

The Case of Amoghapāśa

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Amoghapāśa Avalokiteśvara (Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva with the Unfailing Rope; Ch. Bukongjuansuo Guanyin 不空罽索觀音, J. Fukūkenjaku Kannon) is one of the popular esoteric forms of Avalokiteśvara, with widespread worship of this deity in India, the Himalayas, East and Southeast Asia from around the latter part of the eighth century. However, the beginnings of this bodhisattva in East Asia in the seventh and eighth centuries remain unclear, with only a small number of examples dating from this early period. Scholars of Indian art have been confounded by the lack of Indian examples predating those in the east, assuming that there must have been Indian precedents prior to the East Asian images.¹ And yet, the earliest extant representation of this bodhisattva—an imposing statue of Fukūkenjaku Kannon in the Sangatsudō 三月堂 (Hall of the Third month) of Tōdaiji 東大寺, Nara—indicates the significance attached to the rise of the cult of this bodhisattva (Fig. 1). Dating to around 748 and over three meters high, the dry lacquer statue was probably one of the largest bodhisattva statues created in Japan up till that time. It was ensconced in a chapel originally known as the Konshōji 金鍾寺, the private hermitage of Rōben 良弁 (689–773), who was a scholar monk of Avataṃsaka Buddhism. Rōben was instrumental in the founding of Tōdaiji, which became the premiere temple of state Buddhism in mid-eighth century Japan. Under what circumstances was the cult of Amoghapāśa introduced to Japan? What were the antecedents of the worship of this bodhisattva in China? The present paper attempts to reexamine some of these questions, and includes discussion of a few later images to compare with these early representations.

TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION

Several versions of the *Amoghapāśa-dhāraṇī-sūtra* have been translated into Chinese, most of them between the sixth and eighth centuries:

1. lost or kept hidden, translated during the Sui period (581–617)
2. *Bukongjuansuo zhou jing* 不空罽索咒經 (T 1093)², translated by Jñānagupta (Ch. Shenajueduo 闍那崛多) in 587
3. *Bukongjuansuo shenzhou xin jing* 不空罽索神咒心經 (T 1094), translated in 659 by Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664)
4. *Bukongjuansuo tuoluoni zizaiwang zhou jing* 不空罽索陀羅尼自在王咒經 (T 1097), translated in 693 by Manicintana (Ch. Baosiwei 寶思惟, d. 721)

5. *Bukongjuansuo zhou xin jing* 不空罽索咒心經 (T 1095), translated in 693 by Bodhiruci (Ch. Putiliuzhi 菩提流志, d. 722), in 1 *juan*

6. *Bukongjuansuo tuoluoni jing* 不空罽索陀羅尼經 (T 1096), translated in 700 by Li Wuchan 李無詔, with preface by Bolun 波崙

7. *Bukongjuansuo shenbian zhenyan jing* 不空罽索神變真言經 (T 1092), translated in 707–709 by Bodhiruci, in 30 *juan*

8. *Bukongjuansuo Piluzhenafu daguanding guang zhenyan* 不空罽索毘盧遮那佛大灌頂光真言 (T 1002), translated by Amoghavajra (Ch. Bukong 不空 705–774)

9. *Foshuo Bukongjuansuo tuoluoni yigui jing* 佛說不空罽索陀羅尼儀軌經 (T 1098), translated by Amoghavajra

10. *Foshuo Sheng Guanzizai pusa Bukong wang mimi xin tuoluoni jing* 佛說聖觀自在菩薩不空王祕密心陀羅尼經 (T 1099), translated by Dānapāla (Ch. Shihu 施護, act. 982–1017)

Amoghapāśa, with the lasso as his principal weapon, is the bodhisattva who catches and save sentient beings out of compassion. The sutras narrate that the bodhisattva teaches the sutra containing the *dhāraṇī* in his palace in Potalaka, and advocate the efficacy of chanting the *dhāraṇī*, which include twenty benefits in this life, and an additional eight at the brink of death. Beings will recover from illnesses, be saved from imprisonment and other ill fortunes, be protected from injury in battles and all kinds of harm, curses, and demon, the promise of good health, wealth, etc.³ In addition, the sutras also describe the iconography in making images of this bodhisattva, and the rituals attending the worship. The texts describe the bodhisattva as seated or standing, with four, six or more arms, one or more heads, different kinds of emblems (including the lasso), and a piece of deer skin covering the shoulder. Study of extant images show that there is wide latitude in following these descriptions and it seems that there are no examples of images following any specific text closely.⁴ However, certain iconographic traits distinguish this deity from others, namely, the lasso and the deer skin.

Regarding the rise of the cult of Amoghapāśa in China and its introduction to Japan in the early part of the eighth century, only texts nos. 2 through 7 concern us. These six translations were based on two distinct Sanskrit versions: those translated by Jñānagupta, Xuanzang and Bodhiruci are of one text (nos. 2, 3, 5, 7), while those translated by Manicintana and Li

Wuchan (nos. 4, 6) are of another text.⁵ Much secrecy surrounded the latter version, probably because of the belief in the efficacy and potency of the *dhāraṇī* and other secret tantric rituals prescribed in this text, suggesting that the text was probably restricted for circulation.⁶ Textual comparison of the two versions indicates that the latter version devotes lengthy portions to the *dhāraṇī*.⁷

Apart from nos. 2 and 3, the other four translations were all undertaken between 693 and 709, a concentration of activities and intense interest in this bodhisattva in a short time span that corresponded approximately to the reign of Empress Wu 武后 (624–705, r. 684–705). Furthermore, the translators themselves represented a coterie of foreign monks present at Luoyang at the time and were largely responsible for the propagation of esoteric elements in Tang Buddhism, sometimes called “Empress Wu’s Esoteric Buddhism.”⁸ Among them were Manicintana, a Kashmiri monk who held the title of “Master of the Tripiṭaka” and was considered by Śubhākarasimha (Ch. Shanwuwei 善無畏, 637–735) to be the greatest Tantric master, Li Wuchan, a layman, who was a political representative from Lampāka (the Laghman region of Afghanistan), and Huizhi 慧智 (fl. 676–703; see below).⁹ Both Manicintana and Li Wuchan translated texts on Amoghapāśa. In Bolun’s preface to the translation undertaken by Li (*T* 1096), he noted his request to have this special text translated (alluding to the fact that this was the same lost and “secret” version first translated in the Sui dynasty; no. 1).¹⁰ Another request to have a copy of this text came from Myōnghyo 明曉, a Korean monk from Silla, who expressed that he came from afar for “the civilizing transformation of the Tang” and was principally interested in the “*dhāraṇī* method,” in order that the “secret teaching” can be transmitted to his “border” territory.¹¹

In 693, Huizhi, an Indian monk who was the son of a Brahmin ambassador born in China, composed a poem called *Odes in Praise of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara* (*Zan Guanshiyin pusa song* 讚觀世音菩薩頌) after viewing a mural depiction of Amoghapāśa in a Buddhist monastery, probably in Luoyang.¹² Huizhi wrote this poem in Sanskrit, which he also translated into Chinese; the translated text was deemed important enough to be included in the canon (*T* 1052). In the poem, the first part describes what the author saw in the mural depiction, which includes mentioning of iconographic features unique to the depiction of Amoghapāśa, namely that the bodhisattva’s left shoulder is covered by a piece of deer skin (*T* 1052, 20:67b04).¹³ Thus there is no doubt about the identity of the bodhisattva, and this represents the first record of the bodhisattva portrayed in China. Huizhi resided at Foshoujisi 佛授記寺 (Monastery of the Buddha’s Prophecy, known as Jing’aisi 敬愛寺 before and after Empress Wu’s reign) at Luoyang, one of the most important translation centers during the reign of Empress Wu. Huizhi’s odes ended with a tribute to the empress, addressing her as the Cakravartin who turned the Golden Wheel. Since Huizhi participated in translating the key texts that buttressed Empress Wu’s claim to political

legitimacy, including the *Foshuo Baoyu jing* 寶雨經 (*Ratnamegha Sūtra*, *T* 660), Forte pointed out that it was significant that the poem was first composed in Sanskrit, for the author’s goal was to propagate the idea that the China that Empress Wu presided over was the center of the Buddhist world. He concluded that: “It is in fact possible that the cult of Amoghapāśa Avalokiteśvara was closely bound up with the ideas of royalty as conceived by Buddhists of the day, with the figure of the Cakravartin, and consequently also with the idea of the protection of the Chinese Buddhist state. That there is some connection between these things is suggested by the existence of the painted mural and by the Sanskrit composition of Huizhi, fated to reverberate throughout the whole Buddhist world at the very same time that Wu Zhao officially assumed her title as Cakravartin.”¹⁴

For Empress Wu, Buddhism was an instrument to augment her political status and legitimacy. She promoted the cults of Amoghapāśa and other esoteric Avalokiteśvaras, notably the Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara and the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara, invoking their powers to protect the state. Similarly, her sponsorship of the Avatamsaka doctrine, with Vairocana Buddha at the center of this Buddhist cosmology, reinforced the state ideology and it was the same ideological principles that took material forms in Japan about half a century later, focusing on Tōdaiji.¹⁵

EARLY EXAMPLES OF AMOGHAPĀŚA IN CHINA AND JAPAN

It is unfortunate that there are currently no extant representations of this bodhisattva dating to the late seventh and early eighth centuries from China (the only known example comes from Dunhuang Cave 148, which dates to 776; the statue is lost but there are murals depicting the benefits of worshiping this bodhisattva; see below). Of other esoteric forms of Avalokiteśvara, the Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara was the first to become popular in seventh- and eighth-century China, and there are also records of a mural depiction of the Thousand-Armed Avalokiteśvara dating to the early eighth-century.¹⁶ However, there are also sporadic representations of multi-armed bodhisattvas in Sui and early Tang art. For example, in Dunhuang Cave 284, the ceiling includes depictions of a three-headed and eight-armed bodhisattva and a three-headed and six-armed bodhisattva.¹⁷ Clearly they represent esoteric forms of bodhisattvas, but their identities remain unclear. Their three heads point to the strong resemblance to Hindu deities such as Śiva. The inclusion of multiple arms and multiple heads signifies the superhuman power and efficacy of the deity, indicating the incorporation of Hindu influences in the development of esoteric Buddhist iconography. In the *Amoghapāśa dhāraṇī sūtra*, the prescription for making the images of Amoghapāśa mentions the bodhisattva’s likeness to Maheśvara, a form of Śiva.¹⁸ In Cave 341, of mid-seventh-century date, there are

depictions of two eight-armed bodhisattvas flanking a seated Buddha, though by this time the Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara is already recognizable with distinct iconography.¹⁹

At Longmen a group of esoteric images dating to late seventh and early eighth centuries reflects the influence of Esoteric Buddhism fostered by the patronage of the Empress Wu.²⁰ In the North Cave of Leigutai 擂鼓臺, flanking the entrance on the inside are two relief carvings of esoteric Avalokiteśvara, both of about one and a half meters tall. One of them is a two-armed Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara, whose head is currently in a Japanese collection (Fig. 2).²¹ The bodhisattva on the opposite side has eight arms.²² The Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara is also represented at Longmen, in Wanfogou 萬佛溝 north cliff (Fig. 3), dating to the first half of the eighth century.²³ Among the various forms of esoteric Avalokiteśvara, the Eleven-headed and the Thousand-Armed ones are easily recognizable because of their distinctive iconography. They both were promoted by Empress Wu and were among the first to appear in China. (Cintāmaṇīcakra Avalokiteśvara appeared later; from the late Tang onward at Dunhuang Amoghapāśa was usually paired with Cintāmaṇīcakra. Hayagrīva and Cuṇḍi were introduced somewhat later than these other forms.) Thus the eight-armed bodhisattva at Longmen could have been an incipient form of Amoghapāśa.²⁴

The earliest extant statue of Amoghapāśa in Japan is in the Sangatsudō, or Hokkedō 法華堂 (Hall of the *Lotus Sutra*), at Tōdaiji, thought to date to 748 (Fig. 1).²⁵ Standing at an impressive height of 3.62 meters, it was rendered in the dry lacquer technique newly introduced from China. The *dhāraṇī sūtras* focusing on Amoghapāśa circulated in Japan from the 730s onward.²⁶ The first group—those translated by Jñānagupta, Xuanzang, and Manicintana, were circulating in 737, 738, and 739—suggesting that the influx of these came after Gembō's return from China in 736 with some 5,000 *juan* of Buddhist texts. The second group—including Li Wuchan's translation and the 30-*juan* version by Bodhiruci—were also circulating in Japan by 747 and 753.

The Sangatsudō Amoghapāśa statue has eight arms, and a third eye on the forehead. 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. A separate piece of lacquered cloth covers the shoulders to represent the deer skin. The halo and light rays behind the statue are rendered in open-work 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 Shomū's decree that provincial temples install statues of this divinity.²⁷ The Amoghapāśa images, of eighth- to tenth-century dates, at Ratnagiri in India all have four arms and do not show the deer skin, and they seem to have no connections to this early Japanese example.²⁸

In the Daibutsuden 大仏殿 (Great Buddha's Hall) at Tōdaiji, originally flanking the colossal statue of Vairocana

were two very large embroidered hangings (35 *shaku* 尺 tall), one depicting Amoghapāśa and the other depicting Avalokiteśvara.²⁹ Due to the perishable nature of the material, the hangings no longer exist, but more than 1000 characters of the inscriptions along the borders of the hangings have been recorded. They were commissioned by Empress Kōken 孝謙天皇 (also Empress Shōtoku 稱徳天皇, r. 748–759, 764–770) in honor of her mother, Empress Kōmyō 光明皇后 (701–760) in 754. At Daianji 大安寺 in Nara, in 749 a painting of Vairocana Buddha (30 *shaku* tall) was installed as the main icon, flanked by paintings of Amoghapāśa and Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara (15 *shaku* tall each). These were thought to anticipate the iconography of the triad of Vairocana and two Avalokiteśvaras at Tōdaiji.³⁰ Daianji was an important state-sponsored temple in the first half of the eighth century before being eclipsed by Tōdaiji when the latter was dedicated in 752. Thus it seems that by the middle of the eighth century, Amoghapāśa was widely popular in Japan's capital.

From Daianji is also a group of esoteric Avalokiteśvara images dating to the last quarter of the eighth century: Ārya Avalokiteśvara, Amoghapāśa, Hayagrīva, Avalokiteśvara Holding a Willow Branch, and Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara.³¹ Carved in wood in the single-block technique, the standing Amoghapāśa has eight arms; the attributes held in various hands have been lost (Fig. 4). The face and body are rendered fully, while the jewelry and drapery on the surface are naturalistically carved and detailed. The rather heavy style is anticipated in sculptures of mid- to late eighth-century associated with the Tōdaiji and Tōshōdaiji workshops, including the Sangatsudō Amoghapāśa. This group of five esoteric Avalokiteśvara images represents an incipient stage in the development of esoteric imagery in Japan before the ninth century.

EIGHTH- TO TENTH-CENTURY EXAMPLES IN DUNHUANG, SICHUAN

From the latter part of the eighth century onward Amoghapāśa and other forms of Avalokiteśvara, both exoteric and esoteric, were extremely popular at Dunhuang, and also in Sichuan. For Amoghapāśa alone there are about eighty murals from Dunhuang (not including those on silk) and a dozen relief sculptures from Sichuan.³² It will not be possible to examine all these examples in the present context, but I will select a few examples for comparison with the eighth-century ones.

The largest group of extant esoteric Avalokiteśvara images comes from Dunhuang Cave 148, dated to 776. The Avalokiteśvara images represented include four-armed and eight-armed ones, Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara, Amoghapāśa, and Cintāmaṇīcakra, along with other esoteric deities.³³ Earlier examples of esoteric Avalokiteśvara found in Japan and China seem to have been based on texts that focused on individual deities, whereas the configuration of a large group of esoteric deities in a *maṇḍala*-like arrangement sug-

gests the influence of a fully developed esoteric iconography. Since we know that Amoghavajra, one of the three Tantric masters, has spent some time in the northwest around 750, the spread of esoteric Buddhism to Dunhuang at this early date can be attributed to his initial activities. In later periods Dunhuang was exposed to esoteric Buddhism from Himalayan and Tibetan sources.

Dunhuang Cave 148 includes traditional Mahāyāna subjects that include the large reclining statue of Parinirvāṇa and murals of various pure lands (Amitābha, Bhaiṣajyaguru, Maitreya). However, on the south and north walls are two recessed niches, dedicated to Cintāmaṇīcakra and Amoghapāśa, respectively. Inside the niches were clay statues of the bodhisattvas (no longer extant), while the wall panels depict scenes of the benefits of worshipping these two bodhisattvas.³⁴ Like most other Dunhuang murals that include narrative vignettes, the vertical panels show groups of two or three figures (in Chinese costumes), often seated on diagonally-placed mats. The scenes are separated by zigzagging green and white stripes that suggest some kind of landscape elements and are occasionally accompanied with cartouches with inscriptions. Clearly these pictorial depictions were interpreted and rendered in local conventions.

In the ceilings of these two niches are further depictions of multi-armed esoteric Avalokiteśvaras and other esoteric bodhisattvas (including Bhaiṣajyarāja and Kṣitigarbha). Above the entrance on the east wall is also a mural of the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara.³⁵ 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.

In Dunhuang Cave 384, of late eighth- to early ninth-century date, Amoghapāśa is depicted at the east end of the south wall (Fig. 5), juxtaposing Cintāmaṇīcakra at the east end on the north wall (both are depicted outside recessed niches of High Tang date).³⁶ Seated on a lotus pedestal and below a canopy, Amoghapāśa is portrayed with a bejeweled crown with an effigy of Amitābha; behind is a halo and a mandorla. A piece of dark brown cloth with white patterns (to indicate the deer skin) covers the left shoulder; this distinguishing iconographic feature is present in most examples of Amoghapāśa from Dunhuang.³⁷ The bodhisattva has six arms and holds attributes that include (clockwise from top right): vase, lotus flower, water vessel, lasso, willow branch, and an axe. The lasso (an identifying attribute for Amoghapāśa) and the axe are weapons that esoteric deities use to save sentient beings, while the others are common attributes for Avalokiteśvara. In front of the bodhisattva is a lotus pond shown with two *nāga* kings. Other attendants include Sunlight and Moonlight Bodhisattvas in the top right and left, respectively, the four heavenly kings on two sides, Vasiṣṭha (as an old man and holding a staff)³⁸ and Lakṣmi (the goddess of wealth) to the right and left of the pedestal, and two wrathful deities in the bottom right and left. This depiction of Amoghapāśa in Cave 384 is

representative of most depictions from Dunhuang, with variations in minor details of iconography (some have three or eleven heads, while the size of the attendant group varies). Similar configurations are also found among the Dunhuang banner paintings.³⁹

Another banner painting, dated to 956, shows only a standing Amoghapāśa with four donor images at the bottom (Fig. 6);⁴⁰ at Dunhuang only a small number of Amoghapāśa images are shown standing. The bodhisattva has three eyes and eight arms, similar to the Sangatsudō example. With a deer skin on the shoulders, the bodhisattva holds two tridents, a willow branch, two lotus stems, a rosary, and a vase. In form and iconography this perhaps comes closest to the Sangatsudō statue. Several Amoghapāśa texts mention that the bodhisattva looks like Maheśvara (a form of Śiva), who is described as having three eyes and eight arms in Nāgājuna's *Commentary on the Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra* (*Da zhidu lun* 大智度論).⁴¹ It might be possible that this banner painting and the eighth-century examples from Japan are both based on individual texts on the bodhisattva, whereas other Dunhuang examples show the bodhisattva in the *mandala* configuration. The sculptures of Amoghapāśa at Ratnagiri are rendered in four or six arms and do not include the deer skin.⁴² Examples from the Himalayas, however, often include such a feature.⁴³ Later at Dunhuang, Avalokiteśvara *mandalas*, including those of Amoghapāśa, in Himalayan style are also found.⁴⁴

Finally some mention can be made of the examples from Sichuan. In Fowan 佛灣 Cave 136 in the Beishan 北山 caves, Dazu 大足, Sichuan, dated to 1142–1146, Amoghapāśa is portrayed seated with six arms, holding two round discs in the upper two hands (for Sunlight and Moonlight Bodhisattvas), a bowl and possibly a willow branch in the middle two hands, and a sword and an axe in the outer two hands (Fig. 7).⁴⁵ The bodhisattva has an elaborate floral crown (the small Amitābha at the top is probably lost) and florid jewelry on the chest. The two attendants by the side of the pedestal portray one male and one female, most likely represent Vasiṣṭha and Lakṣmi. In later Chinese iconography the two attendant figures for Avalokiteśvara have evolved into a young boy and a young girl: Sudhana and Dragon Girl, revealing a process of local adaptation.

This cursory examination of Amoghapāśa images suggests that the cult of Amoghapāśa in East Asia arose in the late seventh to eighth centuries, first with imperial patronage because of the esoteric Avalokiteśvara's ties to the concept of royalty and their efficacy in protecting the state. While the proliferations of esoteric forms Avalokiteśvara coincided with the rise of esoteric Buddhism in India, different traditions of representation, such as those of India and East Asia in the eighth century, seem to have come about independently. Later the cult was widespread at Dunhuang and in Sichuan, receiving further impetus from the Himalayan tradition as well as local adaptations. A more thorough understanding of the cult of Amoghapāśa, however, still awaits further investigation.

Notes

¹ For discussions of Indian representations of Amoghapāśa see Pratapaditya Pal, "The Iconography of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara—I," *Oriental Art* 22, no. 4 (1966): 234–39; P. Pal, "The Iconography of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara—II," *Oriental Art* 23, no. 1 (1967): 21–28; R. O. Meisenzahl, "Amoghapāśa, Some Nepalese Representations and Their Vajrayānic Aspects," *Monumenta Serica* 24 (1967): 455–505; Janice Leoshko, "The Appearance of Amoghapāśa in Pāla Period Art," in A. K. Narain, ed., *Studies in Buddhist Art of South Asia* (New Delhi: Kanak Publications, 1985), 128–39. The largest group of Indian examples, dating between the eighth and tenth centuries, are found in the Ratnagiri site in Eastern India, see Nancy Hock, "Buddhist Ideology and the Sculpture of Ratnagiri, Seventh Through Thirteenth Centuries" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1987), 70–89.

² *T* is the abbreviation for *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 [New Edition of the Tripiṭaka of the Taishō Period], eds. Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡辺海旭, 85 vols. (Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, 1924–1932). The number following *T* refers to the number of the text, followed by volume number, page, column, and line (if included).

³ For a detailed discussion of the contents of the sutras see Matia Reis-Habito, "The Amoghapāśa Kalparāja Sūtra: A Historical and Analytical Study," *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions*, no. 11 (1999): 39–67; Yü Chün-fang, *The Chinese Transformation of Avalokiteśvara* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 56–58.

⁴ See n. 1, for discussion of Chinese examples see Ping Jinzhang 彭金章, "Dunhuang Bukongjuansuo Guanyin jing bian yanjiu 敦煌不空罽索觀音經變研究" [Research on Transformation Tableaux of Sūtras on Amoghapāśa Avalokiteśvara from Dunhuang], *Dunhuang yanjiu*, no. 1 (1993): 1–24.

⁵ Antonino Forte, "Brief Notes on the Kashmiri Text of the *Dharani Sūtra of Avalokiteśvara of the Unfailing Rope* Introduced to China by Manicintana (d. 721)," in Gu Chengmei ed., *Buddhism and Buddhist Art of the Tang* (Xin-zhu, Taiwan: Chuefeng, 2006), 13–28; see also Peng Jinzhang, "Dunhuang Bukongjuansuo Guanyin jing bian yanjiu," 1–2. The 30-juan version by Bodhiruci (no. 7) includes materials of developed esoteric Buddhism and is considered to have been revised at a later date; see Osabe Kazuo 長部和雄, *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō* 唐代密教史雜考 (Tokyo: Keisuisha, 1990; originally published in 1971), 39–40.

⁶ Forte, "Brief Notes on the Kashmiri Text," 17–22.

⁷ See Reis-Habito's discussion in "The Amoghapāśa Kalparāja Sūtra: A Historical and Analytical Study."

⁸ Osabe Kazuo, "Sokuten Bukō jidai no mikkyō 則天武后時代の密教" [Esoteric Buddhism During the Reign of Empress Wu Zetian], *Tō Sō mikkyō shi ronkō* 唐宋密教史論考 (Kobe: Kōbe jōshi daigaku tōsai bunka kenkyūjo, 1982), 1–33. The essay was originally published in *Mikkyō bunka* 111 (1975): 28–52.

⁹ See Antonino Forte, "The Activities in China of the Tantric Master Manicintana (Pao-ssu-wei: ?–721 A.D.) from Kashmir of his Northern Indian Collaborators," *East and West* 34, no. 1–3 (1984): 301–45; see also Forte, "Brief Notes on the Kashmiri Text."

¹⁰ Forte, "Brief Notes on the Kashmiri Text," 16–20.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 20–22. Myōnghyo's request is recorded in Yuanzhao 圓照, *Zhengyuan xin ding shijiao mulu* 貞元新定釋教目錄, *T* 2157, 55:866c20–867a1.

¹² *T* 1052; for discussion of Huizhi see Antonino Forte, "Hui-chih (fl. 676–703 A.D.), a Brahmin Born in China," *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 45 (1985): 105–34.

¹³ Reis-Habito pointed out that Huizhi's odes also mention the bodhisattva wearing a necklace in form of a dragon-king, a detail which corresponds only to Manicintana's translation, in "The Amoghapāśa Kalparāja Sūtra: A Historical and Analytical Study," 48.

¹⁴ Forte, "Brief Notes on the Kashmiri Text," 23–24.

¹⁵ See Dorothy C. Wong, "Early Transmission of Esoteric Images from

China to Japan in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries," *Huaxue* 9 (2007), in print; and "Dōji and his Role in Sino-Japanese Buddhist Art Exchanges," paper read at the 2007 Association for Asian Studies annual meeting, Boston.

¹⁶ See Wong, "Early Transmission of Esoteric Images from China to Japan."

¹⁷ Dunhuang yanjiuyuan 敦煌研究院 (ed.), *Dunhuang shiku quanji* 敦煌石窟全集 [Collected Edition of the Dunhuang Caves], vol. 10, Peng Jinzhang ed., *Mijiao huajuan* 密教畫卷 [Esoteric Paintings], (Hong Kong: The Commercial Press, 2003), pl. 4.

¹⁸ An example of the three-headed Maheśvara is in Roderick Whitfield and Anne Farrer, *Caves of the Thousand Buddhas: Chinese Art from the Silk Route* (London: The British Museum, 1990), cat. no. 134.

¹⁹ Peng Jinzhang, ed., *Mijiao huajuan*, pl. 14.

²⁰ See Li Wensheng 李文生, "Longmen Tang dai mizong zaoxiang 龍門唐代密宗造像," [Esoteric Sculptures from the Longmen Caves from the Tang Dynasty], *Wenwu*, no. 1 (1991): 61–64; Su Bai 宿白, "Dunhuang Mogaoku mijiao yiji zaji (shang) 敦煌莫高窟密教遺跡札記(上)" [Discussing Esoteric Remains from the Dunhuang Mogao Caves; First part], *Wenwu*, no. 9 (1989): 45–53.

²¹ Nara National Museum, *Komikkyō: Nihon mikkyō no taidō* 古密教: 日本密教の胎動 [Komikkyō: the Incipient Stages of Japanese Esoteric Buddhism] (Nara: Nara National Museum, 2005), pl. 4.

²² Li Wensheng, "Longmen Tang dai mizong zaoxiang," 62, fig. 2.

²³ Zhongguo shiku Longmen shiku bianweihui 中國石窟龍門石窟編委會, ed., *Zhongguo shiku: Longmen shiku* 中國石窟: 龍門石窟 [Chinese Cave Temples: The Longmen Cave Temples] (Beijing: Wenwu Press, 1992), pt. 2, pl. 253. Another representation of the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara at Longmen is in the Thousand-eye Thousand-armed Guanyin Cave, dating to the second half of the eighth century; *Zhongguo shiku: Longmen shiku*, 215, fig. 177.

²⁴ Nara National Museum, *Komikkyō*, p. 155.

²⁵ 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 4–5 [Collected Edition of Japanese Art: Art of the Tenpyō Reign] (Tokyo: Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 1977–1978), pl. 2.

²⁶ See Ishida Mosaku 石田茂作, *Shakyō yori Narachō bukyō no kenkyū* 寫經より見たる奈良朝佛教の研究 [A Study of Nara Buddhism Based on Buddhist Texts] (Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko, 1930, rpt.), 83–90.

²⁷ Penelope Mason, *A History of Japanese Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1993), 68.

²⁸ Hock, "Buddhist Ideology and the Sculpture of Ratnagiri," 70–89.

²⁹ Inagaki Shinshō 稲垣晋清, "Daibutsuden mandala Kannon zuzō shūchō 大仏殿曼荼羅觀音圖像續帳," [Iconography of the Embroidered Hangings of Avalokiteśvara in the Mandata Grouping of the Great Buddha Hall] *Kannon no kenkyū* 觀音の研究, *Nara* 13 (1930): 27–30.

³⁰ Horiike Shunpō 堀池春峰, "Kegonkyō kōsetsu yori mita Ryōben to Shinjō 華嚴經講說より見た良弁と審祥," [Ryōben and Shinjō as seen from Their Lectures on the *Avatamsaka Sūtra*] *Nantō bukyōshi no kenkyū* 南都仏教史の研究, vol. 1 *Tōdaiji hen* 東大寺篇 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1970, 2nd printing 2003), 413–15.

³¹ These sculptures are published in Kōno Seikō 河野清晃, *Shōtoku Taishi to Daianji* 聖徳太子と大安寺 [Prince Shōtoku and Daianji] (Tokyo: Gyōsei, 1984), pl. 1, 110–17.

³² For an overview see Peng Jinzhang, "Dunhuang Bukongjuansuo Guanyin jing bian yanjiu." Many examples are illustrated in Peng Jinzhang, ed., *Mijiao huajuan*.

³³ Peng Jinzhang, ed., *Mijiao huajuan*, 37–54.

³⁴ Peng Jinzhang, ed., *Mijiao huajuan*, pl. 23. In her analysis of the inscriptions recorded in the cartouche, Fan Jinshi 樊錦詩 concludes that the contents of the murals are based on Xuanzang's translation, see her Xuanzang

yijing he Dunhuang bishu 玄奘譯經和敦煌壁畫, [Xuanzang's Translations and the Mural Paintings of Dunhuang] *Dunhuang yanjiu* 2 (2004): 3-4.

³⁵ Peng Jinzhang, ed., *Mijiao huajuan*, pl. 27.

³⁶ Peng Jinzhang, ed., *Mijiao huajuan*, pls. 54-59.

³⁷ Peng, "Dunhuang Bukongjuansuo Guanyin jing bian yanjiu," tables 1-4, 17-23.

³⁸ Vasiṣṭha is a *ṛṣi*, or sage, and is one of the devas included in the *mandala*.

³⁹ A close example is a banner painting in the Musée Guimet, of tenth-century date, though in this case the bodhisattva has eight instead of six arms; see Jacques Giès, *Les Arts de l'Asie centrale: la collection Paul Pelliot du musée national des arts asiatiques—Guimet* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1995), vol. 1, pl. 78.

⁴⁰ Giès, *Arts de l'Asie centrale*, pl. 75.

⁴¹ Trans. Kumārajīva, *T* 1509, 25:73a6-7.

⁴² Nancy Hock, "Buddhist ideology and the Sculpture of Ratnagiri," 70-89, pls. 29-39. See also Research Center for Silk Roadology (Nata Prefecture). *The Origin and Development of Avalokiteśvara Images—Focusing on the Esoteric Avalokiteśvaras from India to Japan*. *Silk Roadology* 11 (2001). 57-60, pls. 51, 52, 55-57.

⁴³ A Kashmiri bronze image, of tenth- to eleventh-century date, shows a six-armed seated bodhisattva with an antelope skin on the left shoulder, see Deborah Klimburg-Salter, *The Silk Route and the Diamond Path: Esoteric Buddhist Art on the Trans-Himalayan Trade Routes* (Los Angeles: UCLA Art Council, 1982), 104-05, pl. 31.

⁴⁴ Klimburg-Salter, *The Silk Route*, pl. 61.

⁴⁵ Dazu shiku diaosu quanji bianji weiyuanhui 大足石窟雕塑全集編輯委員會, *Dazu shiku diaosu quanji: Beishan shiku 大足石窟雕塑全集: 北山石窟* [Collected Edition of Dazu Cave Temples: Beishan Cave Temples] (Chongqing, Sichuan: Chongqing Dazu shiku yishu bowuguan, Zhongqing press, 1999), pl. 103.



Fig. 1 Amoghapaśa, Nara period, c. 748, Japanese. Tōdaiji, Sangatsudō. Dry lacquer, h. 362 cm. (After Uehara Shoichi, et al. (eds.), *Tenpyō no bijutsu*, pl. 2).



Fig. 2 Head of Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara, Tang dynasty, late seventh – early eighth century. Chinese, Longmen, Leigutai North Cave. Limestone, h. 53.5 cm, Ōhara Art Museum. (After Nara National Museum, *Komikkyō: Nihon mikkyō no taidō*, pl. 2).



Fig. 3 Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara, Tang dynasty, First half of the eighth century. North cliff, Wanfogou, Longmen. Limestone, h. 230 cm. (After Zhongguo shiku Longmen shiku bianweihui, ed., *Zhongguo shiku: Longmen shiku*, pl. 253).



Fig. 4 Amoghapaśa, Late Nara period, 3rd quarter eighth century. Japanese, Daianji. Wood, h. 189.9 cm, Important Cultural Property. (After Kōno Seikō, *Shōtoku Taishi to Daianji*, p. 116).



Fig. 5 Amoghapāśa, Tang dynasty, late eighth – early eighth century. Chinese, Dunhuang Cave 384, south wall. Wall mural (After Ping Jinzhang, “Dunhuang Bukongjuansuo Guanyin jing bian yanjiu,” 4, fig. 1).



Fig. 6 Amoghapāśa, Tang dynasty, d. 956. Dunhuang sealed library. Hemp, h. 161.5 cm, Musée Guimet EO.1176 (© Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, NY; Musée des arts asiatiques – Guimet, Paris, France)



Fig. 7 Amoghapāśa, South Song dynasty, 1142–46. Chinese, Fowan Cave 136. Dazu, Sichuan, Stone, h. 147 cm (After Dazu shiku diaosu quanji bianji weiyuanhui, *Dazu shiku diaosu quanji: Beishan shiku*, pl. 103).

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