### CHINA (Dynasties)

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### JAPAN (Periods)

- **Jōmon-Period**: 4th/3rd
- **Millennium**: ca. 200 B.C.
- **Yayoi and Tumuli Period**: ca. 200 B.C.
- **Asuka (Suiko)**: 552-645
- **Hakuho**: 645-710
- **Nara (Tempyo)**: 710-794
- **Heian (Jōgan, Kōnin)**: 794-897
- **Fujiwara**: 897-1185
- **Kamakura**: 1185-1333
- **Muromachi**: 1333-1573
- **Yoshino**: 1333-1393
- **Ashikaga**: 1393-1573
- **Momoyama**: 1573-1603
- **Edo (Tokugawa)**: 1603-1868

### KOREA

- Lolang (Naknang, Rakuro; Han colony): 108 B.C.-313 A.D.
- Koguryo (Kokuri, Koma): ? B.C.-668 A.D.
- Paekche (Kudara): ? B.C.-663
- Silla (Old Silla): ? B.C.-668
- Unified Silla (Shiragi): 668 A.D.-935
- Koryo (Kôrai): 935 -1392
- Yi (Li, Ri): 1392 -1910
Abbreviations

MN = Monumenta Nipponica. Tōkyō.
NIT = Nanto Jūdaiji Taikyō (Ōkaṣami). See bibliography under "Catalog."
OZ = Ottasiatische Zeitschrift.
OZ NF = Ottasiatische Zeitschrift. Neue Folge.

A picture source is provided for every number in the Explanation of Text Figures. I would like to express my heartfelt appreciation to museums, publishing houses and authors at home and abroad for generously permitting the use of their pictures or books, particularly to the curators of the museums in the USA whose personal approval I was able to obtain during a Fulbright stay and who provided highly valuable and friendly assistance in a variety of ways.

The text figures 5*, 9* (4) and the maps of China and Japan were prepared by Dr. P. A. Riedl, Heidelberg.

D. Seckel
Notes

9. The life and personality of Prince Shōtoku--mythically exalted and mystically beatified as time went by--and his lasting impact on many aspects of Japanese culture is presented by Hermann Böhner, "Shōtoku Taishi," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens (OAG)*, Suppl. Vol. 25, Tōkyō, 1940. This study includes numerous translated source materials and excursions into Japan's cultural history.
10. The summary studies on Mahāyāna iconography available to date are totally inadequate and in part even unreliable, including the best known, Alice Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, Oxford, 1914; second, somewhat improved ed. 1928. Genuine advances only appear possible on the basis of far-ranging and thorough pioneering studies by Japanese Buddhologists and art historians. On the names of Buddhist figures and the general
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iconographical terminology, cf. the bibliography's reference works and
general studies of the history of Buddhist religion. Sanskrit-Chinese-
Japanese equivalents are given in Getty, Glasenapp, Gundert, Krause
(supplementary volume to Ju-Tao-Fo); Sanskrit-Chinese equivalents in
Rousseau and in the dictionaries of Eitel, Soothill-Hodous, Hackmann;
Sanskrit-Japanese equivalents in Hôbôgin. Cf. also the section
"Terminology of Buddhism," etc., in S. Howard Hansford, A Glossary of

11. Particularly valuable are the series of essays by E. Rousseau on 'Typische
Bildwerke des buddhistischen Tempels in China' (see bibliography); see also
the studies by de Visser, Smidt, etc.

12. Cf. the translation of one such Japanese handbook by J. Hoffman (1852!)
which remains the only one available to date.

dem tibetischen Tanjur herausgegeben und übersetzt, Leipzig, 1913.
Dokumente der indischen Kunst, 1: Maleret. W. S. Hadaway, "Some Hindu
'Silpa' shastras in their relation to South Indian scrolls," OZ 3 (1914/15), pp.
Frey, Grundlegung zu einer vergleichenden Kunstwissenschaft,
Innsbruck/Wien, 1949, pp. 27 ff. The fact that in Tibet the width of the
finger of a donor could be made the measuring unit of a cult image so that an
identification and "consubstantialisation" between the image and the person
sponsoring it and meditating over it takes place (Tucci I, 296), may easily
suggest that something akin to this is involved throughout East Asia wherever
the creation of an image is spoken of in terms of having taken place "in
accordance with the body" or "as image" of a founder. The most famous of
these cases is the Avalokiteśvara figure in the "Dream Hall" of the Hôryûji in
Japan ("Yumedono-Kannon"), which was not only donated by Prince Shôtoku
but was supposed to have even been made by him to match his own body
height and which, on the basis of this tradition, was popularly referred to as
his "self-portrait." We should recall that Shôtoku was considered to be an
incarnation of Avalokiteśvara so that this identity of proportions could be
regarded both as a projection of the essential identity of the sacred figure
and its incarnation and as a guarantee of the essential efficacy of the image.

14. They are listed in Coates and Ishizuka, Hônen the Buddhist Saint, Tôkyô,
1930, pp. 365 ff.

15. This third eye--a genuine eye, horizontally placed on the forehead--found in
some tantric figures of the rank of Bodhisattva and below (but never in
Buddhas) is something quite different and originates in the sphere of Śiva
myth and cult.

Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische
Abteilung N.F. 7 (1932); Paul Mus, "Le Buddha paré," B.E.F.E.O. (1929); E.
Rousselle (see note 11), new edition, p. 78.
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17. Cf. the Si-do-in-zu (see bibliography).
18. Three such pointed pearls arranged in the form of a pyramid symbolize the triratna ("Three Treasures"): the Buddha, his Teaching, and his Community.
19. The thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara (J. Senju-Kannon) represents an extension of this principle although his figures display not a thousand, but only dozens of arms.
20. For evidence from the doctrinal literature concerning the cancellation of sexual distinctions in the state of samādhi (state of meditation), cf. Monumenta Serica VI (1941), 64; and for its appearance on a lower level of existence: MN 1/1 (1938), 195; f. also H. Beckh, Buddhismus 2, Sammlung Göschen 770, 2nd ed. (1920), 109. This distinction has already disappeared in the so-called world of (pure) form (rūpadhātu) and among the higher ranking deities; f. U. Bukkyō Jiten Tōkyō, 1938, 345; and still more so in the sphere to which the Bodhisattva belongs.
   Since a similar pose is displayed by the "Bodhisattva" Śākyamuni, i.e., Prince Siddhārtha before he entered the path of enlightenment, frequently a tree—the future tree of enlightenment—is shown bending over him. There exists a theological and iconographical similarity, or even "archetypal" identity, between him, who has been chosen to be the Buddha of our age, and Maitreya, chosen to be the Buddha of the future age. The pose of both is also similar in images depicting them as earthly incarnated Buddhas, i.e., as nirmānakāya: They are seated in European fashion with their feet either side by side or crossed at the joints. The latter type also occurs in images showing Maitreya as Bodhisattva.
22. The lion also symbolizes the power of Buddhist teaching. Buddha is compared to the lion: Just as the lion awakes his cubs with his roar, the lion roar of the teaching awakens man in a spiritual sense. The lion also performs an important function as guardian in front of temples.
23. The elephant is also a favorite symbol because the (future) Buddha entered the womb of his mother in the form of a white elephant. There is also a popular simile that the Buddha blazes an "elephant trail" through the jungle of the confused and deluded samsāra world and thus opens the path to salvation. His six tusks signify the subjugation of the six sources of temptation (five senses and volition or thought, respectively). On the other meanings and mythological foundations of the Indian elephant symbolism see the Index of H. Zimmer, Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization New York, 1946; also Zimmer, The Art of Indian Asia 1 (New York: 1955), 160 ff.

26. There are more detailed comments on the Maṇḍala in most books on East Asian Buddhism, among others, in v. Glasenapp, Buddhistische Mysterien; for India see Zimmer, Kunstform und Yoga, pp. 94 ff. A general introduction is in G. Tucci, Teoria e Pratica del Mandala (see bibliography). On the Maṇḍala of the Two Worlds, see also Anesaki, Buddhist Art, pp. 38 ff., 45 ff. Pictures in Anesaki and Coomaraswamy, Elements of Buddhist Iconography; further in the Katalog der Ausstellung altjaponesische Kunst (Berlin: 1939). We are unable to comment on the parallels postulated by C. G. Jung in several of his writings between Asian (also Taoist) maṇḍalas and the mandala-like drawings produced by his patients. It seems that, the well-deserved recognition of the value of his teachings about the collective unconscious and the archetypes and their consequences for the study of religion and art notwithstanding, the differences between the phenomena he compares should not be overlooked to the degree Jung does. (Richard Wilhelm and C. G. Jung, Das Geheimnis der Goldenen Blüte, München, 1929; new ed. Zürich, 1948; C. G. Jung, Psychologie und Religion, Zürich/Leipzig, 1940; new ed. (1942); "Traumsymbole des Individuationsprozesses," especially chapter 3: "Die Mandalasymbolik," in Psychologie und Alchemie, Psychologische Abhandlungen 5, Zürich, 1944; "Zur Empirie des Individuationsprozesses," Gestaltungen des Unbewussten, Psychologische Abhandlungen 7, Zürich, 1950, 93-186, with 17 illustrations; "Über Mandalasymbolik," ibid., 187-235, with 54 illustrations.


29. The East Asian terms for the temple-monastery are Chin. sse (or ssu), Sino-J. Ji (J. equivalent tera, dera). A particular precinct of such complex is called Chin. yüan, J. in; a small monastery, a special precinct inhabited by only one or a few monks, a "cottage" within or outside of a larger temple monastery is called Chin. and J. an. Temples are frequently also called Chin. shan, J. san ("mountain") and not only in cases where they are located on a mountain, a hill, or at least in a natural landscape. See note 56. On terms used for the various halls see note 39.

30. In East Asian landscapes, particularly in paintings including temples, the temples are preferably located at the remotest corners of narrow gorges and at the same time on the highest point of the pilgrim's path winding its way across the picture space; i.e., at a point where the realm not to be entered begins and loses itself in the misty clouds and the white background. In such pictures the spiritual aspects of the dimension of depth are also related to height which symbolizes the numinous sphere of remoteness. The pictorial space moves more and more from the foreground of the "world," the "here," into this depth and height and thus acquires its peculiar structure. This is one of the interesting clues for an interpretation of these buildings derived from the way East Asian paintings depict them.

31. Erwin Rouselle, Die typischen Bildwerke des buddhistischen Tempels in China, see bibliography.


33. In East Asia referred to as "Seven-Building Monastery" (Chin. ch'ī-t'āng chia-lan, J. shichi-dō ga-ran; chia-lan and ga-ran, respectively, are the shortened, or rather mutilated forms of the Sanskrit word sanghārāma: "garden for a monk's community," "monastery precinct"). The "Seven Buildings," regarded as the core of the precinct, vary depending on school and time period; those listed above under no. 2-8 are usually included but individual buildings may be replaced by other buildings which are of particular importance to the individual schools involved.

34. The question of what types of Buddhist temples exist for particular religious functions, like so many other questions in this field, can still not be answered satisfactorily. At this point only a short and tentative listing of such temple buildings is provided. Their functions do, of course, overlap occasionally, and each also belongs to rather different spheres of a precinct's life and activities. These types are: main and central temple of a "sect" or "subsect"; branch temples of such temples; monastery temple proper; small solitary temples (which frequently evolve into famous sanctuaries); temples marking the sites of miraculous events; pilgrimage temples; tomb temples; memorial temples (for patriarchs, etc.); donor temples mainly for representative purposes; guardian temples to ward off demonic powers; official state temples for the protection and advancement of the country, etc. (The
problem of the symbolic significance, i.e. the "iconology," of temples and
temple buildings, is dealt with below.)
35. The terms "one-storied, two-storied, and three-storied" are used in an East
Asian sense. A one-storied building is one on ground level, a two-storied
building has an upper floor on top of a ground-level floor, and a three-storied
building has two upper floors. The English (but not the American) usage
may be misleading in some cases.
36. Dagobert Frey, Grundlegung zu einer vergleichenden Kunstwissenschaft. Raum
und Zeit in der Kunst der afrikanisch-eurasiatischen Hochkulturen,
Innsbruck/Wien, 1949; also in Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte (1949).
36a. The names given to temples are highly interesting and deserve detailed
studies (which have yet to be done). They require more detailed
explanations than those provided here. These names may refer to the name
of the place where the temple is located, to the name of the reign period
during which it was founded, to the purpose it served, to a miraculous event
or important personality to which it owed its existence, but also to important
terms of the Buddhist doctrine and its numerous sacred figures and symbols.
Names may express a spiritual desire or auspicious phrase or refer either to a
typical experience of nature which is held to be symbolic in character or to
poetic similes. Something akin to the patronimium of Christian churches is
found in Buddhism only in cases where an entire temple (and not just a
single hall or chapel of such temple) is dedicated to a particular Buddha,
Bodhisattva, etc. Though this does occur frequently, such beings are really
not "saints." See my recent study on Japanese temple names: D. Seckel,
Buddhistische Tempelnamen in Japan, Stuttgart, 1985; short survey in MN
37. The building type of the tower is represented by the pagoda which is,
however, never a bell tower and is also in some other respects basically
different from the Western campanile or church tower in meaning, function,
and building form.
38. Because of this arrangement such halls are called in China t'ien-tzu-t'ang; i.e.,
a hall in the form of the sinogram for rice paddy (which shows a square
divided into four small sections).
39. Chin. t'ang, J. dō: originally a stately building raised as the main building on
a specially prepared platform; also reception hall of an ancient Chinese
noble home or palace; also ancestral hall and later applied to Buddhist and
other cult buildings. A similar term frequently used in the same sense is
Chin. tien, J. ten ("den"). The names of the different halls of a temple are
formed with either one of these two (for example, ch' an-t'ang, zen-dō =
Meditation hall; fo-tien, butsu-den = Buddha hall). Entire temples are called
t'ang (dō) if they consist essentially of a single hall as do many of the branch
temples of larger temples. A high-rise building is called lou in Chin., ro in J.
("pavilion," "tower"); for example, chung-lou, shu-rō = bell "tower." For the
designations of pagodas see note 48.
40. The house foundations excavated in Anyang, the capital of the Shang dynasty
(second half of the second millenium B.C.), reveal the basic form of the hall
and suggest a construction method similar in essential points to that used in late antiquity and today, Herrlee G. Creel, *The Birth of China*, 3d ed., New York, 1954, 61 ff., Fig. 1.

41. The oldest temple buildings in East Asia, preserved in nearly original form despite numerous restorations, are the Golden Hall, Pagoda, and Middle Gate of the Hōryūji near Nara (7th to early 8th century). Their wooden posts display a prominent bulge (entasis). This bulge is still found in posts from the 8th century but disappears completely after 800. Whether this bulge was derived from Hellenistic forerunners, with intermediary stages in Korea, China, Central Asia and Iran or northwest India, respectively, remains unclear at this time. Though we are able to trace such a migration almost without gaps for East Asian ornamental features of the 5th through the 8th centuries, this is an entirely different matter.


43. This makes it possible to take apart such wooden structures piece by piece for restoration work and, after rotten parts have been replaced, to reassemble them; this procedure is still customary in Japan today and we owe to it the remarkable preservation of wooden buildings since the 7th century. Frequently, however, major or minor changes in bracketing and especially in roof construction have taken place. (On these changes see particularly Soper's book listed in the bibliography.)

44. Mathematical proportions also have great significance (and are presumably also symbolic in nature) in East Asian architecture, though we know practically nothing about them. One example is provided by 15°; others are in F. Baltzer, *Die Architektur der Kultbauten Japan*, Berlin, 1907, 306 (so-called Tahōtō pagoda type) and Chūta Itō: *Nippon kenchiku no kenyū* I Tōkyō, 1942, p. 21 (two temple gates). In Japanese residential houses the standard measurements are provided by the length of the tatami mat and are applied throughout the building as a uniform module principle. This practice is several centuries old (Yoshida, *Wohnhaus*, see note 42, pp. 51 f., 121 f., p. 184).

45. The earliest surviving Chinese temple buildings are the Kuanyin-kō of the Tu-lo-ssu of 984 (Soper, *Evolution*, illusr. 30) and a building of the Ta-fo-kuang-ssu on Wu-t'ai-shan of 857 (Soper, "Hsiang-kuo-ssu," *JAOS* 68 (1948), 36.) Recently, a still older temple building has been discovered in Shansi (Nan-chan-ssu), presumably dating from 782. But these are isolated and relatively late cases.

46. Individual house models (deposited in tombs) and house depictions from the Later Han (2nd century B.C.) show the beginnings of curvature; on the other hand, all the architectural forms of the Yün-kang caves from the second half of the 5th century still have straight roofs. The Hōryūji and the Tamamushi shrine (see p. 1, 150), dating from the 7th century (but following slightly older continental models) have fully developed curved roofs. It is possible that the "belated" retention of the straight roof can be explained by its location in North China and that curvature occurred in South China earlier and may perhaps even have originated there.
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48. Stūpa originally meant knot of hair, then vertex or summit, and generally hill, pile, tumulus. The dialect form thūpa (> Hindi tōp) is the root of the English "tope." The etymology of the term pagoda is unclear. The word may have come about as the result of a metathesis from the Ceylonese dāgaba which corresponds to Sanskrit dhātu-garbha (Pāli: dhātubaddha) = world womb, reliquary; or it could be derived from bud-kūṭāgāra = Buddha tower. Both explanations are unsatisfactory. In East Asia the pagoda is called Chin. t'a (< t'ap), J. tō, with specifying words added for the various types. The term Chin. p'u (t)-t'a also occurs (usually written phonetically). It is supposed to be a sinicized transcription of "Buddha" and hence an abbreviation of bud-kūṭāgāra. Phonetic renditions of Sanskrit Stūpa are also the words Chin. su-t'a-p'o, J. so-tō-ba (shortened and adapted to tō: tōba).

The use of the terms 'pagodas' for the Buddha figurines with nodding heads--pseudo-East Asia bric-a-brac--is sheer nonsense.

49. Korea basically has two types of pagodas: the predominantly wooden multistoried pagoda and the solid stone pagoda of medium or smaller size, with protruding flat roof plates at every story and frequently also bedecked with richly sculptured decorations. This type, though occasionally also found in China and Japan, is especially characteristic of Korea; see 15* with proportional scheme (cf. note 44).

50. Boerschmann, Pagoden I (see bibliography), p. 194 ff.

51. The widely-held opinion that the central post is suspended from the top of the building structure and is given free play in an indentation of the foundation stone is justified only for a few pagodas of very recent date (17th-19th century). Obviously this is a late, but statically quite ingenious invention.


53. With slight variations but unmistakably identical basic form, the tahōtō appears also as gorintō, see p. 177.


56. The fact that Buddhist temples are so frequently called "Such-and-such mountain" [shan, san] (see above, note 29) is perhaps not only the result of their topographic location and intimate relationship to the particular landscape but also may have been derived from this cosmological symbolism.

57. Alexander C. Soper, "The 'Dome of Heaven' in Asia" (see note 47), p. 246. One such bronze mirror at the Kanzeonji (Kyōshū, Japan) even has in relief on its back side the Chinese symbols of space and time arranged in a circle around the central Sumeru mountain and the four oceans; see *Kanzeonji Taikyō* Tōkyō, 1934, pl. 46. On the symbolism of East Asian mirrors see Schuyler Cammann, "Significant patterns on Chinese bronze mirrors," *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America* 9 (1955).


60. Cf. the catalogue of the exhibition *Symbolisme cosmique et Monuments religieux*, Paris: Musée Guimet, 1953. It gives samples of all cultures of the world in which such an iconology plays a role.

61. See Rousselle's important work cited in note 31.

62. A remarkable piece has been preserved in Japan in the Chūgūji (near the Hōryūji): a Manjuṣrī figure (Monju-Bosatsu) of 1296 which consists of nothing more than a papier-mâché cover around several Sūtra scrolls and booklets, packages of granulated relics and incense. This figure represents the most important surviving example of a papier-mache technique which appears likely to have been rather widespread. *Chūgūji/Hōkiji Taikyō*, Tōkyō, 1940, pl. 17-25 with explanations.

63. Siegfried Behrzing, "Der Heiligenschein in Ostasien," *ZDMG* 103, N.F. 28 (1953). A detailed typology of all existing forms based on a work by the Japanese scholar Ishida Mosaku. Halos may be executed in stone (always in shallow ornamental or sculpted relief or linear engraving, occasionally with painted smooth surfaces); metal (cast relief or pierced work in sheet metal; also engravings on smooth surfaces); wood (shallow or deep relief carving or pierced carving, occasionally unfolding very freely, both painted and/or gilded); also painted ornaments on wooden surfaces. Small, fully round figures of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas or Apsarasas are frequently attached to the halos.


68. There exists another process employing a negative mold to produce the parts of lacquered figures. The parts are then fitted (for example, sewed) together.

69. Langdon Warner, The Craft of the Japanese Sculptor, New York, 1936, 36 f. The invention of this technique is here erroneously ascribed to Unkei, ca. 1153-1224, but it is at least 200 years older.

70. Cf. Dagobert Frey, "Zum Problem der Symmetrie in der bildenden Kunst," Studium Generale 2 (1949), 268. In contrast to other figure types, a turn of the body and incline of the head is extremely rare in Buddha figures and limited to strictly defined exceptional cases as, for example, Amitâbha turning to the faithful or the Śâkyamuni-Prabhûtaratna group. These are either scenic events based on literary descriptions or manifestations of later, more popular and emotional forms of faith, and it is always the nirrâma-kâya or sambhoga-kâya which appears in this posture and never the (absolute) dharma-kâya.

71. Some typical poses other than those showing them standing or seated with crossed legs are characteristic of the freer nature of Bodhisattvas who are closer to the human sphere: first, a somewhat looser seated pose with legs crossed and one foot placed more or less freely in front of the lower part of the other leg, or below it and frequently emerging from the gown. Both feet of the Buddha figures are always placed on the thighs with their soles turned upward. There is another seated pose with one leg hanging down and the other crossing it at knee level; one hand then grasps the ankle of the foot and the other rests on the knee of the raised leg with the fingertips just touching the cheek (45). This is the typical pose of the Bodhisattva Maitreya, the future Buddha awaiting his hour (also of Śâkyamuni prior to his becoming a Buddha). Other Bodhisattvas and some gods also display seated poses with one leg dangling down, but in these instances the other foot is placed directly next to (but not on top of) the thigh (so that the raised lower part of the leg comes to rest in a horizontal position), or the knee is bent high and the foot thus comes to rest on the seat. This posture is also found among figures sitting on the floor. Frequently an arm is made to lean on the knee near the elbow—a pose of "royal ease" (Sanskrit râjâlîtā; 68) which leaves the other arm dangling loosely. Kneeling positions do occur, but are relatively rare and are found primarily among the figures accompanying Amitâbha as they approach a believer on his deathbed in greeting and venerating poses. Dancing poses are only found in Bodhisattvas and Apsarasas (which are often rather difficult to distinguish); placed on clouds, they surround a Buddha and offer sacrifices and cultic acts to him in veneration. Music and dance are particular parts of those acts. Such figures may also display various kneeling poses.

These variations of pose are missing in Buddha figures as a matter of principle. The only variant form, specifically the Buddha's, is a seated pose...
in the "European" manner but it is relatively rare and was only popular during earlier, i.e., pre-T'ang times; it is used only for Śākyamuni figures, because Śākyamuni is a Buddha belonging to the empirical human world. Wherever the "European" manner of sitting is combined with crossed feet we encounter most likely, but not always, the figure of Maitreya (but again only or almost always only during that earlier period). The reclining figure is found only in sculptured and painted depictions of Śākyamuni's death; this pose is very rigid and resembles a standing figure placed in a horizontal position.

Specific poses belong mostly to certain figure groups, individual figures or their variants, i.e., they are iconographically fixed and not left to the flight of individual artistic imagination. Freer, more active poses should not automatically be interpreted as reflecting an artistically less restrained treatment.


73. A Buddha with splendid crown and other jewelry is an exception that has a particular justification (cf. p. 50).
76. For technical reasons this chapter can only be inadequately illustrated. Buddhist painting can only adequately be presented on large plates and in detailed reproductions. For a comprehensive review and critical investigation of Japan's wall painting in its entirety (including lost but documented works), see Tanaka, Shigehisa: *Nippon heki ka no kenkyū*, Osaka, 1944 [Shōwa 19]. For publications of the Turfan and Tun-huang paintings, see bibliography. For some illustrations from Tun-huang, see also O. Sirén, *Chinese Painting*, Part I, Vol. 3, with detailed texts in Vol. 1 (London: 1956), pp. 61 ff., 85 ff.
81. The travesty may occasionally only be apparent: Suzuki, Essays III (London, 1953), p. 303, explains that "Samantabhadra as courtesan" could perhaps be regarded as an embodiment of sensual love treated as foreshadowing the spiritual love of a Bodhisattva. It is also possible that we are dealing with the legend of a certain incarnation.

82. Genuine frescoes can be found, for example, in the Central Asian cave temples, but only in floor paintings. Clues, both welcome and unwelcome, about the chemical composition of the pigments of the Höyükü wall paintings were detected during the 1949 fire disaster. The chemical changes made it possible to ascertain those original pigments which had remained unknown during earlier investigations. For a short report, see the essay referred to in note 77. Detailed comments on the pigments of the Tun-huang wall paintings in L. Warner, Buddhist Wall-Paintings. Cambridge, Mass., 1938, p. 9. Cf. also the chapter on technique in W. Ch. White, Chinese Temple Frescoes, Toronto, 1940, pp. 25 ff.; Ibid., pp. 14 ff., for a list of the most important Chinese wall paintings, including those in Western collections (with bibliography).

83. Berthold Laufer, Sino-Iranica, Publication 201, Anthropological Series 15:3, Chicago: Field Museum, 1919, p. 508. For a survey of the pigments used in East Asian painting, see Rokurô Uemura, "Studies on the Ancient Pigments in Japan," Eastern Art 3 (1931), pp. 47-60. This is a detailed technical study which includes samples of the various colors.


88. Suzuki, Essays III (see note 86), p. 59 f.; new ed., p. 71 f. and elsewhere. The central concepts are rendered as "universal interpenetration" and "general fusion."
89. According to Wolfgang Schöne’s terminology, Über das Licht in der Malerei, Berlin, 1954, p. 55, these phenomena in Buddhist painting are Eigentlich (self-luminous) and Sendelicht (emanating light). Both terms come under the larger term Offenbarunglicht (revealing light), in contradistinction to the Fremdlicht (extraneous light) or Beleuchtunglicht (illuminating light) as used in post-medieval European painting—originating in a natural, artificial or sacred Leuchtlicht (shining light). These questions applied to East Asian painting would point to interesting parallels in medieval European painting, but also to essential differences. Schöne’s comments on the nature of gold and color, the absence of shadows and modelling in medieval painting, and his discussion of the metaphysics of light in medieval times are also significant for a comparative approach.


92. Detailed color reproductions in Pageant of Japanese Art (see bibliography) 1/18; Yashiro, Art Treasures of Japan (see bibliography) 1/195 and many other publications.

93. Good color reproductions are in the Japanese art journals Kokka and Bijutsu Kenkyū; also in the loose plate collection Nippon Bijutsu Shiryō (Tokyo: 1938- ); in K. Moriya, Die japanische Malerei, Wiesbaden, 1953 and in more recent Japanese publications.


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97. In particular, many beautiful examples are preserved in the Chûsonji temple (north of Sendai in Northern Japan); see Chûsonji Tairiki, Tôkyô, 1941; Yamato-e Dôkôkai, ed., Chûsonji Kyô-e, Tôkyô, 1938.
101. Aurel Stein, *Serindia 4*, Oxford, 1921, pl. C (=100); explained in vol. 2, p. 893 and 1088. The sacred text is printed, in the words of the sponsor, for free distribution in order to keep the memory of his parents alive. There are repeated statements by the Buddha, scattered throughout the Sûtra text, to the effect that those who copy the text and spread the teaching will acquire infinite merit; and that wherever the sacred scripture is kept the Buddha is present (word, sacred scripture = sacred person, sacred body). Cf. Thomas Francis Carter, *The Invention of Printing in China and its Spread Westward*, New York, 1925, 41 ff.; 2d ed., rev. by L. Carrington Goodrich, New York, 1955, 56 ff.
104. Though not specific to Buddhism the woodblock prints--sheets and books--are very useful for studying Buddhist culture and art because they depict temple precincts in their entirety, and usually include the surrounding landscape, in sketched versions. Such sketches are very valuable for the reconstruction of the original precincts even though they are lacking in details. These prints are either on single sheets which pilgrims took along with them because they were believed to contain something of the sacred substance of the sanctuary or, in the case of books, because they were a kind of Baedeker travel guide describing and showing all important buildings and other notable sights of a town or area. Paintings, too, provide valuable source material for our knowledge about early Buddhist architecture, particularly about buildings since lost or substantially altered during later times.

109. The art of flower arrangement (ikebana) evolved in Japan from the Buddhist flower offering. The oldest ikebana style types still preserve the complicated, strictly axial, towering structure of the solemn flower arrangements on the Buddhist altar. But simple lotus blossoms are also inserted into slim vases and placed on altars. These were frequently given a lasting form by fashioning them in gilt metal.


112. Apratisthīa-nirvāṇa is "the state of a Buddha who, though forever liberated from samsāra, has not yet entered the state of eternal rest, because out of his supreme wisdom and infinite compassion, he wishes to work incessantly for the sake of all sentient creatures. This dynamic, active, altruistic nirvāṇa is the true and highest nirvāṇa." H. v. Glasenapp, *Der Buddhismus in Indien und im Fernen Osten*, Berlin/Zürich, 1936, 64.


115. Oda, Tokunô, *Bukkyô Daijiten* (see bibliography), 771 ff.; Mochizuki Shinkô, *Bukkyô Daijiten* 3, pp. 2607 ff. I am using in this and a number of other instances the Japanese form of the term because it is preferred in the Japanese literature on the subject; Other terms, too, have become known in the West only or predominantly in their Japanese form. Several Sūtras and tracts have the term shögon in their title. See Hôbôgin, *Fascicule Annexe* (Tôkyô: 1931), 187, 201, 307, 319, 357, 446, 585, 818, 1050, 1375, 1604. The last work (Ta-ch'êng chuâng-yen chin-lun, Dai-jô shô-gon kyô-ron; Nanjô No. 1190) is edited and translated by Sylvain Lévi, *Asanga: Mahâyâna-Sutrálankâra, Exposé de la doctrine du grand véhicule selon le système yogâcâra*, 2 vols., Paris, 1908-1911.


118. D. T. Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, Second Series, Kyôto, 1933, 132; comment on and explanation of the illustration, 184; reprint (London: 1950), 151 and 206; "Not only . . . the monkeys and the stork [on the Kuan-yin-Triptych by Mu-hsi], but the bamboos, the trees, the rock, the water, the
meanest grass in the crannies, and the vines overhanging the crags—are they not, each in its way, the so many vāyas emblazoning the Dharmadhātu in which the Bodhisattva has his abode?" Cf. Essays, 3d Series, 129 n.; reprint, 148 n.


121. Helmuth von Glasenapp, "Entwicklungsstufen des indischen Denkens," Schriften der Königberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft, Geisteswissenschaftliche Klasse, Jahrgang 15/16 (1940), Heft 5. In Brahmanism the offering, for example, is a substantial entity, just as are mantras, hymns, and even sacred meters. From this basis the Buddhist concept of the "transfer" of one's own religious-moral merits to others (for the sake of their spiritual bliss) becomes more intelligible, and many figures of Buddhist iconography which otherwise seem to be purely abstract constructions thus appear less peculiar.

122. This beauty also belongs to upāyā-kauśalya (J. hōben, see p. 152 above), as does all Buddhist art, and in one of the shōgon groups we actually find the hōben-shōgon in the sense of adorning the Buddha body and Buddha land with the hōben of the Bodhisattva's deed by which he leads the unenlightened beings to salvation. All the Bodhisattva deeds (and even more those of lesser beings) are regarded as merely preliminary "furnishings," as adornments of the surface of the Buddhist teachings, but do not constitute their essence (Seckel, Grundzüge, 66, n. 87; based on Oda, Bukkyō Daijiten, 772).

123. The symbolic gestures (mudrā), as Rouelle emphasizes, "Typische Bildwerke" (see bibliography), Sinica 7 (1932), 70, n. 2, are both vehicles of magic effects in the cosmos (i.e., "ontologic") and aids for man which enable him to generate the proper spiritual attitude for the religious act within himself (i.e., "psychic"). See also ibid., p. 110 with n. 4 on meditation: colorful visions of paradise are, philosophically speaking, "without value," but do possess value as meditation symbols and psychological aids. But, because they evoke and, in a sense, create numinous realities, they thus constitute true reality. And if, as claimed by the sacred scriptures, meditation of a Buddha transforms the empirical world into a transcendent Buddha world, this, too, is an "objective" event. The depiction of this Buddha world and its figures is therefore not mere "imagination" or "metaphor" ("image") or even "symbol," but establishes reality—a reality which, in a final, paradoxical climax, is transcended into "emptiness."

124. The same mediating role has been established for ritual implements (see p. 307).

125. For example, in the case of the 16 Arhats of Kuan Hsiu (=Ch'än Yüeh, 832-912) in the Takahashi collection (most likely replicas); Otto Fischer, "Die Kunst Indiens, Chinas und Japans," Propyläen-Kunstgeschichte IV, 2d ed. Berlin, 1928, 609.
126. Cf. Max Wegner, *OZ N.F.* 5 (1929), 4 and 61 with reference to Maitreya sculptures. Well known also is the legend of the creation of the first Buddha image (described and with source passages in William Cohn, *Buddha in der Kunst des Ostens*, Leipzig, 1925, XXXI ff.). This was not a vision in the strict sense of the word but was nonetheless a miraculous happening. The same degree of prestige as that enjoyed by revealed archetypal images was enjoyed by replicas of real images seen and copied by Chinese pilgrims in the holy land of India. These became the objects of their own regional traditions throughout East Asia. See Benjamin Rowlands, "Indian Images in Chinese Sculpture," *Antibus Asiae* 10 (1947), pp. 5-20.


129. Magic identity between the depicted and intended, real or ideal object, is a frequent motif in East Asian anecdotes about artists (the dragon physically ascending to heaven from the picture; the ideal horse mounted by the ghostlike sponsor of the picture; Wu Tao-tse's entering the landscape he painted, etc.). We encounter here a more profound idea than is found in anecdotes of the type of the "grapes of Apelles" which, incidentally, can also be found in East Asia.

130. However, they, too, have a more pronounced object-like character according to Indian-East Asian views than they do in the West; see p. 184 and n. 121.

131. M. Anesaki, *Buddhist Art* (see bibliography), p. 41 f. Compare the respective articles in the Buddhist dictionaries, *Bukkyō Daijiten* by Oda and Mochizuki (see bibliography). The Japanese terms for the *kuyō-bosatsu* are listed in Seckel, *Grundzüge der buddhistischen Malerei*, pp. 38 ff. Those "inner" Bodhisattvas emanate from the central Vairocana and venerate the four other Buddhas surrounding him; the "outer" four, in turn, emanate from these four Buddhas and venerate Vairocana in the center. Emanation and return to origin, revelation and self-contemplation and self-veneration of the Absolute as shown in this cycle point to the ultimate inner unity of reality.


134. Friedrich Heiler, *Die buddhistische Versenkung*, 2nd ed., München, 1922; Edward Conze, *Buddhist Meditation*, London, 1956; Cf. also the general surveys on Buddhism listed in the bibliography. Among these, Beckh's study deals with meditation in a particularly detailed manner.

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Chinese work Lung-shu ching-tu-wen by Wang Jih-hsiu, translated by Heinrich Hackmann in Laienbuddhismus in China, Gotha/Stuttgart, 1924, pp. 123 ff. The Amitāyur-dīyaṇa-Sūtra states, "If one imagines the Buddha in one's heart, this heart itself is the Buddha."

136. G. Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls I (see bibliography), p. 290. The statements made here apply beyond the borders of Tibet to all the areas of Mahāyāna.


138. P. Urban Rapp, O.S.B., Das Mysterienbild, Münsterschwarzach, 1952, quote on p. 72 ff. A prototype is, for example, the late Hellenistic Mithras relief. We disregard here the problems specific to Christian mystery pictures.

139. More detailed comments on the development of style can be found in the studies by Bachhofer, Cohn, Glaser, Minamoto, Sirén et al., listed in the bibliography.


140. It is only now that the type of Kuan yin (Kannon) reinterpreted as a female appears; p. 28.


142. In India and Tibet a correlation between the category of being and the relationship among body measurements can be documented. This may have also been applied in East Asia. For comments on iconometry see above, p. 24.

143. A typical case is, for example, The Eighteen Styles of Chinese Figure Painting (Cf. the essay with this title by O. Fischer, see n. 90).


145. The nature of Zen Buddhism cannot be discussed in detail. We only provide a few hints helpful for an understanding of Zen art. More detailed information can be found in the works listed in the bibliography, particularly in those by Suzuki.


147. In the double meaning of the word to realize: making real and gaining insight; here: making real through insight.


149. Quoted from Ferdinand Weinhandl, *Die Metaphysik Goethes*, Berlin, 1932, pp. 283-91. We should also point to Goethe's word (going far beyond its original reference to the natural sciences): "One should not look for anything behind the phenomena--they themselves are the teaching [lesson]." *'Betrachtungen im Sinne der Wanderer,'* in Goethe, *Gesammette Werke*, Jubiläums-Ausgabe (1912-1932), vol. 39, p. 72.

150. Zen art, particularly painting, uses a great number of symbols, notably from the natural world, but most of them have much older meanings generally valid in East Asia, and are not specific to Zen.

151. The difference and, frequently, the contrast between professional and amateur artists (with the latter being at least equal to the former in training and talent) affects wide areas of East Asian art, particularly painting. Because they rise from greater creative freedom, the more important achievements are often those of amateur artists. Zen art is in a certain sense in opposition to the "official" art of the academy and court painters, but in China and Japan a good many of these were so strongly inspired by the Zen spirit, even if they were not members of Zen monasteries, that their works may be counted among valid works of Zen art. It is generally characteristic of Zen art that its effects are noticeable in various spheres of social and cultural life, and that it did not isolate itself in esoteric fashion in spite of the
strictness of its spiritual requirements. This is also one of the reasons why
Zen art could overcome the barriers between sacred and secular art (see p.
231 f.).

153. It should be pointed out, however, that in many instances these features were
not or could not be fully realized.
Tübingen, 1954; Jirō Harada, The Lesson of Japanese Architecture, London,
1936; new ed. (1954). Werner Blaser, Tempel und Teehaus in Japan,
York, 1955.
Eugene Herrigel, Zen in der Kunst des Bogenschiessens, 2nd ed.
München/Planegg, 1951; Kakuzō Okakura, "Das Buch vom Tee," Insel-
Bücher, 274.
156. Ernst Grosse, Die ostasiatische Tuschemalerei, Berlin, 1923, with a classic
introduction to the nature of Zen-inspired ink painting; W. Speiser,
Meisterwerke (see note 152) with detailed explanations of Chinese painting.
Cf. also the general literature on East Asian art, especially on painting, listed
in the bibliography.
157. The interpretation of this rather common picture type varies: One group of
scholars (predominantly Japanese) assume that Śākyamuni is depicted after
he had attained the highest enlightenment under the bodhi tree at the end of
his six-year ascetic phase, i.e., already as Buddha, while almost all Western
interpreters hold that the moment between recognition of the futility of
asceticism and the steps toward the bodhi tree, i.e., the moment prior to
enlightenment and attainment of Buddhahood, is intended. The question is
too complicated to be dealt with at this time. The former interpretation
appears to be more likely to be correct. Compare the interpretation of the
frontispiece by Suzuki in Essays II.
158. More detailed information in the work by de Visser, "The Arhats . . ."," listed
in the bibliography.
159. On the meaning of this grotesque element compare Roussel, "Die typischen
Bildwerke . . ." (see bibliography), Sinica 8 (1933), 66.
160. A critical examination of his biography is Heinrich Dumoulin, "Bodhidharma
und die Anfänge des Ch'an-Buddhismus," MN 7 (1951), 67-83.
35* Bodhidharma (Daruma) changing clothes with a courtesan.
Okumura Masanobu.

161. This fact explains the popular figures made of papier-mâché, such as those called Daruma, which have almost become toys in Japan. They have a semispherical lower part in place of legs, and resemble our stand-up dolls. Snowmen are called yuki-daruma in Japan, i.e., "snow daruma." Later parodies (see p. 129) have also dealt with the patriarch, as for example a woodcut by Okumura Masanobu (ca. 1708) showing with great effect how Daruma and a courtesan have exchanged clothes (35*) or another by Harunobu lampooning a well-known Daruma legend by showing a girl crossing a river while standing on a straw just as that saint did crossing the Yangtse-Kiang. (R. Bernoulli, *Ausgewählte Werke ostasiatischer Graphik*, Plauen, 1923, plate 35.) Nor did other Zen figures escape such parodying treatment: The Japanese painter and colour-print artist Katsukawa Shunshô depicted Hanshan and Shihté as two girls, one carrying a love letter, the other an ordinary broom (Anesaki, *Buddhist Art*, plate XLI). An illustration is inserted at this point. Its caption reads: 35* Bodhidharma cartoon. Woodcut by Okumura Masanobu.

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163. E. Grosse (see note 156), 47. Cf. Speiser, *Meisterwerke*, p. 21. In detail: E. Rousselle, "Typische Bildwerke ... III," *Sinica* 6 (1931), 228 ff. As the "potbellied Buddha" he has become one of the most popular figures, particularly when accompanied by (usually six) small children. This type also occurs in sculpture, particularly in small figurines.

164. Portraits, as memorial or ritual images, still appear in Zen temples in the form of sculptures, and numerous important works may be found among them.


166. Examples would require too many explanations. These may be found in the books by Suzuki listed in the bibliography, some with illustrations. Cf. also Ohasama-Faust (see bibliography).


168. A detailed explanation is in Suzuki, *Essays I*, London, 1927, pp. 347 ff. (with illustrations). It is conceivable that the numerous charming and idyllic Chinese pictures of the subject are derived from this sequence of parable pictures. If that were the case, these would not be secular idyllic scenes but rather religious symbols (cf. Grosse, plate 15). It is of course not necessary that all such pictures arise from this particular context.

169. In some Chinese Ch'an sects a number of circle symbols were used to represent different aspects of existence and corresponding stages of enlightenment. (A solid black circle stood for the all-in-one Absolute, a black circle around a white center for the Absolute's appearance in the relative-phenomenal world, etc.) Other ch'an interpretations rejected even such abstract symbols as mere popular aids (hôben). See Heinrich Dumoulin, "Die Entwicklung des chinesischen Ch'an ... " (see note 186), p. 54 f. and pp. 59 ff.; Engl. ed., p. 19 f. and p. 25 f.


171. The East Asian term for landscape (picture), Chin. shan-shui (J. san-sui), means "mountains and waters" (cf. p. 398). These are not arbitrarily chosen representatives of nature in its entirety but symbolize the two basic potentials of the world and life as seen by ancient Chinese Taoist belief, Yang and Yin: the mountains--firm, strong, surging, male, aspiring to Heaven--correspond to Yang; water--flowing, yielding, pliable, horizontal, female, close to earth--to Yin. These polar potentialities are reflected in the pictorial structure of East Asian landscapes down to the most minute details.

172. The fact that this has not been given sufficient attention is my only basic reservation about Grosse's classic interpretation of Zen painting. Much of what he says on iconography and symbolism has general validity in East Asia.

174. Frequently a very light coloring (mostly pale blue-green and brownish-pink) is employed without, however, abandoning the basically black and white character of the paintings.

175. On the term "one-corner style," which is a reference to a saying of Confucius (Lun-yü = Analects VII, 8), and should be taken with a grain of salt, see W. Speiser, Die Kunst Ostasiens, pp. 223 ff., and Meisterwerke, p. 42. There is also a reference to the "one corner" in a prominent place in Zen literature: in the introduction of the Pi-yen-lu (J. Heki-gan-roku); see W. Gundert, "Die Nonne liu bei We-schan," in Asiatica, Festschrift Friedrich Weller (Leipzig: 1954), p. 189; Cf. W. Gundert, "Bi-yân-lu"; cf. W. Gundert, "Das zweite Kapitel des Pi-yen-lu," Orients Extremus II/1 (1955), 33. Bd. 1 München, 1960, 37 f.


177. W. Speiser, Meisterwerke, 29 and 19.


180. Of these we can unfortunately show only two, though outstanding, examples (148 and 149). Numerous additional illustrations, particularly of landscapes, are in Grosse and the other works on East Asian painting.


182. The fact that this freely creative inspiration of the true Zen artist--particularly of the grand old masters of the Sung and Muromachi periods--has converted into a consciously systematized solid school technique both in secular and even court painting (in Japan above all by the Kanô school) belongs to another chapter. This was partly the result of a growing superficiality and secularization of religious painting, but in part also of a growing spiritual enrichment and deepening of secular art. It was in this manner, too, that the Zen spirit entered the secular cultural sphere (Cf. p. 235 and n. 151). Genuine Zen spirit survived until the 18th century, particularly among Japanese painters, whose creative work was patterned along the lines of Bashô's perfected haiku (Buson, et al.). This tradition is called haiga (painting in the haiku spirit) and had a close artistic and technical relationship to zenga (Zen painting). The painters of this school, Taiga in particular, characteristically produced highly lively, sketch-like depictions of Arhats which emphasized their grotesque and scurrilous aspects (Cf. with respect to sculpture, Mokujiki Shônin, p. 231).

183. The greater prominence of modulating lines coincides historically with the freer and more dynamic design in the sculpture of the Sung and Kamakura periods (see p. 216, 218).

184. For a brief description of this technique see Grosse, op. cit., p. 30, and also most of the other studies of East Asian painting. Particularly characteristic and done with great virtuosity is the application of a deep black wet ink to a still not completely dried light-colored sketch or surface tone. The form of objects is frequently more nearly suggested than delineated (f. 149). The East Asian special terms for this technique are: Chin. p'o-mo, J. ha-boku =
"broken ink" and Chin. p'o-mo (different sinograms), J. hatsu-boku = "splashed ink." The two terms are not clearly distinguished and appear to have had different meanings at different times. In Tang China the terms certainly did not yet imply a washing technique (John A. Pope, "Sinology or art history," HIAS 10 [1947], 414-416) while in the Japan of the 15th century (Sesshū, for example) it is clearly understood in the latter sense.

185. This term must be understood as merely relative. We have shown (p. 143 f.) how the precise lines of cult painting could still transcend their own limitations. But this transcending tendency does not belong a priori to its characters and never invalidates the strictness with which it defines forms.


187. See my detailed interpretation in Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens 77 (1955), pp. 44-55; also in Einführung in die Kunst Ostasiens München, 1960, pp. 345-365; a few statements from this article have been included in this chapter. The concluding 31-syllable poem by an unknown Japanese poet is taken from the anthology Kokin-waka-shū of 905. My interpretation of it is based on a German translation in Wilhelm Gundert, ed., Lyrik des Ostens (München, 1952), p. 425 ("The key dogma of Mahāyāna Buddhism, rendered literally in Tanka form," p. 595). The original text is as follows:

Yo no naka wa
Yume ka, utsutsu ka?
Utsutsu to mo
Yume to mo shirazu:
Arite nakereba.
The bibliography is intended to introduce to those interested in the history of East Asian culture, religion and art primarily those works which will be useful for further individual study. For this reason important areas of Buddhist culture and art which are outside the scope of this book, like India and Central Asia, have been given detailed attention. Many of the general books contain comprehensive bibliographies of their own. East Asian publications are only mentioned if they are basic collections of picture material; journal articles only in a few exceptional cases. Specialized studies are cited in the notes.

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India, Indonesia, Indochina, Central Asia

Culture, Religion and Art


East Asia

Culture and Buddhism


**East Asian Buddhist Art**

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