

## Chronological Chart

### CHINA (Dynasties)

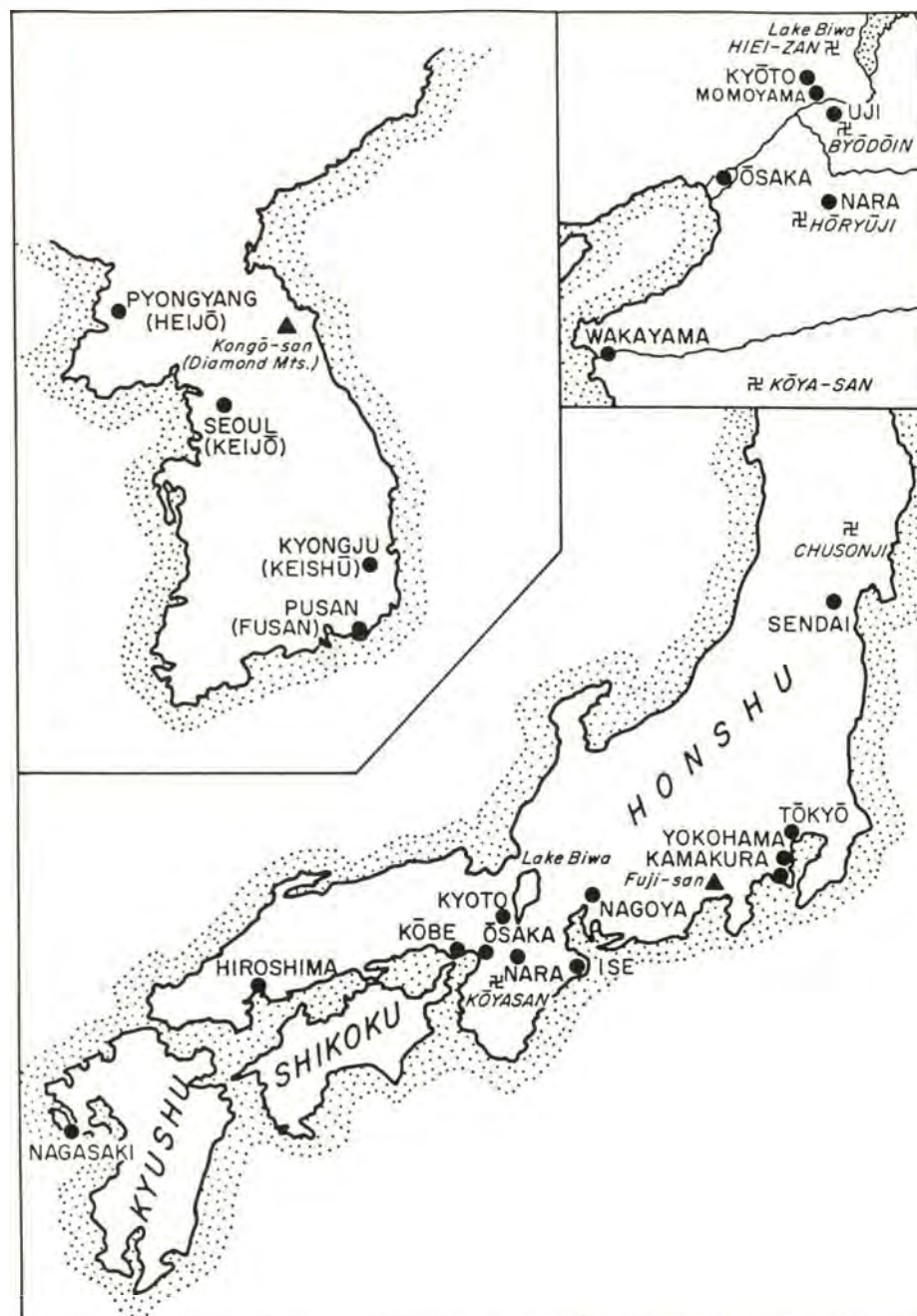
Shang-Yin	ca.	1500-1028 B.C.
Chou		1028- 481 B.C.
Warring States		481- 221 B.C.
Ch'in		221- 206 B.C.
Han	B.C.	206- 220 A.D.
Three Kingdoms		221- 265 A.D.
West and East Chin		265- 420
Six Dynasties		386- 588
Northern Wei		386- 535
Northern Ch'i		550- 577
Sui		589- 618
T'ang		618- 906
Five Dynasties		907- 960
Liao (Khitans)		937-1125
Northern Sung		960-1126
Southern Sung		1127-1279
Chin (Jurchens)		1115-1234
Yüan (Mongols)		1280-1367
Ming		1368-1644
Ch'ing (Manchus)		1644-1911

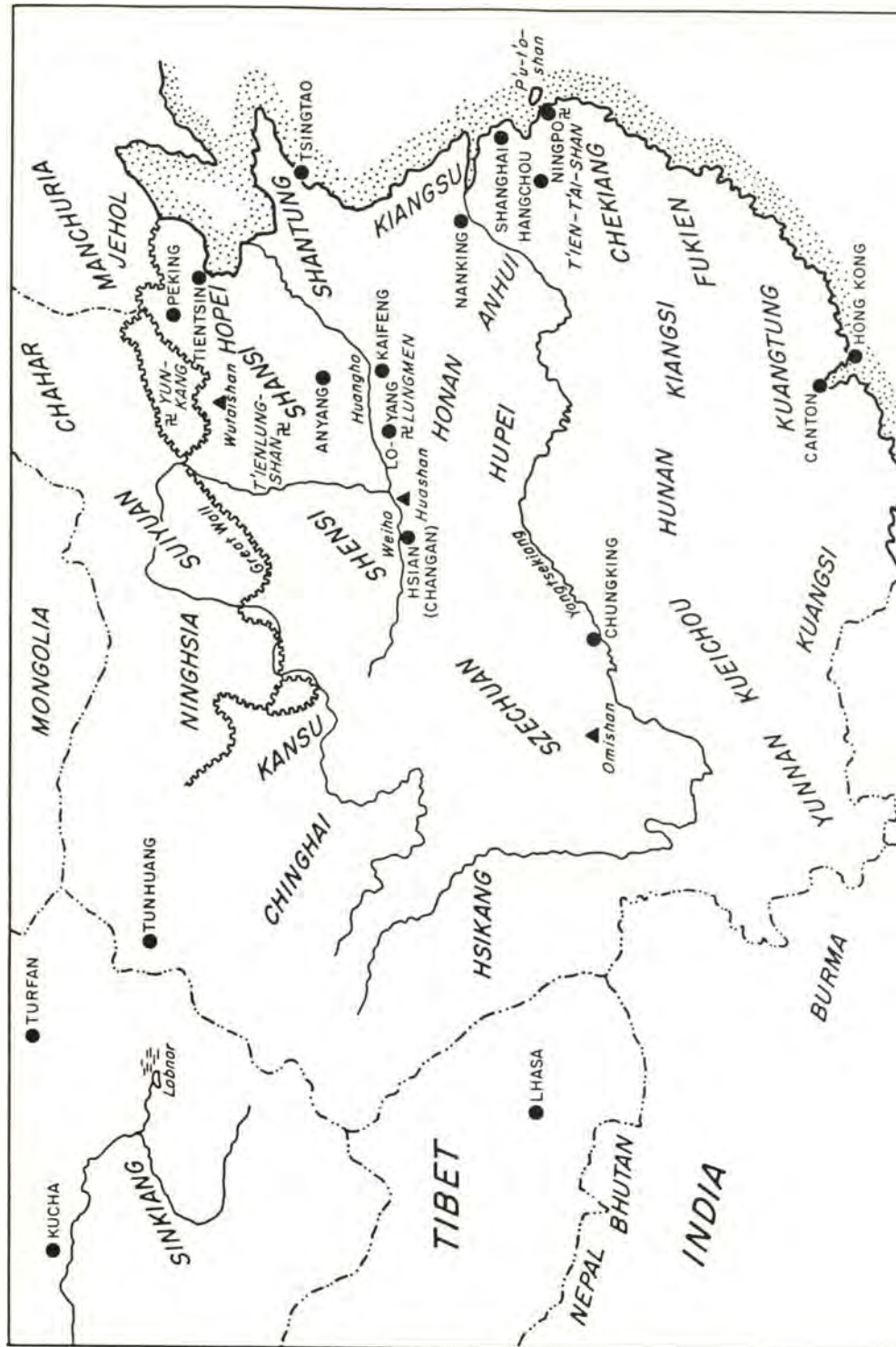
### JAPAN (Periods)

Jōmon-Period	4th/3rd Millennium--ca. 200 B.C.
Yayoi and Tumuli Period	ca. 200 B.C.- ca. 550 A.D.
Asuka (Suiko)	552- 645
Hakuhō	645- 710
Nara (Tempyō)	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, Rakurō; Han colony)	108 B.C.-313 A.D.
Koguryō (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
Koryō (Kōrai)	935 -1392
Yi (Li, Ri)	1392 -1910







## Abbreviations

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<i>BEFÉO</i>	=	<i>Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient.</i> Hanoi/Paris.
<i>BK</i>	=	<i>Gedächtniskatalog der Ausstellung altjapanischer Kunst.</i> Berlin, 1939; Tôkyô, 1939.
<i>HJAS</i>	=	<i>Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies.</i> Cambridge, Massachusetts.
<i>JAOS</i>	=	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society.</i> Baltimore.
<i>MN</i>	=	<i>Monumenta Nipponica.</i> Tôkyô.
<i>NJT</i>	=	<i>Nanto Jûdaiji Taikyô (Ôkagami).</i> See bibliography under "Catalog."
<i>OZ</i>	=	<i>Ostasiatische Zeitschrift.</i>
<i>OZ NF</i>	=	<i>Ostasiatische Zeitschrift. Neue Folge.</i>
<i>ZDMG</i>	=	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.</i> Leipzig/Wiesbaden.

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.

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## Notes

1. Wilhelm Gundert, *Japanische Religionsgeschichte*, Tôkyô/Stuttgart, 1935, p. 62.
2. Detailed description in H. v. Glasenapp, *Buddhistische Mysterien*, Stuttgart, 1940.
3. Gundert, *op. cit.*, pp. 65 ff.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
5. Heinrich Dumoulin, tr. and annot., "Das Wu-men-kuan oder, 'Der Pass ohne Tor,'" *Monumenta Serica* (Journal of Oriental Studies of the Catholic University of Peking) 8 (1943), pp. 41-102 (quote 49); new Engl. ed., *MN Monographs* No. 13, Tôkyô, 1953, p. 9.
6. Cf. H. v. Glasenapp, "Buddhismus and Gottesidee," *Abhandlungen der Mainzer Akademie, Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse* 8 (1954).
7. D. T. Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, Second Series (Kyôto: 1933), pp. 241 ff.; new ed. London, 1950, pp. 261 ff.
8. Cf. the titles listed in the bibliography under **Central Asia**. Maps showing relations between China and Central Asia and India and marking the travel routes of Chinese pilgrims--Fa-hsien, Hsüan-tsang, I-ching, etc.--are in Albert Herrmann, *Historical and Commercial Atlas of China*, Monograph Series 1, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1935, Maps 30/31, 34/35, 37, 38/39.
9. The life and personality of Prince Shôtoku--mythically exalted and mystically beatified as time went by--and his lasting impact on many aspects of Japanese culture is presented by Hermann Böhner, "Shôtoku Taishi," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens (OAG)*, Suppl. Vol. 25, Tôkyô, 1940. This study includes numerous translated source materials and excursions into Japan's cultural history.
10. The summary studies on Mahâyâna 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



- 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 Rouselle 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 Chinese Art and Archaeology*, London, 1954, pp. 32 ff.
11. Particularly valuable are the series of essays by E. Rouselle 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.
  13. Cf. H. Zimmer, *Kunstform und Yoga im indischen Kultbild*, Berlin, 1926, pp. 149 ff.; especially pp. 157 ff. Cf. Berthold Laufer, *Das Citralakshana. Nach dem tibetischen Tanjur herausgegeben und übersetzt*, Leipzig, 1913. *Dokumente der indischen Kunst*, 1: *Malerei*. W. S. Hadaway, "Some Hindu 'Silpa' shastras in their relation to South Indian scrolls," *OZ* 3 (1914/15), pp. 35-50; G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls I* (Rome, 1949), pp. 291 ff. Cf. D. 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 "consubstantiation" 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.
  16. Cf. Lucian Scherman, "Buddha im Fürstenschmuck," *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Abteilung N.F.* 7 (1932); Paul Mus, "Le Buddha paré," *B.E.F.E.O.* (1929); E. Rouselle (see note 11), new edition, p. 78.



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* I/1 (1938), 195; f. also H. Beckh, *Buddhismus* 2, Sammlung Götschen 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. Ui, *Bukkyō Jiten* Tōkyō, 1938, 345; and still more so in the sphere to which the Bodhisattva belongs.
21. The label *Nyoirin-Kannon*, frequently used for Japanese figures of this type, has to be rejected. The identification as Maitreya is by no means certain. Cf. Max Wegner, "Ikongraphie des chinesischen Maitreya," *OZ N.F.* 5 (1929). 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.
24. Willibald Kirfel, *Die dreiköpfige Gottheit*, Bonn, 1948. For details of the iconography of the Hachibushu, D. Seckel, "Buddhistische Prozessionsmasken in Japan," *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens (OAG)* 76 (Hamburg, 1954).



25. Dietrich Seckel, "Kariteimo. Die 'buddhistische Madonna' in der japanischen Kunst," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens (OAG)* 36, Teil A, Tōkyō, 1943.
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 altjapanische 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 maṇḍala-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.
27. Lucian Scherman, "Siddha. Sanskrit Letters as Mystical Symbols in Later Buddhism Outside India," in *Art and Thought*, ed. K. Bharata Iyer [Coomaraswamy-Festschrift], London, 1947, 55-62. *Bija* also has the meaning of element, principle, source, origin, truth as cause of being; the content of Absolute Consciousness (ālaya-vijñāna) as "seed," i.e., ground and origin of all phenomena (Soothill-Hodous, *Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, 426); cf. T. Yura, "Bewusstseinslehre im Buddhismus," *Mitteilungen der OAG* 25, Teil A, Tōkyō, 1932, 23. Such a syllable constitutes the essential part of the mantra of every sacred being. Cf. van Gulik, *Siddham*, see bibliography.
28. Occasionally a certain similarity between the Lotus Flower and the Heavenly Rose in Dante's work has been noticed (H. Zimmer, *Kunstform und Yoga*, p. v; Coomaraswamy, *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*; R. Guardini, *Vision und Dichtung*, Tübingen-Stuttgart, 1946, 51 ff.; C. G. Jung, "Über Mandalasymbolik," in *Gestaltungen des Unbewussten*, Zürich, 1950, 202. On lotus symbolism, see H. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia* 1, pp. 158-230; ("Myths and Symbols"), etc., index; William E. Ward, "The Lotus Symbol: Its Meaning in Buddhist Art and Philosophy," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* XI/2 (December 1952). Cf. also concerning the Taoist sphere and the psychology of the unconscious, Richard Wilhelm and C. G. Jung, *Das Geheimnis der Goldenen Blüte* (München, 1929); new ed. Zürich, 1948.



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 Rousselle, *Die typischen Bildwerke des buddhistischen Tempels in China*, see bibliography.
32. J. J. M. de Groot, *Universismus. Die Grundlage der Religion und Ethik, des Staatswesens und der Wissenschaften Chinas*, Berlin, 1918. See also Alfred Forke, *Geschichte der alten chinesischen Philosophie*, Hamburg, 1927; Forke, "Die Gedankenwelt des chinesischen Kulturkreises," in *Handbuch der Philosophie*, also separately München, 1927; F. E. A. Krause, *Ju-Tao-Fo. Die religiösen und philosophischen Systeme Ostasiens*, München, 1924.
33. In East Asia referred to as "Seven-Building Monastery" (Chin. *ch'i-t'ang chia-lan*, J. *shichi-dô ga-ran*; *chia-lan* and *ga-ran*, respectively, are the shortened, or rather mutilated forms of the Sanskrit word *sanghârâma*: "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-story 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-urasiatischen Hochkulturen*, Innsbruck/Wien, 1949; also in *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* (1949). On East Asian architecture see pp. 76-80 and pp. 109-116.
  - 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 patronage 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* 40/4 (1985), 359 ff.
  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. *dô*: 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-dô* = Meditation hall; *fo-tien*, *butsu-den* = Buddha hall). Entire temples are called *t'ang* (*dô*) 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-rô* = 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 millennium 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 Hôryûji 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.
42. Tetsuro Yoshida, *Das japanische Wohnhaus*, Berlin, 1935; 2d ed. Tübingen, 1954.
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 Japans*, Berlin, 1907, 306 (so-called Tahôtô pagoda type) and Chûta Itô: *Nippon kenchiku no kenkyû* I Tôkyô, 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-kô of the Tu-lo-ssu of 984 (Soper, *Evolution*, illustr. 30) and a building of the Ta-fokuang-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 Hôryûji 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.



47. Alexander C. Soper, "The 'Dome of Heaven' in Asia," *Art Bulletin* 29 (1947), 225-248. Cf. Karl Lehmann, "The Dome of Heaven," *Art Bulletin* 27 (1945), 1 ff.
48. *Stûpa* originally meant knot of hair, then vertex or summit, and generally hill, pile, tumulus. The dialect form *thûpa* (> Hindi *tôp*) 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 *dâgaba* which corresponds to Sanskrit *dhātu-garbha* (Pāli: *dhātu-gabbha*) = world womb, reliquary; or it could be derived from *bud-kûtâgâra* = Buddha tower. Both explanations are unsatisfactory. In East Asia the pagoda is called Chin. *t'a* (< *t'ap*), J. *tô*, 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-kûtâgâra*. Phonetic renditions of Sanskrit *Stûpa* are also the words Chin. *su-t'a-p'o*, J. *so-tô-ba* (shortened and adapted to *tô: tôba*). 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.
52. O. Kummel, *Die Kunst Ostasiens*, Berlin, 1922, fig. 33; O. Fischer: "Die Kunst Indiens, Chinas und Japans," *Propyläen-Kunstgeschichte* IV (Berlin: 1928), pl. 447.
53. With slight variations but unmistakably identical basic form, the *tahôtô* appears also as *gorintô*, see p. 177.
54. Günter Bandmann, "Ikonologie der Architektur," *Jahrbuch für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* (1951), 67-109. Bandmann, *Mittelalterliche Architektur als Bedeutungsträger*, Berlin, 1951, with extensive bibliography. Hans Sedlmayr, "Architektur als abbildende Kunst," *Sitzungs-Berichte der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse* 225, 3. Abhandlung, Wien, 1948. Sedlmayr, *Die Entstehung der Kathedrale*, Zürich: 1948 and 1950. The conceptual distinction between iconography and iconology cannot be discussed here. On the iconology of Asian architecture: Robert Heine-Geldern, "Weltbild und Bauform in Südostasien," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte Asiens* 4 (1930), 28-78, with extensive bibliographic references to comparable phenomena in other cultures; Dagobert Frey, *Grundlegung* (see note 36). In India architectural structures designed to imitate either the structure of the world or of supraworldly



- spheres are called *pratibimba*, i.e., reflecting image, depiction of real objects (Benjamin Rowland, *Art and Architecture of India*, [1953], 273). "All such Oriental structures symbolize the multi-layered link between eternity and time" (Heinrich Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia* [1955], 286). See also Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, 2 vols., esp. Vol. 1, Calcutta, 1946, 19 ff. and 161 ff.
55. Giuseppe Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls I* (Rome: 1949), 318. A comprehensive survey is provided by A. B. Govinda, "Some Aspects of Stûpa Symbolism," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* 2 (1934); and 4 (1936) for India and Ceylon.
  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 (Kyûshû, 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 Taikyô Tôkyô*, 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).
  58. Cf. Bandmann, *Ikonologie* (see note 54), 83.
  59. Shinkô Mochizuki, *Bukkyô Daijiten* II (1911), based on a Japanese Zen dictionary of the 18th century.
  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 Chûgûji (near the Hôryûji): a Mañjuśrî figure (*Monju-Bosatsu*) of 1296 which consists of nothing more than a papier-mâché cover around several Sûtra 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. *Chûgûji/Hôkiji Taikyô*, Tôkyô, 1940, pl. 17-23 with explanations.
  63. Siegfried Behrsing, "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.
  64. D. Seckel, *Buddhistische Prozessionsmasken in Japan*, see note 24.



65. Friedrich Perzynski, *Japanische Masken. Nô und Kyôgen* 2, Berlin/Leipzig, 1925, 170 (with illustrations).
66. Karl With, *Chinesische Kleinbildnerei in Steatit*, Oldenburg, 1926.
67. Tôshôdaiji, Nara: 8th century; perhaps of Chinese origin. Picture: Nanto Jûdaiji Taikyô (see bibliography), vol. 22, plate 37.
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 Śākyamuni-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 nirmâna-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 Śākyamuni 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 *râjalilâ*; 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.

- 71a. This reflects a characteristically East Asian basic pose expressing a basic personal state; on this state, cf. Karlfried Graf von Dürckheim, *Hara* (literally "belly"). *Die Erdmitte des Menschen*, München/Planegg, 1956. Cf. also p. 141 and note 85. On the tribhanga, see B. Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, 2nd ed., p. 133.
72. Anesaki, *Buddhist Art*, bibliography, p. 36.
- 72a. Heinrich Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia I*, New York, 1955, p. 183.
73. A Buddha with splendid crown and other jewelry is an exception that has a particular justification (cf. p. 50).
74. Osvald Sirén, *Chinese Sculpture I*, London, 1925, p. XXIV.
75. Yanagi, Sôetsu, "Mokujiki Gogyô Shônin," *MN* 6 (1943), p. 202 (with illustrations and additional literature).
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 hekiga no kenkyû*, Ôsaka, 1944 [Shôwa 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.
77. Report: Dietrich Seckel in *Asiatische Studien* 3 (Bern: 1949), pp. 48 ff. and 144 ff. Short notice by A. C. Soper in *Oriental Art* 2 (1949), p. 67.
78. Erwin Rousselle, "Ein Abhiṣeka-Ritus im Mantra-Buddhismus," *Sinica-Sonderausgabe* (1934 and 1935). A shorter description in Helmuth von Glasenapp, *Der Buddhismus in Indien und im Fernen Osten*, Berlin/Zürich, 1936, pp. 279 ff.; more detailed in H. v. Glasenapp, *Buddhistische Mysterien* (Stuttgart: 1940), pp. 114-126.
79. *Nippon Emakimono Shûsei*, 22 vols. Tôkyô, 1929-32. Examples: III 74; VII 63; VIII 54-56; XIV 13; XV 70, 77; XVI 14, 23, 67, 92; XVII 77 (parody); XXI 70.
80. Takakusu Junjirô, et al., eds., *Taishô Shinshû Daizôkyô Zuzô* (Engl. title: *The Tripitaka in Chinese, Picture Section*), 12 vols. Tôkyô, 1932 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 Hôryûji 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.
84. Dietrich Seckel, "Kirikane. Die Schnittgold-Dekoration in der japanischen Kunst, ihre Technik und ihre Geschichte," *Oriens Extremus* 1 (1954), pp. 71-88.
85. E. Rousselle, "Seelische Führung im lebenden Taoismus," *Chinesisch-Deutscher Almanach* (1934), p. 26 f. on the three "currents" and three energetic "fields" in the human body: center of the forehead, heart, center of the belly. The essay also appeared in *Eranos-Jahrbuch* [1933], pp. 135 ff. Cf. note 71a.
86. D. T. Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, Third Series, Kyôto, 1934, pp. 58 ff.; new ed. London, 1953, p. 76 f. Compare the ideas of the contemporary Japanese philosopher Kitarô Nishida on space and time centered around the term of the "Eternal Now": Robert Schinzinger, "Über Kitarô Nishidas Philosophie," *MN* 3 (1940), pp. 28-39, particularly pp. 33 ff. See also K. Nishida, *Die intelligible Welt*, translated and with an introduction by R. Schinzinger (Tôkyô, 1958). Engl. ed., *Intelligibility and the Philosophy of Nothingness* (Berlin, 1943).
87. Erwin Panofsky, "Die Perspektive als 'symbolische Form'," *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, Leipzig/Berlin, 1924-1925, 1927, pp. 258-330. Ludwig Bachhofer, "Die Raumdarstellung in der chinesischen Malerei des ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr.," *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, N.F. 8 (1931), pp. 193-242. (Demonstrated particularly in pictures from Tun-huang.)
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 *Eigenlicht* (self-luminous) and *Sendelicht* (emanating light). Both terms come under the larger term *Offenbarungslicht* (revealing light), in contradistinction to the *Fremdlicht* (extraneous light) or *Beleuchtungslicht* (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.
90. Cf. Otto Fischer, "Achtzehn Stilarten der chinesischen Figurenmalerei," *OZ* 8 (1919-1920), p. 85; Henry P. Bowie, *On the Laws of Japanese Painting* (1911); new ed. New York, 1954, pp. 63 ff. and plates XLI ff.; Benjamin March, *Some Technical Terms of Chinese Painting* (Baltimore: 1935), pp. 42 ff. and plates VI/VII. Raphael Petrucci, *Encyclopédie de la peinture chinoise* (Paris: 1918), translation with comments of the painting manual "Mustard Seed Garden"; most recent (not satisfactory) translation and comments: Mai-mai Sze, *The Tao of Painting*, Bollingen Series 49, 2 vols. New York, 1956.
91. Hans Jantzen, *Über Prinzipien der Farbengebung in der Malerei*, *Kongress für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft*, Berlin, 1913; Report: Stuttgart, 1914, pp. 322-327. Reprinted in *Über den gotischen Kirchenraum' und andere Aufsätze*, Berlin, 1951, pp. 61-67. Erich von den Bercken, "Über einige Grundprobleme der Geschichte des Kolorismus in der Malerei," *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst, N.F.* 5 (1928). Cf. Th. Hetzer, *Tizian, Geschichte seiner Farbe*, Frankfurt, 1935; 2nd ed., 1948; also W. Schöne (see note 89), with further bibliographic references.
92. Detailed color reproductions in *Pageant of Japanese Art* (see bibliography) I/18; Yashiro, *Art Treasures of Japan* (see bibliography) I/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* (Tōkyō: 1938- ); in K. Moriya, *Die japanische Malerei*, Wiesbaden, 1953 and in more recent Japanese publications.
94. Soothill-Hodous, *Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, London, 1937, pp. 196-197. See above, p. 18 f. on the term *nīpa-kāya*. Cf. also the Great Sukhāvati-vyūha, trans. by F. Max Müller in *The Sacred Books of the East* 49/II, Oxford, 1894, p. 3 and p. 12. See D. Seckel, "Das Gold in der japanischen Kunst," *Asiatische Studien* 12 (1959), pp. 82 ff.; Engl. title, *Gold in Buddhist Art*, pp. 83-94.
95. Robert Schinzinger, "Das Problem der Persönlichkeit in Japan," *Nachrichten der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasien* 65, Tōkyō, 1943. Cf. Schinzinger, "Japanische Philosophie," *ibid.* 32A, Tōkyō, 1942, p. 15. On "Non Ego," see Hermann Böhner, "Shōtoku Taishi," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens*, Suppl. Vol. 15, Tōkyō, 1940, p. 770 f., p. 775 (from a text of the builders' guild).



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96. Laurence Binyon, *Painting in the Far East*, 3d ed., London, 1923, p. 147.
97. In particular, many beautiful examples are preserved in the Chûsonji temple (north of Sendai in Northern Japan); see *Chûsonji Taikyô* 3, Tôkyô, 1941; Yamato-e Dôkôkai, ed., *Chûsonji Kyô-e*, Tôkyô, 1938.
98. Kenji Moriya, *Die japanische Malerei*, Wiesbaden, 1953, pl. 51 (in color).
99. An example from the Diamond Mountains in Korea is depicted in F. M. Trautz, *Japan, Korea und Formosa*, Orbis Terrarum, Berlin, 1930, pl. 238.
100. For a picture of a Mandala pair with symbolic letters in place of the figures see M. Anesaki, *Buddhist Art in its Relation to Buddhist Ideals*, Boston/New York, 1915, pl. 16; A. Coomaraswamy, *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, Cambridge, Mass., 1935; 2nd ed. (New Delhi: 1972), fig. 32/33. Cf. plate 99 of this study.
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.
102. Carter, *op. cit.*, 33 ff.; 2d ed., 46 ff.
103. Julius Kurth, *Geschichte des japanischen Holzschnitts* 1, Leipzig, 1925/29, pl. 21, text 306 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.
105. For a beautiful selection of examples see Otto Kümmel and Ernst Grosse, "Ostasiatisches Gerät," *Die Kunst des Ostens* 10 (Berlin, 1925), pl. 17-36.
106. Itô Chûta, "Asuka-moyô no kigen ni tsuite," [On the origin of the ornaments of the Asuka period] in Itô, *Nippon Kenchiku no Kenkyû* [Studies on Japanese Architecture] 2, Tôkyô, 1942, 387 ff. (in Japanese); also in Ito, *Hôryûji*, 9th ed. Ôsaka, 1942, 171 ff. (with location map).
107. Cf. the essay by S. Behrsing cited in note 63.



108. Willibald Kirfel, *Der Rosenkranz. Ursprung und Ausbreitung*, Walldorf/Hessen, 1949. (Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte des Orients, Heft 1.)
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.
110. Ferdinand Lessing, "Über die Symbolsprache in der chinesischen Kunst," *Sinica* 9 (1934); 10 (1935).
111. East Asian music has a similar universal historical significance. It remained just as little confined to the Buddhist sphere as ornaments, but was sustained by the flow of the larger cultural and historical Buddhist traditions. West and Central Asian forms are still preserved in Japanese court and cult music and dances. Cf. Hans Eckardt, "Asiatische Musik," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 1, ed. Friedrich Blume, Kassel/Basel, 1949-1951, columns 750-753; Kenneth Robinson and Hans Eckardt, "Chinesische Musik," *ibid.*, 2 (1952), columns 1195-1216; "Japanische Musik," *ibid.*, columns 1720-1753.
112. Apratisthita-nirvāna 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 nirvāna is the true and highest nirvāna." H. v. Glasenapp, *Der Buddhismus in Indien und im Fernen Osten*, Berlin/Zürich, 1936, 64.
113. René Grousset, *Bilan de l'histoire*, Paris, 1948, 157 (on the great Buddha of Lung-mên); *Bilan der Geschichte*, Zürich, etc., 1950, 144.
114. Giuseppe Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* 1, Rome, 1949, 291.
115. Oda, Tokunô, *Bukkyô Daijiten* (see bibliography), 771 f.; 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 Sûtras and tracts have the term *shôgon* in their title. See *Hôbôgirin, Fascicule Annexe* (Tôkyô: 1931), 187, 201, 307, 319, 357, 446, 585, 818, 1050, 1375, 1604. The last work (*Ta-ch'eng chuang-yen ching-lun, Dai-jô shô-gon kyô-ron*; Nanjô No. 1190) is edited and translated by Sylvain Lévi, *Asanga: Mahâyâna-Sutrânlankâra, Exposé de la doctrine du grand véhicule selon le système yogâcâra*, 2 vols., Paris, 1908-1911.
116. J. Gonda, "The Meaning of the Word Alâmkara," *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies Presented to Prof. F. W. Thomas . . .*, Bombay, 1939, 97-114.
117. William Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, new ed. (1899); reprint: Oxford, 1951, 1041.
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 Kuanyin-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 vyūhas embellishing the Dharmadhātu in which the Bodhisattva has his abode?" Cf. *Essays*, 3d Series, 129 n.; reprint, 148 n.

119. D. T. Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, 3d series, Kyōto, 1934, 49, 97 and 107 ff.; 129 n.; reprint London, 1953, 74, 123 ff., 148 n. (see also Index).
120. Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten* 3, 2607 f. and Oda, *Bukkyō Daijiten*, 771: A list of several systems for classifying possible acts of shōgon is outlined in Dietrich Seckel, "Grundzüge der buddhistischen Malerei," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens* 36 C (Tōkyō: 1945), 61, n. 77.
121. Helmuth von Glasenapp, "Entwicklungsstufen des indischen Denkens," *Schriften der Königsberger 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 unlightened 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 Rouselle 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'an 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," *Artibus Asiae* 10 (1947), pp. 5-20.
127. Cf. Rousselle, "Typische Bildwerke," *Sinica* 6 (1931), pp. 288 ff. for a detailed description of these meditation processes. On the relationship between meditation and vision in Buddhism see Heinrich Hackmann, *Laienbuddhismus in China* (Gotha/Stuttgart, 1924), pp. 322 ff.
128. Dagobert Frey, "Der Realitätscharakter des Kunstwerks," *Kunstwissenschaftliche Grundfragen* (Wien, 1946), pp. 107-149.
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.
132. Soothill-Hodous, *Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, p. 2.
133. *Hōbōgirin* (see bibliography), 3me fasc., p. 214. Wolfram Eberhard, "Chinas Geschichte," *Bibliotheca Sinica* 1, Bern, 1948, p. 212; cf. p. 220 f.
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.
135. "Amitāyur-dhyāna-Sūtra," trans. by J. Takakusu, *Sacred Books of the East* 49, Oxford, 1894. Summary and explanation in C. G. Jung, "Zur Psychologie östlicher Meditation," *Symbolik des Geistes, Psychologische Abhandlungen* 6, Zürich, 1948, pp. 447-472. See also de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan* I, Leiden, 1935, pp. 328 ff. A beautiful example of an Amitābha meditation described in detail and following literary-pictorial images can be found in the



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- Chinese work *Lung-shu ching-t'u-wen* by Wang Jih-hsiu, translated by Heinrich Hackmann in *Laienbuddhismus in China*, Gotha/Stuttgart, 1924, pp. 123 ff. The *Amitâyur-dhyâna-Sûtra* 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 Mahâyâna.
137. H. Zimmer, *Kunstform und Yoga im indischen Kultbild*, Berlin, 1926, p. 102.
138. P. Urban Rapp, O.S.B., *Das Mysterienbild*, Münsterschwarzach, 1952, quote on p. 72 f. 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.
- 139a. Richard Edwards, "The Cave Reliefs at Ma Hao, II," *Artibus Asiae* 17:2 (1954), pp. 103-129. The oldest dated Buddha figure in East Asia (a gilded bronze) from the year 338 is now in the Avery Brundage collection (San Francisco) reproduced in O. Fischer, "Chinesische Plastik," *Artibus Asiae* 9 (1946), p. 277, plate 62, and elsewhere. Special attention to the particularly important early phase of Buddhist sculpture in China is given in Ludwig Bachhofer, "Die Anfänge der buddhistischen Plastik in China," *OZ NF* 10 (1934); Benjamin Rowland, "Notes on the dated statues of the Northern Wei dynasty and the beginnings of Buddhist sculpture in China," *Art Bulletin* 19 (1937), pp. 92-107; Hugo Münsterberg, "Buddhist bronzes of the Six Dynasties Period," *Artibus Asiae* 9 (1946); and 10 (1947); Hugo Münsterberg, "Chinese Buddhist bronzes of the T'ang period," *Artibus Asiae* 11 (1948); Sherman E. Lee, "Five early gilt bronzes," *Artibus Asiae* 12 (1949).
140. It is only now that the type of Kuanyin (Kannon) reinterpreted as a female appears; p. 28.
- 140a. A few important works on these problems are: A. K. Coomaraswamy, "The invention of the Buddha figure," *OZ NF* 1 (1924), pp. 51 ff.; Coomaraswamy, "The Indian origin of the Buddha image," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 46 (1926); and "The origin of the Buddha image," *Art Bulletin* 9 (1926-1927), p. 287. O. C. Gangoly, "The antiquity of the Buddha image: The cult of the Buddha," *OZ NF* 6 (1930), pp. 265 ff. J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The 'Scythian' Period. An Approach to the History, Art, Epigraphy and Palaeography of North India from the 1st Century B.C. to the 3rd Century A.D.*, Leiden, 1949, including discussion of the origin and early development of the Buddha image. Benjamin Rowland, "Chinese sculpture of the pilgrimage road," *Bulletin of the Fogg Art Museum* IV/2 (March 1935); Rowland, "A revised chronology of Gandhâra sculpture," *Art Bulletin* 18 (1936), pp. 387-400; and "Buddha and the Sun God," *Zalmoxis* 1 (1938), 69-84; "Gandhâra and Late Antique Art: The Buddha image," *American Journal of Archaeology* 46 (1942), pp. 223-246; "Gandhâra and early Christian art: Buddha Palliatus," *ibid.*, 49 (1945), pp. 445-448; "A note on the invention of the Buddha image," *HJAS* 11 (1948), pp. 181-186. Lucian Scherman, "Die ältesten Buddha-Darstellungen des Münchener Museums für Völkerkunde," *Müncher Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst NF* 5 (1928), pp. 274-290; 6 (1929), pp.



- 147-166. Alexander C. Soper, "The Roman style in Gandhâra," *American Journal of Archaeology* 55 (1951), pp. 301 ff. Ernst Waldschmidt, "Die Entwicklungsgeschichte des Buddhabildes," *OZ NF* 6 (1930), pp. 265 ff. Reference should also be made to the more comprehensive works listed in the bibliography (under **India: History of Art and Central Asian Art**), particularly those by Coomaraswamy, Foucher, von Le Coq and Rowland.
141. Benjamin Rowland, "Indian images in Chinese sculpture," *Artibus Asiae* 10 (1947), 5-20; Otto Kummel, *Die Kunst Chinas, Japans und Koreas* (Wildpark/Potsdam, 1929), p. 33 f. The similarity between the Hôryûji wall paintings and those of Ajantâ is also usually exaggerated.
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).
144. Wilhelm Pinder, *Das Problem der Generation in der Kunstgeschichte Europas*, Berlin, 1926.
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.
146. Suzuki, *Die grosse Befreiung* 3, Konstanz, 1947, p. 185.
147. In the double meaning of the word to realize: making real and gaining insight; here: making real through insight.
148. Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, First Series, London, 1927, p. 12; here quoted from Suzuki, *Die grosse Befreiung*, p. 14.
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, *Gesammelte 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.).
152. W. Speiser, *Meisterwerke chinesischer Malerei*, Berlin, 1947, p. 29.
  153. It should be pointed out, however, that in many instances these features were not or could not be fully realized.
  154. Cf. Tetsurô Yoshida, *Das japanische Wohnhaus*, Berlin, 1935; 2nd ed. Tübingen, 1954; Jirô Harada, *The Lesson of Japanese Architecture*, London, 1936; new ed. (1954). Werner Blaser, *Tempel und Teehaus in Japan*, Olten/Lausanne, 1955. Arthur Drexler, *The Architecture of Japan*, New York, 1955.
  155. Cf. Suzuki, *Zen Buddhism and its Influence on Japanese Culture*, Kyôto, 1938; Eugene Herrigel, *Zen in der Kunst des Bogenschiessens*, 2nd ed. München/Planegg, 1951; Kakuzô Okakura, "Das Buch vom Tee," *Insel-Bücherei*, 274.
  156. Ernst Grosse, *Die ostasiatische Tuschmalerei*, 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 Śâkyamuni 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 Rousselle, "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 Shunshō depicted Hanshan and Shihte as two girls, one carrying a love letter, the other an ordinary broom (Anesaki, *Buddhist Art*, plate XLV). An illustration is inserted at this point. Its caption reads: 35\* Bodhidharma cartoon. Woodcut by Okumura Masanobu.
162. W. Speiser, *Meisterwerke*, p. 20, provides further details.

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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), 238 ff. As the "pot-bellied 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.
165. W. Gundert, *Japanische Religionsgeschichte*, Stuttgart/Tôkyô, 1935, p. 101.
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).
167. See Suzuki, *Essays* I, London, 1927, p. 316; II, London, 1950, p. 157, on the illustration; I, p. 175; and III (London: 1953), p. 304.
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 this 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 (hōben). 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.
170. Cf. Chiang Yee, *Chinese Calligraphy* (London, 1938); 2nd ed. (1954); Lucy Driscoll and Kenji Toda, *Chinese Calligraphy* (Chicago, 1935); Yang Yu-shun, *La calligraphie chinoise depuis les Han* (Paris, 1937). For a short outline cf. Seckel, "Ostasiatische Schriftkunst," *Form und Technik* 3 (Stuttgart, 1953), n. 7.
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.
173. Cf. L. Bachhofer, "Chinesische Landschaftsmalerei vom 10. bis 13. Jh.," *Sinica* 10 (1935), p. 11; W. Speiser, *Meisterwerke*, p. 20 and p. 42.



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-yän-lu"; cf. W. Gundert, "Das zweite Kapitel des Pi-yen-lu," *Oriens Extremus* II/1 (1955), 33. Bd. 1 München, 1960, 37 f.
176. Suzuki, *Essays* II, London, 1950, 30.
177. W. Speiser, *Meisterwerke*, 29 and 19.
178. *Barlach im Gespräch*, Insel-Verlag, 1948, 18.
179. Oscar Benl, "Seami Motokiyo und der Geist des Nô-Schauspiels," *Abhandlungen der Mainzer Akademie, Klasse der Literatur*, Jahrgang No. 5 (1952), p. 138.
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.
181. The key term of the book by Tsuneyoshi Tsudzumi, *Die Kunst Japans*, Leipzig, 1929.
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, Mokujiiki 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 T'ang China the terms certainly did not yet imply a washing technique (John A. Pope, "Sinology or art history," *HJAS* 10 [1947], 414-416) while in the Japan of the 15th century (*Sesshû*, 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.
186. Heinrich Dumoulin, "Die Entwicklung des chinesischen Ch'an nach Hui-neng im Lichte des Wu-men-kuan," *Monumenta Serica* 6, Peking, 1941, pp. 40-72, quote 61; in English, *The Development of Chinese Zen after the Sixth Patriarch in the Light of Mumonkan*, trans. Ruth Fuller Sasaki (New York, 1953), p. 28.
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-shû* 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 Mahâyâna 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.



## Bibliography

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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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