

Early Transmission of Esoteric Images from China to Japan in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries

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The introduction to Japan of fully developed esoteric Buddhism and Buddhist art has often been attributed to the Japanese monk Kūkai 空海 (Ch. Konghai, 774–835), who studied in Tang China from 804 to 806. When Kūkai (and his contemporary Saichō 最澄, 767–822) returned to Japan, he brought with him the two key texts of esoteric Buddhism—the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* (Ch. *Dari jing* 大日經, trans. c. 725, T 848) and the *Tattvasaṃgraha-sūtra* (Ch. *Jingangding jing* 金剛頂經, T 874), which had been introduced to China in the seventh and early eighth centuries by Śubhākarasiṃha (Ch. Shanwuwei 善無畏, 637–735), Vajrabodhi (Ch. Jingangzhi 金剛智, 669–741), and Amoghavajra (Ch. Bukong 不空, 705–774)^[1]. This ushered in the so-called pure phase of esoteric Buddhism, called *chunmi* 純密, as opposed to the earlier “proto-” or “miscellaneous” phase based on miscellaneous esoteric scriptures called *zami* 雜密. The “pure” form of esoteric Buddhism also came with a whole gamut of art forms, cultic deities, and ritual objects, most notably the use of *maṇḍalas*^[2].

However, earlier forms of esoteric images had already reached Japan in the seventh and eighth centuries. For example, most types of esoteric Guanyin 觀音 (J. Kannon) were already known in Japan, as was Vairocana (Ch. Darirulai, J. Dainichi nyorai 大日如來), who later became the central figure in the esoteric pantheon. This paper therefore investigates the early transmission of esoteric images from China to Japan before the time of Kūkai. In contrast to earlier studies on esoteric Buddhist imagery either in China or in Japan, this paper traces the path of transmission of these esoteric deity cults from China to Japan. It focuses on a few well-known seventh- and eighth-century monks, such as Xuanzang 玄奘 (600–664) and Jianzhen 鑑真 (688–763), and examines how some of their actions shed light on Buddhist practices and beliefs. Their Japanese counterparts, such as Dōji 道慈 (Ch. Daoci, d. 744), Gembō 玄坊 (d. 746), and Jitchu (實忠, 726?–815?), are also discussed because of their roles as carriers of Tang Buddhist culture to Nara Japan. Combining a study of both literary and visual materials, the paper addresses certain questions about Buddhist iconography and artistic practices. Furthermore, the documentation of these monks’ activities elucidates their principal roles in the production of Buddhist art, and thus their influence on image-making. Although various types of esoteric or proto-esoteric images were already presented in seventh- and eighth-century Japan (such as the four heavenly kings, Asura, Lakṣmi, and other guardian deities)^[3], here I focus

only on the esoteric or transformed images of Guanyin 觀音 (Sk. Avalokiteśvara, J. Kannon). Based on *dhāraṇī* texts, which espouse the benefits of worshipping the deities and prescribe the iconography of, and rituals performed with, their images, esoteric Guanyins are considered among the “developed” forms of esoteric images first transmitted to Japan.

Esoteric Guanyin Images

Already prominent in China during the Six Dynasties period (220–589), the Guanyin cult was transmitted through Korea to Japan in the seventh century, with a significant number of images dating from the seventh century, including large wooden statues and smaller cast bronze images that belong to the Hōryūji, for example.

From the seventh through the end of the eighth century, several types of esoteric or transformed Guanyin (called *bianhua* Guanyin 變化觀音) were introduced to Japan^[4]. These include the Eleven-headed Guanyin (Ekādaśamukhā, Shiyimian 十一面), Guanyin with the Unfailing Rope (Amoghapāśa, Bukongjuansuo 不空絹索), Thousand-armed Guanyin (Sahasrabhujarya, Qianshou 千手), and Horse-headed Guanyin (Hayagrīva, Matou 馬頭). The Eleven-headed Guanyin was the first to be introduced to Japan, in the mid-seventh century, and by the eighth century this form had already developed into a major cult. Amoghapāśa and Thousand-armed Guanyin also became major icons in Buddhist temples in Nara by the mid-eighth century, with the latter growing in importance until it eclipsed all the others. By the ninth century, Guanyin with the Wish-granting Jewel (Cintāmaṇī-cakra, Ruyilun 如意輪) and Zhunti 準提 Guanyin (Cuṇḍi) had also been introduced to Japan^[5].

First we examine the cult of Eleven-headed Guanyin. It is not a surprise to find that this bodhisattva was among the first esoteric deities to be introduced to Japan, for it was also the first to develop in South Asia and China before reaching Japan. One of the earliest representations of an Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara is found in the Kanheri cave-chapel in western India dating to the sixth century; the heads are piled up vertically, in the 1–3–3–3–1 arrangement (fig. 1)^[6]. Thus it is clear that the worship of Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara originated in India and was introduced to China in the sixth century. However, in subsequent periods this deity was not prominent in India, but became significant in China in late seventh and early eighth centuries, especially under the patronage of Empress Wu 武后 (624–705, r. 684–705) at court^[7].

The Buddhist texts associated with Eleven-headed Guanyin consist of a series of *dhāraṇīs*, or magical chants, intended to invoke the power of the deity, usually in the service of state Buddhism. The earliest text, the



Fig. 1 Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara
6th century
Kanheri Caves, western India
Stone
H. 150 cm
From Neville, *Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara*, fig. 9

Ekādaśamukham, was discovered among the manuscripts found in Gilgit in Kashmir, and is probably of fifth-to sixth-century date^[8]. The text was translated into Chinese by Yasogupta in 564—572. In the mid-seventh century it was translated twice — by Atigupta in 654, and by Xuanzang in 656. A fourth translation was done by Amoghavajra in the mid-eighth century^[9]. The first Chinese translation did not seem to generate interest in this cult in China. However, the two translations in the mid-seventh century, especially Xuanzang's translation, were directly related to the sudden flourishing of images of Eleven-headed Guanyin in China in the late seventh and early eighth centuries. Amoghavajra's translation was not known in Japan before the ninth century, suggesting that the cult of Eleven-headed Guanyin transmitted to Japan in the Nara period (645—794) came from that associated with the court of Empress Wu (see further discussion below).

In the seventh and eighth centuries, images of Eleven-headed Guanyin were found in farflung territories of China, from Dunhuang to Sichuan, Shanxi, Chang'an, Luoyang, and Jiangsu^[10]. At Dunhuang alone there are seven mural depictions of the bodhisattva dating to the Early Tang period (618—712; Caves 321, 331, 334, 340, and Yulin Cave 23), and another image dating to the High Tang period (712—781; Cave 32)^[11]. Generally there are two major types of arrangement of the multiple heads — the vertical style, like the one at Kanheri (see fig. 1), is associated with the Indian style, while Chinese examples tend to have the additional heads arranged in a conical or tiara fashion. In the Cave 334 mural, the seated deity has more of an Indian flavor, both in the vertical arrangement of the heads, stacked up in the 3-2-3-2-1 fashion, and in the sinewy proportions of the figure and shading of the dark-skinned bodhisattva (fig. 2)^[12]. A rock carved image of the bodhisattva in Shanxi, Huoxian, dating to the eighth century, also shows the heads arranged in the vertical style, suggesting an



Fig. 2 Eleven-headed Guanyin and bodhisattvas

Tang dynasty, 2nd half 7th century
Dunhuang Cave 334, east wall
Wall mural

From *Chūgoku sekkutsu: Tonkō Bakkōkutsu*, pt. 3, pl. 82

Indian influence^[13]. Most other Chinese examples (and Japanese ones) show the heads arranged in a tiara or crown shape. In the example from Cave 321, the standing bodhisattva has six arms, while the eleven heads are arranged in the conical fashion; 3-5-2-1 (fig. 3)^[14]. The six arms and the use of some shading around the eyes and nose suggest the renewed Indian influence found in late seventh-century Chinese Buddhist art. At the same time, the main bodhisattva and two attendant bodhisattvas are rendered in the Tang courtly style, with rich floral patterns and lavish jewelry and scarves^[15]. Another example from Dunhuang Cave 331 shows two seated Eleven-headed Guanyin flanking a seated buddha; their heads are arranged in the 3-7-1 crown-like arrangement (fig. 4). The High Tang (eighth-century) example from Dunhuang Cave 32, which has six arms, has the same configuration of heads (fig. 5). Both these examples anticipate the one depicted in the wall paintings of Hōryūji in Japan (see fig. 11). The Early Tang images of Eleven-headed Guanyin at Dunhuang are all found depicted on the east wall (the interior wall of the entrance), above the door or on the side of the doorway. Their positions within the cave-chapels suggest their role as a protective deity.

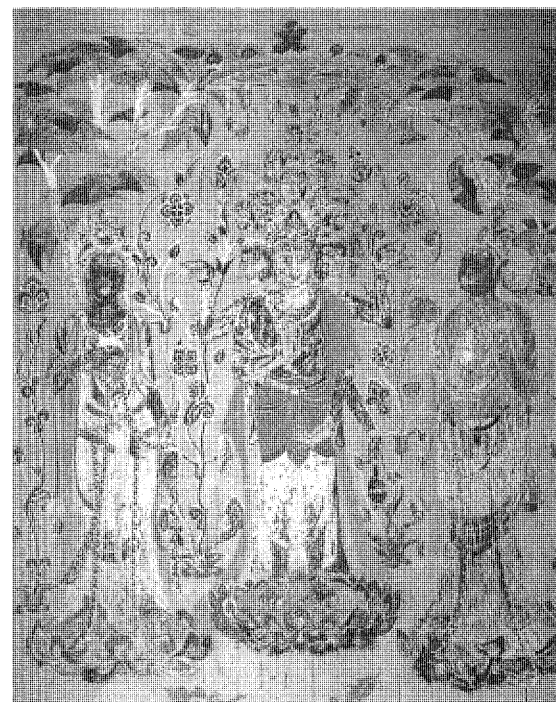


Fig. 3 Eleven-headed Guanyin and bodhisattvas

Tang dynasty, late 7th-early 8th century
Dunhuang Cave 321, east wall
Wall mural

From *Chūgoku sekkutsu: Tonkō Bakkōkutsu*, pt. 3, pl. 55



Fig. 4 Eleven-headed Guanyin

Tang dynasty, 2nd half 7th century
Dunhuang Cave 331, east wall
Wall mural

From Peng Jinzhang, ed., *Dunhuang mijiao huajuan*, pl. 10

In addition to Dunhuang, several Eleven-headed Guanyin images are known from the Tang capitals of Chang'an and Luoyang, especially associated with the reign of Empress Wu. Most prominent are the sculptures that originally adorned the multi-faced pillar called the Tower of Seven Treasures, or Qibaotai 七寶臺, which was commissioned by Empress Wu and became the centerpiece sculpture/architecture in Guangzhaisi 光宅寺, a temple in Chang'an^[16]. The tower, or pillar, has since been dismantled, but

thirty-two relief sculptures have survived. Some have inscriptions dating between 703 and 724. Among this group of sculptures are seven images of Eleven-headed Guanyin, clearly indicating that the bodhisattva was one of the most prominent deities represented on the pillar (fig. 6). The bodhisattva has the heads piled in the 1-5-4-1 conical fashion. For Empress Wu, Buddhism was an instrument to augment her political status and legitimacy^[17]. The powers of Buddhist deities were invoked to protect the state, and her patronage was one of the reasons the Eleven-headed Guanyin gained such importance in China, and subsequently in Japan. In this group of bodhisattvas, the style is characterized by the frontal treatment of the erect, tubular body with a small waist, a small, bulging abdomen, and tightly clinging drapery delineated in sharp lines.



Fig. 5 Eleven-headed Guanyin

Tang dynasty, 1st half 8th century
Dunhuang Cave 32
Wall mural
From Peng Jinzhang, ed.,
Dunhuang mijiao huajuan, pl. 32



Fig. 6 Eleven-headed Guanyin

Tang dynasty, c. 703-704
From Qibaotai, Chang'an
Stone
H. 85.1 cm
Nara National Museum
From Nara National Museum,
Komikkyō: Nihon mikkyō no taidō, pl. 1

There are additional references to Empress Wu and the power of Eleven-headed Guanyin. In June 696, the Khitans (Qidan 契丹), a vassal state in the northeast of Wu Zhou's empire, rose in rebellion. Empress Wu launched a military campaign to suppress the rebellion, and it took more than a year to stabilize the military and political crisis. She also summoned the help of Buddhist and Daoist priests.

Fazang 法藏 (643-712), the eminent monk associated with the Avatamsaka school, was dispatched to perform a Buddhist ritual for the protection of the state. A statue of the Eleven-headed Guanyin was installed on the altar, and the power of the deity was invoked at the ritual^[18]. And an inscription preserved in the Shōsōin 正倉院 in Japan records that Empress Wu commissioned a thousand embroidered images of Eleven-headed Guanyin in commemoration of Emperor Gaozong's 高宗 (650-683) death^[19].

Other known examples of Tang-period Eleven-headed Guanyin images include a bodhisattva head found at Xi'an (fig. 7), the Tang capital site^[20]. The bodhisattva has a broad main face and a crown-like arrangement of the heads above. Another example is the standing statue of the bodhisattva located on the south side of the west wall (entrance) of the North Cave of Leigutai 擂鼓台, Longmen 龍門. The sculpture has four arms; its head is currently in a Japanese collection (fig. 8). This statue was juxtaposed with an eight-armed Guanyin image thought to be Amoghapaśa (see section on "Other Esoteric Guanyin Images" below) on the north side of the west wall^[21]. The other three walls are installed with seated images of the Buddha with his right hand in the earth-touching *mudrā*, generally thought to be modeled after the famous image of the Buddha at the Mahabodhi Temple in Bodhgaya (the site where the Buddha attained enlightenment), India. The presence of the two esoteric Guanyin images suggests the interpretation of the main icons of the cave-chapel as Vairocana, the transcendent, esoteric form of the Buddha. Dated inscriptions within the cave-chapel give dates of 692, 701, and 718, indicating that the cave-chapel was constructed during the reign of Empress Wu, with work extending into the Kaiyuan era (713-741) of Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712-756)^[22]. The North Cave of Leigutai and a couple of other sites at Longmen are rich in esoteric images, all of which are related to the

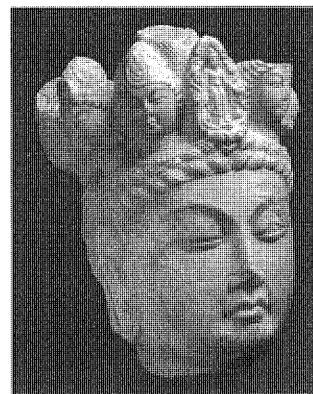


Fig. 7 Head of Eleven-headed Guanyin

Tang dynasty, early 8th century
Excavated at Xi'an
Marble
H. 25.5 cm
Beilin Museum, Xi'an
From Cheng Jianzheng, ed.,
Xi'an Beilin bowuguan, p. 134

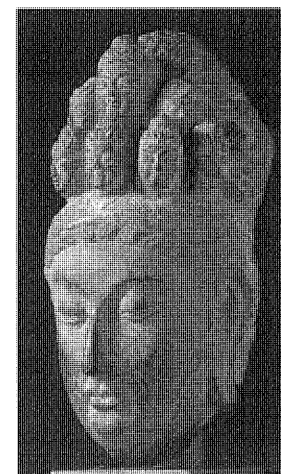


Fig. 8 Head of Eleven-headed Guanyin

Tang dynasty, early 8th century
Longmen, Leigutai North Cave
Stone
H. 53.5 cm
Ōhara Art Museum
From Nara National Museum,
Komikkyō: Nihon mikkyō no taidō, pl. 2

religious milieu that supported the growth of esoteric Buddhism under the reigns of Emperor Gaozong and Empress Wu. This environment began to form with Xuanzang's return to China in 645, his translation of many esoteric texts (including those on esoteric Guanyins), and the Indian images he brought back; continued to develop with the Chinese emissary Wang Xuance's 王玄策 mid-seventh-century missions to India, accompanied by artists who made sketches of Indian monuments and statues; and culminated in Emperor Gaozong and Empress Wu's patronage. All these factors created an influx of new Indian influences in style and iconography, and a favorable environment for the growth of esoteric Buddhism. As earlier scholars have noted, it was the esoteric Buddhist art of late seventh- and early eighth-century China that affected the initial reception and growth of esoteric Buddhism and Buddhist art in Nara-period Japan, before Kūkai's return in the early ninth century.

Early Examples of Eleven-headed Guanyin Images in Japan

In Japan, the earliest image of the Eleven-headed Guanyin (Kannon in Japanese) was excavated in 1918 from the Nachi Sutra Mound 那智経塚, within the complex of the Kumano Shrine 熊野神社 on the Kii Peninsula. It is a small bronze statue, of 31.4 centimeters in height (fig. 9). With a slender body (typical of sixth-century Chinese or seventh-century Japanese style), the bodhisattva holds a vase in the left hand, which is an attribute more commonly found in contemporary exoteric Guanyin images. The transformed heads are mostly shown on the back of the main head and do not include the differentiation of bodhisattva faces, angry faces, faces with fangs, and a laughing face as textual prescriptions stipulate.

Nachi is well known for its natural scenery, including the Nachi Grand Fall, and has long been associated with indigenous nature worship in Japan. Beautiful spots in nature are often considered to be home for gods (*kami* in Japanese). That the earliest Eleven-headed Kannon image in Japan was found in one of the most sacred sites in Japan signifies that very early on the Guanyin cult was already integrated with indigenous religious beliefs and practice in a process known as *honji suijaku* 本地垂迹 (translated as "true nature — trace manifestation"). This process allows for the popular synthesis of Shinto *kami* with Buddhist deities; for example, a Buddhist deity can be considered a manifestation of a Shinto *kami*, and vice versa^[23]. While significant to Shinto worship, Nachi was also identified early on as Mt. Potalaka (Ch. Putuoshan, J. Budalakksan 普陀山), the abode or paradise of Guanyin. In addition to this bronze statue, two other seventh-century bronze images of



Fig. 9 Nachi Eleven-headed Kannon

From Nachi Sutra Mound
Asuka period, mid-7th century
Gilt bronze
H. 31.4 cm
Tokyo National Museum
From Nara National Museum, *Komikkyō*:
Nihon mikkyō no taidō, pl. 7

Kannon were recovered from the area in the early part of the twentieth century, attesting to the significance of the Guanyin/Kannon cult in the region^[24].

Japan first sent official delegations to China in the seventh century — delegations that included student-monks who went to study with Buddhist masters, returning with *sūtras* and images they had gathered. However, there is no evidence to date that any of the texts associated with the Eleven-headed Guanyin were introduced to Japan in the seventh century (see discussion below). Thus it seems that the deity cult and imagery preceded the introduction to Japan of texts on Eleven-headed Guanyin (unlike in China, where the *dhāraṇī sūtra* on Eleven-headed Guanyin was known for almost a century before the first images were made)^[25]. The large influx of immigrants (primarily from Korea and China) to Japan around this time suggests that the cult of Eleven-headed Guanyin and images of the deity were probably brought to Japan by the immigrant community^[26]. Furthermore, a wood statue of the Eleven-headed Guanyin, with polychrome pigments, is thought to have been brought from China to Japan by the pilgrim-monk Jyōe 定惠 in 665 (fig. 10)^[27]. Here the additional heads are arranged in three groups of three each in a crown around the main head, while the tenth head is placed at the top. The bodhisattva holds a vase in the left hand and a rosary in the right hand. While the body is rendered in slender proportions and covered with heavy jewelry reminiscent of early seventh-century bodhisattva statues in China, the rather large main head is fashioned with Indianized features that include arched eyebrows and the deep-set, sinuous curves of downcast eyes. The Tang capitals are known to have experienced an "Indian boom" when men such as Xuanzang and Wang Xuance returned and introduced the images and drawings they had brought back from their travels to India, and this statue is a good example of the fresh Indian influences brought to the Chinese capitals.

The next two images, dating from the early decades of the eighth century, also suggest that Japan came into contact with the metropolitan style and the new cult of Eleven-headed Guanyin associated with the Tang court. These are two images of this bodhisattva, from Hōryūji 法隆寺, near Nara — a mural painting (fig. 11) in the Kondō, or Main Hall, and a sandalwood image (fig. 12) presented to the temple in 719, thought to have been brought from China.

Hōryūji was first built in 607. After a fire in 670 the temple was rebuilt, with the building of the Kondō 金堂 completed in 711. The mural paintings in the interior of the Kondō probably date to 711 or slightly later. Included in the twelve panels of the mural is a depiction of the Eleven-headed Kannon (figs. 11, 11a) at the north end of the east wall^[28]. The bodhisattva is one of



Fig. 10 Eleven-headed Guanyin

Tang dynasty, mid-7th century
Wood with pigments
H. 42.1 cm
Tokyo National Museum
From Nara National Museum,
Komikkyō: *Nihon mikkyō no taidō*, pl. 4

eight bodhisattvas depicted, and is juxtaposed with a standard image of Shō Kannon, with Amitābha on his crown, on the west wall. As with the Qibaotai images (see fig. 6), the Hōryūji bodhisattva is shown in the frontal, erect pose, giving the figure an iconic status. Other bodhisattvas depicted in the Main Hall are portrayed in a more relaxed manner, sometimes with the contrapposto pose, flanking a central buddha. The upright pose of the Eleven-headed Kannon image in the Hōryūji mural thus presents the bodhisattva as an icon with its own individual status rather than as a subsidiary figure. The bodhisattva's main head has an additional head emerging from each side; seven bodhisattva heads above, each with a buddha effigy on the crown; and a buddha head at the top, thus showing a 3-7-1 arrangement. Whereas most of the Qibaotai statues have the heads arranged in three tiers, in the 1-5-4-1 arrangement (see fig. 6), the 3-7-1 arrangement can be seen in two examples from Dunhuang Caves 331 and 32 (figs. 4, 5)^[29].



Fig. 11 Eleven-headed Kannon

Early Nara period, c. 710
Kondō of Hōryūji, near Nara
Wall mural

From Tanaka Ichimatsu, *Wall Paintings in the Kondō, Hōryūji Monastery*, wall painting no. 12



Fig. 11a Detail of Fig. 11

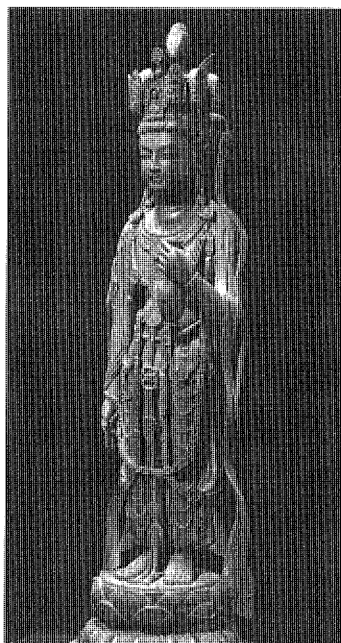


Fig. 12 Nine-headed Guanyin

Tang dynasty, early 8th century
Entered Hōryūji, near Nara, in 719
Sandalwood

H. 47.9 cm
From Ono Katsutoshi,
Shōrai bijutsu, col. pl. 1

Another early eighth-century example associated with Hōryūji is a sandalwood statue, with the variant nine heads instead of eleven (fig. 12)^[30]. Records show that it entered the temple in the year 719, and it probably was brought back to Japan from China by one of the returning pilgrim-monks before that time^[31]. Some scholars speculate that the most likely person to have

brought this statue to Japan was Dōji 道慈 (d. 744), although there are also scholars who disagree. Dōji, who spent sixteen years in China, from 702 to 718, is also considered the most plausible cultural agent to have introduced to Japan the Buddhist culture promoted by Empress Wu that permeated the Tang court from the late seventh to the early eighth century.

Dōji

Dōji was a scholar-monk who had studied Mādhyamika doctrine (Ch. Sanlun; J. Sanron 三論) at Hōryūji, and Hossō 法相 (Ch. Faxiang) doctrine at Ryūmonji. He traveled to China in an official embassy in 702, and returned to Japan in 718. In China he pursued further studies of the Sanlun school, while visiting masters and collecting Buddhist *sūtras*. Apparently he stayed at Ximingsi 西明寺, a premier monastery in the Tang capital of Chang'an, and studied esoteric Buddhism with Śubhākarasiṃha, one of the three masters responsible for introducing esoteric Buddhism to China^[32]. If so, his residence at Ximingsi probably coincided with that of the Tang pilgrim and translator Yijing 義淨 (635–713), who returned to Chang'an in 695 after his travels to India. After returning to Japan, Dōji taught the Sanlun doctrine and was considered the third transmitter of this school to Japan. In 729 he was appointed to supervise the rebuilding of the Daianji 大安寺 in the new capital of Heijōkyō 平城京, modern-day Nara^[33]. It is reported that he rebuilt the Daianji based on the model of Ximingsi. Some scholars doubted this claim, however. At Daianji he erected a statue of the Thousand-armed Guanyin, one of the earliest known representations of this deity in Japan^[34]. Later in 729 he was appointed preceptor. Among his other known activities was lecturing on the *Golden Light Sūtra* (*Suvarṇa-prābhāsottama-sūtra*, Ch. *Jingguangming jing* 金光明經) at the imperial palace in 737. Although the *Golden Light Sūtra* had been introduced to Japan previously, Dōji returned to Japan with the version newly translated by Yijing, the *Jinguanming zuishengwang jing* 金光明最勝王經 (T 665). The *Golden Light Sūtra* was considered one of three Buddhist *sūtras* that had the power to protect the state in seventh- and eighth-century Japan, and was often recited at state-sponsored temples in services for the state; the other two were the *Sukhāvativyūha* (Ch. *Wuliangshou jing*, J. *Muryōjukyō* 無量壽經) and the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra on the Benevolent Kings* (Ch. *Renwang bore jing*, J. *Ninnōhannyakyō* 仁王般若經).

While focusing on the Mādhyamika doctrine, it is evident that Dōji had knowledge of other schools of Buddhism current in China at the time, most notably the Huayan 華嚴 doctrine based on the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* (*Huayan jing* 華嚴經; a new translation of the *sūtra*, with 80 fascicles, was sponsored by Empress Wu, T 279). The Daianji was also host to a group of émigré monks who were specialists on the Huayan doctrine and who came to Japan in the 730s. Among them were the Chinese monk Daoxuan 道璿 (J. Dōsen, 699–757), the South Indian monk Bodhisena (Ch. Putiqianna 菩提僊那, J. Bodaisenna; 704–760), and the Korean monk from Silla, Shenxiang 審祥 (J. Shinjyō, eighth century). All three were experts on the Huayan doctrine and played instrumental roles in guiding Emperor Shōmu's 聖武 (r. 724–749) building

of Tōdaiji 東大寺. The record of the property assets of Daianji notes that in 742 Dōji, together with the master of the temple, Kyōgi 教義, and others commissioned two embroidered paintings for Emperor Shōmu: *Four Locations and Sixteen Assemblies of Mahāprajñāpāramitā* (J. *Dai hannya shijūjūrokkai* 大般若四重十六會, based on the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra*), and *Avataṃsaka's Seven Locations and Nine Assemblies* (Ch. *Qichu jiuhui*, J. *Shichisho kyūkai* 七處九會, based on the *Huayan Jing* or *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*)^[35]. Since the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras* form the foundation of the Mādhyamika doctrine and the *Huayan jing* is central to the Huayan doctrine, the subjects chosen for these two embroidered hangings appropriately reflected the scholastic interests current at Daianji. Dōji is also known for introducing the Mahāprajñāpāramitā ritual (called *hannyakai* 般若會), which is still practiced today.

These are among some of the scant facts known about Dōji. However, there are also assertions that Dōji had some connection to the Eleven-headed Guanyin images at Hōryūji. Among the scholar-monks who returned to Japan in 718, Dōji has been noted as an outstanding Buddhist scholar and leader of his time. This is evidenced by his later rise to prominence as preceptor and his leadership role at Daianji. His broad knowledge of Buddhism, acquaintance with esoteric Buddhism and court practices in Tang Chang'an, and other cultural and artistic aspects make him the likely candidate in the early transmission of esoteric cults to Japan. In his study of the Hōryūji wall murals, Kobayashi Taichirō observes that Dōji may have played a role in the introduction of the esoteric Eleven-headed Guanyin into the wall paintings of the Main Hall of Hōryūji^[36]. And since the nine-headed Guanyin statue (fig. 12) was presented to the temple in 719, just one year after the monk's return, Dōji is the most likely agent in this episode of cultural and artistic transmission. In addition, the Daianji that Dōji helped rebuild was to figure significantly for a group of wooden esoteric Guanyin images, dating from the latter part of the eighth century, made for this temple (see further discussion below).

Gembō and Jitchū

At least two of Dōji's contemporaries were also instrumental in the dissemination and promotion of the Guanyin cult. Gembō 玄昉 (d. 746) studied in China from 716 to 735. One of his greatest achievements was to return to Japan with a set of the Tripiṭaka, thought to have been a gift of the Tang Emperor Xuanzong. This collection of all Buddhist texts currently available in Tang China was invaluable to the development of Buddhism and Buddhist practices in Japan. In the development of the cult of Eleven-headed Guanyin in Japan, it may even have provided the first documentation available there of *sūtras* related to the bodhisattva, and was concomitant with the writing of miraculous tales in Japan. According to Ishida Mosaku, who studied Nara Buddhism and its relation to *sūtra* manuscripts available at the time, the *Ekādasamukha-dhāraṇī-sūtra* (Xuanzang's translation) first appeared among records in Japan in 733, and was again cited in 737 and 753. Yasogupta's and Atigupta's translations were also mentioned in the 730s, while Huizhao's commentary was mentioned in the 740s. Amoghavajra's translation of mid-eighth

century date, however, was not mentioned^[37]. Thus it seems that of the four translations of the *sūtras* associated with Eleven-headed Guanyin, the three early versions, and especially the one by Xuanzang, were influential in Japan in the eighth century. It also seems that Xuanzang's translation was already available before Gembō's return to Japan, whereas the other two translations were available shortly thereafter^[38]. Thus it appears that the *Ekādasamukha-dhāraṇī-sūtra* was singled out for inclusion in the collection that Gembō brought back from China. Moreover, it was only after Gembō's return to Japan that specific references to ceremonies relating to Eleven-headed Guanyin appear, so Gembō may have played a role in introducing such practices from China to Japan^[39].

Jitchū 実忠 (726? —815?) is another monk relevant to the propagation of the esoteric Guanyin/Kannon cult. There has been some speculation as to where he came from, but apparently he was a foreigner (not Chinese) who came to Japan at an early age and was well versed in esoteric practices^[40]. He was a scholar of the Huayan school and a key figure who brought the Tōdaiji to completion. He studied under Rōben 良弁 (689—773) and succeeded him as superintendent of repairs to Tōdaiji, where he was known for his hands-on ability in assisting the construction of and repairs to the temple. He was equally accomplished in temple administration and in the establishment of temple ceremonials. Among the rituals he initiated was one of confession and repentance focusing on a statue of the Eleven-headed Kannon housed in the Nigatsudō 二月堂 of Tōdaiji. No longer extant, this statue is thought to have been of foreign origin and was made of bronze, 7 *cun* 寸 (21.2 cm) tall. According to popular legend, Jitchū found the statue floating in the bay at Naniwa. Because of its miraculous origin, and thus its efficacy and power, the statue was enshrined at the Nigatsudō, and Jitchū initiated the rites of repentance ceremony called *Jūichimen keka* 十一面悔過 there. (Since the rites are performed in the second month of the lunar calendar, the ceremony is also called Shūnie 修二會.)

These purification rites, performed by a select group of monks, have roots in ancient Indian monastic practices. They involve reciting *sūtras*, chanting hymns, and making offerings to the deity, and are performed to cleanse the sins of the old year. The monks carry out these rites not only for themselves but also for the nation, the imperial family, and all sentient beings. The climax of the rites, called Omizutori お水取り (water-drawing), is held on the last day of the second month of the lunar calendar. A procession of priests and their assistants descends from Nigatsudō to the small well, called Akaiya 閼伽井屋, that provides fresh, pure water. Greeted by Shinto priests, a water-bearer joins them to return to Nigatsudō and offer water to the enshrined statue of Eleven-headed Kannon. From the balcony attendants brandish long torches, whose sparks cascade over the railing to announce the arrival of the new year. The ceremony is one of the oldest Buddhist observances in Japan; it was of national importance in the Nara period, when it was also performed in other temples, mountain retreats, and the palace. From its commencement in 752, the *Jūichimen keka* ceremony at Tōdaiji has continued into modern times without intermission^[41].

The small Eleven-headed Kannon enshrined at the Nigatsudō was considered so sacred and "secret" that it was hardly allowed to be viewed, even by Buddhist priests. During a fire in 1667,

however, the sculpture was destroyed. All that remains is the mandorla for the statue, which shows engraved depictions of attendant buddhas, bodhisattvas, and other beings surrounding a multi-armed deity identified as Thousand-armed Kannon (figs. 13, 13a; see further discussion below).



Fig. 13 Mandorla for Eleven-headed Kannon

Nara period, c. 752
Nigatsudō, Tōdaiji, Nara
Gilt bronze
H. 226.5 cm
From Nara National Museum, *Komikkyō*;
Nihon mikkyō no taidō, pl. 68



Fig. 13a Detail of Fig. 13

The rites of repentance and confession in Buddhism were known in China in the fifth and sixth centuries. Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty 梁武帝 (r. 502—549) initiated regular confessional ceremonies. Recent scholarship on Buddhism in the Northern dynasties period (386—581) and the study of inscriptions in cave-chapels in the north have also revealed the widespread practice of these rites in northern China from the sixth and to early seventh century. The invocation of deities and recitation of their names were part of the ritual, though in sixth-century northern China the *Sūtra of Buddha Names* (*Foshuo Foming jing* 佛說佛名經, trans. Bodhiruci [Ch. Putiliuzhi 菩提流支, act. 508—535], T 440) was among the most common *sūtras* associated with the rites of repentance^[42]. Other popular buddhas and bodhisattvas also became the foci of confessional ceremonies in seventh-century China. In Japan, beginning in the latter part of the seventh century, *keka* ceremonies focusing on deities such as Bhaiṣajyaguru (J. Yakushi), Amitābha, Śakyamuni, and Lakṣmī (the Indian goddess of fertility) were frequently recorded, often performed on behalf of the state for protection from calamities, illnesses, and so on^[43]. Thus the rites of repentance were not without precedent but had shifted to the new esoteric bodhisattva of Guanyin.

Other Esoteric Guanyin Images and the DaiANJI Group

While the Eleven-headed Kannon was developing into a major cult in mid-eighth-century Japan, other forms of esoteric Kannon were also being introduced, most notably Amoghapāśa (Bukongjuansuo Guanyin) and Thousand-armed Kannon, with large statues being installed for important temples in Nara.

In Tang China, during the reign of Empress Wu, other esoteric Guanyins were also worshipped. The preface to the *Thousand-armed Guanyin Sūtra* (Ch. *Qianyan qianbei Guanshiyin pusa toluoni shenzhou jing* 千眼千臂觀世音菩薩陀羅尼神呪經, trans. Zhitong 智通, T 1057) mentions that at Foshoujisi 佛授記寺 an Indian monk painted an image of a thousand-armed bodhisattva on an altar and offered it, together with the *dhāraṇī* text, to Empress Wu, who then asked the court maidens to make an embroidered image of the bodhisattva. She also asked craftsmen to paint the bodhisattva for further propagation^[44].

Three art historians in the ninth century — Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠 (fl. c. 815—875), Duan Chengshi 段成式 (d. 863), and Zhu Jingxuan 朱景玄 (act. c. 806—835) — all mention the activities of Yüchi Yiseng 尉遲乙僧 (seventh — early eighth century) in relation to a thousand-armed bodhisattva he painted at the pagoda of Ci'ensi 慈恩寺 in Chang'an. Yüchi Yiseng's father, Yüchi Bazhina 尉遲跋支那, had been sent by the king of Khotan to Chang'an around 630; both father and son were court painters known for introducing the foreign painting style called *aotuhua* 凹凸花, which portrays objects in relief in an illusionist manner. Whereas Zhang and Duan mention that Yüchi Yiseng painted an image of the Thousand-armed Mañjuśrī, Zhu mentions that it was an image of the Thousand-armed Guanyin^[45]. The Ci'ensi was dedicated by the crown prince Li Zhi 李治 (the future Emperor Gaozong) in memory of his mother, Empress Wende 文德皇后. In 652, an Indian-style *stūpa* was built at the suggestion of Xuanzang, the abbot of the temple. However, the *stūpa* later collapsed and a seven-story brick pagoda, the Dayanta 大雁塔, was built around 703—705, with the sponsorship of Empress Wu. Thus the depiction of the thousand-armed bodhisattva, most likely Guanyin, at the pagoda of Ci'ensi is again connected to Empress Wu in the early eighth century.

As for Amoghapāśa (Bukongjuansuo Guanyin), no identifiable or inscribed images have surfaced to date, though texts of this deity had been translated by Xuanzang and others since the mid-seventh century. However, since the earliest example in Japan is an eight-armed bodhisattva, several eighth-century examples in China might be considered possible candidates. In the North Cave of Leigutai at Longmen, the bodhisattva that flanks the entrance together with the Eleven-headed Guanyin (see fig. 8) is an eight-armed deity and is considered a likely representation of Amoghapāśa^[46]. In Dunhuang Cave 341, an Early Tang cave, two eight-armed bodhisattvas are portrayed flanking a seated buddha. Like depictions of Eleven-headed Guanyin, they are positioned on the east wall, above the doorway^[47].

The largest group of extant esoteric Guanyins come from Dunhuang Cave 148, dated to 776.

The Guanyin images represented include four-armed and eight-armed Guanyins, Amoghapāśa, Thousand-armed Guanyin (fig. 14), and Ruyilun Guanyin, along with other esoteric deities. The Thousand-armed Guanyin is portrayed as a central, seated figure surrounded by twenty attendant figures. The bodhisattva's full, fleshy face and rather somber, remote expression echo those of late Nara images in Japan. Given the late eighth-century date of the cave-chapel, the subject shown in Cave 148 represents the impact of "pure" esoteric Buddhism at Dunhuang^[48]. Of these esoteric Guanyins, Amoghapāśa and Thousand-armed Guanyin were introduced to Japan independently, while Ruyilun Guanyin was not represented in Japan until the ninth century. However, a Tang gilt bronze image of a six-armed Ruyilun Guanyin has survived in Japan and is thought to have been brought to Japan in Tang times (fig. 15)^[49].



Fig. 14 Thousand-armed Guanyin

Tang dynasty, dated 776
Dunhuang Cave 148
Wall mural
From Peng Jinzhang, ed., *Dunhuang mijiao huajuan*, pl. 27



Fig. 15 Ruyilun Guanyin

Tang dynasty, 8th century
Gilt bronze
H. 10.1 cm
Yamato Bunkakan
From Tokyo National Museum, *Kondō butsu — Chūgoku, Chōsen, Nihon*, pl. 174

The first known statue of Amoghapāśa (J. Fukukenjaku Kannon) in Japan is a dry lacquer statue in the Sangatsudō 三月堂, or Hokkedō 法華堂, of Tōdaiji, thought to date to 748 (fig. 16)^[50]. Standing at an impressive height of 3.62 meters, it was rendered in the new technique of dry lacquer — a technique that was popular in Tang China and introduced to Japan, where it soon became fashionable in the capital. The *dhāraṇī sūtras* focusing on Amoghapāśa circulated in Japan from the 730s onward^[51], suggesting that the influx of these came after Gembō's return from China in 736. The bodhisattva has eight arms, and a third eye on the forehead. Similar to

the Eleven-headed Kannon, the inclusion of multiple arms and multiple heads signifies the superhuman power and efficacy of the deity, and indicates the incorporation of Hindu influences in the development of esoteric Buddhist iconography. Two hands are pressed in front in the praying gesture, while the other hands hold emblems that include a lotus, pilgrim's staff, and lasso. The halo and light rays behind the statue are rendered in openwork metal, with attached flame patterns. The figure is somewhat heavy, with regular drapery folds hanging on the two legs. The bodhisattva's face has an austere expression characteristic of esoteric deities. The creation of this image is thought to have been a response to Emperor's Shomū's decree that provincial temples install statues of this divinity^[52]. In 746, a workshop for creating Buddhist sculptures was created at Tōdaiji, under the direction of Kuninaka Kimimaro 國中連公麻呂 (d. 774), an artist of Korean descent. Very likely this statue, along with a number of other statues at the temple, was created at the Tōdaiji atelier.

The Thousand-armed Kannon also made a number of appearances in eighth-century Japan. From literary records we learn that around the 730s two statues of Thousand-armed Guanyin were installed at Daianji and Gangōji; both were likely associated with the patronage of Dōji^[53], who is also said to have written a commentary on the *Thousand-armed Guanyin Sūtra*. Gembō, returning to Japan with the vast collection of *sūtras* that make up the Tripitaka, specifically dedicated the copying of a thousand copies of the *Thousand-armed Guanyin Sūtra* because of the healing power of this *dhāraṇī sūtra*. And when Jianzhen (J. Ganjin 鑑真, 688—763) came to Japan, in 753, he brought with him a white sandalwood statue of the Thousand-armed Guanyin and an embroidered painting of the bodhisattva^[54]. Like Xuanzang, who recited the *Guanyin Sūtra* for protection during his travels to western regions, Jianzhen worshipped Guanyin as a protector of travelers.

As for extant examples from the mid-eighth century, one of the earliest is shown on the damaged mandorla (fig. 13) for the no longer extant "secret" Eleven-headed Kannon enshrined in the Nigatsudō of Tōdaiji, the focus of the Shūnie *keka* ceremony discussed earlier. Remaining details of the engraving on the Nigatsudō mandorla (fig. 13a) reveal that the central figure on the mandorla is Thousand-armed Kannon. Surrounding the deity are fifty-two buddhas at the top; at the bottom are fourteen bodhisattvas, Brahmā, Indra, the four heavenly kings, and other classes of beings. The fifty-two buddhas and Kannon are thought to represent the fifty-three spiritual

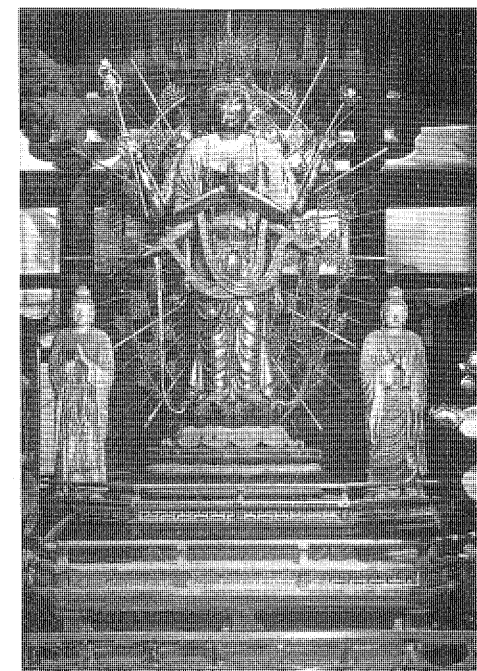


Fig. 16 Fukukenjaku Kannon
(Amogapāśa)

Nara period, 740s
Sangatsudō, Tōdaiji, Nara
Dry lacquer with gilt
H. 362 cm
From Uehara Shoichi et al., eds.,
Tenpyō no bijutsu, pl. 2

teachers that Sudhana (Ch. Shancai tongzi, J. Zenzai dōji 善財童子) visited in search of enlightenment. Sudhana's spiritual journey constitutes the contents of the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, or *Rufajiepin* 入法界品, the last chapter of the eighty-fascicle translation of the *Avatamsaka Sūtra*. Since the establishment of Tōdaiji and its colossal bronze statue, Vairocana Buddha, were informed by the Huayan/Kegon doctrine, this configuration of Kannon (one of Sudhana's teachers) and fifty-two buddhas and other heavenly beings illustrates the incorporation of the esoteric Guanyin into the Kegon interpretation^[55].

One of the largest statues of the Thousand-armed Kannon in eighth-century Japan was created for Tōshōdaiji 唐招提寺, which was built for Jianzhen, who became its abbot in 759 (fig. 17)^[56]. Over 5 meters tall, this Thousand-armed Kannon flanked the main statue of Vairocana in the temple's main hall; the other flanking figure is a standing statue of the Medicine Buddha. This Kannon in fact has eleven heads and originally had a full one thousand arms (forty-seven have since been lost), with the larger hands holding various emblems. The statue is similar in style to the Amoghapaśa in Sangatsudō (see fig. 16), with the drapery drawn tightly over the thighs and falling in regular curves over the legs. The proportion, however, is somewhat heavier, especially in the squarish head. The statue dates to the second half of the eighth century and is seen as a transition from the height of Nara/Tang style toward the early Heian style of early ninth century. When Jianzhen came to Japan, he came with a large entourage of disciples,

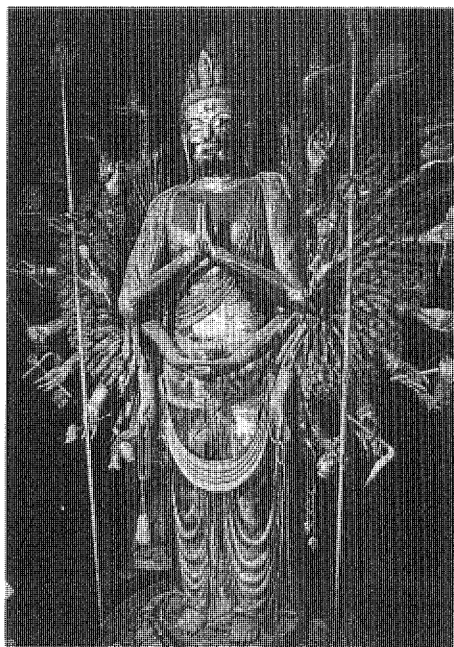


Fig. 17 Eleven-headed Thousand-armed Kannon

Nara period, 2nd half 8th century

Tōshōdaiji, Nara

Dry lacquer with gilt

H. 536 cm

From Asano Kiyoshi and Moōri Hisashi, eds.,

Nara no jūin to Tenpyō chōkoku, pl. 59



Fig. 18 Eleven-headed Kannon

Late Nara period, c. 780s

Daianji, Nara

Wood

H. 190.5 cm

From Kōno Seikō, *Shōtoku*

Taishi to Daianji, pl. 1

craftsmen, and followers^[57]. The statues created for Tōshōdaiji were likely produced at the temple workshop and supervised by the priests and craftsmen who came with Jianzhen, many of whom were of Chinese or foreign origin. Made of dry lacquer over wood core, the technique used in the Thousand-armed Kannon differs from that of earlier statues made of dry lacquer over clay cores, suggesting the import of newer techniques by Jianzhen's disciples.

In connection with the statues made for Tōdaiji and Tōshōdaiji, brief mention can also be made of the group of esoteric Kannon images at Daianji, discussed earlier in connection with Dōji. At Daianji, Dōji is said to have dedicated a statue of Thousand-armed Kannon when the temple was rebuilt in 729. That statue has not survived, although an important group of five esoteric Kannon images does remain at the temple^[58]. Probably dating from the 780s to the early ninth century, they include images of Shō Kannon, Amoghapaśa, Batō Kannon (Ch. Matou Guanyin), Yōryū Kannon (Ch. Yangliu Guanyin), and Eleven-headed Kannon. All are carved in wood in the single-block (*ichiboku* 一木) technique. The Eleven-headed Kannon has the additional heads arranged in tiara fashion (fig. 18). Somewhat stiff, it is carved in the frontal position, with the left hand holding a vase with lotuses. The face and body are rendered fully, while the jewelry and drapery on the surface are naturalistically carved and detailed. Compared with the Qibaotai sculptures (fig. 6) associated with the reign of Empress Wu, which are characterized by slenderness and a feminine beauty, these seem heavier and convey a somber mood. This change in style is already seen in figures associated with the Tōdaiji and Tōshōdaiji workshops that produced sculpture in the mid- to late eighth century (see figs. 16, 17). Another interesting statue in this group is the six-armed Batō Kannon, one of the earliest statues of this bodhisattva (fig. 19). The face of this bodhisattva has the frowning eyebrows, bulging eyes, and fierce expression usually associated with esoteric deities. Of his two raised hands, one holds a lotus stalk and the other holds a trident. However, this statue does not yet portray the horse head or three-headed feature found in later examples, such as the Matou Guanyin excavated from the site of Anguosi 安國寺 in Chang'an, probably of late eighth- or ninth-century date (fig. 20). The Yōryū Kannon (Kannon Holding a Willow Branch) at Daianji also has a scowling face (fig. 21); very likely this statue was intended to represent an esoteric bodhisattva and not the exoteric willow-holding Guanyin popular since the late sixth century in China (fig. 22). This group of five esoteric Kannon images represents an incipient stage in the development of esoteric imagery before the ninth century. The wood sculptures also signal a new direction in using wood as a preferred material.

In this brief overview of the early transmission of esoteric Guanyin/Kannon images from China to Japan, it is clear that certain Buddhist monks played a vital role in the propagation of esoteric deity cults. The translation of *dhāraṇī* texts, by Xuanzang and others, laid the foundation for the dissemination of these cults. Xuanzang and Jianzhen themselves worshipped Guanyin as a protective deity. The *sūtras* and images they carried — from India to China in the case of Xuanzang, and from China to Japan in the case of Jianzhen — facilitated the spread of the Guanyin cult. Their Japanese counterparts, notably Dōji, Gembō, and Jitchū, further fostered the development of esoteric Kannon cults through their patronage activities and their influence at



Fig. 19 Batō Kannon

Late Nara period, c. 780s
Daianji, Nara
Wood
H. 173.5 cm
From Kōno Seikō, *Shōtoku Taishi to Daianji*, p. 111



Fig. 20 Matou Guanyin

Tang dynasty, 8th-9th century
From Anguosi site, Xi'an
Marble
H. 89 cm
Beilin Museum, Xi'an
From Cheng Jianzheng, ed., *Xi'an Beilin bowuguan*, p. 127

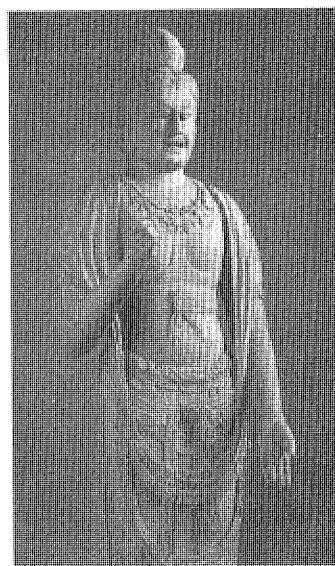


Fig. 21 Yōryū Kannon

Late Nara period, c. 780s
Daianji, Nara
Wood
H. 168.5 cm
From Kōno Seikō, *Shōtoku Taishi to Daianji*, p. 113



Fig. 22 Yangliu Guanyin

Sui dynasty, dated 581
Limestone
H. 91.4 cm
Detroit Institute of Arts
City of Detroit Purchase
From National Palace Museum, *Hai Wai Yi-chen: Chinese Art in Overseas Collections. Buddhist Sculpture*, vol. 1, pl. 64.

the Nara court and major temples in the capital. Thus even before the full impact of “pure” esoteric Buddhism was felt in Japan, these early esoteric Buddhist deities were already worshipped and fully appreciated there. Furthermore, the extant statues preserved in Japan enrich our understanding of the early developments of esoteric imagery in East Asia in the seventh and eighth centuries.

- [1] I would like to acknowledge the support of a small grant from the Carl H. and Martha S. Lindner Center for Art History, University of Virginia, toward the preparation of this essay for publication. *T* is the abbreviation for *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經. Eds. Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡邊海旭. 85 vols. Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, 1924 - 1932. The number following *T* refers to the number of the text.
- [2] In India esoteric Buddhism, or Tantrism, flourished after the seventh century. Matsunaga Yūkei designates the “miscellaneous” phase (begun much earlier in China than in Japan) and the “pure” phase in China and Japan as corresponding to the early and middle periods of Indian Tantrism; see his “From Indian Tantric Buddhism to Japanese Buddhism,” in Minoru Kiyota (ed.), *Japanese Buddhism: Its Tradition, New Religions and Interaction with Christianity*. Tokyo and Los Angeles: Buddhist Books International, 1987, pp. 47 - 48. This distinction between the “miscellaneous” and “pure” phases of Tantric Buddhism has, however, been criticized as being driven by Japanese sectarian concerns.
- [3] See Sawa Ryūken 佐和隆研, “Narachō izen ne okeru mikkyō teki bijutsu” 奈良朝以前に於ける密教的美術, *Bukkyō geijutsu*, no. 1 (1948), pp. 56 - 80.
- [4] Studies of this topic include Research Society, The Ueno Memorial Foundation for Study of Buddhist Art, *The Origin and Development of Esoteric Kannon (Avalokiteśvara)*, Report VI (Kyoto, 1979); and Hamada Takashi 濱田隆, “Mikkyō Kannonzō no seiritsu to tenkai” 密教観音像の成立と展開, in Sawa Ryūken 佐和隆研 and Hamada Takashi (eds.), *Nyorai, Kannon 如来、観音*. Tokyo: Asahi Shimbun, 1984, pp. 192 - 200.
- [5] These six types are considered the six esoteric Guanyins. A complete inventory of the esoteric images of Guanyin in Japan is found in Research Center for Silk Roadology (Nara Prefecture), *The Origin and Development of Avalokiteśvara Images — Focusing on the Esoteric Avalokiteśvaras from India to Japan*, *Silk Roadology* 11 (2001), pp. 215 - 240 (in Japanese).
- [6] Tove E. Neville, *Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara: Chenresigs, Kuan-yin or Kannon Bodhisattva: Its Origin and Iconography*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1998, fig. 9.
- [7] Studies of the Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara include Donald Alan Wood, “Eleven Faces of the Bodhisattva.” Ph.D. dissertation. University of Kansas, 1985; Neville, *Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara*; and Soejima Hiromichi 副島弘道, *Jūchimen Kannonzō, senju Kannonzō 十一面観音像・千手観音像*. *Nihon no bijutsu*, no. 311 (Apr. 1992).
- [8] Nalinaksha Dutt (ed.), *Gilgit Manuscripts*. Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1984, 2nd ed., vol. 1, p. 59.
- [9] These four translations are (1) *Ekādaśamukha-dhāraṇī-sūtra (Shiyimian Guanshiyin shenzhou jing 十一面觀世音神咒經, T 1070)*, trans. Yasogupta, 564 - 72; (2) *Ekādaśamukha-dhāraṇī-sūtra*, chapter 4 of the *Dhāraṇī-samuccya-sūtra (T 901)*, trans. Atigupta, 654; (3) *Ekādaśamukha-dhāraṇī-sūtra (Shiyimian shenzhou xin jing 十一面神咒心經, T 1071)*, trans. Xuanzang 玄奘, 656; and (4) *Shiyimian Guanzizai pusa xin miyan niansong yigui jing 十一面觀自在菩薩心密言念誦儀*

- 軌經 (T 1069), trans. Amoghavajra, mid-eighth century; see Wood's discussion of the textual sources in his "Eleven Faces of the Bodhisattva," pp. 10 - 15.
- [10] See Wood, "Eleven Faces of the Bodhisattva," pp. 35 - 119, 139 - 202; Peng Jinzhang 彭金章, "Dunhuang shiku shiyimian Guanyin jingbian yanjiu 敦煌石窟十一面觀音經變研究," in Dunhuang yanjiuyuan 敦煌研究院 (ed.), *Duan Wenjie Dunhuang yanjiu wushinian jinian wenji* 段文杰敦煌研究五十年紀念文集. Beijing: Shijie tushu chubanshe, 1996, pp. 72 - 86; and Li Ling 李翎, "Shiyimian Guanyin xiangshi yanjiu — yi Han Zang zaoxiang duibi yanjiu wei zhongxin 十一面觀音像式研究—以漢藏造像對比研究為中心," *Dunhuangxue jikan* 敦煌學輯刊, vol. 46, no. 2 (2004), pp. 77 - 88.
- [11] For illustrations, see Dunhuang yanjiuyuan (ed.), *Dunhuang shiku quanji* 敦煌石窟全集, vol. 10, Peng Jinzhang (ed.), *Mijiao huajuan* 密教畫卷. Hong Kong: The Commercial Press, 2003.
- [12] Dunhuang wenwu yanjiusuo 敦煌文物研究所 (ed.), *Chūgoku sekkutsu: Tonkō Bakkōkutsu* 中國石窟: 敦煌莫高窟. Pt. 3. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1981, pl. 83.
- [13] Michihata Ryōshū 道端良秀, *Chūgoku on sekkibutsu to sekkyō* 中國の石仏と石經. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1972, pp. 112 - 23, pl. 11.
- [14] *Chūgoku sekkutsu, Tonkō Bakkōkutsu*, pt. 3, pl. 55.
- [15] Cave 321 has been associated with the reign of Empress Wu because of the mural depiction of the *Baoyu jing* 寶雨經, a text presented to Empress Wu in 693 and that she used to proclaim herself a *cakravartin*, or universal ruler; this association thus gives a dating of the cave-chapel to the 690s. See Lee Yu-min, "Dunhuang Mogaoku di 321 ku bihua chutan 敦煌莫高窟第三二一窟壁畫初探," *Kuoli Taiwan daxue meishushi yanjiu jikan* 臺灣大學美術史研究集刊, no. 16 (2004), pp. 49 - 78. There is, however, a different reading of this mural as a depiction based on the *Shilun jing*, which in turn dates the mural to the early eighth century; see Wang Huimin 王惠民, "Dunhuang 321, 74 ku Shilun jingbian kaoshi 敦煌 321, 74 窟十輪經變考釋," *Yishushi yanjiu*, no. 6 (2004), pp. 309 - 336.
- [16] For discussions of the Qibaotai sculptures, see Yen Chuan-ying, "The Sculptures from the Tower of Seven Jewels: The Style, Patronage and Iconography of the Monument." Ph. D. dissertation. Harvard University, 1986; and Wood, "Eleven Faces of the Bodhisattva," pp. 54 - 76. See also Chang Qing 常青, "Tangdai Chang'an fojiao yishu yangshi ji qi yuanyuan 唐代長安佛教藝術樣式及其淵源," in Lucie Chang Yue (ed.), *Baoxiang Zhuangyan* 寶相莊嚴. Beijing: Wenwu Press, 2003, pp. 129 - 145.
- [17] See Antonino Forte, *Political Propaganda and Ideology in China at the End of the Seventh Century*. Napoli: Instituto Universitario Orientale, 1976.
- [18] This record is not found in secular historical sources, but in the ninth-century Korean author Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's 崔致遠 biography of Fazang, "Tang Da Jianfusi gu sizhu fanjing dade Fazhang heshang zhuan 唐大薦福寺故寺主翻經大德法藏和尚傳," in T 2054, vol. 50, p. 285. See also the discussion in Chin Jinhua, "Fazhang (643 - 712) and the Yunjusi," paper presented at the Chinese Buddhism conference, Hsi Lai Temple, Los Angeles, June 2005, pp. 9 - 10.
- [19] Itō Shinji 伊藤信二, "Kodai no shūbutsu 古代の續仏," *Nihon no bijutsu*, no. 470 (2005), p. 18. See also Wang Huimin 王惠民, "Wu Zetian shiqi de mijiao zaoxiang 武則天時期的密教造像," *Yishushi yanjiu*, vol. 1 (Sept. 1999), pp. 251 - 265.
- [20] Cheng Jianzheng 成建正 (ed.), *Xi'an Beilin bowuguan* 西安碑林博物館. Xi'an: Shaanxi renmin chubanshe, 2000, p. 127.
- [21] The iconography of the Four-armed Eleven-headed Guanyin is prescribed in Amoghavajra's translation of the mid-eighth century (see note 9 above). Thus the image was introduced to China ahead of the
- text.
- [22] Li Wensheng 李文生, "Longmen Tang dai mizong zaixiang 龍門唐代密宗造像," *Wenwu*, no. 1 (1991), pp. 61 - 64. See also Su Bai 宿白, "Dunhuang Mogaoku mijiao yiji zaji (shang) 敦煌莫高窟密教遺跡札記 (上)," *Wenwu*, no. 9 (1989), pp. 45 - 53.
- [23] Although the mutual identifications of Shinto spirits with Buddhist deities began as early as the Nara period, the concept of *honji suijaku* as a religious/philosophical theory developed in the tenth century and intensified with the introduction of the "pure" esoteric Buddhist tradition, when the plethora of deities in the esoteric Buddhist pantheon became identified as manifestations of local *kami*. See Alicia Matsunaga, *The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation: The Historical Development of the Honji-Suijaku Theory*. Tokyo & Rutland, Vermont: Sophia University & Charles E. Tuttle, 1969.
- [24] Wood, "Eleven Faces of the Bodhisattva," p. 124.
- [25] *Ibid.*, pp. 120 - 138.
- [26] *Ibid.*, p. 122.
- [27] Nara National Museum, *Komikkō: Nihon mikkyō no taidō* 古密教: 日本密教の胎動. Nara: Nara National Museum, 2005, pl. 4.
- [28] The murals at Hōryūji are illustrated in Tanaka Ichimatsu, *Wall Paintings in the Kondo, Hōryūji Monastery*. Kyoto: Benrido, 1951. See Dorothy Wong's discussion in *Hōryūji Revisited*. New Castle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, forthcoming in 2008.
- [29] Cave 340's example has the heads arranged in the 3 - 6 - 2 configuration; see *Dunhuang shiku quanji*, vol. 10, *Mijiao huajuan*, pl. 8. The examples of Cave 331 are in pls. 9, 10.
- [30] Ono Katsutoshi 小野勝年, *Shōrai bijutsu* 請來美術. Nara: Nara National Museum, 1967, col. pl. 1.
- [31] *Hōryūji garan engi narabini ruki shizaichō* 法隆寺伽藍緣起并流記資財帳 (747), in *Dai Nihon bukkyō zensho* 大日本仏教全書. Tokyo: Bussho kankōkai, 1913, vol. 117, p. 2.
- [32] Some of these assertions of Dōji's connections to various places and people in China are based primarily on circumstantial evidence. For discussions of various aspects of Dōji's activities, see Marcus Bingenheimer, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Japanese Student-Monks of the Seventh and Early Eighth Centuries*, in *Buddhist Studies*, no. 4 (2001), München: Iudicium, 2001, pp. 85 - 93. See also Asaeda Akira 朝枝照, "Dōjiden no mondaiten 道慈伝の問題點," *Ryūkoku shidan*, no. 58 (1967), pp. 61 - 72.
- [33] When the capital was moved from Fujiwarakyō in Asuka to Heijōkyō in 710, four state-sponsored Buddhist temples were moved there; in addition to Daianji, the other three were Yakushiji 薬師寺, Gangōji 元興寺, and Kōfukuji 興福寺.
- [34] Kobayashi Taichirō 小林太市郎, "Narachō no Senju Kannon 奈良朝の千手観音," in *Bukkyō geijutsu no kenkyū: shūkyō geijutsuron hen*, no. 1 仏教芸術の研究: 宗教芸術論編, no. 1. Kyoto: Tankosha, 1974, pp. 218 - 219. The essay was originally published in *Bukkyō geijutsu*, no. 25 (1955).
- [35] *Daianji garan engi narabini ryūki shizaichō* 大安寺伽藍緣起并流記資財帳 (The founding of Daianji and a record of its property assets), 747, in *Dai Nihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 118, p. 116. The painting of *Seven Locations and Nine Assemblies* is the first known depiction based on the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* in Japan; its title suggests that its contents are similar to surviving examples in Dunhuang murals of the same subject. See Dorothy Wong, "The Huayan/Kegon/Hwaōm Paintings in East Asia," in Hamar Imre, eds., *Reflecting Mirrors: Perspectives on Huayan Buddhism*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2007, pp. 337 - 384.
- [36] See Kobayashi Tachirō, "Hōryūji Kondō hekiga no kenkyū 法隆寺金堂壁画の研究," in *Bukkyō*

- geijutsu no kenkyū: shūkyō geijutsuron hen*, no. 1, pp. 338–339. The essay was originally published in *Bukkyō geijutsu*, no. 3 (1949).
- [37] Ishida Mosaku 石田茂作, *Shakyō yori mitaru: Narachō bukkyō no kenkyū* 写経より見たる: 奈良朝仏教の研究. Tokyo: Toyo bungo, 1930, pp. 81–89; Wood, “Eleven Faces of the Bodhisattva,” pp. 211–212.
- [38] Fan Jinshi 樊錦詩 also notes the significant impact of Xuanzang’s translation of Buddhist *sūtras* as textual sources for many of Dunhuang’s mural paintings; see her “Xuanzang yijing he Dunhuang bihua 玄奘譯經和敦煌壁畫,” *Dunhuang yanjiu*, no. 2 (2004), pp. 1–12.
- [39] Tsutsui Eishun 筒井英俊, “Nigatsudō Kannon to Juichimen keka 二月堂観音と十一面悔過,” *Nara*, no. 13 (1930), p. 40; Wood, “Eleven Faces of the Bodhisattva,” p. 216.
- [40] Wood, “Eleven Faces of the Bodhisattva,” pp. 216–217.
- [41] See Marther Boyer and Jikai Fujiyoshi, “Omizutori, One of Japan’s Oldest Buddhist Ceremonies,” *Eastern Buddhist*, vol. 3, no. 1 (1970), pp. 67–98; Alicia Matsunaga, *The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation*, pp. 155–157; Wood, “Eleven Faces of the Bodhisattva,” pp. 219–238; John M. Rosenfield, “Tōdai-ji in Japanese History and Art,” in John M. Rosenfield et al., *The Great Eastern Temple: Treasures of Japanese Buddhist Art from Tōdai-ji*. Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1986, pp. 26–27; and Gangōji bunkazai kenkyūjo 元興寺文化財研究所, *Tōdaiji Nigatsudō Shūnie no kenkyū* 東大寺二月堂修二會の研究. Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 1979. Satoō Michiko 佐藤道子, *Toōdaiji Shūnie no kōsei to shosa* 東大寺修二會の構成と所作. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1975–82.
- [42] See Kuo Li-ying, *Confession et contrition dans le bouddhisme chinois du Ve au Xe siècle*. Paris: Ecole française d’Extrême-Orient, 1994; Shi Darui 釋大睿, “Zhongguo fojiao zaoqi chanzui sixiang zhi xingcheng yu fazhan 中國佛教早期懺罪思想之形成與發展,” *Zhonghua foxue yanjiu* 2 (1998), pp. 313–337.
- [43] Alicia Matsunaga, *The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation*, pp. 155–157.
- [44] See Chang Qing 常青, “Tang dai Chang’an fojiao yangshi ji qi yuanyuan,” pp. 140–141.
- [45] Zhang Yanyuan (fl. c. 815–875), *Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記 (Records of famous painters of all periods), 847. Beijing: Renmin meishu ed., 1963, p. 50; Duan Chengshi, *Sitaji* 寺塔記 (Records of temples and pagodas), 843. Beijing: Renmin meishu ed., 1964, pp. 31–32; Zhu Jingxuan 朱景玄 (fl. c. 806–835), *Tangchao minghua lu* 唐朝名畫錄 (Records of famous painters of the Tang dynasty). Beijing: Remin meishu ed., 1982, p. 77.
- [46] Li Wensheng, “Longmen Tangdai mizong zaoxiang,” fig. 2; Nara National Museum, *Komikkyō: Nihon mikkyō no taidō*, p. 155.
- [47] Peng Jinzhang (ed.), *Dunhuang mijiao huajuan*, pl. 14.
- [48] *Ibid.*, pp. 35–54.
- [49] Tokyo National Museum, *Kondō butsu — Chūgoku, Chōsen, Nihon* 金銅仏—中國、朝鮮、日本. Exh. cat. Tokyo: Tokyo National Museum, 1987, pl. 174.
- [50] Uehara Shoichi 上原昭一 et al. (eds.), *Tenpyō no bijutsu* 天平の美術, *Nihon bijutsu zenshū* 日本美術全集. Tokyo: Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 1977, pl. 2.
- [51] These included translations by Xuanzang (*T* 1094), Jñāgupta (*T* 1093), Baoshiwei 寶思惟 (*T* 1097), Li Wuchan 李無諂 (*T* 1096), and Bodhiruci (*T* 1092); see Ishida Mosaku, *Shakyō yori Narachō bukkyō no kenkyū*, pp. 83–90. See also Antonino Forte’s discussion in “Brief Notes on the Kashmiri Text of the Dharani Sutra of Avalokitesvara of the Unfailing Rope Introduced to China by Manicintana (d. 721),” in Gu Chengmei (ed.), *Buddhism and Buddhist Art of the Tang*. Xinzhu, Taiwan:

- Chuefeng, 2006, pp. 13–28.
- [52] Penelope Mason, *A History of Japanese Art*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1993, p. 68.
- [53] Kobayashi Taichirō, “Narachō no Senju Kannon,” pp. 218–220.
- [54] See Mabito Gankai 真人元開, *Tang Da heshang dongzheng zhuan* 唐大和尚東征傳, 779, annotated by Wang Xiangrong 汪向榮. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000, p. 87.
- [55] See discussion in Nara National Museum, *Komikkyō: Nihon mikkyō no taidō*, pl. 68, pp. 175–176.
- [56] Asano Kiyoshi 淺野清 and Mōri Hisashi 毛利久 (eds.), *Nara no jiin to Tenpyō chōkoku* 奈良の寺院と天平彫刻, *Genshoku Nihon no bijutsu* 原色日本の美術, vol. 3. Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1966, pl. 59.
- [57] In addition to the white sandalwood statue and embroidered painting of the Thousand-armed Guanyin, Jianzhen also brought with him 3,000 pellets of relics of the Buddha, an embroidered hanging of Buddhist subject, a statue of Amitābha Buddha, an embroidered painting of Guanyin the World Savior, and statues of Medicine Buddha, Amitābha Buddha, Maitreya Bodhisattva and their shrines. He also brought Buddhist *sūtras* and other written documents (including the 80-fascicle *Huayan jing*, vinaya texts, Tiantai and Zhenyan texts, etc.), a drawing of the ordination platform, jade and crystal bracelets, gold beads, lotus leaves, an agate dish, Indian leather shoes, calligraphy by Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (303–361) and his son, Wang Xianzhi 王獻之 (344–386), and a gilt bronze Aśoka pagoda, etc. See Mabito Gankai, *Tang Da heshang dongzheng zhuan*, pp. 87–88.
- [58] These sculptures are published in Kōno Seikō 河野清晃, *Shōtoku Taishi to Daianji* 聖徳太子と大安寺. Tokyo: Gyōsei, 1984, pl. 1, pp. 110–117.

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第九、十輯 (五)

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