering vine. Gukei's idiosyncratic bent, already noted in his *Hotei* (pl. 125), is reflected in the peculiar horizontal growth of the vine. Nothing is known of the writer of the inscription, whose signature and seal may be deciphered as Baisetsu Ō (Old Man Baisetsu).



127. *Bamboo and Sparrows*, by Gukei. Inscription by Ten'an Kaigi (d. 1361). Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. Before 1361. Daiji-ji, Kumamoto.
The composition is completely filled by the bamboo leaves rendered in animated, deep-black brushstrokes and two birds with outspread wings. The strong brushwork of the bamboo rivals Kaō's painting (pl. 93), and there is a similar pervasive energy in this work. Here too the spiritual content is expressed in the combination of latent and active energy. Unfortunately, our appreciation of this work is severely hampered by its poor condition. Gukei's peculiar "blown ink" technique is used here and can be also seen in his *Landscape in Rain* (pl. 88).

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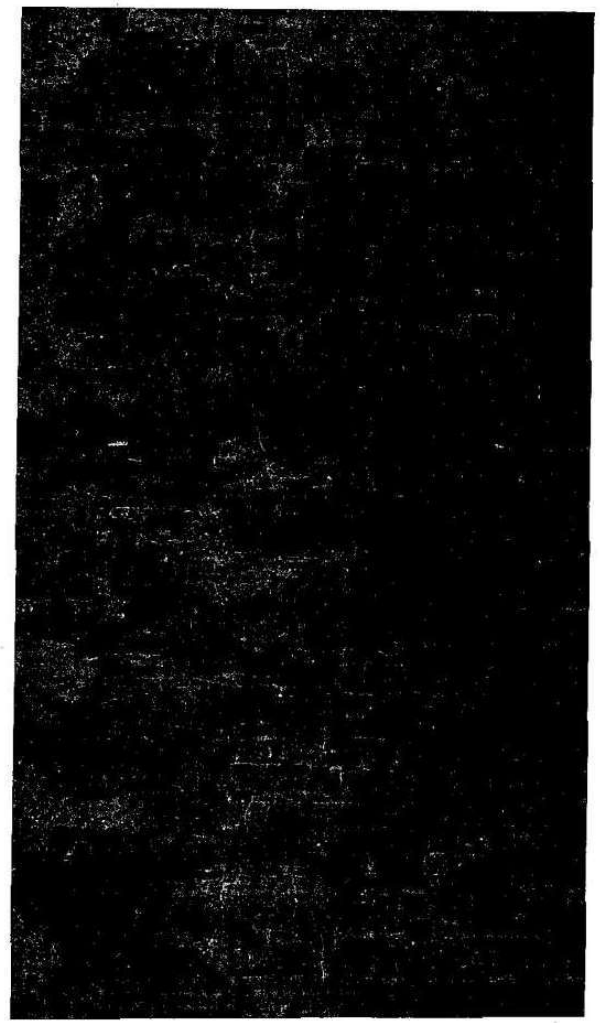

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Ryōzen

Ryōzen's identity was also subject to various interpretations in the Edo-period art histories. The seventeenth-century *Honchō gashi*, for example, first mentions "Ryōzen" as one of Kaō's pseudonyms, and then, in another entry, makes the following statement: "Ryōzen *hōin* [a Buddhist title given to artists] was skilled at painting. The same name was used as a pseudonym by Kaō, but the age and style of Ryōzen's work differ from Kaō's. In the Honkoku-ji there is a set of thirty-two paintings of *rakan* on which 'Painted by Ryōzen, Shōhei 7 [1352], the year of the dragon, 3rd month, 7th day' is written on the back. . . . He was probably a native of Yamato province." The nineteenth-century *Koga bikō* lists a painting signed "Kaiseijin Ryōzen" ("Ryōzen from West of the Sea") that was inscribed by I-shan I-ning, and adds that this name is thought to have been used because Ryōzen came from China, and further that the signature is written in a Chinese style of calligraphy.

Extant paintings provide more reliable clues to the artist's career. These paintings present evidence in two inscriptions, in signatures of varied calligraphic styles, and in the names of temples recorded on the paintings. The inscriptions on the *Monju on a Lion* (pl. 149) and the *White-robed Kannon* (pl. 52) are by Kempō Shidon, a priest from Hakata, Kyushu, who died in 1361. Since the inscription on the *Monju on a Lion* is signed "Kempō of Nanzen-ji," Ryōzen must have been active in Kyoto during the period of Kempō Shidon's residence at Nanzen-ji, from 1348 to 1355. A close relationship between this priest and Ryōzen is indicated by the fact that the only other inscription on a painting of his, on the *White-robed Kannon*, is also by Kempō Shidon. Kempō was of the Shōichi line that descended from Enni Ben'en, or Shōichi Kokushi, the founder of Tōfuku-ji, and his activity was based at that temple.

Further indication of the ties Ryōzen had with Tōfuku-ji are the notations on the back of his signed paintings of the sixteen *rakan* (pls. 75–76) now preserved at Kennin-ji, which read: "Property of Tōfuku-ji." Another set of the sixteen *rakan* (pl. 74), in the same style but without an artist's seal or signature, now in the Freer Gallery of Art, is identified as the "Property of Sanshō-ji," a subtemple of Tōfuku-ji. Since these paintings might be those recorded to have been dedicated in 1348, it can be assumed that Ryōzen was active as a painter at Tōfuku-ji in the middle of the fourteenth century.

The wording of several signatures has given rise to a theory that Ryōzen was a Chinese painter. For example, the signatures "Kaiseijin" ("The Man from West of the Sea") on the *Shaka Triad* (pl. 148) and "Fuhyōsanjin Ryōzen" ("Ryōzen, the Man like Floating Seaweed") on the *Monju on a Lion* (pl. 149) have been interpreted as references to his crossing the sea from China. But considering the fact that Kempō Shidon was from Hakata on the island of Kyushu, which can also be considered "west of the sea" from Kyoto, it is perhaps more reasonable to suppose that Ryōzen came to Tōfuku-ji from Kyushu with Kempō. Of the two theories, Ryōzen's style of painting supports this one.

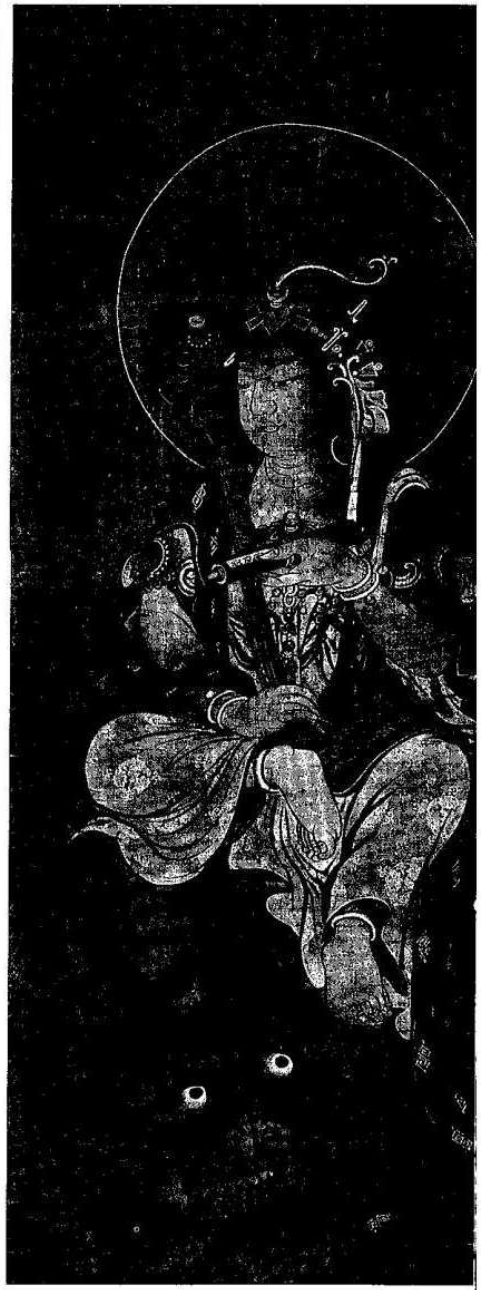
Only seven works by Ryōzen have come down to us: six figure paintings (including two sets of *rakan* paintings, sixteen scrolls each) and one bird-and-flower painting. They range in style from highly colored Buddhist paintings to pure ink painting. Both sets of sixteen *rakan* are in the style associated with Li Lung-mien (pls. 74–76). For *rakan* paintings these depictions are relatively realistic. The lines are facile and fluid, and the depiction of the rocks and trees in the background follows closely that in imported Chinese paintings. The *Monju on a Lion* (pl. 66) and the *Shaka Triad* (pls. 128–30) are traditional Buddhist paintings colored in the Sung style. Although ink painting techniques are used, such as the accentuation of the beginning of the brushstroke and the modulation of the width of the lines, on the whole these works have the quality of Japanese paintings that have eliminated the severity of their Chinese predecessors. They stand as masterpieces of early fourteenth-century Buddhist figure painting.

In contrast, the *White-robed Kannon* in plate 52 is a pure ink painting in technique, although it follows the traditional iconographic mode in the frontal position of the figure. This is a flawless work, without a trace of unpolished brushwork. The delineation of the waves, the rock, and the waterfall, as well as the barely noticeable modeling strokes, are done with assurance and spontaneity. There were many excellent figure paintings produced during the early period, but this must be counted among the very best. In an intermediate position between this genuine ink painting and the more traditional Buddhist icons is the *Kannon* in plate 41. Like the other paintings, this follows a traditional iconographic form without deviation, but it shows great skill in the use of ink as color in graded washes.

Viewed in the light of his work, Ryōzen emerges as a painter who, unlike Gukei, specialized in figure subjects in traditional iconographic forms with a technical mastery of the use of color and gold, but who could also fully exploit the ink painting medium. Ryōzen was probably originally a traditional Buddhist painter who acquired expertise in ink painting and turned his skills to Zen subjects. This tradition, fostered at Tōfuku-ji, was in time inherited by Minchō (1352–1431).

The *White Heron* (pl. 131) is difficult to place in this reconstruction of Ryōzen's artistic development, although it would not have been beyond the capability of the artist who produced the technically flawless natural settings of such paintings as the *White-robed Kannon* (pl. 52). The fact that the large wooden seal *Ryōzen-saku* ("Done by Ryōzen") is completely different from the other seals he used might indicate that this work was a personal exercise, different in conception as well as subject from the other more formal paintings.

Ryōzen's signatures, like Gukei's, are extremely varied. The calligraphic style is unusual in all of them, with certain characters written as though seen from behind, others written sideways, and still others that, though written conventionally, are unusual in calligraphic style. There are examples in Sung and Yüan paintings of signatures hidden among foliage or within the fissures of rocks, and Ryōzen's eccentric signatures may derive from this tradition.



128–30. *Shaka Triad,* by Ryōzen. Three hanging scrolls. Color and ink on silk. H. 112.8, w. 59.3 cm. Mid-fourteenth century. Kiyoshikōjin-seichō-ji, Hyōgo Prefecture.

This triad, together with the *Monju* in plate 66, unmistakably indicates Ryōzen's original training as a painter of Buddhist icons. The figures fill the composition in all three paintings. A flat, iconic quality is produced by the decorative coloring and gold patterns on the robes. The central image of Shaka sits on a rock backed by billowing clouds, but there is no background in the attendant paintings. The lines of the faces and bodies lack character. The robes and animals are defined in rather complicated lines of dark viscous ink, applied slowly and deliberately. These characteristics are due to the huge size and iconic nature of these paintings, and are not inconsistent with the style of Ryōzen's *Kannon* (pl. 41) and *Sixteen Rakan* (pls. 74–76). Compared to the depiction of the rock in the *Kannon*, the emphasis here on line sacrifices three dimensionality. This feature of Ryōzen's style can be found later in the works of Minchō (1352–1431). (See plate 148 for signature.)

131. *White Heron*, by Ryōzen. Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. H. 35.1, w. 32 cm. Mid-fourteenth century.
Fine lines define the unpainted body of the heron in the surrounding ink wash. There is a superb sense of form, with the head and especially the beak exquisitely rendered. The ripples at the bird's feet and at the top of the painting are natural and unstylized. Only the rocks in the lower right show a lack of competence in the awkward attempt at "boneless" brushwork. The small size of the painting suggests that it has been trimmed slightly, but in spite of this there is a serenity and great presence in this work. In technique it is related to later works by Minchō (1352–1431).

Eiga

Takuma Eiga was the last master of the Takuma school of Buddhist painters, the first school to incorporate the Sung and Yüan styles in their work. The exact period in which he was active is uncertain, as can be seen from the dates of the priests who inscribed his paintings. On the one hand, the early art histories refer to a painting of Kannon inscribed by I-shan I-ning (d. 1317), and to one of Lao-tzu with an inscription by Musō Soseki (d. 1351). Extant paintings, on the other hand, include a portrait of the *Man'yōshū* poet Kakinomoto no Hitomaro inscribed by Shōkai Reiken in 1395, at age 81, a year before his death.

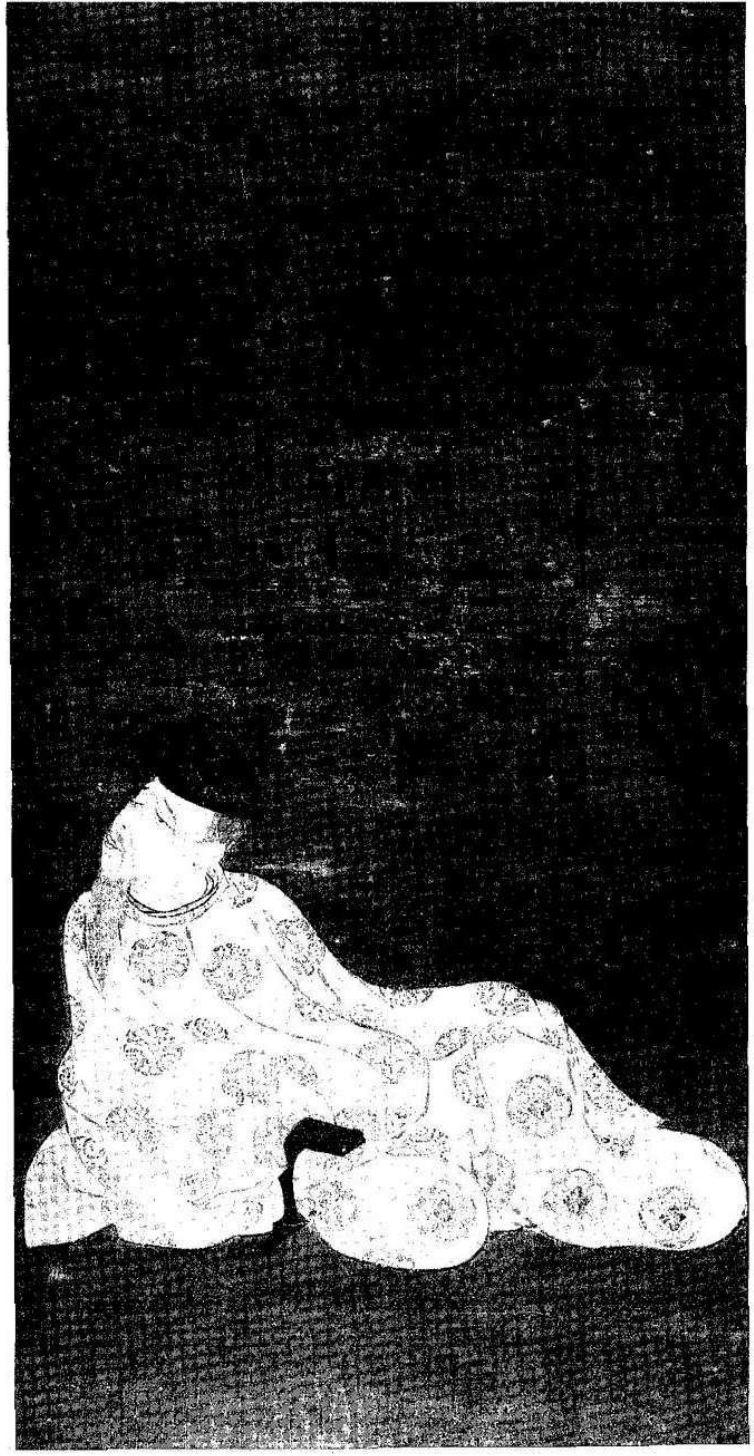
Eiga's extant works are as follows: the portrait of Hitomaro in the *yamato-e* manner (pl. 132), the traditional Buddhist painting *Nirvana* (pl. 133), the Sung-style *Shaka Triad* (pl. 134), the left-hand painting of a pair depicting the sixteen *rakan* in a natural setting (pl. 78), a set of sixteen paintings depicting the *rakan* individually (pls. 83–85), a depiction of Fudō with boy attendants in the Seikadō collection, and the pure ink painting of Monju in plate 72. The artist of these works was definitely a Buddhist painter in the *yamato-e* tradition, much more so than even Ryōzen. For example, if the landscape elements in the background of his set of *rakan* paintings in plates 83–85

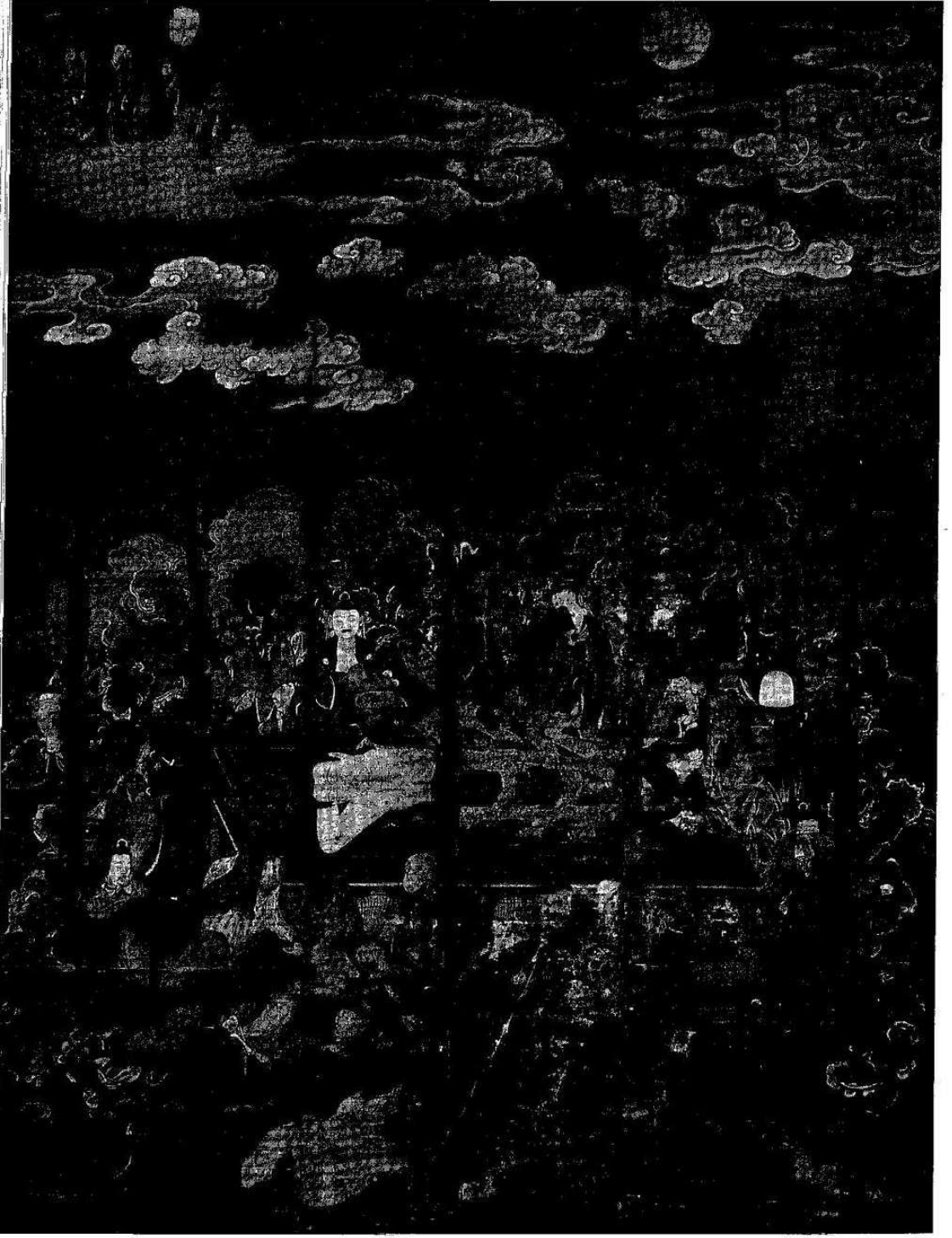
132. *Kakinomoto no Hitomaro,* by Takuma Eiga. Inscription by Shōkai Reiken (1315–96). Hanging scroll. Color on silk. H. 81.5, w. 41.8 cm. 1395. Tokiwayama Bunko, Kamakura.
Portraits of the *Man'yōshū* poet Kakinomoto no Hitomaro (fl. 687–707) were painted as early as the Heian period (782–1184), idealizing this great poet. The inscription here by a Zen priest on a classic Japanese literary figure indicates that the literary fervor in Zen circles extended from Chinese poetic literature to native Japanese works as well. Shōkai Reiken was a disciple of Kokan Shiren. He lived at Tōfuku-ji and Nanzen-ji in Kyoto, and was connected with Minchō (1352–1431).

are compared to the settings of Ryōzen's paintings in plates 74–76, they seem conventional and stiff. This is due to the fact that these paintings were faithful copies of imported Chinese works, and Eiga was not as accomplished in the technique of ink painting as was Ryōzen.

Eiga's only known ink painting, the *Monju* in the Freer Gallery of Art (pl. 72), is quite conservative in both style and iconography. As mentioned earlier in the discussion of Monju paintings, this work with its landscape setting may be slightly later than the other paintings, which typically have no background elements. Since more weight is generally given to inferences from extant paintings than from literary references, this painting indicates that the period of Eiga's activity should be tentatively seen as extending to the end of the fourteenth century. This hypothesis is also supported by the considerable difference in drawing technique between Eiga's *Sixteen Rakan* (pl. 78) and that of his predecessor Takuma Chōga.

Whatever the exact period of his activity, Eiga was a painter of Buddhist icons trained in the Japanese *yamato-e* tradition. His approach to the new techniques and subject matter of Sung and Yüan styles of ink painting was more conservative than that of any other artist of the early period.





133. *Nirvana*, by Takuma Eiga. Hanging scroll. Color on silk. H. 169.5, w. 122.5 cm. Second half of the fourteenth century. Daiju-ji, Aichi Prefecture.
This is a standard representation of this subject, the entry of Śākyamuni into nirvana. Although some evidence of ink painting technique is apparent in the outlines and shading of the trees and their roots, this painting clearly indicates Eiga's artistic orientation as a professional painter of Buddhist painting in the Japanese style.

134. *Shaka Triad*, by Takuma Eiga. Hanging scroll. Color on silk. H. 105.3, w. 58 cm. Second half of the fourteenth century. Chōmyō-ji, Kyoto.

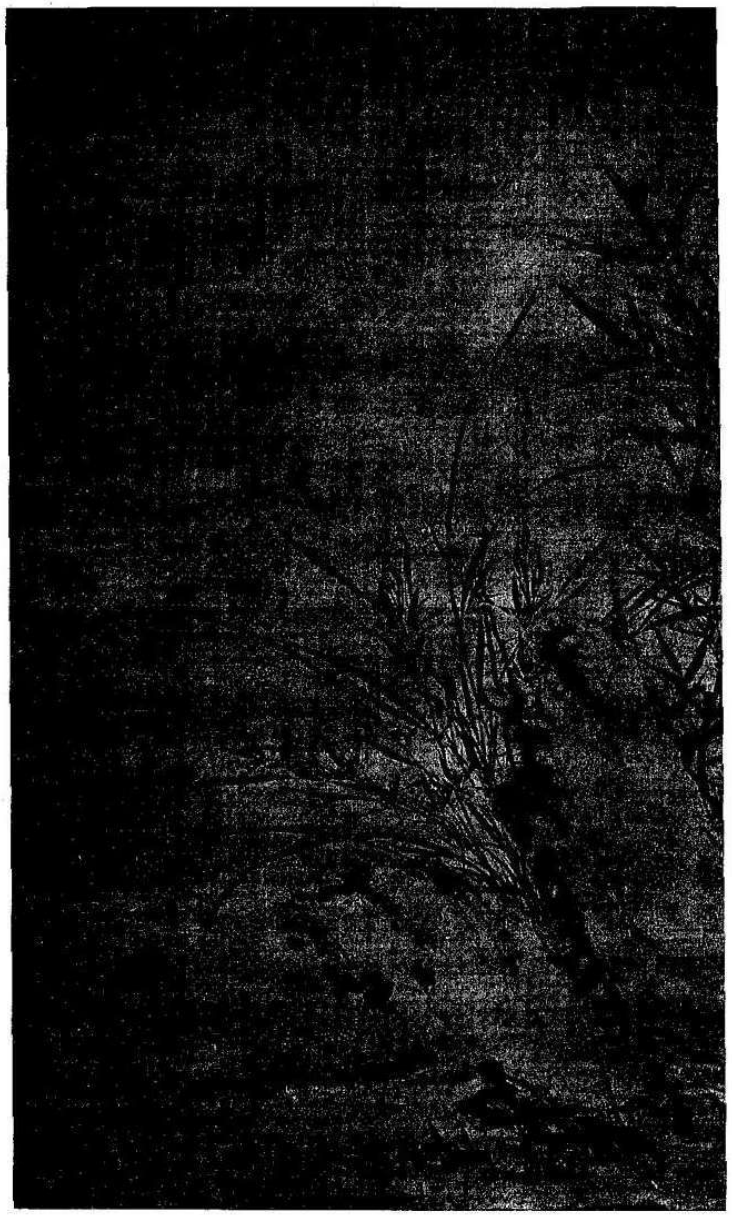
The *Shaka Triad* originally formed a triptych with Eiga's two scrolls depicting the sixteen *rakan* (only one of which is extant; pl. 78). The figures of Shaka on a rock dias attended by Fugen on a white elephant and Monju on a lion are meticulously rendered. Unlike the accompanying painting of *rakan* that has a background landscape, there is no landscape depicted here except for the few waves that lap against the base of the rock. Dark coloring makes the figures stand out against the blank ground. Although the figures are rendered in traditional Buddhist painting technique, elements of ink painting can be seen in the rock. However, the modeling strokes do not effectively suggest volume, and the top plane of the rock is handled awkwardly, indicating that Eiga was not as experienced in ink painting as Ryōzen, his fellow specialist in Buddhist painting.

135. *Orchids*, by Hsüeh-ch'uang P'u-ming. Hanging scroll. Ink on silk. 1343.
Hsüeh-ch'uang P'u-ming was an eminent Yüan priest who lived in several important Ch'an temples around Soochow in the middle of the fourteenth century. Widely celebrated in his own day, he has been revered, especially in Japan, as the greatest master of orchid painting. As is evident here, his painting style was no less accomplished than any of the literati painters who worked in this genre. Tesshū Tokusai and later Gyokuen Bompō based their orchid paintings on Hsüeh-ch'uang's work, but the naturalism of this painting is absent in these Japanese paintings. Another Ch'an monk who excelled at similar paintings of iris plants at this time was Tsu-t'ing Tsu-po.

Other Painters

One of the most eminent Zen amateur painters is Tesshū Tokusai. Thought to have journeyed to China and studied the orchid painting of Hsüeh-ch'uang P'u-ming (pl. 135), he limited his work to bird and flower subjects, thoroughly penetrating that realm of art (pls. 102–4, 106–8, 136). His attitude toward painting, his endeavor to capture the essence of his subject by painting it over and over, is akin to the Zen quest for enlightenment through relentless meditation. The paintings he produced as a result of this method, especially those of orchids, are so totally infused with spiritual intensity that spontaneous expression overshadows realistic representation. It is perhaps inevitable that such paintings, if judged solely by aesthetic criteria, appear quite varied in quality. It is also undeniable that there are major discrepancies between Tesshū's orchids and those of his Chinese models by Hsüeh-ch'uang P'u-ming and Tsŭ-t'ing Tsu-po (1284–1353), who based their painting on close observation of nature.

By its very nature Zen painting contains a certain degree of spontaneity, and it is exactly this element that sets ink painting apart from other types of painting. This presents the problem of discriminating between a true work of art and mere caricature, as in the case of some of the works by Hakuin and Sengai in the Edo period (1600–1867). In any case, the element of spontaneous expression tends to be stronger the higher the ecclesiastic rank of the painter. When Tesshū's paintings are considered in this light, they stand as superb examples of bird-and-flower painting, highly polished for their time. The epitome of his art is the *Orchids* (pl. 103) inscribed by Gidō Shūshin,



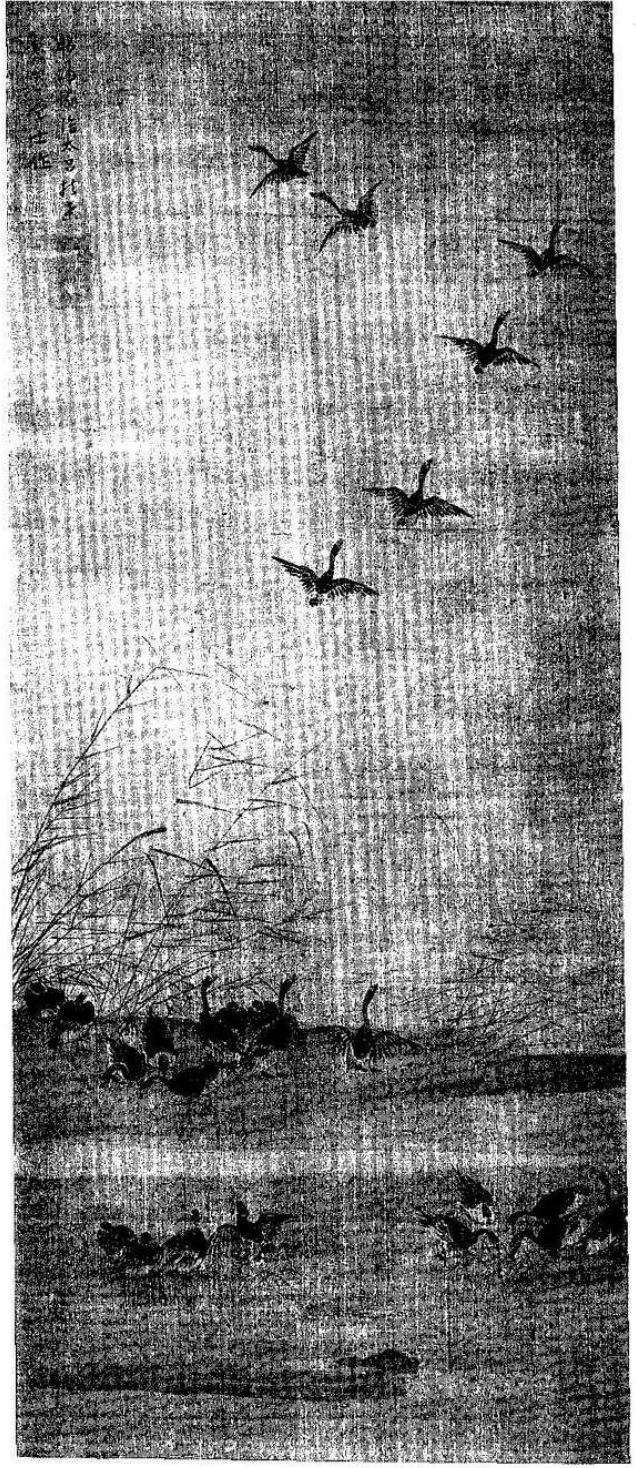
136. *Reeds and Geese*, by Tesshū Tokusai. Inscription by the artist. Hanging scroll. Ink on silk. H. 111.4, w. 44.5 cm. Before 1343.
In premodern histories of painting, Tesshū Tokusai is described as a painter of landscapes and bird and flower subjects. Here both genres are combined by setting the geese in a landscape. Groups of geese gather near the reeds, some looking skyward, about to follow the line of soaring geese. Three clusters of birds at the base formed by the river bank give stability to the composition. The inscription indicates that this is a work of Tesshū's early career, done the year after he returned from China, and signed with his early name, Tokki.

his brother in Zen under the master Musō Soseki. Tesshū's attitude toward painting was carried on in the fifteenth century by Gyokuen Bompō.

Another of Tesshū Tokusai's fellow disciples under Musō Soseki was Ryūshū Shūtaku (1308–88), whose artistic name was Myōtaku. The subject he chose differed, but his painting was essentially the same in conception as Tesshū's. Deeply devoted to Fudō Myō-ō (Acala), Shūtaku painted only images of this guardian deity. Many of these have survived (pls. 137–40).

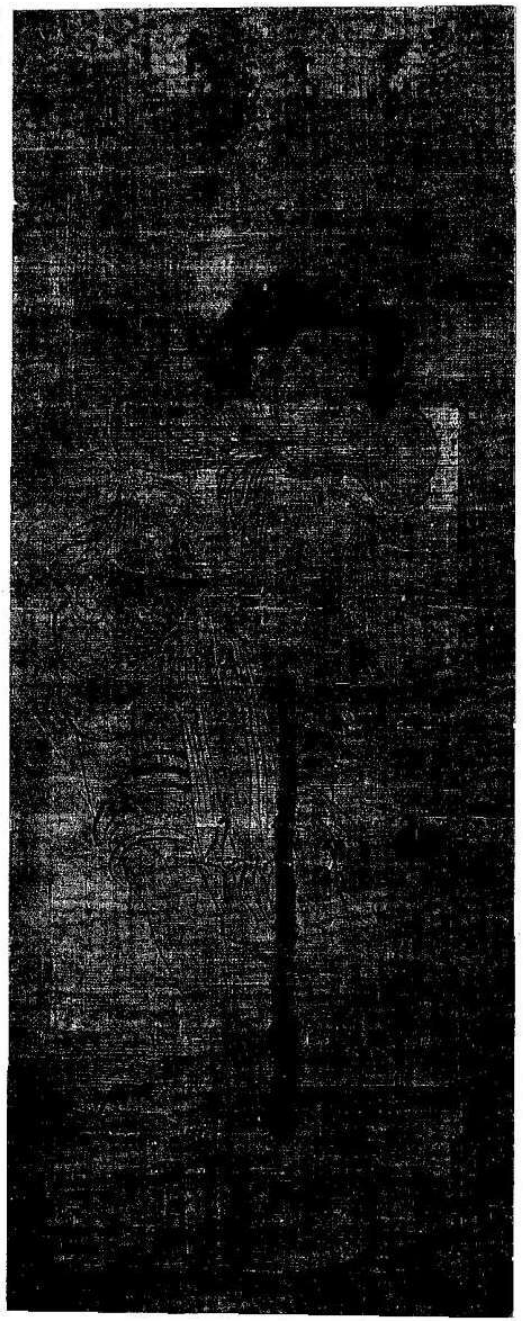
Most of the other artists of the early period who are known to us were painter-monks who did *chinsō*: Seian, who painted Wu-an P'u-ning (pl. 11); Mutō Shūi, who painted Musō Soseki (pl. 10); Shūgō, the painter of Mukyoku Shigen; and Dōin Shōju, whose name appears on the portrait of Shun'oku Myōha (pl. 17). Among these painters, Mutō Shūi alone is known to have done other works. He is recorded to have painted episodes from Zen lore and the parable of the ten oxherding stages, but none of these works have survived.

The following artists are known only through one or two extant works, the personal backgrounds of most of them being completely unknown. Kidō Rigyōfu, perhaps a Chinese painter (Chi-t'ang Li Yao-fu) who came to Japan with I-shan I-ning, painted the *Daruma on a Reed* in plate 113 and the *Orchids and Bamboo* in plate 141. Shitan is known from the artist's seal on *Wild Geese Alighting on a Sandbar* (pl. 89). Kikkei's seal appears on the *Nyoirin Kannon* in plate 111, and a copy of a painting of Kanzan (pl. 32) preserves the seal "Teizan."



137. *Fudō Myō-ō*, by Ryūshū Shūtaku. Inscription by the artist. 1385.
Ryūshū Shūtaku (1309–88) was born in the Takeda clan of Kai province (Yamanashi Prefecture). He studied under Musō Soseki and lived at various Kyoto temples, the Kennin-ji, Tenryū-ji, and Nanzen-ji. In his later life he became deeply devoted to the guardian deity Fudō Myō-ō (*Acala*) and painted his image as a daily discipline for twenty years. Premodern histories of painting record that he followed his devotion to the Shingon center at Mount Kōya. This is borne out by the preservation there of many of his paintings. The painting in plate 137 is dated in the inscription to 1385. This and the triptych in plates 138–40, dated 1387, are works of his last years, but the brushwork is skilled and the lines are free and relaxed. His painting style derives from the tradition of iconographic drawing in ink that was done as part of Shingon practice.

138–40. *Fudō Myō-ō and Two Boy Attendants*, by Ryūshū Shūtaku. Inscription by the artist. Hanging scrolls. 1387. Henjōkō-in. (See caption 137.)



141. *Orchids and Bamboo*, by Chi-t'ang Li Yao-fu (Kidō Rigyōfu). Early fourteenth century. Another painting by this artist indicates that he was active in the early fourteenth century, for it has an inscription by I-shan I-ning, who died in 1317. This painting is therefore the earliest known painting of orchids and bamboo in Japan, and should be studied together with another early painting of a related subject, the *Rocks and Bamboo* in plate 94, which was also inscribed by I-shan I-ning. In contrast to that painting, here the individual motifs are seen in a detailed, close-up view rather than as part of a larger landscape. Both plants and rock are done with unrestrained brushwork. In date this work falls between the *Plum Blossoms* inscribed by Hakuun Egyō (pls. 98–99) and the *Bamboo and Sparrow* (pl. 93) by Kaō, but the more sophisticated handling of the subject supports the theory that Chi-t'ang Li Yao-fu was a Chinese painter who perhaps came to Japan with I-shan I-ning. (See plate 145 for seal.)

CONCLUSION

Most of the extant paintings of the first stage of Japanese ink painting have been surveyed here. Compared to the succeeding stages of the fifteenth century when Shūbun and Sesshū brought spectacular developments to Japanese ink painting, these one hundred and fifty years prior to the end of the fourteenth century show slow, tentative progress. Throughout the period, developments in both style and iconography proceeded at an uphill pace. These slow steps began to quicken with the formation of the society of literati patronized by the shoguns Yoshimitsu (r. 1367–94) and Yoshimochi (r. 1394–1423).

Early ink painting, treated as an independent stylistic period, and isolated from subsequent developments, has been unjustly slighted. Even studies that deal with a few artists of the fourteenth century, such as Kaō and Mokuan, tend to cast them as mere forerunners of the next generation. The brilliance of the fifteenth century has overshadowed early ink paintings, probably contributing to the meager attention they have received. In fact, however, the paintings of the early period are organically related to later ink painting, and many seminal elements of Japanese ink painting appear in early works. Of course, there are problems peculiar to the paintings of the early period. Many are the works of forgotten artists who can be dated only approximately, on the basis of the biographies of the high-ranking priests who inscribed them. Moreover, because a certain artist's paintings may have been inscribed by priests of widely different ages (and dates of death) or different religious lineage, some of his works may presently be assigned to the wrong stage in the development of ink painting. Or, a related possibility, paintings that were not inscribed may be ignored.

Here it has been possible only to list the works and give a sketchy analysis. A more complete picture of the early period may be possible in the future with the discovery and classification of additional paintings. It would be gratifying to revive the personalities of individual painters as was done here with Gukei, the eccentric, or Kaō, who infused his paintings with deep Zen spirituality. It is also regrettable that the context in which the paintings developed could not be explored here. Early ink paintings, especially figure subjects, were used in regulated times and places, for specific functions.

Naturally, these requirements underlie the tendency for certain subjects to be given prominence and to survive in greater number than others. When practicalities such as these are ignored, a true interpretation of early ink paintings is not possible, and this is a topic that should be pursued in the future.

CONCLUSION

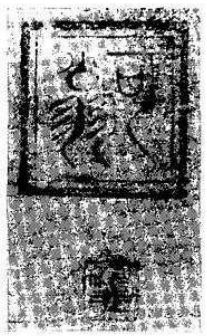
Most of the extant paintings of the first stage of Japanese ink painting have been surveyed here. Compared to the succeeding stages of the fifteenth century when Shūbun and Sesshū brought spectacular developments to Japanese ink painting, these one hundred and fifty years prior to the end of the fourteenth century show slow, tentative progress. Throughout the period, developments in both style and iconography proceeded at an uphill pace. These slow steps began to quicken with the formation of the society of literati patronized by the shoguns Yoshimitsu (r. 1367–94) and Yoshimochi (r. 1394–1423).

Early ink painting, treated as an independent stylistic period, and isolated from subsequent developments, has been unjustly slighted. Even studies that deal with a few artists of the fourteenth century, such as Kaō and Mokuan, tend to cast them as mere forerunners of the next generation. The brilliance of the fifteenth century has overshadowed early ink paintings, probably contributing to the meager attention they have received. In fact, however, the paintings of the early period are organically related to later ink painting, and many seminal elements of Japanese ink painting appear in early works. Of course, there are problems peculiar to the paintings of the early period. Many are the works of forgotten artists who can be dated only approximately, on the basis of the biographies of the high-ranking priests who inscribed them. Moreover, because a certain artist's paintings may have been inscribed by priests of widely different ages (and dates of death) or different religious lineage, some of his works may presently be assigned to the wrong stage in the development of ink painting. Or, a related possibility, paintings that were not inscribed may be ignored.

Here it has been possible only to list the works and give a sketchy analysis. A more complete picture of the early period may be possible in the future with the discovery and classification of additional paintings. It would be gratifying to revive the personalities of individual painters as was done here with Gukei, the eccentric, or Kaō, who infused his paintings with deep Zen spirituality. It is also regrettable that the context in which the paintings developed could not be explored here. Early ink paintings, especially figure subjects, were used in regulated times and places, for specific functions.

Naturally, these requirements underlie the tendency for certain subjects to be given prominence and to survive in greater number than others. When practicalities such as these are ignored, a true interpretation of early ink paintings is not possible, and this is a topic that should be pursued in the future.

SEALS AND SIGNATURES



142.

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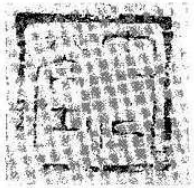
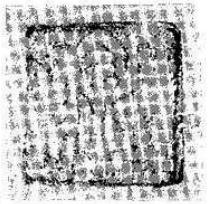
144.



145.



146.

142. The seals *Kaō* (top) and *Ninga* (bottom). *Sparrows and Plum Branches*, by Kaō. (See plate 97).

143. The seals *Kaō* (top) and *Ninga* (bottom). *White-robed Kannon*, by Kaō. (See plate 48.)

144. The seals *Reien* (top) and *Mokuan* (bottom). *Hotei*, by Mokuan. (See plate 117.)

145. The seal *Chi-t'ang* or *Kidō*. *Orchids and Bamboo*, by Chi-t'ang Li Yao-fu (Kidō Rigyōfu). (See plate 141.)

146. The seal *Tesshū*. *Orchid and Bamboo*, by Tesshū Tokusai. (See plate 102.)

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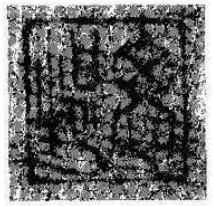
149.



150.

151.

147. The signature *Ue Gukei-sho* ("Written by Ue Gukei"). *Shaka Descending the Mountain*, by Gukei. (See plate 59.)

148. The signature *Kaiseijin Ryōzen-hitsu* ("Painted by Ryōzen, the Man from West of the Sea"). *Shaka Triad*, by Ryōzen. (See plates 128–30.)

149. The signature *Fuhyōsanjin Ryōzen-saku* ("Done by Ryōzen, the Man like Floating Seaweed"). *Monju on a Lion*, by Ryōzen. (See plate 66.)

150. The seal *Shitan*. *Wild Geese Alighting on a Sandbar*, by Shitan. (See plate 89.)

151. The signature *Takuma Hōgen Eiga-hitsu* ("Painted by Takuma Hōgen Eiga"). *Sixteen Rakan*, by Takuma Eiga. (See plates 83–85.)

CHRONOLOGY OF EARLY JAPANESE INK PAINTING

Date	Paintings	Events	Regents or Shogun
1246		Lan-ch'i Tao-lung arrives in Japan	Hōjō Tokiyori (1246–56)
1249		Muhon Kakushin goes to Sung China	
1253		Kenchō-ji established	
1254		Muhon Kakushin returns to Japan	
1256			Hōjō Nagatoki (1256–64)
1259		Lan-ch'i Tao-lung becomes abbot at Kennin-ji; Nampo Jōmyō goes to Sung China	
1260		Wu-an P'u-ning arrives in Japan	
1261		Zōsan Junkū goes to Sung China	
1263		Hōjō Tokiyori dies	
1264			Hōjō Masamura (1264–68)
1265	*portraits of Wu-an P'u-ning (pls. 11–12)	Wu-an P'u-ning returns to China	
1267		Nampo Jōmyō returns to Japan	
1268			Hōjō Tokimune (1268–84)
1271	portrait of Lan-ch'i Tao-lung (pl. 8)	Hsi-chien Tzu-t'an comes to Japan	
1272		Nampo Jōmyō becomes abbot at Sōfuku-ji	
1274		Japan attacked by Mongols	
1278	**Daruma* inscribed by Lan-ch'i Tao-lung (pl. 1)	Lan-ch'i Tao-lung dies; Hsi-chien Tzu-t'an returns to China	
1279		Wu-hsüeh Tsu-yüan and Ching-	

Note : Asterisks indicate undated works listed according to the latest possible year of execution.

		t'ang Chiao-yüan come to Japan; Hakuun Egyō returns to Japan	
1281		Second Mongol attack	
1282		Engaku-ji established	
1284	portrait of Po Chü-i inscribed by Wu-hsüeh Tsu-yüan (pl. 16)	Hōjō Tokimune dies	Hōjō Sadatoki (1284–1301)
1286	**The Sixth Patriarch* inscribed by Wu-hsüeh Tsu-yüan (pl. 37)	Wu-hsüeh Tsu-yüan dies	
1290	*Hotei* inscribed by Nampo Jōmyō (pl. 27)		
1291		Nanzen-ji established	
1292		Kian Soen abbot at Nanzen-ji	
1296	*One-sandaled Daruma* inscribed by Nampo Jōmyō (pl. 19)		
1297	*sketch of Hakuun Egyō, and *Plum Blossoms* and *Shaka Descending the Mountain* with his inscriptions (pls. 9, 54, 98–99)	Hakuun Egyō dies	
1298		Muhon Kakushin dies	
1299		I-shan I-ning and Hsi-chien Tzu-t'an come to Japan	
1300	**Nyoirin Kannon* inscribed by Ching-t'ang Chiao-yüan (pl. 45)	Ching-t'ang Chiao-yüan abbot at Kennin-ji	
1301			Hōjō Morotoki (1301–11)
1303	*Daruma on a Reed* inscribed by Kian Soen (pl. 25)		
1306	**The Sixth Patriarch* inscribed by Hsi-chien Tzu-t'an (pl. 36)	Ching-t'ang Chiao-yüan and Hsi-chien Tzu-t'an die	
1307	*Monju on a Lion* and *Fugen* (pls. 61, 67); *Nyoirin Kannon* by Kikkei (pl. 111)		
1308		Zōsan Junkū and Nampo Jōmyō die	
1309		Tung-ming Hui-jih comes to Japan	
1310		Fukuan Sōki goes to Yüan China	
1311			Hōjō Munenobu (1311–12)
1312			Hōjō Hirotoki (1312–15)

1313		Kian Soen dies; I-shan I-ning becomes abbot at Nanzen-ji	
1315	portrait of Muhon Kakushin by Kakue (pl. 13)		Hōjō Mototoki (1315)
1316			Hōjō Takatoki (1316–26)
1317	**Wild Geese* by Shitan (pl. 89), *Daruma on a Reed* by Chi-t'ang Li Yao-fu (pl. 113), and other paintings inscribed by I-shan I-ning	I-shan I-ning dies; Kaō Sōnen goes to Yüan China	
1318		Sekishitsu Zenkyū goes to Yüan China	
1319		Daitoku-ji established	
1320	**White-robed Kannon* inscribed by Yakuō Tokuken (pl. 43)	Yakuō Tokuken dies	
1322		Kokan Shiren writes first history of Japanese Buddhism (*Genkō Shakusho*)	
1324		Shōchū Insurrection; Chūgan Engetsu goes to Yüan China	
1326		Kogen Shōgen goes to Yüan China; also Mokuan Reien about this time	Hōjō Sadaaki (1326)
1327			Hōjō Moritoki (1327–33)
1329	*Manifestation of Amida Buddha at Nachi in Kumano* inscribed by Nanzan Shiun (pl. 82)	Chu-hsien Fan-hsien comes to Japan; Ku-lin Ch'ing-mao dies	
1331		Genkō Rebellion	
1332		Chūgan Engetsu returns to Japan	
1333		fall of Kamakura shogunate	
1334	portrait of Shūhō Myōchō	Kemmu Restoration	
1335		Nanzan Shiun dies	
1336		Ch'ing-cho Chêng-ch'eng becomes abbot at Nanzen-ji	
1337	**Eleven-headed Kannon* inscribed by Shūhō Myōchō (pl. 50)	Shūhō Myōchō dies	
1338	*Monju in the Guise of a Monk* inscribed by Ch'ing-cho Chêng-ch'eng (pl. 65)	Ashikaga Takauji becomes shogun; beginning of Nambokuchō period	Ashikaga Takauji (1338–58)
1339	**The Fifth Patriarch* and *Rocks and Bamboo* with inscriptions by	Ch'ing-cho Chêng-ch'eng dies; Tenryū-ji established	

	Ch'ing-cho Chêng-ch'eng (pls. 38, 95)		
1340	**Shaka Descending the Mountain* and *Peonies* with inscriptions by Tung-ming Hui-jih (pls. 56, 109)	Tung-ming Hui-jih dies; Tenryū-ji ships embark for China	
1342	*Mokuan's *White-robed Kannon* (pl. 46)	Tesshū Tokusai returns to Japan	
1343		Shōkai Reiken goes to Yüan China	
1345	*Kaō's paintings; *Mokuan's *Four Sleepers* (pl. 29), *Hotei* (pls. 116–17), *White-robed Kannon* (pl. 47)	Kaō Sōnen dies; Mokuan dies in China	
1346	**Monju on a Lion* inscribed by Kokan Shiren (pl. 71)	Kokan Shiren dies	
1348	*Sixteen Rakan* by Ryōzen (pls. 74–76)	Kempō Shidon abbot at Nanzen-ji; Chu-hsien Fan-hsien dies	
1349	portrait of Musō Soseki by Mutō Shūi (pl. 10)		
1350		Mutō Shūi dies around this time	
1351		Shōkai Reiken returns to Japan; Musō Soseki dies	
1352	*White-robed Kannon* inscribed by Tettō Gikō (pl. 51)		
1355	**Monju on a Lion* by Ryōzen inscribed by Kempō Shidon (pl. 66)	Kempō Shidon leaves Nanzen-ji	
1358	**Monju on a Lion* inscribed by Muin Genkai (pl. 63); *portrait of Fukuan Sōki (pl. 14)	Muin Genkai, Fukuan Sōki, and Ashikaga Takauji die	Ashikaga Yoshiakira (1358–67)
1360	**Daruma on a Reed* inscribed by Kozan Ikkyō (pl. 26)	Kozan Ikkyō dies	
1361	*Ryōzen's *White-robed Kannon*, and *Hotei* inscribed by Kempō Shidon (pls. 28, 52). Ryōzen's *Kannon* (pl. 41), *Shaka Triad* (pls. 128–30), and *White Heron* (pl. 131) about this time. *Gukei's *Bamboo and Sparrows* inscribed by Ten'an Kaigi (pl. 127)	Kempō Shidon and Ten'an Kaigi die	
1362	*Sixteen Rakan* inscribed by Sekishitsu Zenkyū (pl. 73)		

1363		compilation of *Butsunichi-an kōmotsu mokuroku*	
1364	**White-robed Kannon* inscribed by Kogen Shōgen (pl. 53)	Kogen Shōgen dies	
1366	*paintings by Tesshū Tokusai. Gukei's *Shaka Triad* (pl. 124) about this time	Tesshū Tokusai dies	
1367	*Daruma* inscribed by Chūgan Engetsu (pl. 22)		
1368		Zekkai Chūshin goes to Ming China	Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (1368–94)
1369		Tettō Gikō dies	
1374	*Yuima* inscribed by Chūgan Engetsu (pl. 39). *Wagtail on a Rock* inscribed by Taiki Genju (pl. 100) about this time		
1375	Gukei's *White-robed Kannon* (pl. 49), *Shaka Descending the Mountain* (pl. 59), *Hotei* (pl. 125), *Landscape in Rain* (pl. 88), and *Grapes* (pl. 126) about this time	Gukei in Kyoto	
1376	**Daruma* by Ganseki Donsei (pl. 23)	Ganseki Donsei dies	
1378		Zekkai Chūshin returns to Japan; Yoshimitsu builds Hana no Gosho (Palace of Flowers)	
1379	Dōin Shōju's portrait of Shun'-oku Myōha (pl. 17)	Shun'oku Myōha becomes abbot at Nanzen-ji	
1380		Shun'oku Myōha first administrator (*sōroku-shi*) of *gozan* temple system	
1382		Shōkoku-ji established	
1385	*Fudō Myō-ō* by Ryūshū Shūtaku (pl. 137)		
1386	*Five-hundred Rakan* by Minchō		
1387	*Fudō Myō-ō and Two Boy Attendants* by Ryūshū Shūtaku (pls. 138–40)		
1388	portrait of Zaichū Kōen inscribed by Chūzan Hōei (pl. 18)	Gidō Shūshin, Shun'oku Myōha, and Ryūshū Shūtaku die	
1389	**Monju in a Hemp Robe* and *Haha Bird* with inscriptions by Sekishitsu Zenkyū (pls. 60, 101)	Sekishitsu Zenkyū and Chūzan Hōei die	

1392		Northern and Southern courts united
1394	portrait of Daidō Itsui by Minchō inscribed by Shōkai Reiken	
1395	*Kakinomoto no Hitomaro* by Takuma Eiga (pl. 132). Eiga's *Shaka Triad* (pl. 134), *Rakan* (pls. 78, 83–85), *Monju* (pl. 72), and *Nirvana* (pl. 133) about this time	
1396		Shōkai Reiken dies
1398		Kinkaku-ji built

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN JAPANESE

1. 達磨図　蘭渓道隆賛　(向嶽寺)
2. 麻布菩薩図　(正倉院)
3. 谿山行旅図　范寛筆　(故宮博物館)
4. 漁村夕照図　伝牧谿筆　(根津美術館)
5. 山市晴嵐図　玉澗筆
6. 李白吟行図　梁楷筆　(東京国立博物館)
7. 無準師範像　(東福寺)
8. 蘭渓道隆像　自賛　(建長寺)
9. 白雲恵暁像　(栗棘庵)
10. 夢窓疎石像　無等周位筆　自賛　(妙智院)
11. 兀庵普寧像　靖庵筆　自賛　(正伝寺)
12. 兀庵普寧像　伝長賀筆　自賛　(正伝寺)
13. 無本覚心像　覚恵筆　一山一寧賛　(興国寺)
14. 復庵宗己経行像　自賛　(法雲寺)
15. 蘭渓道隆経行像　(建長寺)
16. 白楽天図　子元祖元賛
17. 春屋妙葩夢中像　道隠昌樹筆　自賛　(鹿王院)
18. 在中広衍像　中山法穎賛　(報国寺)
19. 隻履達磨図　南浦紹明賛　(正木美術館)
20. 蘆葉達磨図　一山一寧賛　(成道寺)
21. 達磨図　一山一寧賛　(東京国立博物館)
22. 達磨図　中巌円月賛　(正木美術館)
23. 朱衣達磨図　頑石曇生筆　自賛
24. 達磨図「くるくるの御影」性海霊見筆 自賛 (梅沢記念館)
25. 蘆葉達磨図　規庵祖円賛　(南禅寺)
26. 蘆葉達磨図　固山一鞏賛　(玉蔵院)
27. 布袋図　南浦紹明賛　(真珠庵)
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29. 四睡図　黙庵筆　祥府紹密賛　(前田育徳会)
30. 寒山図　可翁筆
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32. 寒山図　(探幽縮図のうち)　清拙正澄賛　(京都国立博物館)
33. 寒山図　(探幽縮図のうち)　一山一寧賛　(京都国立博物館)
34. 寒山図　(常信縮図のうち)　乾峰士曇賛　(東京国立博物館)
35. 蜆子和尚図　可翁筆　(東京国立博物館)
36. 六祖図　(六祖師図のうち)　西磵子曇賛　(承天寺)
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38. 五祖裁松図　清拙正澄賛　(正木美術館)
39. 維摩居士図　中巌円月賛　(長法寺)
40. 白衣観音図　牧谿筆　(大徳寺)
41. 観音図　良全筆
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57. 出山釈迦図　梁楷筆
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61. 普賢菩薩図　蔵山順空賛　(永明院)
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100. 岩上鶴鴿図 太虚元寿賛
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103. 墨蘭図 鉄舟筆 義堂周信賛
104. 猿猴図 鉄舟筆 沢庵宗彭賛
105. 画中花鳥図 (後白河法皇像) 妙法院
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108. 蘆雁図 鉄舟筆
109. 牡丹図 東明慧日賛
110. 霊海上人像 一山一寧賛 (称名寺)
111. 如意輪観音図 菊溪筆 一山一寧賛 (松尾寺)
112. 達磨図 一山一寧賛
113. 蘆葉達磨図 寄堂李尭夫筆 一山一寧賛
114. 墨牛図 (模本) 一山一寧賛 (東京国立博物館)
115. 蓮花図 (模本) 一山一寧賛 (東京国立博物館)
116. 布袋図 黙庵筆 月江正印賛
117. 布袋図 黙庵筆 了庵清欲賛 (熱海美術館)
118. 臨済栽松図 伝黙庵筆 月江正印賛
119. 寒山図 大千恵照賛
120–21. 寒山拾得図 可翁筆
122–23. 墨牛図 可翁筆 (正木美術館)
124. 釈迦三尊図 愚溪筆 (万寿寺)
125. 布袋図 愚溪筆 玉室宗珀賛 (正木美術館)
126. 禰菊図 愚溪筆 梅雪清隠賛
127. 竹雀図 愚溪筆 天庵懐義賛 (大慈寺)
128–30. 釈迦三尊図 良全筆 (清荒神清澄寺)
131. 白鷺図 良全筆
132. 柿本人磨図 詫磨栄賀筆 性海霊見賛 (常盤山文庫)
133. 仏涅槃図 詫磨栄賀筆 (大樹寺)
134. 釈迦三尊図 詫磨栄賀筆 (頂妙寺)
135. 墨蘭図 雪窓筆
136. 蘆雁図 鉄舟筆
137. 不動明王図 周沢筆 自賛
138–40. 不動二童子図 周沢筆 自賛 (遍照光院)
141. 蘭竹図 寄堂李尭夫筆
142. 「可翁」「仁賀」 梅雀図 (梅沢記念館)
143. 「可翁」「仁賀」 白衣観音図
144. 「霊淵」「黙庵」 布袋図 (熱海美術館)
145. 「寄堂」 蘭竹図
146. 「鉄舟」 蘭竹図
147. 「右恵愚溪書」 (出山釈迦図)
148. 「海西人良全筆」 釈迦三尊図 (清荒神清澄寺)
149. 「浮萍散人良全作」 騎獅文殊図 (正木美術館)
150. 「思湛」 (平沙落雁図)
151. 「詫磨法眼栄賀筆」 十六羅漢図 (藤田美術館)

GLOSSARY

academic painting: As used here, this term refers to the style of the Sung academy that was perpetuated as a classic mode by later Chinese and Japanese painters. In figure and bird-and-flower subjects, this style is usually highly colored with detailed delineation. In landscape, it is based on the Southern Sung formula of Ma Yüan and Hsia Kuei, with assymetrical compositions, angular outlines, and "axe-cut" modeling strokes.

arhats (Sk.; 羅漢: J. *rakan*, Ch. *lo-han*): In Hīnayāna Buddhist thought, these Indian holy men are revered as having achieved release from the bonds of desire and rebirth through practice of meditation and austerities. In Mahāyāna Buddhism, the dominant form in China and Japan, the *arhats* are considered protectors of the True Law, and the basic group of sixteen or eighteen was expanded to five hundred. In Tendai and Zen temples, they are venerated as inspirational models for the arduous quest of the individual for enlightenment through meditation. It is this latter concept that underlies the paintings of *arhats* that were brought to Japan by Chinese Zen masters and copied by early Japanese ink painters.

"axe-cut" strokes (斧劈皴: J. *fuheki-shun*, Ch. *fu-p'i-ts'un*): the major type of modeling stroke used in Southern Sung landscape painting. Said to have been used first by Li T'ang, the "axe-cut" stroke is produced by pulling the side of the brush across the surface of a rock or earthen bank at an oblique angle. See plates 21, 86–87.

"bent-reed" lines (折蘆描: J. *setsurobyō*, Ch. *chê-lu-miao*): lines that turn sharply without interruption. See plate 43.

bird-and-flower painting. See *kachōga*.

blown ink (吹き墨: J. *fukizumi*): a technique of spattering ink on a painted surface by blowing it through a hollow tube, usually a reed or bamboo. See plate 113.

Buddhist painting (仏画: J. *butsuga*): formal icons of Buddhist subjects produced by professional painters employed by temples. Typically highly colored, they treat the deities as transcendental objects of worship. Highly conservative, they generally follow T'ang or Sung models. See plates 71, 134.

chinsō (J.; 頂相): portraits of Zen masters generally done in a meticulous, highly colored style with great attention to the realistic depiction of the face. Central to the Zen practice of maintaining an unbroken lineage from master to disciple, a *chinsō* was often conferred on a disciple when he had achieved a satisfactory level of spiritual awareness, and inscribed by the master portrayed. These formal portraits are traditionally categorized separately from *dōshakuga*, depictions of Taoist, Confucian, and Buddhist subjects.

"crab-claw" lines (蟹爪描: J. *kaisōbyō*, Ch. *hsiai-chao-miao*): a method of depicting old or leafless trees with branches that curve downward, ending in sharp clawlike twigs. Associated with the styles of Li Ch'eng and Kuo Hsi of the Northern Sung dynasty. See plate 79.

dōshakuga (J.; 道釈画): Literally "Taoist and Buddhist painting," this category of religious figure painting, distinct from orthodox Buddhist painting, deals with figures from Zen history and legend, often treated in a highly expressive manner. Early ink paintings deal almost exclusively with Buddhist subjects—Śākamuni, Kannon (Avalokiteśvara), Hotei (Pu-tai),

Kanzan (Han-shan) and Jittoku (Shih-tê), and the legendary six patriarchs; later, figures from Taoist and Confucian lore were frequently treated because Zen viewed them as exemplars of the same essential spiritual awareness as the Buddhist subjects.

"dry brush." See *kappitsu*.

gachūga (J.; 画中画): Literally "paintings within paintings," this term refers to the painted screens and hanging scrolls depicted as part of the setting in narrative scrolls or in religious paintings such as depictions of the Ten Kings of Hell or *rakan*. See plate 83.

gozan (J.; 五山, "Five Mountains"): the hierarchial organization of Zen temples adopted from Southern Sung China and supported in Japan by the shogunate. The temples officially designated as *gozan* changed several times in Japan, and eventually doubled, with five in both of the major political and religious centers, Kamakura and Kyoto. By the end of the fourteenth century, the system reached its final form and was comprised of the Kyoto temples Tenryū-ji, Shōkoku-ji, Kennin-ji, Tōfuku-ji, and Jōmyō-ji, and in Kamakura the temples Kenchō-ji, Engaku-ji, Jufuku-ji, Jōchi-ji, and Manju-ji. Above all of these was Nanzen-ji in Kyoto, although with the establishment of the office *sōroku* (registrar of monks) at the Rokuon-in at Shōkoku-ji in 1383, actual control of the system lay there. During the period of early ink painting there were frequent changes in temple ranking. It was in these *gozan* temples that the literary and artistic activities of early ink painters were fostered.

inscriptions (賛; J. *san*): Most of the paintings done in the fourteenth century in Zen circles were embellished with poetic or religious inscriptions by prominent members of the sect. The function of the inscription varies. On *chinsō* a master's inscription certifies the legitimacy of the recipient; if not written by the subject of the portrait, the inscription is added by another, related priest to describe the subject's life or the bond between the master and disciple. Other paintings, from orthodox Buddhist icons to secular bird-and-flower paintings, were imbued with a Zen significance by the addition of an often cryptically allusive poem. This practice is related to the Chinese literati notion of the unity of the three arts of calligraphy, poetry, and painting, and seems to have been promoted in Japan by the Chinese emigré I-shan I-ning. In the study of early ink paintings, such inscriptions are also valuable for the information they provide about the date and context of a painting's execution.

kachōga (J.; 花鳥画): bird-and-flower painting. One of the traditional classifications of painting that includes not only paintings of birds and flowers but all manner of natural life. Certain subjects that fall into this broad category are, because of their ink technique, classified separately, such as with bamboo and orchid painting.

Kamakura period (1185–1332): Japan's first military government, or shogunate, was established by Minamoto no Yoritomo in Kamakura, from which the period receives its name. After Yoritomo's death in 1199, the administration of the shogunate fell to the regents of the Hōjō family. Under the Hōjō, Zen temples were founded by Chinese emigré priests, and Japan's early ink painting was born.

Kanō school (狩野派; *Kanō-ha*): a hereditary line of painters officially patronized by the shogunate from the second half of the fifteenth century until the middle of the nineteenth. Masanobu (1434–1530) was the first Kanō painter to be given the post of official painter. The school's classic synthesis of Chinese ink painting techniques and themes with Japanese decorative scale and color was accomplished by Motonobu (1476–1559). As developed by Eitoku (1543–90) in the Momoyama period and refined by Tan'yū (1602–74) in the Edo period, it remained the preferred mode of the ruling class in both official and private art.

kappitsu (J.; 渴筆: Ch. *k'o-pi*, "dry brush"): dry brushwork that produced a sparsely inked line or texture stroke that has a tactile, almost abraded appearance, as in the *Four Sleepers* by Mokuan (pl. 29).

Muromachi period (1392–1572): Following the reunification of the two imperial courts in 1392, the Ashikaga shoguns ruled from their residence at Muromachi in Kyoto, and their government is hence known as the Muromachi shogunate. Until the mid-fifteenth century, ink painting flourished under their patronage with the emergence of such artists as Josetsu and Shūbun at the Zen temple Shōkoku-ji. After the disastrous Ōnin War of 1467–77, real power shifted to the provinces, and ink painting flowered in several local centers, led by Sesshū in western Japan, Kei Shoki in Kamakura, and by the lay painters of the Kanō school who received the official patronage of the Ashikaga shoguns.

Nambokuchō period (1333–91): period of the Southern and Northern Courts, also known as the Yoshino period. Following the collapse of the Hōjō regency at Kamakura, the emperor Godaigo attempted to reestablish imperial rule, setting up court at Yoshino, a mountainous region in Yamato province. Another branch of the imperial line claimed to rule from Kyoto. Real power still lay with the military families, however, and one of their leaders, Ashikaga Takauji, established himself as shogun, first siding with Godaigo, then turning against him and setting up the Ashikaga shogunate in Kyoto, which nominally ruled the country until 1573. During this period of transfer of political power from Kamakura to Kyoto, the Zen temples of Kyoto emerged as important centers of literature and painting.

painter-monk (画僧: J. *gasō*): Although this term has been broadly used for any monk skilled at painting, it connotes, in the context of early painting in the Zen sect, a monk for whom painting is a major occupation, sometimes in contradistinction to one for whom painting is but one of several avocations.

rakan. See *arhats*.

Shingon: the "True Word" sect of Esoteric, Tantric Buddhism introduced and promulgated in Japan by Kūkai at the beginning of the ninth century. Firmly entrenched in aristocratic and court circles, it was one of the most important sects in the history of Japanese Buddhism and art.

shōgun: head of the military government of Japan, and *de facto* sovereign of Japan from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century. During the period of early Japanese ink painting, the shogunate was in the hands of the Ashikaga family.

"splashed ink": a technique of ink painting much favored by Zen amateur painters. The term has been variously used in Chinese literature, and historically there is confusion between "splashed ink" (潑墨: Ch. *p'o-mo*, J. *hatsuboku*) and "broken ink" (破墨: Ch. *p'o-mo*, J. *haboku*). The former term was originally used to describe an eccentric technique of splattering ink with various implements (brush, hands, clothing) associated with a T'ang artist, Wang Mo (Ink Wang). "Broken ink," first associated with the landscape style of the T'ang literatus Wang Wei, probably referred to a technique of breaking up the surface of landscape forms by leaving unpainted areas within the contours. In Japan, both terms came to denote an expressive landscape style using a technique of successive washes beginning with light ink, followed by dark. Sesshū's landscape in the Tokyo National Museum, referred to as a *haboku* landscape in the artist's inscription, is the epitome of the splashed ink style in Japanese painting. See plates 4–5.

sutra: the sacred texts of Buddhism, dealing

variously with the life and teachings of Śākyamuni, and the mercy and power of other Buddhas and bodhisattvas.

yamato-e (J.; 大和絵): Japanese-style painting. A term with broad and ambiguous connections, it originated during the Heian period to describe painting that was different in style and subject from *kara-e* (唐絵), Chinese T'ang-style painting. It later denoted a distinction from *kanga* (漢画), Chinese painting of the Sung and Yüan dynasties. In general, *yamato-e* is done with heavy mineral pigments, and deals with themes from classic Japanese literature, history, and native scenery. When the term is used in this book, it is usually in reference to the traditional Buddhist painting done by the professional painters employed by temples of various sects. See plates 14, 133.

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