In the field of East Asian art history, increasing attention has been devoted in the last few decades to Korean Buddhist painting produced during the Goryeo Dynasty (892-1392). In 1978 the first exhibition on the subject, the Special Exhibition of Goryeo Buddhist Painting: The Golden Buddhas Brought from a Neighbouring Country to Our Country, was staged at the Museum Yamato Bunkakan in Nara, Japan. The exhibition featured forty-nine Goryeo Buddhist paintings, many of which had formerly been identified as Chinese Buddhist paintings from the Song Dynasty (960-1279); it was a sensation and shed new light on the subject. In the years that followed, various exhibitions focusing on Goryeo Buddhist painting were held in Japan, South Korea and the United States, accompanying new discoveries and research that revealed new information about the subject. Around a hundred and sixty-five Buddhist paintings from the Goryeo Dynasty are known to date, including seventeen in the United States, six in Europe, more than thirty in South Korea (returned through purchases from Japan and the United States since the nineteen-eighties) and a hundred and ten in Japan. Over the decades, increased research in the field has identified more Goryeo Buddhist paintings in world collections and revealed the social and religious contexts.

In the Rijksmuseum collection is a Buddhist painting of the deity Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara seated on a rock in the pose of royal ease (san. maharajalilasana), being worshipped by the boy-pilgrim Sudhana (fig.1). The painting was done by an anonymous painter (or painters) and bears no inscriptions. The identification and dating of this painting are complicated. It had long been considered to be a Chinese work of the Song Dynasty and dated to the twelfth century; later the painting was thought to be a Chinese work from the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368) and its date was revised to the fourteenth century. More recently, opinion has shifted and it is now regarded as a Korean Buddhist painting from the Goryeo Dynasty and dated to the first half of the fourteenth century, although there has never really been a fundamental examination of this painting.

My aim here is to rectify this situation by examining the iconography and style of this painting in detail. The trans-cultural interaction between Chinese, Korean and Japanese Buddhist painting is an important and interesting topic which nowadays attracts a lot of attention in the field, but before we can enter that discussion, we need a thorough analysis to determine the place of origin and the date of the painting. I will begin by reconstructing the reception history of the painting, then present a detailed
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iconographic and stylistic analysis in order to date and identify the painting. I believe that this painting is a late fourteenth-century Japanese hybrid creation that combines both Chinese iconography and the style of Ningpo Buddhist painting of the Song Dynasties with decorative elements of Korean Goryeo Buddhist painting. In light of the recent research into the inter-regional connection of East Asian Buddhist image production, the Rijksmuseum Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara is an example of the interactions between China, Korea and Japan in the fourteenth century.

The Reception of the Painting Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara in the Rijksmuseum

In his report on the painting’s provenance, H.F.E. Visser (1890-1965) stated that it was purchased by Dr Jörg Trübner during his trip to China. It was subsequently purchased by G.J. Verburgt (1871-1926), one of the leading members of the Vereniging van Vrienden der Aziatische Kunst (vvak), the Asian Art Society in the Netherlands, from the Berlin art dealer Edgar Worch in 1929. The Verburgt collection was donated to the vvak in 1968, and its collection has been on display in the Rijksmuseum since 1952.

The painting featured in the special exhibition of Asian Art from private and public collections in the Netherlands, organized by the vvak and staged at the Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam from 5 July to 4 October 1936. In this exhibition the painting was labelled as a Chinese work from the Song Dynasty. In his monumental work Asiatic Art in Private Collections of Holland and Belgium, published in 1948, Visser commented on this painting:

One of the rare Chinese Buddhist paintings from China proper (in contrast to those from Tun Huang [Dunhuang] in London and Paris) in European public and private collections and, no doubt, one of the most important documents of Far Eastern pictorial art in this part of the world.

In the exhibition Oosterse schatten: 4000 jaar Aziaatse kunst (Eastern Treasures: 4000 Years of Asian Art) at the Rijksmuseum from 3 July to 10 October 1954, the painting was also displayed as one of a very few Chinese Song paintings. Around 1970 the former curator of East Asian art at the Rijksmuseum, Jan Fontein (1927-2017), identified it as a Chinese Buddhist painting of the Ningpo school and dated it to the fourteenth century during the Yuan Dynasty.

In 1985, when the Rijksmuseum published its catalogue of the Asian art collection, Fontein re-identified this painting as Korean for the first time and dated it to the first half of the fourteenth century on the basis of its similarity to a painting dated 1323 in the Kōyasan collection. The painting he referred to is most likely the Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara painted by Sō Gugang 徐九方 (fl. fourteenth century) now in the collection of the Sen’oku Hakukokan Museum in Kyoto (fig. 2). However, the style and iconography of the Rijksmuseum Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara and the Kōyasan Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara are completely different. The only similarity shared by the two works is the depiction of an arabesque medallion pattern on the garment. This similarity was probably why the Rijksmuseum’s Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara was identified as Korean Goryeo painting rather than as Chinese Song or Yuan painting.

Fontein’s opinion set the tone for the reception of the Rijksmuseum Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara as a Korean Goryeo Buddhist painting from the first half of the fourteenth century. And in 2014 the Overseas Korean Cultural Heritage Foundation published the Rijksmuseum Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara in their annual
The shifts in the reception and identification of the Rijksmuseum Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara are symptomatic of the changing understanding of Goryeo Buddhist painting in the field of East Asian art history since the nineteen-seventies. However, I believe that the style and iconography of the Rijksmuseum Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara are actually much more complex than they seem.

The Iconography and Style of the Rijksmuseum Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara

Avalokiteśvara (chi. Guanyin; jpn. Kannon; kor. Gwaneum) is a bodhisattva who embodies the great compassion of all Buddhas. Associated with mercy, Avalokiteśvara is one of the favourite deities in the Buddhist pantheon, particularly in the cultural circle of East Asia. One of the best known subjects of Goryeo Buddhist paintings is the representation of Avalokiteśvara. The Chapter Universal Gate of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva (chi. Guanshiyin pusa pumen pin 觀世音菩薩普門品) in the Lotus Sūtra (san. Saddharma Pundarika Sūtra; chi. Maiofa lianhua jing 妙法蓮華經) is commonly known as the Sūtra of Avalokiteśvara (chi. Guanyinjing 觀音經). Devoted to Avalokiteśvara, it describes him as a compassionate bodhisattva who hears the cries and prayers of sentient beings. He aids and rescues those who call his name in the appearances of a total of thirty-three manifestations to suit the minds of various beings.

The deity Bodhisattva Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara does not exist in the Buddhism of India. It is a Chinese form which evolved after Buddhism was introduced into China. The iconography is based on and derives from the Chapter on Entry into the Realm of Reality (chi. Ru fajie pin 入法界品) in the Flower Garland Sūtra (san. Avatamsaka Sūtra; chi. Huayan jing 華嚴經); this is one of the most influential Mahayana Sūtras in East Asian Buddhism. In it Avalokiteśvara dwells on Mount Potala by the sea, and he welcomes the boy-pilgrim Sudhana, who went on a journey to seek enlightenment.

In his book On Famous Paintings through the Ages (Lidai minghua ji 歷代名畫記), Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠 (815-907) wrote that the iconography of the Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara was ‘brilliantly created’ by the painter Zhou Fang 周昉 (fl. late eighth to early ninth century). Zhou Fang’s image of the Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara is unfortunately no longer extant. However, based on Zhang Yanyuan’s record, it is still possible to visualize Zhou’s representation:

Temple of Holy Light (Shengguang si) … In the precinct south-east of the pagoda is the protecting screen of a Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara painted by Zhou Fang. The halo of the Bodhisattva and the bamboo both all finished in colour by Liu Zheng.

Based on Zhang Yanyuan’s account, Zhou Fang’s representation of the Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara contains two important iconographic elements: a halo behind the Bodhisattva and bamboo surrounding the deity.

After Zhou Fang ‘brilliantly created’ the iconography of the Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara, painters such as Zuo Quan 左全 (fl. ninth century) and Fan Qiong 范瓊 (fl. ninth century), Huang Jucai 黃居寀 (933-?), Wang Qihan 王齊翰 (fl. tenth century), Wu Zongyuan 武宗元 (c. 980-1050) and Wang Shen 王詵 (1036-c. 1093) all painted images of the Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara. Although Zhou Fang and his followers’ representations of the deity have not survived, an image of the Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara appears in the right lower corner of the Thousand-
Armed Avalokiteśvara discovered in Dunhuang dated to 943, now in the collection of the Musée Guimet (fig. 3), and three other works dated in the tenth century, now in the British Museum, can serve as references. It should be noted that these are slightly later than Zhou Fang’s time. All these images show a representation of the deity sitting on a rock in half-lotus pose (san. *ardha padmasana*) with one leg crossed and the other dangling (unlike the conventional lotus pose (san. *padmasana*) with a double cross-legged pose of a Buddha), a huge halo at his back, and surrounded by a bamboo grove. Scholars believe these images closely follow the iconography created by Zhou Fang.

The same pose also appears in most of the representations of the Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara in Korean Goryeo Buddhist paintings from the fourteenth century. As Kikutake Jun’ichi has pointed out, unlike Chinese or Japanese Buddhist paintings, within the twenty-seven extant Korean Goryeo paintings of the Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara, only one painting portrays the bodhisattva in a standing pose and in four paintings he is seated in a double cross-legged pose. The Goryeo pictorial representation of the Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara tends towards greatly limited iconography and the copying of previous models. Scholars think that the Korean Goryeo representation of the Water Moon Avalokiteśvara actually followed the early painting tradition established by Zhou Fang and his followers – a painting tradition established from the late Tang Dynasty in the late eighth century to the Northern Song Dynasty in the eleventh century. However, the posture of the Rijksmuseum *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara* is royal ease, which is unique among the existing Goryeo Buddhist paintings; this suggests another pictorial representational and iconographic tradition.

The iconography of the Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara in the pose of royal ease
first appeared in the Song Dynasty around the eleventh century in two forms: in both the deity is depicted seated, with one arm supporting his body while the other rests on a raised knee; they differ in that in one form the other leg is left hanging and in the other both legs are crossed. This representation can be seen in surviving wooden sculptures from the Song, Liao (916-1125) and Jin (1115-1234) dynasties from the eleventh to the thirteenth century. Examples include a wooden sculpture of the Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara dated to the eleventh century in The Metropolitan Museum of Art and another dated to the twelfth century in the Rijksmuseum (fig. 4). It is worth noting that in the mural painting in Cave 431 at Dunhuang – located at the crossroads of the ancient Southern Silk Route where there are a number of Buddhist cave sites – there are two representations of the Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara: one in half-lotus pose (fig. 5) and the other in royal-ease pose (fig. 6). Cave 431 was first built during the Northern Wei period (384-534) and restored twice in the early Tang Dynasty (618-907) and the early Song period; the two Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara mural paintings are on the west wall of the front room and according to the inscription were added in the fifth year of Taiping Xingguo reign (太平興國五年 (981) of the Song period. It is by far the earliest pictorial representation of the Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara in the posture of royal ease.

The examples in Cave 431 signify an iconographic shift of the image of the Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara in China, that is to say, the iconography of the Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara in royal-ease pose first appeared in the late tenth century and the depiction of the deity in half-lotus pose in China seems to end at around this time. In Cave 237 at Dunhuang (fig. 7) and Cave 2 of the Yulin Grottoes (fig. 8) dated to around
the twelfth century, as well as in silk paintings excavated at Khara Khoroo of the Tangut Kingdom (Xixia, 1038-1227) dated to around the twelfth to the thirteenth century, the deity is depicted in a pose of royal ease. 28

It was around the eleventh century that the iconography of the Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara merged with the White-Robed Avalokiteśvara (chi. Baiyi Guanyin 白衣觀音) in China – another indigenous iconography that did not exist in India but was created in Chinese Buddhism and favoured by the Chan (jpn. Zen) monks and literati and later on circulated widely in East Asian cultural circles. 29 What is notable here is that the depiction of the Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara at Cave 237 also shows a merging with the iconography of the White-Robed Avalokiteśvara; it should

![Image of Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara](image-url)
be considered in the context of the reception of the Chinese Buddhist iconography in the Tangut Kingdom.

Interestingly, the representation of the Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara in royal-ease pose, while it does appear in Goryeo Buddhist sculptures and can also be seen incised on bronze mirrors, does not appear in Goryeo Buddhist painting. Scholars suggest that this phenomenon is evidence that the iconography of Goryeo Buddhist painting, at least in the case of the representation of the Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara, follows a much earlier iconographic tradition. On the other hand, the iconography of the Rijksmuseum Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara follows the later tradition that was established in China around the late tenth century and flourished from the eleventh century onwards.

It is worth considering that both iconographic representations of the Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara are documented in the Miscellaneous Records on Specific Deities (jpn. Besson zakki 別尊雑記), a Japanese handbook of esoteric Buddhist iconography dated to the twelfth century during the Heian period (794-1185). One image depicts the Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara facing towards the left and seated on a rock in half-lotus pose, holding a kundika-vase in his right hand, welcoming the boy-pilgrim Sudhana in a setting surrounded by ocean waves, bamboo and clouds, with a heavenly palace appearing through the mist in the distance (fig. 9). The other depicts him seated in a rocky cave surrounded by ocean waves, bamboo and mist, in royal-ease posture, looking down into the water, with a small halo behind his head, and a huge halo at his back (fig. 10). This image is a copy of a Song painting. According to the date of the inscription transcribed on the upper left corner of the manuscript, the original painting was brought to Japan no later than 1088. The other inscription noted in red at the lower left side of the manuscript is interesting:

The holy body is [coloured in] white, hair in dark blue, crown in gold, outer garment on the body in red, necklace in gold, veil in silver-blue, clothes in red-yellow, I noted down the colours in accordance with a copy made at that time.

The colours documented here correspond to those in the Rijksmuseum
the composition and iconography. This explains why the painting was regarded as a Song painting in the early twentieth century; in other words, the Rijksmuseum Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara is in the manner of Chinese Song Buddhist painting.

However, the arabesque medallion pattern decorating the garment of the Rijksmuseum Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara is significant. It is one of the most characteristic signatures of Korean Goryeo Buddhist painting. As Chung Woóthak pointed out, it is the pattern used most frequently and the one that has the most diverse shapes and the use of it is unique to Korean Goryeo Buddhist painting of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Since it is used with such consistency it offers valuable clues for identifying and dating Goryeo Buddhist paintings. This is why the Rijksmuseum Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara cannot be a Chinese painting. 34

But is the Rijksmuseum Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara really a Korean Goryeo Buddhist painting? If one examines the arabesque medallion pattern more closely there appears to be no clear sequence of design or order; instead the medallion was executed with a round outline and the design was randomly filled. This differs from the arabesque medallion patterns that commonly appear in Goryeo Buddhist paintings; these show a clear S-shaped structure (see table 1). That is to say the painter (or painters) of the Rijksmuseum Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara was copying the Goryeo arabesque medallion pattern but did not clearly understand the configuration and the construction of the design.

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<th>Table 1</th>
<th>Comparison of arabesque medallion patterns</th>
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<td>1</td>
<td>Detail of the Rijksmuseum Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara (fig. 1).</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Detail of the Rijksmuseum Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara (fig. 2).</td>
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In addition to the arabesque medallion, the colouration of the Rijksmuseum Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara also differs from that usually found in Korean Goryeo Buddhist painting. Goryeo Buddhist painting used red, green and blue as the principal colours. Few pigment types were used, and colours were used in their pure original form without others mixed in. This avoids the loss of colour saturation that occurs when pigments are combined. In Goryeo Buddhist painting, moreover, one type of pigment is rarely applied with variation in saturation or luminosity, in other words the colour has the same hue and intensity in a single painting, even when applied to different parts of it. The colouring method of the Rijksmuseum Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara differs from Goryeo Buddhist painting. For example, the red garment worn by the deity was executed by adding yellow to a red pigment to create a different colour value and intensity. Another significant stylistic character of Goryeo Buddhist painting when representing the Avalokiteśvara is to use minute lines of white pigment to create the texture of a thin transparent veil. This does not appear on the Rijksmuseum Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara at all.

Taking all the different representational mannerisms together, we can conclude that the Rijksmuseum Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara is not a product of Korean Goryeo painting.

The method used to portray volume in the red garment in the Rijksmuseum Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara is interesting. It is executed by using ink wash to fill in the receding areas in contrast to the forward parts of the drapery, while the most prominent parts are highlighted in yellowish-red. This application differs from the Chinese approach of adding ink wash or darker colour along the contour lines of the fabric. One example is a Chinese version of the Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara dated to the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century. Here we see that the transparent veil worn by the deity was also created by adding ink wash along the outlines (fig. 11). The same method of using colour or ink tone to contrast the folds of drapery and create volume in a garment can be found in Japanese Buddhist painting in the Kamakura period (1192-1333): one extreme example is the Bhaisajyaguru and Twelve Divine
Generals dated to the thirteenth century now in the Yōchi-in Temple collection. In this painting, red pigment (instead of ink) was filled in on the depressions and the most prominent parts are highlighted with white (fig. 12).

Furthermore, the painter of the Rijksmuseum’s Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara used the stylistic device of repeated wavy lines in the outlines of the garment to represent the end of the drapery. This stylistic trick appears in the painting Šākyamuni Descending from the Mountain, attributed to court painter Liang Kai 梁楷 (c. 1140-c. 1210) from the Southern Song Dynasty (1127-1279), now in the collection of...
the Tokyo National Museum, as well as the famous Buddhist series of paintings *Daitokuji Five Hundred Arhats* produced by the local professional Buddhist painting workshops in Ningpo, Zhejiang province. The same outlines and the same method of building the volume in the garment were appropriated by Japanese painters; an example can be found in a painting series of *Sixteen Arhats* dated to the Muromachi period (1336-1573), around the late fourteenth century, now in the Kencho-ji Temple collection (fig. 13). The method of using a red line to re-contour the face, hands and feet after the colour was applied and has covered the original ink.
contour lines, applying blue on the eyebrows, using red to directly depict lips and drawing an ink line between the lips to depict the corners of the mouth have also been conventions of Japanese Buddhist painting since the Heian period. The depiction of the deity’s face in the Rijksmuseum Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara corresponds to this approach (see table 2). Alongside these stylistic characteristics, the same style of rocks appears in the Rijksmuseum Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara and also in the Nyoirin Kannon now in the Hōgonji Temple collection, dated to the fourteenth century (fig. 14).

To sum up, on the basis of style it is much more appropriate to identify the Rijksmuseum Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara as a Japanese painting and date it to the early Muromachi period (1336-1537), in the second half of the fourteenth century.

**In Conclusion**

It is now clear that the Rijksmuseum Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara is neither a Chinese Song or Yuan painting nor a Korean Goryeo painting, but a late fourteenth-century Japanese hybrid creation. It is a mixture of Chinese Song and Korean Goryeo Buddhist painting characteristics: the Japanese painter (or painters) appropriated the Chinese iconography of the Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara, applied colour according to the conventional Chinese prototype, but added the Korean Goryeo arabesque medallion pattern as decoration.

The hybrid nature of the style of the Rijksmuseum Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara indicates a trans-cultural interaction in East Asian Buddhist painting and opens up avenues for further research into its broader historical, cultural, religious and social contexts. The way Chinese Song and Yuan Buddhist painting and Korean Goryeo Buddhist painting were received in Japan merits further research. We know the Chinese Song and Yuan Buddhist
Buddhist painting into Japan can be traced. This is why the Rijksmuseum Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara appears to be extraordinarily significant. Not only it is an astonishing case that demonstrates how Chinese and Korean influences worked in fourteenth-century Japanese Buddhist painting, it also reveals new perspectives on the interactions in East Asian Buddhist painting.

In the Rijksmuseum collection there is a painting depicting the Buddhist deity Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara. The identification and dating of this painting are complex. It had long been considered to be a Chinese work of the Song Dynasty and dated to the twelfth century; later it was regarded as a Chinese work from the Yuan Dynasty and dated to the fourteenth century; more recently opinion shifted and it was seen as a Korean Buddhist painting from the Goryeo Dynasty and dated to the first half of the fourteenth century. This essay aims to serve as a fundamental research by examining the iconography and style of this painting in detail. The author argues on the basis of style that this painting is a late fourteenth-century Japanese hybrid creation that combines both Chinese iconography and the colouring of Chinese Song Buddhist painting with decorative elements of Korean Goryeo Buddhist painting. In light of the recent research into the inter-regional connection of East Asian Buddhist image production, the Rijksmuseum Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara provides an example of the artistic interactions between China, Korea and Japan in the fourteenth century.

Abstract

Paintings were imported into Japan during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and both Chinese Buddhist paintings and Korean Goryeo Buddhist paintings existed in Japan in great quantities at this time and both were constantly copied. On the other hand, there is little surviving documentation through which the specific contexts for the importation of Korean Goryeo Buddhist painting into Japan can be traced. This is why the Rijksmuseum Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara appears to be extraordinarily significant. Not only it is an astonishing case that demonstrates how Chinese and Korean influences worked in fourteenth-century Japanese Buddhist painting, it also reveals new perspectives on the interactions in East Asian Buddhist painting.
NOTES

1 The exhibition was staged from 18 October to 19 November 1978, curated by Yoshida Hiroshi. For the catalogue of this exhibition, see Yamato Bunkakan 大和文華館 (ed.), Tokubetsutensutsu Kórai butsuga: Waga kuni ni shōrai sareta ringoku no konjiki no hotoketachi 特別展高麗仏画：わが国に請来された隣国の金色の仏たち [Special exhibition of Goryeo Buddhist painting: The Golden Buddhas Brought from a Neighbouring Country to our Country], exh. cat. Nara (Yamato Bunkakan) 1978.


8 Vereniging van Vrienden der Aziatische Kunst, Catalogus der tentoonstelling van Aziatische kunst in particuliere en openbare collects in Nederland, exh. cat. Amsterdam (Stedelijk Museum) 1936, pl. 5, no. 80, p. 29.


10 Jan Fontein, Oosterse schatten: 4000 jaar Aziatische kunst, exh. cat. Amsterdam (Museum van Aziatische Kunst/ Rijksmuseum) 1954, pl. 15, no. 143, p. 34.

11 Amsterdam 1970 (note 6), no. 1, p. 7.


My deepest gratitude goes to Professor Chung Woothak of Dongguk University, Seoul, and Professor Jeong-hee Lee-Kalisch of the Freie Universität Berlin; I would not have been able to complete this article without their kind guidance. I would also like to thank the two anonymous reviewers for their insightful and helpful remarks.
This painting used to be in the collection of the temple of Kongō Sanmai-in 金剛三昧院 at Mt. Koya (Koyasan), see Kikutake Jun’ichi and Yoshida Hiroshi 1980 (note 2), p. 51.


For the Chinese wood sculptures of the Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara during the eleventh to the thirteenth century, see Petra Rosch 2007 (note 15); Qu Lian 翟煉, ‘Jin Yuan shiqi jinnan ‘fenheng muhau liupai’ de fenge jin yanbian 金元時期晉南‘汾河木雕流派’的風格及演變 [The Style and Evolution of Fenhe River School of the Chinese Wooden Sculpture of the Buddhhas in Southern Shanxi Province During the Jin-Yuan Dynasties]’, *Gugong bowu yuankan 故宮博物院刊 [Journal of the Palace Museum]* 190 (2017), pp. 71-80.

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 28.56. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. AK-MAK-84; this sculpture sustained damage, repairs and alterations to the wooden body; originally the left leg was hanging, see Aleth Lorne, Petra Rosch and Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer, ‘The Chinese Wooden Sculpture of Guanyin’, *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 50 (2002), no. 3, pp. 364-89.


The Tangut Kingdom was founded by the Tibeto-Burman-speaking peoples, in the areas which are now the northwestern Chinese provinces of Ningxia, Gansu, eastern Qinghai, northern Shaanxi, northern Xinjiang, southwest Inner Mongolia and southernmost Outer Mongolia.

Cave 237 at Dunhuang and Cave 2 of the Yulin Grottoes, see Dunhuang yanjiu yuan 1996 (note 26), pp. 93-94, 204; Lin Baoyao. In the Hermitage collection there are three Xixia silk paintings of the Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara:
