CHAPTER 4
Art and Epigraphy

Written texts are not the sole medium in which religious negotiations and innovations take place. Visual and material objects document devotional practices that written records often overlook, especially forms of religious piety that take shape outside so-called orthodoxy and are thus marginalized by the elite clerics responsible for writing religious history. As discussed in Part 1, Shaanxi iconography proved to be critical for elucidating seventh-century Chinese Buddhists' visualizations of Dizang Bodhisattva inspired by the *Scripture on the Ten Wheels*. In this chapter, a wider range of art and inscriptions will be considered to amplify our knowledge of Dizang. Viewed through these extracanonical material artifacts, this bodhisattva reveals commonly overlooked interrelationships with other Buddhist deities, forged through cultic rivalry, religious adaptation, and the complicated dialectics between "elite" and "popular" interpretations. The Dizang examples suggest that religious art does not necessarily mirror textual formulae; it often constitutes a vibrant forum for religious negotiation and improvisation that has the power to reshape religious history.

The main sites for Dizang art from the sixth to the tenth centuries are located in Henan, Hebei, Ningxia, and Shaanxi (north central China); Gansu (northwest China); and Sichuan (southwest China). Among the cave temples, Longmen Grottoes, located in Luoyang (Henan), houses the oldest images of Dizang (the earliest dating to 650–655), depicted mostly in princely attire.[1] Numerous images of Dizang were apparently made at Longmen during the reigns of Gaozong 高宗 (r. 649–683) and Wu Zetian 武則天 (r. 684–705).[2] Dizang art then spread across various sites in the north central plains. Images dating from 695 to 716 have been found at Mount Hall of Echoes (Xiangtang shan), located between Hebei and Henan.[3] To the northwest in southern

1. The statue of Dizang standing at Binyang nan dong 賓陽南洞 has been dated to 650–655 on the basis of iconographic style. Dizang is dressed in princely garb, adorned with jewels, and holds a vase in one hand. For a line drawing of this standing Dizang, see Chang 1990: 29, fig. 2. According to Chang Qing, this statue is stylistically comparable to those of Amitābha and a standing bodhisattva at Longmen; accompanying inscriptions date the statues to the *zhenguan* 貞觀 era. However, on the basis of extant inscriptional dating, the earliest Longmen representation of Dizang would be the sculpture in the niche outside Yaofang dong 藥方洞, dated to 664; see Chang 1990: 29. Few pictures of the Longmen Dizang statues have been published; Chang's article includes only a handful of line drawings. For a rare color reproduction of a damaged statue, see the exhibition catalog by Alphen (2001: 124–125, n. 23).

2. Chang 1990: 30.

3. Mizuno and Nagahiro 1937: 119–146.

Ningxia, Mount Sumeru (Xumi shan) also contains several statues. At both Xiangtang shan and Xumi shan, Dizang is usually shown as a monk; he sometimes appears singly on cave pillars or in niches. As mentioned earlier, Shaanxi has yielded miniature tile images and full-size single sculptures, usually surrounded by the six paths of rebirth. These signal Dizang's ascendancy as an independent focus of cultic piety.[4]

On the northwest border, the Grottoes of Unsurpassed Height (Mogao ku 莫高窟) at Dunhuang are known for their large collection of scroll paintings and cave murals. Dizang appears at Dunhuang by the late eighth century, often as a monk holding a wish-granting jewel and clothed in ornate robes. Beginning in the tenth century, pictures of Dizang in the company of the Ten Kings of purgatory and their court retinues fill the ceilings of passageways opening onto the main chambers of several grottoes. On Sichuan's southwest border, Northern Mountain (Beishan 北山) in Dazu 大足 county posesses a series of small niches containing pairings of Dizang with Guanyin or single images of Dizang commissioned from the ninth century on.[5] Relatively unstudied until recently, Sichuan sites house an extensive collection of Dizang images, especially significant because the art reflects less studied cultic patterns in Tang China.

The geographical shift from central China to the western borders in part reflects larger trends in Buddhist art that were prompted by political conditions. Under the auspices of the Northern Wei rulers from the late fifth century, Buddhist cave art was initiated on a gigantic scale at two sites: Yungang near the old capital (Datong 大同, Shanxi) and later at Longmen outside the new capital, Luoyang (Henan). This explosion of Buddhist art in central China continued into the eighth century. In the wake of the Northern Wei sites, other cave temples like Xiangtang shan and Xumi shan were built in north central China, beginning in the sixth century. Meanwhile construction of cave-temple complexes began in Gansu and Sichuan, although the epitome of Buddhist art was not reached in the western region until the Tang period. The Dunhuang and Sichuan sites were begun primarily by local elites in contrast to the state sponsorship of cave sites in the central plains. Nonetheless, state authorities also contributed to the flowering of Buddhist art on the western borders, especially in Sichuan, which maintained close relations with the Tang court.[6] Wu Zetian's ascendancy, for instance, coincided with the es-

4. See previous discussion in Chapter 2.

5. Baoding shan 寶頂山, also in Dazu, contains a monumental cliff sculpture of Dizang and the Ten Kings presiding over scenes of hell torture.

6. The treasures unearthed at Sichuan Buddhist sites have recently attracted the attention of art historians. In western scholarship, Angela Howard was among the first to call attention to Sichuan art, and she has produced a set of important studies on Sichuan (1988, 1989, 1990, 1998, 2001). Henrik Sørenson (1989a, 1989b, 1991, 1995a, 1995b, 1997, 1998) has published several articles and field reports on Sichuan Buddhist art. Two important dissertations have been written on two major sites in Sichuan Dazu: For a comprehensive study of Beishan 北山 with a complete catalog of the niches and translations of the inscriptions, see Suchan 2003; for Baoding shan, see Kucera 2002. In the arena of Chinese scholarship, the efforts of

tablishment of major Buddhist sites at Guangyuan 廣元 (northeast Sichuan), Wu's birthplace.[7] Moreover, when Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712–756) fled to Sichuan seeking refuge from political chaos, the attending court retinue included monks and artisans who were instrumental in promoting religious activities like the construction of Buddhist sites in Sichuan from the eighth century on. The rapid breakdown of centralized powers, which followed on the heels of the An Lushan 安祿山 (703–757) revolt in 755, heralded a radical shift in the foci of Buddhist cave art from the central plains to the outskirt regions of Dunhuang and Sichuan. The geographical displacement witnessed in Dizang art, from north central China to the western boundaries, thus mirrored these larger patterns in the history of Chinese Buddhist art.

In what follows, I examine only those examples of Dizang art and epigraphy that are most relevant to the thematic issue under discussion. Given the extensiveness of Dizang art, it is expedient for a study of this nature to reiterate the perspective of religious history over that of art history, leaving such scrutiny of Dizang images to the trained eyes of art historians.[8]

A Princely Householder or Monk Bodhisattva?

An important aspect of the Bodhisattva Dizang, as he is known in East Asia today, is his role as a *śramaṇa*. As previously mentioned, the earliest recorded

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the Sichuan Chinese Academy are reflected in the continuous output of research published in the journal *Sichuan wenwu*. Members of the academy have also published important book-length surveys: Liu, Hu, and Li 1985; Li Fangyin 1990; Guo Xiangying 1993; Hu 1994. For a critical edition of Dazu inscriptions that compares the inscriptions in situ with literary records of the inscriptions, see Guo 1999a. Art books reproducing Sichuan sculpture have also been published. For an overview of Sichuan sculpture, see Zhongguo meishu quanji bianji weiyuanhui 1988. For Anyue, see Liu Changjiu 1997; for Dazu, see the four-volume compilation Guo 1999b; Liu 1999.

7. Besides Huangze si 皇澤寺, which was named after Wu herself, another important Buddhist site in Guangyuan is the Qianfo yai 千佛崖. For a discussion of Qianfo yai, see Ma and Ding 1990.

8. Dizang art in Dunhuang has attracted the most attention from art historians. In particular, the beautiful paintings of Dizang and the Ten Kings, as well as the "hooded Dizang," have been the subject of quite a few Japanese studies; see Matsumoto 1922, 1933, 1937; Kawahara 1974: 99–123. In recent years, Chinese art historians have also published essays on Dunhuang Dizang art, specifically its connection with the Ten Kings; see Luo 1993; Luo Shiping 1998; Pan 1998. For Dizang art in Longmen, see Chang 1990. Dizang art in Sichuan has attracted a growing body of scholarship. Moroto Fumio (1986) offers an early study of the hooded Dizang in Dazu Beishan. Hu and Jiang (1997) provide a preliminary overview. Both Chen Mingguang (2002) and Kucera (1995) have undertaken studies of the monumental sculpture of hell in the cave at Baoding shan in Dazu. In addition to Dazu, other sites in Sichuan have attracted attention. For pairings of Dizang and Guanyin in Sichuan, see Hu 1994: 226–230. Yao (2002) has studied the Dizang art in Guangyuan, focusing on the folklorization of his underworld aspect. For Dizang and the six paths of rebirth in cave 25 of Nan kan 南龕 at Bazhong 巴中, see Ju 1999. Dizang art in other parts of East Asia has been more substantively studied. Pak Young-Sook's dissertation explores Kṣitigarbha art in Korea during the Koryŏ (918–1392) dynasty. (I regret that I did not have access to this work.) Pak has published some of her findings (1977, 1995, 1998) and is currently completing a book on Chijang art in Korea. Many studies examine Jizō art in Japan: e.g., Kawakatsu 1974; Kajitani 1974; Nakano 1974.

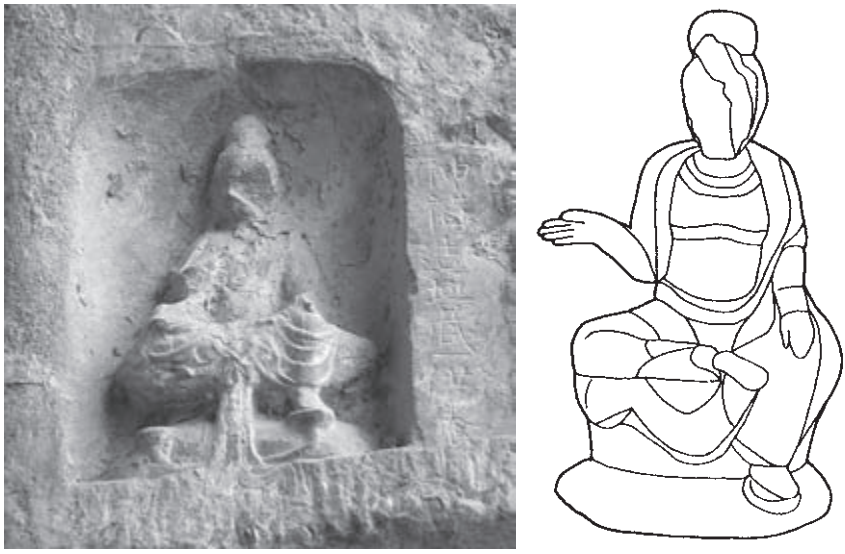

Figure 7. (l) Seated Dizang. Southern wall outside Wanfo dong, Longmen, Henan. (r) Seated Dizang, Binyang dong, Longmen. Drawing courtesy of Chang Qing.

image of Dizang, a wall illustration at Faju si (in modern-day Chengdu) by Zhang Sengyou, portrays the bodhisattva as a monk, seated with one leg pendant on a couch.[9] However, this seventh-century painting is no longer extant. The early Longmen examples of Dizang often show him in the guise of a traditional bodhisattva, usually seated in the "pose of royal ease" *(lalitāsana)*—one leg pendant and the other folded on the seat—a stylistic detail that art historians consider characteristic of Dizang art at Longmen (see Figure 7).[10]

In contrast to the numerous princely bodhisattva representations, Longmen only possesses four images of Dizang as a *śramaṇa*, dating to the second half of the seventh century.[11] Three of the figures, two at Wang Yuangui's Cave (Wang Yuangui dong 王元軌洞) and the third at the Cave of the Officer of the Eight Crafts (Bazuo si dong 八作司洞), are seated in the *lalitāsana* pose with the right hand holding a jewel.[12] The fourth image,

9. Daoshi recorded and dated this image to 665; see *Fayuan zhulin*, T2122:53.392c. Also see previous discussion of this miraculous image in Chapter 2.

10. See Chang 1990: 27–29, figs. 1, 2. On the basis of stylistic consistency, it has been proposed that several other bodhisattva sculptures in similar *lalitāsana* postures situated along the northern and middle sections of the western hill at Longmen should be regarded as Dizang images. These date from the reigns of Emperor Gaozong to Empress Wu, or roughly from the mid-sixth to the early seventh centuries; see Chang 1990: 29–30; cf. McNair 1996: 333.

11. Chang 1990: 31. Note that none of the images can be dated through inscriptions.

12. *Bazuo si* is an official title; the eight crafts are: plastering (*ni* 泥), painting (*chibai* 赤白), varnishing (*tongyou* 銅油), stonework (*shi* 石), tilework (*wa* 瓦), bamboo work (*zhu* 竹), masonry (*zhuan* 磚), and well work (*jing* 井). The cave is most likely named after its sponsor, who held the

Figure 8. Dizang and the paths of rebirth, Binyang dong, Longmen, Henan. Drawing courtesy of Chang Qing.

at the Middle Cave of the Setting Sun (Binyang zhong dong 賓陽中洞), portrays Dizang with the paths of rebirth streaming out from his raised palm (see Figure 8).[13]

Given the number and earlier date of the images dressed in royal garb, one may speculate that Chinese artisans first sculpted Dizang using the iconography of bodhisattvas known to them—that is, in the guise of a princely householder.[14] Drawing inspiration probably from the *Scripture on the Ten Wheels*, artisans created the alternative *śramaṇa* iconography, in the process of which they might have faced the dilemma of how to differentiate Dizang Bodhisattva from an ordinary monk disciple. The *Scripture on the Ten Wheels* furnishes the motifs of the precious gem and the six paths of rebirth.[15] Both

office of the eight crafts. There are two Dizang images, one at each extreme end, in the Wang Yuangui dong. Each statue portrays Dizang with a shaven head and dressed in monastic robes, seated on a lotus pedestal with one leg pendant. He carries a jewel in one hand while the other hand rests on his knee. An inscription preserved inside the cave mentions the year 687; see Chang 1990: 30, figs. 4, 5. In the lower section of the Bazuo si dong is an image of a monk measuring 0.92 m high. He wears a robe with folds flowing down from the shoulders and across the chest and is seated in the *lalitāsana* pose, holding a jewel in his raised right hand; see Chang 1990: 31, fig. 6. The style of Dizang's robe differs somewhat in these two caves.

13. See Chang 1990: 30, fig. 3.

14. Note that among Longmen sculptures of Dizang in princely attire are the two earliest extant carvings of him, those located at Yaofang dong and Binyang nan dong.

15. In the *Da fangguang shilun jing*, T410:13.681a–b, it is said that when Dizang arrived at the buddha assembly, astonishing transformations occurred. The audience found them-

images remained distinctive of Dizang iconography, although over time other motifs were introduced as Dizang's functions expanded. At Dafo si, Dizang is shown as both a princely householder and a monk seated in the *lalitāsana* pose.[16] A stele carving preserved at the Shaanxi Provincial Museum in Xi'an, which Amy McNair identifies as Dizang, shows a one-leg-pendant seated bodhisattva dressed like a prince and crowned with a diadem.[17] In Xiangtang shan and Xumi shan, the majority of the images depict Dizang as a one-leg-pendant seated monk. An inscription toward the southern end of Xiangtang shan (niches 3–39), dated 695, characterizes Dizang as a *śramaṇa*: "in veneration constructed [ ] statue(s) of the *śramaṇa* Bodhisattva Dizang" 敬造沙門地藏菩/□□鋪.[18]

By the eighth century, the *śramaṇa* iconography was widely accepted as the norm for representing Dizang. Dunhuang and Sichuan contain so many images of Dizang as a monk that it is unnecessary to enumerate them all. Two attributes, the hood and the staff (Ch. *xizhang* 錫杖; Skt. *khakkara*), probably of Central Asian origin, merit special note. At Dunhuang and Sichuan, Dizang frequently wears a piece of cloth wrapped around his head that cascades onto his shoulders or is sometimes knotted around each ear.[19] Matsumoto dubbed this image the "hooded Dizang" (*hibō jizō* 被帽地藏).[20] Central Asian travelers protected their heads from the harsh climate with a cape, which was widely adopted—although not always sanctioned—in the Indian *vinaya* as part of the monastic habit in the region.[21] The hooded Dizang (Kor. Chijang) was transmitted from the Chinese borders to Korea and appears frequently in paintings and sculptures from the Koryŏ and Chosŏn (1392–1910) periods.[22] The staff is immensely popular in both Dunhuang

selves miraculously adorned, each hand grasping a luminous wish-granting gem, which exuded rays of light illumining all the buddha-lands. They also found themselves experiencing miraculous acts of healing, allaying suffering, and so forth. Also cf. *Dasheng daji dizang shilun jing*, T411:13.721a–b.

16. Chang 1998: 235.

17. For a reproduction of this stele carving, see McNair 1996: 379, fig. 10.

18. Lee 1992: 12.

19. In Dunhuang, the hooded Dizang is frequently depicted on the ceilings of archways leading into the principal cave shrine. He also appears in scroll paintings preserved in museums outside of China. Matsumoto Eiichi was among the first scholars to highlight the hooded Dizang in Dunhuang art. Dazu Beishan in Sichuan has several instances of the hooded Dizang; see Figures 23 and 24 for examples from niches 279 and 281. The hooded Dizang also appears, albeit with less frequency, elsewhere in Sichuan: For example, Anyue Yuanjue dong 安岳圓覺洞 niche 60; see Figure 29. Two instances are also found in niche 62 of Bazhong nan kan; for line drawings, see Ding 1990: 48. For a study of the hooded Dizang iconography in Sichuan Dazu, see Moroto 1986: 34–37.

20. Matsumoto 1937: 368.

21. The hooded Dizang continued to flourish in Chinese Buddhist art. It is found for instance in a thirteenth-century hanging scroll painting of Dizang with the monk Daoming 道明 and the Demon King No-Poison (*wudu wang* 無毒王), now preserved in Engaku-ji 圓覚寺 in Japan. For a photo reproduction of this painting, see Little 2003: 56, fig. 3.

22. For Koryŏ examples of the hooded Chijang, see Little 2003: 52–56. An eminent Chosŏn example is found in Muwi-sa 無為寺 in Kangjin, Chonnam province. This temple

and Sichuan art. Like the hood, the staff may have become part of Dizang's iconography because of its widespread adoption as one of the requisites of a Buddhist monk.[23] Monks are encouraged to sound the staff to either frighten off harmful reptiles while walking on forest paths or signal their presence at the doorsteps of almsgivers.[24] The staff also functions as a crutch for elderly monks. Dizang's staff is usually shown with a large ring at the top through which are threaded smaller rings—generally six to symbolize the six paths of rebirth. It is important to note that although the staff came to be adopted in Dizang iconography because it was part of a monk's paraphernalia, its symbolism expanded with the "underworld Dizang," who is said to use a staff to smash open hell's gates.[25]

Yet another element of Dizang's iconography is the decorative jewelry prominent in ninth- and tenth-century Dunhuang art. Among those Dunhuang paintings recovered by Stein (e.g., Stein 125, 118 in the British Museum) and Pelliot (e.g., EO 1186, MG 17768, EO 1398, MG 22798, EO 1168, EO 1180, MG 17779, MG 17658 in the Musée Guimet) are several banners that portray Dizang standing, head completely shaven, dressed in fine robes and ornamented with earrings, a necklace, and wrist or arm bracelets.[26] In certain portraits, the hooded Dizang also wears a jeweled necklace (Stein 19, 23; MG 17664, 17793, 17795, 17662, 17794; EO 3644, 1173, 3580).[27] Several examples of Dizang are painted on the ceilings in the passageways or on walls located in situ at Dunhuang (e.g., caves 116, 390, 384) and in the neighboring Elms Grove Grottoes (Yulin ku 榆林窟), south of Anxi 安西 county (e.g., caves 12, 33).[28] This jewelry motif is found not only in Dunhuang, but

possesses a mural painting, dated to 1476 and designated a national treasure, of an Amitābha triad with Chijang and Kwanum (Guanyin) as attendant bodhisattvas. A gilded sculpture of the trio stands in front of the wall painting. Dizang wears a hood in both the painting and sculpture; see Moon 1984, pl. 27.

23. For studies on the *khakkara*, see Amanō 1988: 285–291; 1989: 69–78; Gao 1993: 9–19.

24. This is necessary because monks do not have the right to knock on doors.

25. In the narrative versions of the Mulian story, the foundation myth of the Ghost Festival, the Buddha gave his own staff to Mulian, who used it to open the gates of hell. In the Dunhuang version of this narrative, the Buddha says:

> Quickly I take my metal-ringed staff and give it to you,
> It can repel the eight difficulties and the three disasters;
> If only you remember diligently to recite my name,
> The hells will certainly open up their doors for you. (translated in Mair 1983: 104; cf. 107)

26. For reproductions, see Whitfield 1982–1985: 1, pls. 44, 45; Giès 1995: 2, pls. 51–59.

27. For reproductions of Stein 19, 23, see Whitfield 1982–1985: 2, pls. 22, 24. For reproductions of MG 17664, 17793, 17795, 17662, 17794, see Giès 1995: 2, pls. 60–67.

28. On the ceiling of the Mogao cave 390 passageway is Dizang, head shaven and holding the staff and the jewel. One can discern the six paths of rebirth streaming from his nimbus, while the courts of the Ten Kings are depicted along the two sides and directly below him; see the reproduction published in Duan 1990b: 111, fig. 107. On the ceiling of the Mogao ku cave

also in Sichuan. Dazu Beishan niche 253 shows a standing Dizang with a shaven head, attired as a monk and decorated with earrings and necklaces. The jewelry operates as a visual reminder of Dizang's status as a bodhisattva and differentiates him from other disciple monks (see Figures 9 and 10).

As we saw earlier, *A Ritual Manual* prescribes a form of Dizang icon that portrays the bodhisattva in monastic robes with a deity's crown upon his head. Another work dating to the ninth century, the *Huanhun ji* 還魂記 (Record of a Returned Soul), a narrative recovered from Dunhuang (S 3092), relates the underworld sojourn of a monk called Daoming 道明.[29] In this story, Daoming initially fails to recognize Dizang in the underworld because of discrepancies in his iconography. Daoming explains that Dizang the bodhisattva is usually shown as a monk with his head exposed; the "real" Dizang before him is a monk wearing some kind of jeweled and floral headgear. Upon hearing this, an indignant Dizang instructs Daoming, on his return to the living realm, to make known the bodhisattva's true appearance as a monk bedecked with a jeweled coiffure and attended by a lion. It is clear from this tale that Dizang's iconography was still controversial in late medieval China.

Although *śramaṇa* iconography was eventually established as the norm, Dizang as the princely householder did not vanish altogether but was perpetuated especially in esoteric art, which I will discuss later. The *śramaṇa* with the shaven head has never lost its appeal and persists alongside the sovereign imagery of the five-buddha crown in modern Dizang iconography.

Dizang and Guanyin as Saviors of This World

Françoise Wang-Toutain and Yü Chün-fang, who studied Dizang and Guanyin independently, have both called attention to possible medieval connections between these two Buddhist deities.[30] Indeed visual, inscriptional, and narrative materials suggest that Dizang and Guanyin were frequently venerated together in medieval China. No scriptural source, at least not in the re-

384 passageway is a hooded Dizang, the fingers of his right hand forming a *mudrā* and his left hand holding the *cintāmaṇi*. One can make out the paths of rebirth streaming from his nimbus, while the courts of the Ten Kings are depicted along the two sides and directly below him; for a reproduction, see Duan 1990a: fig. 18. Above the doorway of the western wall in Yulin cave 12 is a hooded Dizang wearing a necklace and holding a *khakkara* and a *cintāmaṇi*; for a reproduction see Duan 1990b: 113, fig. 108. Above the doorway of the eastern wall in Yulin cave 33 is Dizang as a monk with a shaven head, surrounded by the six realms of existence. He wears a necklace and holds in his hands a *khakkara* and a *cintāmaṇi*. The cave is dated to the tenth century. For reproductions of this painting, see Dunhuang yanjiuyuan 1997, fig. 77; Duan 1990b: 140, 148, fig. 140.

29. For a discussion and translation, see Teiser 1988a: 447–450. I discuss the narrative in greater detail in Chapter 5.

30. Wang-Toutain 1998: 292; Yü 2001: 323. In fact the portrayal of Dizang's attributes and salvific activities in the *Scripture on the Ten Wheels* closely resembles those of Guanyin in the *Lotus Scripture*. The parallels are so striking that scholars have argued that the introduction of Dizang in the *Scripture on the Ten Wheels* was a later addition and modeled after Chapter 25 of the *Lotus Scripture*, a chapter devoted to exalting Guanyin worship; see Soper 1959: 210–211.

FIGURE 9. Dizang with jeweled necklace. Mogao grotto 16, Dunhuang, Gansu. Photograph courtesy of Wang Huimin.

FIGURE 10. Dizang wearing jewelry. Beishan Fowan niche 253, Dazu, Sichuan.

ceived archives we have today, details the relationship between Dizang and Guanyin in medieval China.[31] Although the literature affords parallels between the two bodhisattvas, the pairing of Dizang and Guanyin as a focus of veneration is concretized mostly through visual imagery, an indication that the association probably took shape in the broader religious milieu.

Unlike Dizang, the Indian counterpart of Guanyin, Avalokiteśvara, is a fairly well-defined personage in Indian literature. From the third century on, scriptures on Guanyin were translated into Chinese, and collections of miracle tales on the efficacies of this bodhisattva multiplied.[32] There was a sharp increase in the production of Guanyin images at Longmen.[33] Scholars have pointed out that some portrayals of Dizang possess attributes or accessories typical of Guanyin iconography. For example, in Longmen and Dunhuang art, Dizang sometimes holds a sprinkler vase, an object more commonly associated with Guanyin.[34] Three Dunhuang paintings of Dizang are styled after the so-called "Water-moon Guanyin" (Shuiyue Guanyin 水月觀音).[35] In light of these stylistic resemblances, Françoise Wang-Toutain concluded that early on artisans deployed Guanyin iconography as a model.[36] But it is critical to acknowledge the fluidity of iconography, especially in the early phase of religious history, and to exercise caution when imposing what we now accept as definitive attributes of deities at a time when Buddhist iconography was less defined.[37] For instance, until the seventh or eighth cen-

31. Scholars sometimes cite the *Scripture on the Past Vows* as the scriptural source for associating Dizang with Guanyin for two reasons: (1) the presence of Guanyin as an interlocutor in Chapter 12; and (2) the comparison of the merits of venerating Dizang and Guanyin in Chapter 11. However, neither instance really spells out any special connection with Guanyin. Upon scrutinizing the relevant passage in Chapter 11, it turns out that Dizang worship is compared not only to that of Guanyin, but also Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, and Samantabhadra; see *Dizang pusa benyuan jing*, T412:13787a. Moreover, the date of the *Scripture on the Past Vows* is uncertain, and we can only ascertain that the text circulated in China by the tenth century. Because the trend of pairing Dizang with Guanyin is present in Longmen and other sites in north central China dating as early as the interval between the seventh and eighth centuries, the iconography most likely preceded the introduction of the scripture.

32. For the dating of these texts, see Campany 1996b. For a study of Guanyin miracle tales, see Makita 1970.

33. Guanyin is a well-investigated topic in art history; the studies are too numerous to enumerate here. For a recent overview of Guanyin art, see Karetzky 2004.

34. For a line drawing of Dizang with a sprinkler vase (Binyang nan dong niche 16), see Chang 1990: 29, fig. 2. Stein painting 118, dated to the ninth century, is a Dunhuang example showing Dizang holding this vase; see Whitfield 1982–1985, pl. 45. A cartouche in the right corner identifies the bodhisattva.

35. Wang-Toutain 1998: 292. Wang-Toutain lists two paintings from the Musée Guimet collection (MG 17659 and MG 17794) and a third painting located in the Chinese collection. The Water-moon Guanyin typically sits in the midst of water on a rock promontory that symbolizes Potala, her head encircled by a nimbus against a background landscape usually containing some kind of vegetation. For studies on the Water-moon Guanyin, see Chan 1996; Rösch 2006.

36. See Wang-Toutain 1998: 292–293.

37. This is not to say that modern religious iconography is "frozen"; novel interpretations continue to emerge, but they are now negotiated against a background of well-defined Buddhist iconography.

tury, the vase was a fairly common accessory for Buddhist deities; it is seen in the iconography of not only Dizang and Guanyin, but Maitreya as well.[38] Whatever the original inspiration behind the association, the two bodhisattvas Dizang and Guanyin were inextricably linked in the medieval imagination.[39]

The pairing of deities is certainly not confined to Dizang and Guanyin; the practice can be traced to the duplicating of bodhisattvas that emerged early in Chinese Buddhist art.[40] This swiftly gave way to placing together two different bodhisattvas; in time Dizang-Guanyin became the most common pair. Early pairings of the two are found at Longmen and appeared soon afterward in other north central sites like Xiangtang shan. They occur frequently on the western borders of Sichuan and Gansu, and were especially widespread in Beishan during the late ninth and tenth centuries.[41] At Beishan Fowan 佛灣 (Buddha Bend), a total of forty niches (twenty percent of the total number) contain different combinations of bodhisattva pairs, the most recurrent of which is Dizang-Guanyin.[42]

Why were Guanyin and Dizang linked in the medieval imagination? Thomas Suchan has pointed to a piece of visual evidence that could elucidate the mindset of tenth-century Chinese who venerated these two bodhisattvas together: Niche 1 at the Monastery of the Winding Steppe (Pantuo si 盤陀寺) in Qionglai 邛崍 contains a statue of Amitābha Buddha dated by inscription to 820; immediately outside the main niche is a smaller one housing two bodhisattvas seated on separate lotus pedestals, both with one leg

38. For example, Gandharan art depicts Maitreya with a vase in his hand.

39. Early Tang sites in central China contain inscriptions and sculptures pairing the two bodhisattvas. At Longmen, six inscriptions refer to this pairing; see inscription texts 11, 20, 21, 26, 30, and 32 listed in Chang 1990: 32. Of these, text 32 mentions an eleven-faced Guanyin. I have located three relevant inscriptions from southern Xiangtang shan:

1. Inscription dating to 701–704 found in niche 1: 為亡妻陳造觀音地藏菩薩像記 (text 9 in Mizuno and Nagahiro 1937: 123, and pl. 10B);
2. Inscription dating to 712 found in niche 2: 荊□□等造地藏觀音像記 (text 31 in ibid: 127, and pl. 15A); and
3. Inscription dating to 705 found in niche 2: 荊義振等造地藏觀音像記 (text 42 in ibid: 130, and pl. 15A).

40. For reproductions of Tang examples of the bodhisattvas duplicated in a single niche, see Han 2001: 19, 25.

41. On the pairing of Dizang and Guanyin in Sichuan, see Hu 1994: 228–229.

42. Other iconographies pair Candraprabha (Yueguang 月光) with Sūryagarbha (Riguang 日光), Mañjuśrī (Wenshu) with Samantabhadra (Puxian), and Guanyin with Mahāsthāmaprāpta (Dashizhi). Dizang and Guanyin pairings are located in Beishan Fowan niches 17, 29, 58, 82, 117, 121, 170, 171, 172, 187, 191, 193, 196, 221, 228, 241, 244, 248, 249, 253, 257, 275, and 277. The majority of these niches, however, lack inscriptions and the images have been identified through iconographical attributes. Pairings of Dizang and Guanyin occur in other Sichuan sites: for example, niche 38 at Feixian ge 飛仙閣 (Pavilion of Flying Celestials) in Pujiang 浦江, and niche 119 at Qianfo yai in Jiajiang 夾江, both dated to the middle of the late Tang.

FIGURE 11. Dizang and Guanyin, Pantuo si niche 1, Qionglai, Sichuan. Photograph courtesy of Thomas Suchan.

pendant (see Figure 11).[43] One of them, a monk with a shaven head, wears a necklace, while the other is draped in princely robes and long flowing scarves. Immediately below the monk is a vignette of hell retribution; wretched sinners are submerged in a boiling cauldron over which two wardens keep vigil and all are surrounded by flames. Below the other image swirling tides well up to sweep away four figures. (This scene points to the *Lotus Scripture*'s injunction to incant Guanyin's name when facing danger at sea.)[44]

Although no inscription accompanies this sculpture, the imagery identifies the two bodhisattvas as Dizang and Guanyin. Through scenes of hell and peril at sea, the artist upholds Dizang as the promise of otherworldly mitigation in hell and Guanyin as the rescuer of those caught in the exigencies of living in this world. From the perspective of Buddhist cosmology, hells are located within the cosmography of our Sahā world, a defiled realm encompassing all six paths of rebirth. In other words, both Dizang and Guanyin are deities invariably tied to the fortunes of this world. However, one should reiterate that medieval Chinese essentially viewed the universe as three-tiered: the heavens above (*tian* 天); the human (*ren* 人) world; and the world beneath the earth (*di* 地).[45] The main niche, which houses the large Amitābha image,

43. See Suchan 2005.

44. *Miaofa lianhua jing*, T262:9.56c.

45. This three-tiered stratification is discernible as far back as the Shang. The Chinese character for king, *wang* 王, is explained as a logograph that renders the king, especially in Shang shamanism, as the religio-political mediator who bridges heaven, humans, and earth.

FIGURE 12. Pure Land transformation tableaux. Beishan niche 245, Dazu, Sichuan.

corresponds to the heavens, while the smaller niche and its engravings invoke the realms of the living and the underworld. Dizang and Guanyin, on account of their geographical associations, were more readily integrated into the spatial categories of Chinese cosmography. Whatever its origin, cultic practice addressed to a Dizang-Guanyin pairing probably spread in connection with their identities as this-worldly saviors. We cannot be sure when the smaller exterior niche was carved, but given its contents, it was in all likelihood a later addition, no earlier than the ninth century.

Three further points should be made regarding the pairing of Dizang with Guanyin: first, its connection with Pure Land worship; second, its

Figure 13. Promontory lateral wall facing south. Outside Beishan niche 245, Dazu, Sichuan.

broader connection with the cult of the multiple buddhas; and finally, its association with the Ten Kings. As we will see later in this chapter, Dizang and Guanyin sometimes flank Amitābha or Bhaiṣajyaguru Buddha to form a triadic icon, although it is unclear as to which configuration, the triad or the pairing, came first or how they are related to one another. Particularly important is Beishan Fowan niche 245 and its large, intricate carving of the Buddha Amitābha's realm, the Western Land of Bliss, surrounded on three sides by scenes from the *Visualization Scripture*, including the sixteen visualizations for rebirth in the Western Paradise (see Figure 12). An inscription indicates that this carving existed by the beginning of the tenth century.[46]

Significantly, two walls of small niches (numbered 237–244, 246–249)

46. For the inscription text, see Guo 1999a: 17. This partially effaced inscription mentions the *jimao* 己卯 year, which Guo reconstructs as the year 919.

Figure 14. Promontory lateral wall facing north. Outside Beishan niche 245, Dazu, Sichuan.

containing miniature images of Dizang or Guanyin or the two together were attached to either side of the central niche, forming flanking protrusions (see Figures 13 and 14). From the spatial arrangement, one could conclude that these smaller niches were added after the large relief engraving was finished.[47] The additions to the main relief carving of the Western Pure Land may suggest cultic contestation that pitted the divine efficacies of the Buddha against those of the bodhisattva.[48] The spatial arrangement at niche 245 thus represents a local response to this cultic dilemma in which venerating Dizang and Guanyin was viewed as an appropriate extension of Amitābha Buddha worship. The distance to the seemingly remote

47. Not all the smaller niches have inscriptions, but the few with dates suggest that they were made in the latter half of the tenth century.

48. This controversy over the efficacy of reciting the Buddha's name versus the bodhisattva's is recorded in Tang Pure Land polemical literature; for relevant passages, see the previous discussion in Chapter 2.

FIGURE 15 (above). Dizang and Guanyin with seven buddhas. Qianfo yai niche 125, Jiajiang, Sichuan.

FIGURE 16 (left). Dizang and Guanyin with six buddhas. Beishan niche 172, Dazu, Sichuan.

paradise of Amitābha would then be bridged by the two bodhisattvas, Dizang and Guanyin, to whom family members must pray to ensure that the dead do not fall into evil destinies.

Other iconography surfaces in Sichuan art: small meditation buddhas, varying in number and seated on lotuses with intertwining stems, juxtaposed against larger statues of Dizang and Guanyin. The earliest examples of the two bodhisattvas with smaller buddhas are in niches 162 and 125 at the Cliff of Thousand Buddhas (Qianfo yai 千佛崖) in Jiajiang 夾江, both dating to the middle of late Tang (see Figure 15). Three later examples, all dating to the Song period, are found in Beishan Fowan: niche 191 (probably dating to the tenth century) portrays ten buddhas on lotuses arising from a vessel placed between a seated Guanyin and a hooded Dizang; niche 187, a duplication of niche 191; and niche 172, which features six buddhas together with the two bodhisattvas (see Figure 16).[49] Originating in Indian sources, the seven buddhas of the past and the buddhas of the ten directions invoke strong temporal and spatial connotations. In these visual imaginings, Dizang and Guanyin are probably perceived as acting in this world on behalf of all the buddhas through all ages and in all worlds. In other words, Dizang and Guanyin are the divine intercessors par excellence who bridge this world and other realms.

The pairing of Dizang with Guanyin also occurs regularly in Dunhuang art from the early Tang period. Dunhuang yields several examples dated to the tenth century or after in which these two bodhisattvas appear together with the Ten Kings. Over the ceiling of the passageway in cave 6 are painted two panels: one portrays a water-moon Guanyin and the other Dizang presiding over the court of the Ten Kings.[50] Similar iconographies are found in tenth-century paintings now kept at the Musée Guimet: For example, EO 3644, a silk painting, shows an eleven-headed Guanyin with a hooded Dizang and the courts of the Ten Kings below.[51] EO 1173, a painting on hemp cloth, portrays a thousand-armed, thousand-eyed Guanyin as the main deity with Dizang and the Ten Kings pictured in one corner.[52] At the British Museum, illustrated in separate panels on the frontispiece of a mutilated scroll of the *Scripture of the Ten Kings* are Dizang and a six-armed Guanyin attended by the Ten Kings, also dated to the tenth century.[53] In contrast to Dunhuang, configurations of Guanyin, Dizang, and the Ten Kings are rare in Sichuan except for one prominent example, Fowan niche 253 in Beishan. Judging from the frequent pairing of Dizang with Guanyin, one may conclude that the two bodhisattvas were linked as powerful saviors in the medieval imagination.

49. For discussion and a photograph of niche 187, see Howard 1990: 56–57, and fig. 13.

50. For a catalog description of EO 3644, see Dunhuang yanjiuyuan 1996: 6.

51. More accurately, the main head is depicted with a crown from which spring eleven smaller heads; see Giès 1995: 2, pl. 64.

52. Ibid.: pl. 65.

53. Whitfield 1982–1985: pl. 64.

From Amitābha Triads to Rebirth in the Pure Land

Dizang art visually documents the Pure Land connection articulated in the *Scripture on the Bodhisattva Dizang*. On the one hand, art and epigraphy from Longmen and Sichuan attest to the reconfiguration of Dizang into Amitābha triads. In the *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha-sūtra*, an early Mahāyāna scripture repeatedly translated into Chinese from the third century, Avalokiteśvara (Guanyin) and Mahāsthāmaprāpta (Dashizhi) are the two attendant bodhisattvas assisting Amitābha Buddha in his buddha-land, Sukhāvatī.[54] The triad of Amitābha Buddha, Avalokiteśvara, and Mahāsthāmaprāpta occurs early in the history of Buddhist art; together they are known today as the Three Saints of the West (*xifang sansheng* 西方三聖), an epithet in use probably from the Song.[55] Not so commonly studied are the Amitābha triads in which Dizang replaces Mahāsthāmaprāpta as an attendant bodhisattva. For instance, Longmen contains five inscriptional records of Dizang in Amitābha triads:[56]

1. Inscription dating to 675, located outside the Universally Tranquil Cave (Putai dong 普泰洞):
   On the sixth day of the second month in the second year of *shangyuan* 上元 [675], disciple [ ] [ ] [ ], mother Qiao 喬 [ ] [ ], here below the wife [ ] [ ] zang 藏, and so forth today [reverently] construct an image of the venerated Amitābha, [ ] one [image] of Guanyin Bodhisattva Who Relieves Suffering (Jiuku Guanshiyin 救苦觀世音), [ ] one [image] of Dizang Bodhisattva. Today they have been completed. By this merit, may all beings everywhere share this meritorious fruit.[57]
2. Inscription dating to 693 from a niche in the Lotus Cave (Lianhua dong 蓮華洞):

54. This configuration occurs repeatedly in the *Visualization Scripture*; see *Foshuo guan wuliangshou fo jing* 佛說觀無量壽佛經, T365:12.342c, 345a. The two bodhisattvas are also mentioned in the *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha-sūtra*; see *Foshuo wuliangshou jing* 佛說無量壽經, T360:12.273b, attributed to the Sogdian monk Saṅghavarman (Sengqiebamo 僧伽跋摩; also known as Kang Sengkai 康僧鎧, ca. 252). The configuration is further cited in the *Guanshiyin pusa shouji jing* 觀世音菩薩授記經, T371:12.353c.

55. A preliminary survey suggests that the "Three Saints of the West" first appeared in the *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀, compiled by the Song monk Zhipan 志磐 (fl. 1258–1269 CE); T2035:49.209b, 218c, 225c, 261c, 276c, 279a, 279b. We can preliminarily conclude that it was not used in the Tang era, although further investigation should be conducted to determine when the phrase actually gained wide currency. In modern Chinese Buddhism, the epithet is frequently employed as a shorthand reference to the three Pure Land deities. The triadic icon is common in Chinese Buddhist art: for example, the Huayan (Avataṃsaka) triad (*huayan sansheng* 華嚴三聖), comprising Vairocana Buddha and the two bodhisattvas Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra. For a study of the Huayan triad, see Gimello 1996.

56. Inscription texts 5, 9, 12, 14, and 25 in Chang 1993: 28–29.

57. Ibid.: 28, inscription text 5. There is a character missing after *fu*, or "merit." From the context, the missing character is likely to be *de* 德, thus making the compound *fude* 福德, or "meritorious virtue."

On the twenty-third day of the fourth month in the second year of *changshou* 長壽 [693], Ren Zhiman 任智滿 made images of Amitābha, Dizang Bodhisattva, and Guanyin Bodhisattva for the sake of my deceased mother. May my deceased mother be reborn in the Western Land.[58]

3. Undated inscription from a niche in the Old Dragon Cave (Laolong dong 老龍洞):
   . . . mother . . . Amitābha Buddha . . . Dizang . . . one [image and] one [image of] Guanyin. All for the sake of teachers, *saṅgha*, parents, and all living beings [that they may] always procure peace and bliss.[59]
4. Undated inscription from a niche in the Twin Caves (Shuang yao 雙窯):
   [ ] [ ] the first month of the fourth year, [ ] [ ] [ ] day, Li Qutai 李去泰, a disciple of the Buddha, reverently constructs [an image of] Amitābha; an [image of] Guanyin Bodhisattva, who relieves suffering; and Dizang Bodhisattva, so that his teachers, *saṅgha*, parents, and all the living beings in the Dharma Realm, as well as living family members and relatives, may soon achieve awakening.[60]
5. Undated inscription from a niche in the Old Woman Cai Cave (Cai Laoniang dong 蔡老娘洞):
   Bhikṣunī Jiu Niang 九娘 (Ninth Daughter) of the Great Happiness Monastery (Jinfu si 景福寺), [on behalf of] her deceased mother, reverently constructs an image of Amitābha for [the purpose of] veneration . . . reverently constructs an image each of Guanyin and Dizang for [the purpose of] veneration.[61]

The inscriptions suggest that the incorporation of Dizang into Amitābha triads occurred as early as 675 in Longmen. They do not mention the goal of rebirth in the Pure Land with the exception of Ren Zhiman, who hopes that his deceased mother may be "reborn in the Western Land." The other four inscriptions transfer the merit of constructing the triad to goals ranging from spiritual achievement to secular benefits like the welfare and happiness of loved ones.

Sichuan sites also contain several instances of Amitābha triads in which Dizang appears as an attendant bodhisattva. Early examples are a cluster of niches (151, 152, 153, and 154) located at the Qianfo yai in Jiajiang (see Figures 17 and 18). Niches 151, 153, and 154 all have an inscriptional dating of 739, whereas niche 152 is dated to 712.[62]

Other examples of this kind of Amitābha triad are located at Beishan,

58. Ibid.: 28, inscription text 9.
59. Ibid.: 28, inscription text 12.
60. Ibid.: 28, inscription text 14.
61. Ibid.: 29, inscription text 25.
62. Unfortunately, I do not have access to these inscriptions; my information is based on Hu Wenhe's research. According to Hu, the inscription for niche 152 is missing characters, so the date is not certain. However, on the basis of stylistic resemblances with niches 151, 153, and 154, Chinese art historians believe niche 152 should date to 712. See Hu 1994: 33.

Figure 17. Amitābha, Dizang, and Guanyin. Qianfo yai niches 152 and 154, Jiajiang, Sichuan.

a site dating no earlier than 892. Here Dizang figures in Amitābha triads in a total of five niches (40, 52, 53, 57, and 73).[63] Only niches 52 and 53 are accompanied by inscriptional dating; scholars of the Sichuan Academy date the remaining niches to the Five Dynasties (907–960).[64] Constructed in 897, niche 52's inscription identifies the images:

> The female disciple née Li 黎, in honor of her deceased husband, Liu 劉 [ ], respectfully forged one image of Dizang Bodhisattva; one image of Amitābha; one [image] of Guanyin Bodhisattva Who Relieves Suffering. After [the images] were respectfully constructed, a vegetarian feast was hosted and hymns recited on the twenty-third day of the first month of the fourth year of *qianning* 乾寧 reign era (897).[65] [ ] my deceased husband [ ]

63. Identification of the sculptures is given in the catalogue of Dazu caves in Liu, Hu, and Li 1985: 364–575.

64. This dating of the Beishan niche is from the catalogue by Liu, Hu, and Li (1985). Note that Li and Wang (1988) classify Beishan sculptures according to three phases (late Tang, Five Dynasties, and after). They place niches 40 and 52 in the same period (late Tang).

65. The inscription refers to *biao zan* 表贊, translated as "reciting a hymn." The Indian *gāthā* is translated as *zan*, or "hymn," in Chinese Buddhism. The use of hymns was common in both Daoist and Buddhist rites. Typically, a formal declaration of the rite's intent is recited at the close of the opening phrase in which incense is offered to the Three Jewels. The deities are then invoked sequentially in the altar space and a short verse of praise (probably composed for the deities invoked) is recited by the chief celebrant or sponsor. In the case of installing images or making niches, a hymn addressing the deity represented was probably recited. I should

Figure 18. Amitābha, Dizang, and Guanyin. Qianfo yai niche 154, Jiajiang, Sichuan.

[ ] the [ ] [ ] of Chang[zhou], General [ ] [ ] and [Acting] Censor-in-Chief to be [ ] [ ] for making offerings.[66]

Niche 53, dating to 915, has the following pair of inscriptions on the left and right sides of the niche, respectively:

Respectfully, the Officer on the Left and General of the Number Three Military Superior Prefecture, Zhong Shenneng 種審能, made an [image of] Dizang Bodhisattva. He made the above piece for his deceased son Xiyan 希言, who was wounded and vanquished by bandits, in the hope that the merit of making the above [image] will enable [the deceased] to be reborn in the Western Paradise, meet the Buddha, and listen to the teachings. On the fourth day of the fourth month in the fifth year of the *yongping* 永平 reign era (915), the seven [vegetarian] feasts had been set up and hymns recited to conclude [the merit]. [The image is to] receive everlasting offerings.

[An image of] Guanyin Bodhisattva has been respectfully made so that Yanyan 鄢鹽 may enjoy everlasting peace and freedom from calamities.[67] It is also tranquilly made for our son's teacher, Qi Chouhu 乞丑胡 [?]. [An image of]

thank Daniel Stevenson for sharing his insights on the ritual procedure. For hymns to the dead, see Teiser 1992.

66. Guo 1999a: 14, inscription text 6.

67. From the context, Yanyan is most likely located somewhere in Sichuan, but I have not been able to identify its exact location. Beishan was originally the site of a fortress, so it is likely the son was killed in a battle against rebels. The inscription refers to "brigands," but it should be remembered that rebels were often called "brigands." More significantly, in the widespread political chaos of the Five Dynasties (907–960), China saw the rise of those from the lowest strata of society to military and political power. Wang Qian, a former brigand who

> Amitābha Buddha is also respectfully forged. May the fourth month from the beginning to the end be prosperous and this disciple, Zhong Shenneng, receive blessings.[68] On the sixth day of the seventh month of the fifth year of *yongping*, a vegetarian feast was hosted and hymns recited to conclude [the merit].[69]

This dedicatory inscription utilizes Pure Land motifs that also occur in the longer version of the *Scripture on the Bodhisattva Dizang*: transformatory rebirth (on a lotus), meeting the Buddha Amitābha, and listening to his preaching.[70] Evidently, its exhortation to venerate Dizang as a means to achieve rebirth in the Pure Land was heeded in medieval religious practice. The inscription attests to the common understanding of Pure Land as a generic goal for rebirth in Tang China, and the veneration of deities other than Amitābha as a viable means of securing that goal.[71] Moreover, Beishan Fowan's inscriptions, especially those dating to the tenth century, suggest that sponsors of Buddhist images often liturgically concluded the merit of making images by hosting vegetarian feasts and reciting hymns. It may also be discerned from other Sichuan sites that these practices mirror broader patterns of ritual observed in conjunction with building cave temple sculpture. A close study on image-making and associated rituals in late medieval China must be conducted separately. But from the above comparison of Longmen and Fowan inscriptions, it seems that ritual abstinence from eating meat (i.e., vegetarian feasts) was practiced regularly with image-making only in the late medieval period. This was perhaps in part catalyzed by the rapid ascendancy of the cult of the Ten Kings, which I will discuss later.

The Pure Land connection is also evident in Dunhuang paintings and dedicatory inscriptions. Especially interesting is the dedication of one Dunhuang donor by the name of Kang Qingnu 康清奴, who commissioned a silk painting of a hooded Dizang presiding over the paths of rebirth (Stein painting 9):

> The commissioner of the painting was the disciple of pure faith Kang Qingnu. His body resides in the house of fire and he is apprehensive about falling into the five paths [of rebirth]. Disaster and fortune are inconstant; his heart yearns toward emancipation [from *saṃsāra*]. . . . On account of the merit may [Dizang's] golden staff quake until lotuses manifest in hell, and may [Dizang's] radiant gem illuminate the paths of delusion until they resemble the Pure Land. Also may his relations by marriage and immediate family both rest in

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gained power while in the military, carved out a kingdom for himself in Sichuan. The Wang brothers who were to reign in Fujian 福建 (southeast China) were former Henan bandits.

68. The inscription reads *si yue* 四月, which I have translated as "fourth month." It is unclear from the inscription why the donor should call attention to this month.

69. Guo 1999a: 17, inscription text 18.

70. For previous discussion on this topic, see Chapter 4.

71. This phenomenon was already evident in the fifth and sixth centuries, especially in inscriptional records; see Hou 1998: 150–248.

> health and peace, and may his brothers and cousins together partake of the portion of merits. This inscription was written on the twenty-second day of the fifth month, the fourth year of the *jianlong* 建隆 reign era (963).[72]

The motif of lotus buds spontaneously springing up in hell, as well as the transformation of hell into Pure Land, is strongly reminiscent of the *Scripture on the Bodhisattva Dizang*, which explains the genesis of Dizang's role in hell and elaborates his ties with the Pure Land.

The last example for discussion is another tenth-century Dunhuang painting on hemp cloth (EO 3580) portraying Amitābha and Dizang.[73] The upper portion of the painting shows a wooden balustraded platform built over a pool and presided over by a buddha (probably Amitābha) and a number of his retinue, including heavenly musicians. In the lower section, a hooded Dizang sits, one leg pendant and the six paths of rebirth emanating from his nimbus. He is attended by his retinue and the Ten Kings of purgatory. A bridge spans the pool, thereby linking these scenes of paradise and the underworld. Again this Dunhuang painting visually renders the striking polarity between the two afterlife destinies highlighted in the *Scripture on the Bodhisattva Dizang*. In the medieval religious imagination, Dizang was recognized as the passport in the afterlife passage from hell to Pure Land.

Among the materials considered, the two Dunhuang pieces, which reflect themes from the *Scripture on the Bodhisattva Dizang*, are both dated to the tenth century, whereas the integration of Dizang into the Amitābha triad is an earlier iconography from the seventh century. The relationship between Dizang and Pure Land may be traced to cultic practice in which Dizang was venerated alongside Amitābha, Guanyin, and, to a lesser extent, Mahāsthāmaprāpta, all of whom were by then regarded as core members of the Pure Land pantheon. Inscriptions and art reflect a range of permutations through which Dizang was incorporated into Pure Land iconography. For instance, it was common practice to displace Mahāsthāmaprāpta with Dizang, probably because the latter was more widely venerated and was already evolving a more distinctive personality and iconography. Other representations portray him as an addition to the Amitābha triad. An inscription located between niches 15 and 17 at Yaowang shan in Shaanxi records the carving of a quartet during the late Tang in which Dizang was added to the triad of Amitābha, Guanyin, and Mahāsthāmaprāpta.[74] Such permutations of deities indicate the amorphous nature and lack of rigorous stratification in medieval Pure Land. Moreover, dedicatory inscriptions suggest that the worship of Dizang was then regarded as one way to ensure rebirth in the Pure Land

72. For the inscription text, see Waley 1931: 33; Whitfield 1982–1985: 2.318.

73. See Giès 1995: 2, pl. 66.

74. An inscription outside niches 15–17 has been dated to the late Tang period (Zhang and Wang 1994: 16). It reads: 阿彌陀像一區，大勢至菩薩、觀世音菩薩／京兆府□□孫□□地藏，造阿彌陀佛一鋪。

Figure 19. Gilded bronze sculpture. Dongkuk University Museum Collection, Seoul, Korea. Photograph courtesy of Jaejung Lee.

Figure 20. Portable wooden shrine. Dongkuk University Museum Collection, Seoul, Korea. Photograph courtesy of Jaejung Lee.

and incorporate imagery like the concept of transformational rebirth, meeting the Buddha, and hearing the Dharma in the Pure Land.

The inclusion of Dizang in Amitābha triads, an iconography evident at Longmen from the late seventh century, persisted into the tenth century. This triadic configuration appears elsewhere in East Asia. In a study of Jizō art, Matsushima Gen calls attention to several Kamakura paintings and sculptures of Amitābha flanked by Jizō (Dizang) and Kannon (Guanyin).[75] Examples are found in Korea, usually dating to the Chosŏn era (1392–1910) but sometimes as early as the Koryŏ period (918–1392). A Koryŏ color silk painting, now preserved in the Hoam Art Museum in Yong'in-gun, Kyŏnggi province, highlights an Amitābha triad (Amitābha, Kṣitigarbha, and Avalokiteśvara) in the act of welcoming a dying devotee.[76] Moreover, the art historian Pak Young-sook argues that another Koryŏ painting of Amitābha and Chijang (Dizang) in the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art may originally have been part of a three-panel screen that included Avalokiteśvara.[77] Sculptural representations of Amitābha with Chijang, largely from the Chosŏn period, have been preserved, including an exquisite bronze sculpture now in the Cleveland Museum of Art.[78] In Seoul, the Dongkuk University Museum contains two Chosŏn examples of triads: a gilded bronze sculpture and a three-panel portable wooden shrine (see Figures 19 and 20).[79] Most interesting of all is perhaps a mural painting of the triad, dated to 1476, in the Paradise Hall in the Monastery of Non-Action (Muwi-sa 無為寺) in Kangjin, Chonnam Province.[80] Evidently, this form of Amitābha triad circulated as a cross-cultural strand of religious devotion in Buddhist East Asia.

Glimpses of a Bhaiṣajyaguru Connection?

Dizang and Bhaiṣajyaguru (Yaoshi fo 藥師佛, the Healing Buddha) are also represented together in art and epigraphy, but their association is not mentioned in Buddhist literature. It has largely been neglected because of limited textual and visual evidence. The problem is further complicated by the paucity of collaborating inscriptions.[81] Although an examination of the ma-

75. Matsushima 1986: 33, pl. 49.

76. For a photo reproduction, see Ahn 1986: 48, pl. 9.

77. Pak 1998: 402–449. It has been discovered that Amitābha and Chijang were on separate pieces of silk that were later mounted together. According to Pak, the two might have been "originally part of a set of three hanging scrolls, along with a now lost representation of Avalokiteśvara [Guanyin] flanking Amitābha on the other side." Pak argues that, whatever the original configuration of the paintings, devotees in the Koryŏ period would have immediately understood the intrinsic iconological significance of portraying Dizang with Amitābha.

78. Cleveland Museum of Art, slide order no. 18.501.

79. Thanks are due to Jaejung Lee for generously sharing his collection of pictures with me.

80. A gilded sculpture of the triad sits before the painting. See Moon 1984, pl. 27.

81. On the possible relationship between the two cults, see Wang-Toutain 1998: 303–305. Wang-Toutain's survey was limited to what was available in other publications, and she omits discussing the Bhaiṣajyaguru tableaux of Beishan, niches 279 and 281.

terial often results in more questions than answers, a relationship did in fact exist between the medieval cults of Dizang and Bhaiṣajyaguru.

If identification by the Dunhuang Research Academy is accurate, the earliest vestiges of the connection between these two Buddhist deities are the Tang murals at the Mogao Grottoes. According to the Academy, grottoes 166, 176, 205, and 444 contain evidence of Dizang and Bhaiṣajyaguru.[82] In grotto 166, Dizang and Bhaiṣajyaguru complement each other. To the north of the eastern doorway of the same cave is a painting that brings together Dizang, Amitābha Buddha, Bhaiṣajyaguru Buddha, Prabhūtaratna Buddha, and fourteen other buddhas.[83] On the northern wall of grotto 176, Bhaiṣajyaguru is flanked by either Dizang or Guanyin with the thousand buddhas in the background.[84] A similar triad appears on the southern wall of grotto 205, immediately beneath a larger mural of Amitābha's Land of Bliss.[85] In grotto 205, Bhaiṣajyaguru holds a staff and alms bowl while Dizang is portrayed as a monk and Guanyin is dressed in princely robes (see Figures 21 and 22). Finally, above the western doorway of cave 444 is a partially damaged mural pairing Dizang with Bhaiṣajyaguru.[86]

Executed primarily during the mid-Tang period, this small assortment of Dunhuang paintings indicates that Dizang and Bhaiṣajyaguru were shown together usually to enhance an important scene—just as miniature buddhas were often employed to augment Dunhuang murals. (Dizang and Bhaiṣajyaguru frequently appear together with multiple buddhas.) The other iconography assigns Dizang and Guanyin as chief attendant bodhisattvas to Bhaiṣajyaguru, patterned after the Amitābha triads previously discussed. No textual source exists for Bhaiṣajyaguru triads in which Dizang is highlighted as one of the attendant bodhisattvas, but grotto 205 may hold a clue to this triad. The Bhaiṣajyaguru triad in this cave, as already pointed out, is immediately below a larger rendition of the Amitābha entourage. In early Indian Mahāyāna, the Bhaiṣajyaguru cult was one of several expressions of Pure Land—not only because Bhaiṣajyaguru presides over a Pure Land, the Lapis Lazuli Realm (*liuli shijie* 琉璃世界) in the east, but also, according to the *Bhaiṣajyaguru-sūtra* (*Yaoshi jing* 藥師經, Scripture on the Healing Buddha), adherents to Bhaiṣajyaguru worship could aspire to rebirth in Amitābha's land, Sukhāvatī.[87] Given the Pure Land overtones of the Bhaiṣajyaguru cult and

82. The identifications are given in Dunhuang yanjiuyuan 1996.

83. Ibid.: 66.

84. Ibid.: 70.

85. Ibid.: 82. For a photo reproduction of this triad, see Duan 1990b: 17, fig. 50.

86. Dunhuang yanjiuyuan 1996: 183.

87. Several Chinese translations of the *Scripture on the Healing Buddha* exist; for a study with English translations, see Birnbaum 1979. The *Yaoshi liuliguang rulai benyuan gongde jing* 藥師琉璃光如來本願功德經, translated by Xuanzang in 650, states: "As for those desiring to be reborn in Amitābha Tathāgata's abode, the Western Land of Supreme Bliss, on account of hearing the name of this World-Honored Healing Teacher, the Lapis Lazuli Radiance Tathāgata's name, at the time of dying, the eight bodhisattvas will ascend into the sky to show the way, so that they will be spontaneously reborn in multicolored jeweled flowers in

Figure 21. Bhaiṣajyaguru, Dizang, and Guanyin. Southern wall, Mogao grotto 205, Dunhuang, Gansu. Photograph courtesy of Wang Huimin.

the popularity of Dizang and Guanyin, artisans may have seen fit to modify the Bhaiṣajyaguru's entourage by replacing his attendant bodhisattvas—usually designated in texts as Candraprabha (Yueguang 月光, Moonlight) and Sūryagarbha (Riguang 日光, Sunlight)—with the more widely known Dizang and Guanyin, after the fashion of the Amitābha triads.[88] Chinese art histori-

the [Western Paradise]" (T450:14.406b). Cf. *Foshuo Yaoshi rulai benyuan jing* 佛說藥師如來本願經, T449:14.402c; *Yaoshi liuliguang qifo benyuan gongde jing* 藥師琉璃光七佛本願功德經, T451:14.414b. This promise of rebirth in the Western Paradise is also found in the Gilgit manuscripts of the scripture; see Schopen 1977: 177–210.

88. The *Scripture on the Healing Buddha* designates Candraprabha and Sūryagarbha as Bhaiṣajyaguru's chief attendant bodhisattvas; see, for example, *Foshuo Yaoshi rulai benyuan*

FIGURE 22. Bhaiṣajyaguru, Dizang, and Guanyin, close-up. Southern wall, Mogao grotto 205, Dunhuang, Gansu. Photograph courtesy of Wang Huimin.

FIGURE 23. Bhaiṣajyaguru transformation tableaux. Beishan niches 279 and 281, Dazu, Sichuan.

ans of the Sichuan Academy discovered this form of Bhaiṣajyaguru triad at Sichuan sites but, like the Dunhuang paintings, these examples are problematic because they lack corroborating inscriptions to confirm identities.[89]

However, Beishan Fowan has yielded two salient examples (niches 279 and 281) with inscriptions that link Bhaiṣajyaguru and Dizang, as well as Amitābha, in local cultic practices.[90] Built in consecutive years during the mid-tenth century, the two niches mirror each to the point that it is evident they were intentionally conceptualized as a pair (see Figure 23).[91]

Niche 281, the earlier of the two dating to 954, contains the following dedicatory inscription:

> Reverently [we have commissioned] the sculpting of the Buddha of Healing and Lapis Lazuli Radiance (Yaoshi liuliguang fo 藥師琉璃光佛), the eight bodhisattvas, a group of twelve spirit kings (*shen wang* 神王), as well as the seven buddhas, the buddhas of the three times, Amitābha Buddha, a pillar of the *Buddhoṣṇīṣa-vijaya-dhāraṇī* (Buddha's Topknot Victorious Dhāraṇī), and also three figurines of Dizang Bodhisattva, all [placed] in a single niche. The honorable disciple and Township–Chief Administer on the Right Liu Gong 劉恭 and his aunt née Ren, sons and daughters, first and second wives, and

jing, T449:14.402a; *Yaoshi liuliguang rulai benyuan gongde jing*, T450:14.405c; *Yaoshi liuliguang qifo benyuan gongde jing*, T451:14.413c. For triads of Yakushi (Bhaiṣajyaguru) flanked by Jizō and Kannon in Japan, see Fowler 2000–2001. On the emergence of Candraprabha and his messianic implications, see Zürcher 1981, 1982b.

89. According to the Sichuan Academy, one of the numerous niches at Guangyuan Qianfo yai is said to contain a triad consisting of an image of Bhaiṣajyaguru Buddha holding a staff, flanked by Dizang in monastic robes and Guanyin holding a vase and staff; see Liu, Hu, and Li 1985: 385–386. Chinese scholars have identified at least two other sculptures from Dazu in which Dizang, with Guanyin, is portrayed as a member of Bhaiṣajyaguru's entourage. One example is from Beishan Fowan, niche 110 (no date), and the other is from Shimen shan 石門山, niche 1, in Dazu county, dated by inscription to 1151. In both cases, the main deity is Bhaiṣajyaguru; his retinue, the twelve *yakṣa* generals, is present somewhere in the representation. The Bhaiṣajyaguru statue is flanked by a mendicant carrying a staff (identified as Dizang) and another bodhisattva said to be Guanyin. However, the accompanying inscriptions lack names for the attendant bodhisattvas. For instance, the inscription at Shimen shan, niche 1, records:

> Having set up this single niche of the Healing Buddha, I pray and beg for peace and happiness in this very existence and to be reborn in a heavenly world. Life after life, may the retributions of my merits be inexhaustible. It is the twentieth day of the eleventh month in the *xinwei* year of the *shaoxin* reign era. [The image is] carved by the sculptor Jian Zhongjin and [the dedication is] written by the abbot Wen Daosheng. (Liu, Hu, and Li 1985: 541)

Obviously the inscription does not identify either Dizang or Guanyin.

90. Françoise Wang-Toutain, one of the first to call attention to this forgotten connection between Bhaiṣajyaguru and Dizang, overlooked these sources in her account (1998: 303–305).

91. See also Figures 23 and 24 of this study. Both of these photographs of Dazu Beishan niches 279 and 281 were taken in the summer of 1997 during a field trip to Sichuan. For an early picture of niche 279, see Bai 1985, pl. 37. Detailed descriptions of the two niches are given in Liu, Hu, and Li 1985: 425–427; cf. Hu 1994: 264–265.

> sons Renshou 仁壽, Renfu 仁福, and Renlu 仁祿, together have aspired to forge the aforementioned images for merits. Today, moreover we form a circle to prostrate and pray that our bodies be at ease, we may have longevity and prosperity, our family may have health, peace, high offices, and prosperous ranks, and our deceased distant ancestors may have mutual benefits and goodness. On the seventeenth year of the *guangzheng* 廣政 reign era (954), the fifty-first day of Jupiter's second month, the eleventh day of the forty-third new moon, we have completed hosting a vegetarian feast and reciting a hymn. May [the images] forever be looked on with reverence![92]

Niche 281's iconography is distributed vertically into three registers: the first register to the right is an octagonal pillar intricately engraved and inscribed with the *Dhāraṇī-sūtra* (*Tuoluoni jing chuang* 陀羅尼經幢).[93] The middle register is the main niche, which portrays a partially damaged Buddha Bhaiṣajyaguru, sitting with legs pendant, accompanied on either side by an attending bodhisattva with the eight great bodhisattvas on the niche's walls and the twelve *yakṣa* generals grouped on the wall just below the niche.[94] These deities are all prominent members of the Bhaiṣajyaguru assembly in the *Scripture on the Healing Buddha*, so one can assume that this scripture inspired and shaped niche 281. The third register to the left comprises a column of three Dizang statues, all seated with one leg pendant, flanked by a standing attendant at each side. Each Dizang wears a hood and holds in his hands a staff and a wish-granting jewel.[95] The *Scripture on the Healing Buddha* cannot account for Dizang's presence in this sculpture. Miniature buddha images line the top of the niche: The buddhas of the three times are above the pillar column, the seven buddhas are above the Bhaiṣajyaguru tableau, and Amitābha Buddha is sculpted between the two subsets of multiple buddha cults (see Figure 24).

A year later, in 955, a local official named Wang Chengxiu 王承秀 and his wife sponsored another engraving (niche 279) on the adjacent cliff wall. It was deliberately modeled after niche 281, so the two visibly form a pair.[96] A partially effaced inscription tells of the circumstances under which the niche was built:

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92. Guo 1999a: 20, inscription text 25.1.

93. The niche contains an inscription recording the pillar's refurbishing in 1005; see Guo 1999a: 73, text inscription 4. Pillars inscribed with the *Dhāraṇī-sūtra* were widespread in Sichuan during the late Tang and Five Dynasties periods. See Hu 1994: 264; Liu Shu-fen 1996, 1997.

94. As previously noted, in the *Scripture on the Healing Buddha*, the eight bodhisattvas are the otherworldly guides who come to welcome the dying devotee who has venerated Bhaiṣajyaguru to the Western Paradise. The twelve *yakṣa* generals are protective spirits who assist those who worship Bhaiṣajyaguru. They may be related to the twelve astrological houses and the twelve time periods (two hours each) that make up the day as understood in China and Japan; see Birnbaum 1979: 82.

95. It appears that the jewels have eroded completely over the years; see Figure 24.

96. Niche 279's pillar column and Bhaiṣajyaguru tableau are on different sides of niche 281; it also contains four Dizang images, one more than the number found in niche 281.

Figure 24. Bhaiṣajyaguru transformation tableaux and three Dizangs. Beishan niche 281, Dazu, Sichuan.

> Seeking liberation, the disciple and Official of the Reception Office and Column Leader Wang Chengxiu and his wife, the female disciple Zhang 張, [have commissioned the statues] of [Bhaiṣajyaguru Buddha's] entourage, the buddhas of the ten directions, Amitābha Buddha, a pillar of the *Buddha's Topknot Victorious Dhāraṇī*, and four Dizang Bodhisattva images, all together in one buddha niche.[97] Née Bao 保 has aspired to recite the one-scroll *Scripture on the Healing Buddha* and has further donated money to adorn this niche together with née Shao 劭, who has aspired to forge the above images [ ] [ ] it is now accomplished. We pray for wealth and longevity and for the family to avert difficulties and obstacles [ ] [ ] to have integrity and fortune in public and private [life]. On the twenty-fourth day of the second month of the eighteenth year of the *guangzheng* reign era (995), a vegetarian feast was hosted and the merit [dedication] recited, with the wish that the Bao family flourish and prosper.[98] May Mrs. Bao have good health, her sons be wealthy, [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] wife [ ] [ ] née Li 李 and née Zhou 周, the second and fourth daughters [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] and son-in-law, Yu Cheng-

97. Another inscription in the pillar niche states that the pillar was decorated in 999; see Guo 1999a: 72, text inscription 2.

98. The inscription reads *biao de* 表德, which refers to the reciting of a formal dedication of the images at the time the niche was ritually consecrated.

> jiang 于承江, and his sons, Wuxiang 五香, Erxiang 二香, and Sanxiang 三香, and daughter, Xiaoxiu 肖休, be free from disasters. On the eighteenth day of the fourth month of the fourth year of the *xianping* 咸平 reign era (1001), banners were suspended, a vegetarian feast was hosted, and a formal declaration made.[99] Recorded by Official of the Reception Office and Column Leader Wang Chengxiu.[100]

The relationships among the donors are unclear, but it can be assumed that niche 279 belonged to a family, perhaps an extended family given the varying last names. From the inscription, it appears that at least one female donor addressed cultic practices to Bhaiṣajyaguru in her daily life. Although it is unclear why this tenth-century woman chose this scripture as her devotional focus, one can conclude that for née Bao and other local donors, Bhaiṣajyaguru worship had naturally merged with and subsumed an array of cults like those of the multiple buddhas, Amitābha Buddha, Dizang, and the *Buddhoṣṇīṣa Dhāraṇī*. The niche's contents prompt us to ask: Why was a column of Dizang images installed on the right side? What relationship does Dizang Bodhisattva have with the cultic practice inspired by the *Scripture on the Healing Buddha?*

If one relies solely on the scripture to understand the niche's visual imagery, Dizang's presence here would seem baffling. But clues to this local cultic practice lie in the two deities' iconographies and functions. As a buddha, Bhaiṣajyaguru dons a monk's robes as does Dizang, and although Bhaiṣajyaguru is usually depicted carrying an alms bowl, he sometimes carries the staff and wish-granting jewel more commonly associated with Dizang.[101] Although the two figures are easily confused, they can usually be distinguished by the absence or presence of a protuberance on the head (Ch. *rouji* 肉髻; Skt. *uṣṇīṣa*), which, respectively, signifies bodhisattva or buddha status. The connection between these two figures, moreover, extends to religious function. The *Scripture on the Healing Buddha* associates Bhaiṣajyaguru with averting untimely death, curing life-threatening ailments, extending the life span, and preparing for death—functions usually associated with savior bodhisattvas like Guanyin and Dizang. (In particular, the *Scripture on the Healing Buddha*'s rites for curing fatal illness

99. Evidently, six years after making the niches, the donor family sponsored another vegetarian banquet in connection with the performance of a ritual confession at the site; the reason for this event is not recorded.

100. Guo 1999a: 21, text inscription 27.1.

101. An example of Bhaiṣajyaguru with a staff is in Beishan Fowan niche 147, which contains a seated buddha flanked by bodhisattvas holding either a sun or a moon disc. One of the two standing attendants holds the Buddha's staff. On the wall beneath the niche are sculpted the twelve *yakṣa* generals; see Guo 1999b: vol. 1, 147, pl. 158. Although there is no inscription, the imagery is clearly derived from the *Scripture on the Healing Buddha*, which leads one to conclude that the buddha is Bhaiṣajyaguru. Another example is at Shuining si 水寧寺 in Bazhong, where the center buddha holds a staff and jewel in his hands; for a photo reproduction, see Liu 1999b: 154.

and preparing for a good death and a paradisal afterlife resonate with the *Scripture on the Past Vows*.) From the inscriptions we know that local officials constructed both tableaux for the welfare of immediate and extended family members in this life and the one to come. The dedicatory prayers state their hopes for success and prosperity, blessings and peace, health and longevity, and, according to niche 281's inscription, a good rebirth for dead ancestors. In light of the iconographic and functional parallels, it is not surprising that the local community at Beishan seems to have linked Dizang and Bhaiṣajyaguru in their cultic behavior. Perhaps the significance of these two niches lies not so much in their aligning Dizang with Bhaiṣajyaguru, but in their incorporating local cultic expressions that resisted convenient categorization into discrete sects circumscribed by a deity's identity, function, even iconography. The tenth-century Buddhists at Beishan seem to have regarded the *dhāraṇī*, Bhaiṣajyaguru, Dizang, and Pure Land cults as sources of religious techniques that complemented one another to form a single cultic expression to combat the exigencies of life, particularly sickness, demon troubles, and calamities, while conferring blessings for a good life on this earth and expediting the dead to a paradisal afterlife. The multiple buddhas lining the top of the niches would then serve to communicate the desire for such an afterlife—a visual counterpart to verbalizing the desire for rebirth in the Pure Land, understood in a general manner as "happy destination" or "paradise."

A Ray of Light in the Ten Kings' Dark Courts

In tenth-century China, it was commonly held that the deceased would be brought for judgment to the courts of the Ten Kings before proceeding to the next life. Cultic practices associated with the Ten Kings included a set of preparatory and memorial rites such as abstaining from eating meat, which the family performed on behalf of the deceased.[102] As Stephen Teiser has suggested, in Chinese religious history the Ten Kings function as the equivalent to the western concept of purgatory, serving as a composite vehicle for ritual confession and penance on the one hand and bureaucratic negotiation on the other. The late medieval amalgamation of Dizang and the Ten Kings constituted a lasting cardinal change that would dominate East Asian imaginings of the passage from death to rebirth for the next thousand

102. On the cult to the Ten Kings in China, see Teiser 1994; Du 1995; Ledderose 2000. The ten memorial rites associated with the Ten Kings evolved from the widespread observance of the seven-seven rites (*qiqi* 七七). These were originally formulated to coincide with the forty-nine-day interval during which the dead waited before being reborn. It was believed that at this time merits accrued on behalf of the deceased could significantly improve his or her chances for a good rebirth. The weekly rites included abstaining from eating meat, known as seven-seven feasts (*qiqi zhai* 七七齋). These feasts were actually communal vegetarian banquets sponsored by a donor in memory of the deceased and to procure merit on his or her behalf.

years.[103] Scriptural sources furnish little documentation on the connection between the two cults, but there is substantial evidence of this in Buddhist art from areas on China's western borders.[104] The numerous illustrations of Dizang and the Ten Kings found in Dunhuang art, mostly dated to no earlier than the tenth century, are well known to modern scholars.[105] Recently, Sichuan sites have yielded important examples of Dizang and the Ten Kings, which often capture themes absent in the Dunhuang material.[106]

Early vestiges of Dizang attended by the Ten Kings are present in Sichuan art and epigraphy. Niche 85 at Zizhong 資中 may be the earliest datable representation.[107] An inscription confirms the Ten Kings' identity and dates the restoration of the niche to 898–901.

> After completing the vegetarian feast and [recitation of] the celebratory eulogy that were performed to repay kindnesses, the head sponsor of the vegetarian feast, the disciple Liu 劉 [ ] [ ] [prays]: May the merit of [making] the above image universally benefit the four [objects] of gratitude and the three directions, as well as the living beings of the dharma realm, and may all together partake of this blessing.[108] During the [ ] year of *guanghua* 光化 (899–901) [ ] [ ] Yundeng 雲登 and other donors of Zhongsheng 忠勝 village repaired and installed the Ten Kings images right in this cloister and hosted a vegetarian feast to repay kindnesses.[109]

Again epigraphy records the hosting of vegetarian feasts to conclude the making of images.

Another example of Dizang and the Ten Kings is located in Guangyuan: In the south wall of the Grottoes of Numerous Treasures (Duobao ku 多寶窟) on the Qianfo yai, there is a Dizang sculpture, clad in a *kāṣāya* robe and sitting with one leg pendant, flanked by five miniature figurines standing on auspicious clouds. The figurines have been identified as the Ten Kings, and the niche has been dated to the Tang.[110] More intricate motifs were gradually woven into the Sichuan iconography. Dated to the tenth century, Beishan

103. Sørenson 1996: 118. In Korean Buddhist art, Dizang is frequently represented in the company of the Ten Kings; see Pak 1977, 1995.

104. The *Scripture on the Ten Kings* contains only sporadic reference to Dizang. In Stephen Teiser's translation of the scripture, based on tenth-century manuscripts, Dizang appears only once, as a member of an entourage of six bodhisattvas who arrive at an assembly to praise the Buddha; see Teiser 1994: 204–205.

105. For studies on Dizang and the Ten Kings in Dunhuang art, see Luo 1993; Luo Shiping 1998; Kawahara 1974; Matsumoto 1922; Pan 1998.

106. For studies on Dizang and the Ten Kings in Sichuan art, see Chen Mingguang 2002; Kucera 1995.

107. The niche is located on the western cliff; see Ding 1988: 53.

108. The four objects of gratitude are the Buddha (*fo en* 佛恩), parents (*fumu en* 父母恩), teachers (*shi en* 師恩), and the nation (*guo en* 國恩).

109. For the text inscription, see Ding 1988: 53.

110. Ma and Ding 1990: 15 and pl. 2. Also see Yao 2002.

Figure 25. Dizang and Guanyin. Beishan niche 253, Dazu, Sichuan.

niche 253 preserves an elegant engraving of Dizang and Guanyin with pairs of small figures in various postures (praying, horse-riding, standing) chiseled on the side walls. These figures have been identified as the Ten Kings and their messenger officials.[111] An inscription outside the niche records the donors hosting a vegetarian feast in 1001 (see Figures 25, 26, and 27). This Sichuan iconography differs conspicuously from other tenth-century representations that have survived at Dunhuang, where the Ten Kings appear comparable in size and detail to the other figures.

In another depiction dated prior to 1096 and located in niche 9 of the Stone Seal Mountain (Shizhuan shan 石篆山) in Dazu, Dizang is accompanied by the Ten Kings, five on each side with seven attendants behind them (see Figure 28).[112] It is at Anyue that sculptural representation of Dizang and the Ten Kings incorporates portrayals of hell. In a pair of niches, numbers 60 (84) and 56 (80) in the Grottoes of Perfected Awakening (Yuanjue dong 圓覺洞) (see Figure 29), dated no later than 934–965, new elements

111. Liu, Hu, and Li 1985: 421.

112. No exact date is available. My estimate is based on the inscriptional data in ibid.: 421. Also see Hu and Chen 1998a: 46–47 and fig. 9.

FIGURE 26. Dizang. Beishan niche 253, Dazu, Sichuan.

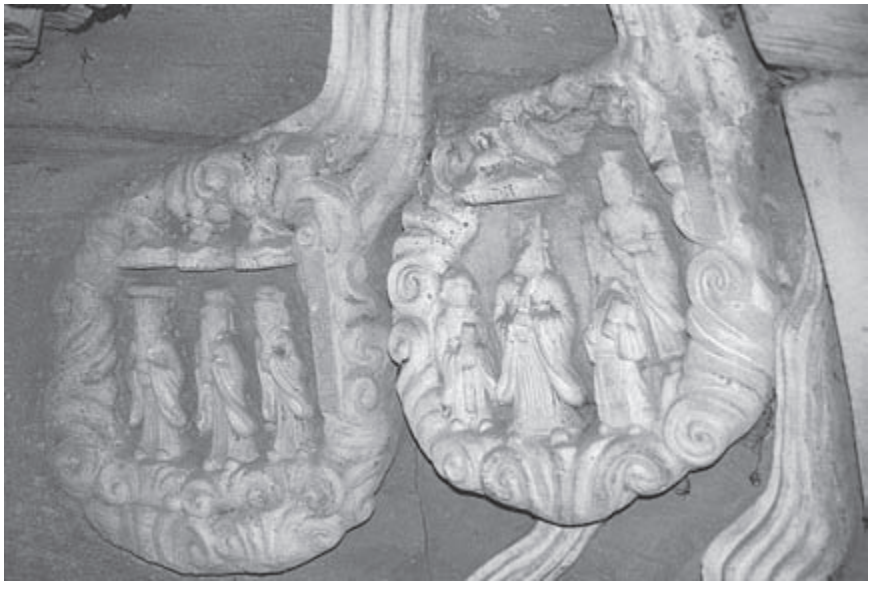

FIGURE 27. The Ten Kings and messenger officials. Beishan niche 253, Dazu, Sichuan.

FIGURE 28. Dizang and the Ten Kings. Shizhuan shan niche 9, Dazu, Sichuan.

were added to the basic iconography of Dizang and the Ten Kings.[113] In niche 60, the better preserved of the two, a hooded figure seated in the center holds a staff and a wish-granting jewel. At his feet lies a hybrid animal, and he is flanked by registers displaying the Ten Kings, three above and two below on each side, all dressed as Chinese bureaucrats (see Figure 29.) Behind the kings are several attendants also clad in Chinese costume. Immediately beneath the central hooded figure are hell reliefs, one of which shows a warden dragging a woman by the hair before a *karma* mirror (*yejing* 業鏡) (see Figure 30).

Chinese art historians have proposed that the woman represents the mother of Mulian, the Buddha's great disciple, who was renowned for his supernormal powers and is said to have descended into hell to rescue his wicked mother.[114] In some versions of the legend, the mother is reborn as a dog, which may account for the animal at the feet of the hooded figure in the carving. Following this reading, some art historians suggest that the central character should be Mulian rather than Dizang, arguing that Mulian is a monk and that in folktales he was given a staff to smash open the gates of hell.[115] However, because the iconography is identical for hooded Dizang images of the same period from Sichuan, it seems equally, if not more, plausible that the figure is Dizang. The monk holds in his hand a wish-granting jewel, an important symbol in Dizang's iconography that is rarely associated with Mulian. Furthermore, in depictions of the underworld, Dizang Bodhisattva is frequently accompanied by a lion.

If Mulian motifs are present, they were probably added as part of an effort

113. The variation in the numbering of the niches reflects two different categorizations used by scholars at Sichuan Academy. For the rationale behind the dating, see Hu 1994: 303.

114. Liu Changjiu (1997: 71) identifies the central figure as Mulian with an iconography similar to Dizang's.

115. In the Dunhuang version of the transformative text on Mulian, the Buddha is said to have given Mulian a staff with twelve metal rings to open the gates of hell; see the translation in Mair 1983: 104, 107.

Figure 29. Dizang and the Ten Kings. Yuanjue dong niche 60 (84), Anyue, Sichuan. Photograph courtesy of Hu Wenhe.

Figure 30. Karma mirror. Yuanjue dong niche 60 (84), Anyue, Sichuan.

to embellish and concretize the image of hell in the minds of medieval Chinese. In a widely circulated narrative version of the Mulian story, dated to around 800 and preserved in a Dunhuang transformatory text (*bianwen* 變文), Dizang appears briefly as one of several people whom Mulian encounters on his underworld journey.[116] Mulian's descent into hell constitutes a key chapter in medieval imaginings of the underworld, one in which the Chinese bureaucratic metaphor was imposed on punitive and grisly Buddhist hells.[117] Moreover, in Tang society, Dunhuang transformatory texts were circulated through storytelling and were often accompanied by illustrations, so that the Mulian story would have been extremely familiar to medieval Chinese.[118] It is thus hardly surprising that motifs from this story were internalized in the hell scenes in the Yuanjue dong. Whether the central character was originally meant to be Mulian or Dizang, there is no mistaking the similarities in their iconography, mythology, and religious function. Anyue's sculptural reliefs thus encapsulate the growing amalgamation of afterlife elements in a larger religious setting.

From the tenth century on, Dunhuang produced several syntheses of afterlife concepts involving Dizang. The Dunhuang examples generally do not highlight the gruesome details of suffering in hell but focus more on the legal and bureaucratic aspects of postmortem judgment. But cave 33 in the neighboring Anxi Yulin Grottoes contains a tenth-century wall painting featuring a Dizang with a shaven head and the six paths of rebirth emanating from his body.[119] He presides over scenes in which menacing guards hunt down half-dressed hell dwellers amidst a boiling cauldron and a *karma* mirror. Also in attendance are the two acolytes of good and evil and the General of the Five Paths (Wudao jiangjun 五道將軍; also known as the Spirit of the Five Paths, or Wudao shen 五道神), members of the growing pantheon of underworld deities in late medieval China. In charge of maintaining records of the actions of living beings, the two acolytes have distinct origins in pre-Han religion, which stipulated that life span registers be maintained at Mount Tai, the seat of otherworldly administration.[120] The General of the Five Paths is closely affiliated with the afterlife—and the underworld in particular—in early Chinese religion; he serves as the precursor to the last member of the Ten Kings, the King Who Turns the Wheel of the Five Paths (Wudao zhuanlun wang 五道轉輪王).[121]

116. In the Dunhuang narrative, Dizang appears briefly to notify Mulian of his deceased mother's whereabouts; see the translation in Mair 1983: 95.

117. Teiser 1988b: 168–195.

118. For a study of *bianwen* in Tang China, see Mair 1989; for Indian and Central Asian precedents for Chinese pictorial storytelling, see Mair 1988: 1–53.

119. For a photo reproduction, see Dunhuang yanjiuyuan 1997: pl. 77.

120. The acolytes of good and evil are said to accompany a person through life, recording his or her actions. Their records would be submitted to the courts of the Ten Kings at the time of one's death. On the two acolytes and their iconographies, see Soymié 1966: 45–78; 1967: 141–170. On the quantification of fate or life span, see Kohn 1998. A pair of acolytes was also assigned to Guanyin; see Idema 2000.

121. On the General of the Five Paths in Tang and pre-Tang China, see Dudbridge 1996–1997: 85–98; Oda 1976: 14–29; Sawada 1968: 90–92.

The paintings in situ at Dunhuang (Mogao grottoes 6, 176, 202, 314, 379, 380, 384, 390, and 456) mostly show a one-leg-pendant Dizang in the center, frequently wearing a hood and carrying the staff and wish-granting jewel. The six paths of rebirth emanate from his body and the courts of the Ten Kings appear laterally or directly below. Pairs of beings are often added to the retinue, usually in the lower portion of the painting. In addition to the pair of good and evil acolytes, another recurring duo is the monk attendant Daoming and the hybrid animal resembling a lion-dog, both from the *Record of a Returned Soul*. The Ten Kings and their courts are depicted with Dizang in several scroll paintings preserved in museum collections outside Dunhuang, dating from the tenth century or later.[122] Similar paintings have been found at Yulin ku. Illustrations accompanying manuscripts of the *Scripture of the Ten Kings* recovered from Dunhuang and Turfan feature Dizang in the frontispiece and elsewhere, although he does not play a conspicuous role in the text.[123]

The physical location of the relevant paintings in situ at the Mogao ku in Dunhuang may be of consideration. Except for caves 314 and 456, all examples of Dizang and the Ten Kings occur over the ceiling of a passageway between the antechamber and the principal chamber of the cave. This architectural schema most likely follows the deceased's passage to the intermediate state between death and the next rebirth, during which judgment is administered.[124] Dunhuang cave architecture may thus have stimulated more than an aesthetic response; by painting Dizang and the Ten Kings over the passageway artists created ritual and spatial symbolism. Visitors to the caves were able to enact the afterlife sojourn, which began in the passageway with judgment in the courts of the Ten Kings. Dizang's presence in this court reassured them of compassionate intervention. For the pious, the ordeal ended favorably with immediate rebirth in the paradisal realm of the celestial buddhas and bodhisattvas in the main chamber. Dizang thus represented a gateway, the promise of salvation, a bridge between judgment and an idyllic life in the next world.[125]

Judging from the number of visual representations and the growing

122. For a listing and description of Dunhuang scroll paintings, see Teiser 1994: 230–232.

123. For discussions on the Üighur manuscript illustrations to the *Scripture on the Ten Kings*, see Gabian 1973: 47–71, 1977: 25–35. Paintings of the Ten Kings produced in Ningbo (eastern China) were evidently exported to Japan, where some pieces have survived and are preserved at the Sekaidō Library; see Kwon 1999.

124. Wang-Toutain 1998: 290. The use of architecture to express religious or cosmological concepts is, of course, not new to the study of the history of religions. The Chinese imbued architecture with cosmological meaning as far back as pre-Buddhist times with concepts like the halls of light (*mingtang* 明堂). For a study on the *mingtang* and Buddhist utopias in relation to the history of the astronomical clock in Chinese civilization, see Forte 1988. The famous *vinaya* monk Daoxuan wrote an illustrated text on Jetavana (T1899:45.882c–895c), the famed Indian monastery, that correlates monastic architecture with religious concepts and functions. For studies of this text, see Ho 1995; Zhihui 2002.

125. This layout is reminiscent of one Dunhuang painting's (EO 3580) depiction of Amitābha's paradise, which appears immediately above a scene of Dizang in the courts of the Ten Kings.

complexity of the iconography, the merging of Dizang and the Ten Kings may have crystallized just before the tenth century. It is only with the tenth-century depictions from Anyue, Dazu, and Dunhuang that the visual imagery expands and the Ten Kings are transformed from miniature to full-sized figures, an indication of their growing importance in Buddhist cultic practice. To communicate and reinforce the bureaucratization of the underworld, the Ten Kings are shown dressed as Chinese officials, surrounded by a retinue of court attendants and scribes and tables strewn with writing instruments and documents.

Guiding the Way in the Afterlife: The Bodhisattva Yinlu

Another deity who crosses paths with Dizang in the underworld is the Bodhisattva Yinlu 引路 (Leading the Way), who appears in Buddhist art of the ninth and tenth centuries. The Buddhist equivalent to the psycho pomp of shamanistic religions, Yinlu leads the souls of the deceased to their destinations in the afterlife.[126] Usually depicted as a female deity, she holds a flying banner while standing on clouds, her face turned toward a miniature figure representing the deceased. First noticed among the Pelliot and Stein collections of Dunhuang paintings, this deity was for some time confused with Dizang, and the phrase "Yinlu pusa" was treated as a label for one of Dizang's functions.[127] Tsukamoto Zenryū was the first to distinguish between these two bodhisattvas, introducing evidence outside of Dunhuang, where the two are illustrated together and identified separately in inscriptions.[128] The relationship between Dizang and Yinlu is undeniable and helps illumine another dimension of Dizang's role in medieval imaginings of the afterlife.

Dated to 983, the Dunhuang silk painting MG 17662 features a hooded Dizang encircled by the Ten Kings and other members of Dizang's retinue.[129] In the left corner of the bottom register, a smaller deity, identified by a cartouche as Yinlu Bodhisattva, descends from a cloud, carrying a banner and looking backward to guide the deceased, who is shown in the right corner. This depiction of Dizang and Yinlu together might be dismissed as incidental were it not for similar pairings found outside Dunhuang. Among the representations to which Tsukamoto has called attention was a stele engraving dated to 932 showing Yinlu, in the company of Dizang, with an inscribed

126. Derived from the Greek, "psycho pomp" is the technical term for one who guides the dead in the afterlife. It was first used in the field of anthropology in relation to afterlife beliefs and practices in shamanic religions.

127. Tsukamoto 1931: 130–182. Among the collections of Dunhuang paintings are several pieces depicting Yinlu Bodhisattva (EO 1133, EO 1398, MG 17657, MG 17697, and MG 17662 from the Pelliot collection; Stein 47 from the British Museum). For reproductions, see Giès 1995: 2, pls. 63, 68, 69, 72, 73.

128. See Tsukamoto 1931: 138–158.

129. For a reproduction of MG 17662, see Giès 1995: 2, pl. 63.

text of the *Scripture on the Buddha's Topknot Supremely Victorious Dhāraṇī*.[130] Moreover, niche 1 at the Guanyin Slope (Guanyin po 觀音坡) in Dazu, dated to 1154, contains two badly damaged images, one holding a staff and the other a banner, named in the inscriptions respectively as Dizang and Yinlu.[131] On the right wall of niche 2 at the same site, dating to the Song, is a seated image grasping a staff; next to it stands a figure on partially damaged clouds, holding a banner—perhaps yet another pairing of Dizang and Yinlu.[132]

What then is the significance of the pairing of these two figures? The key lies in the origin of Yinlu Bodhisattva, whom Chinese Buddhists created in the late medieval period. Buddhist literature details guiding the deceased in the afterlife, but *yinlu* is not used. The Pure Land concept of *laiyin* 來引 (more commonly known in Japanese as *raigō*) is undoubtedly a Buddhist precursor to the concept of Yinlu Bodhisattva. However, indigenous ideas certainly contributed to the formation of this new Buddhist deity. The function of a psycho pomp was already anticipated in early Chinese mortuary practices. In Chinese shamanic rites the terrifying geography of hell persuades the dead to return to their bodies. Tomb excavations have yielded artifacts that illustrate the afterlife journey undertaken by the deceased.[133] Although a psycho pomp may not actually figure in either context, a desire for guidance in the world beyond the grave is evident in early indigenous practices. With the subsequent introduction of Buddhist ideas and practices, especially the Pure Land concept of welcoming the deceased, the stage was set for the birth of a Buddhist deity who specialized in directing the dead on their sojourn.

The term *yinlu* was probably first coined to describe a generic function performed by bodhisattvas. In fact, in one of the Stein paintings, Guanyin herself leads the deceased.[134] The task of guiding souls was eventually assumed by a new deity in the Chinese Buddhist pantheon; this change was one of several that occurred in the rapidly expanding conceptions of the afterlife in late medieval China. Dizang's connection with death and the afterlife developed over this period as did the purgatorial concept of the Ten Kings. It is thus not surprising that a Buddhist psycho pomp like Yinlu Bodhisattva should surface during the ninth and the tenth centuries. The thought of appearing before the courts of the Ten Kings struck fear in the hearts of sinners, whose guilt seemed all the more fixed when faced with the dreadful prospect of inescapable judgment; procuring help in the af-

130. Tsukamoto 1931: 138–141.

131. See Guo 1999a: 35, text inscription 48. The date is recorded in the inscription.

132. Liu, Hu, and Li 1985: 452. Chinese scholars have identified the figure holding the staff as Dizang and have suggested that the other figure could be either Daoming or Yinlu. Given the banner and clouds, the figure is more likely the Bodhisattva Yinlu.

133. A prominent example is the banner painting found in Mawangdui tomb 1. For a discussion of the afterlife motifs depicted in the banner, see Loewe 1979: 17–59. Loewe believes that the painting functions like a talisman, guiding the soul of the deceased in the afterlife.

134. For a reproduction of this painting, see Whitfield 1982–1985: 2, pl. 10.

terlife became a matter of urgency. Dizang answered the need for a savior who would temper justice with mercy, while Yinlu offered benevolent guidance through the dark courts of the Ten Kings. In Guanyin po niche 1, an inscription addresses the two deities as "The Bodhisattva King Dizang" (Dizang wang pusa 地藏王菩薩) and "The Bodhisattva King Yinlu" (Yinlu wang pusa 引路王菩薩).[135] This is one of the first inscriptions that identifies Dizang as ruler of the underworld. No doubt the metamorphosis from bodhisattva to sovereign was influenced by the image of the Ten Kings reigning over the courts in the underworld. Unfortunately, because the statues are badly eroded, it is impossible to determine if this linguistic consecration also resulted in the replacement of the jeweled coiffure with the five-buddha crown, which characterizes Dizang in late imperial and modern Chinese iconography.

After the tenth century, Dizang's association with the Ten Kings and judgment after death became a key element in the Chinese vision of the afterlife—so much so that Dizang quickly gained prominence as the patron saint in Buddhist death rites, while Yinlu Bodhisattva gradually faded from the religious landscape. In the Ming paintings used for the Repentance Rites of the Water and Land Creatures (*shuilu chan* 水陸懺), the Bodhisattva King Yinlu appears as a member of the pantheon of Buddhist deities but having no special connection to Dizang, who is also included in these paintings as one of the major bodhisattvas.[136]

Images of Dizang in Esoteric Buddhist Practices

A Ritual Manual, as mentioned previously, includes two sets of instructions for making Dizang images used in esoteric rites addressed to the bodhisattva. In the version that exists today, *A Ritual Manual* contains no illustrations of these images. However, Japanese illustrated texts of esoteric deities have been collated and published as appendices to the Taishō edition of the Chinese Buddhist canon in volumes 86–97, under the series "Illustrated Images" (*Tuxiang bu* 圖像部). In the Japanese texts, Dizang is represented either as a disciple draped in monastic robes or as a householder bodhisattva dressed as an Indian prince, replete with jewels and ornate coiffure—never as a monk wearing a celestial coiffure as *A Ritual Manual* describes. I will not discuss here the Dizang images in the Taishō canon derived from Japanese editions; they merely reflect usages in Japanese esoteric Buddhism, despite the fact that they claim to be of Chinese origin.

Visual sources place Dizang in the Maṇḍala of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas (Ch. *Ba da pusa mantuluo* 八大菩薩曼荼羅; Skt. *Aṣṭamahābodhisattva-*

135. Liu, Hu, and Li 1985: 451.

136. A cartouche identifies the Bodhisattva King Yinlu, who is clothed in colorful householder's robes and jewelry, one hand holding a bell and the other an incense holder, in the company of two female attendants. See the photo reproduction in Shanxi sheng bowuguang 1988, pls. 87–88; for Dizang Bodhisattva, see pl. 13.

maṇḍala). The earliest evidence of Kṣitigarbha, the Indian counterpart to Dizang, is among representations of the eight bodhisattvas in the cave temples of Ajanta and Ellora from the eighth century. Tracing the cult's history, Phyllis Granoff has shown that the eight great bodhisattvas originated in Mahāyāna cultic practice and were subsequently adapted to esoteric practice.[137] Listings of the deities in early Chinese Buddhist texts were not standardized, but the same set of eight bodhisattvas began appearing from the eighth century—although in varying permutations and with some disparities in appellation or attribute.[138] In esoteric art and texts, a central buddha was added to the eight bodhisattvas to form a *maṇḍala*, an important esoteric concept. Several texts include the Maṇḍala of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas, the earliest of which are Chinese works dating to the eighth century.[139]

Stein painting 50 from Dunhuang, now preserved in the British Museum, shows a central buddha, hands in a gesture of meditation and surrounded on either side by four bodhisattvas.[140] Inscriptions in Tibetan identify four of these bodhisattvas as Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin (Chugaizhang 除蓋障), Samantabhadra, Dizang, and Mañjuśrī. Together with Avalokiteśvara, Maitreya, Ākāśagarbha, and Vajrapāṇi (Jinggang shou 金剛手), they constitute the eight great bodhisattvas enumerated in the *Ba da pusa mantuluo jing* 八大菩薩曼荼羅經 (*Aṣṭamahābodhisattvamaṇḍala-sūtra*; Scripture on the Maṇḍala of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas), attributed to the eighth-century esoteric master Amoghavajra.[141] However, the iconography in the Stein painting does not coincide with the scripture. In the painting, Dizang grasps a flaming jewel in his left hand, whereas the *Scripture on the Maṇḍala of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas* describes Dizang as follows:

> His head embellished with a jeweled coiffure and his face expressing tranquil peace, he is compassionately mindful of all living beings. His left hand rests beneath his navel and grasps an alms bowl; the palm of his right hand is inverted and turned downward, with the thumb and index finger joined in the gesture of consoling all living beings.[142]

137. Granoff 1968–1969: 81–95.

138. For an early listing, see *Foshuo ba jixiang shenzhou jing* 佛說八吉祥神咒經, attributed to Zhi Qian 支謙 (fl. 222–253), T427:14.72b–73a. For a more common listing of the eight bodhisattvas, see *Foshuo ba da pusa jing* 佛說八大菩薩經, T490:14.751b–752a.

139. For example, *Ba da pusa mantuluo jing* 八大菩薩曼荼羅經, translated by Amoghavajra, T1167:20.675a–676a; *Foshuo dasheng ba da mannaluo jing* 佛說大乘八大曼拏羅經, translated by Faxian 法賢 (ca. 1000), T1168A:20.676a–c.

140. For a reproduction of the painting, see Whitfield 1982–1985: vol. 1, pl. 17; Kawahara 1974: 108. For a detailed description, see Waley 1931: 83–84.

141. *Ba da pusa mantuluo jing*, T490:14.751b–c; cf. *Foshuo dasheng ba da mannaluo jing*, T1168A:20.676b.

142. *Ba da pusa mantuluo jing*, T1167:20.675c. The gesture described is the *anwei yin* 安慰印; see Saunders 1960: 66–69. Descriptions of the eight bodhisattvas' hand gestures are not given in the *Foshuo dasheng ba da mannaluo jing*, T1168A.

Apparently there existed more than one iconographical tradition for representing Dizang as a member of the eight bodhisattvas. Based on the Tibetan characters, the nature of the pigments used, and other details, scholars are inclined to date the Stein painting to the Tibetan occupation of Dunhuang, which occurred sometime around the ninth century.[143]

Another representation of the cult of eight great bodhisattvas, believed to have been executed in the eighth century, is a partially damaged wall mural on the east side of cave 25 in the Yulin ku.[144] Only four bodhisattvas and a central deity, Vairocana, remain of the original painting. Identified in a cartouche, Dizang is dressed in princely garb, his hair pulled back in a coiffure. His left hand forms the gesture of meditation *(dhyānamudrā)*, while his right, grasping a jewel, is raised to his chest. The three other bodhisattvas are Ākāśagarbha, Mañjuśrī, and Maitreya (see Figure 31.)

In addition to paintings, stone carvings of the eight great bodhisattvas have also been found in China. At the Slope of the Reclining Stūpa (Daota po 倒塔坡) in Dazu stands an octagonal pagoda built in the Song period. On the first level are chiseled eight niches, each enshrining a bodhisattva. Chinese art historians have identified these images as the eight great bodhisattvas.[145] Dizang, outfitted in an ornate headpiece and flowing garments, holds a staff and a jewel (now eroded), from which radiates two beams of light to the exterior of the niche.[146]

Together with artistic representations of the eight bodhisattvas, there exists an important piece of material evidence that places Dizang worship in the everyday practice of esoteric ritual: Pelliot 4514.5, a woodblock print consisting of an image of Dizang and liturgical text. The print is mounted on a scroll, which was evidently used for ritual veneration and belongs to a set of similar xylographs recovered from Dunhuang, all containing an image of a particular deity matched with a mantra and dedication verse.[147] Although largely undated, these prints probably appeared no earlier than the Song, when woodblock printing became integral to daily culture and life in China.

In P 4514.5 Dizang is identified in a cartouche as "The Great Saint Dizang Bodhisattva" (*dasheng dizang pusa* 大聖地藏菩薩). He is dressed in royal robes and heavily decorated with jewelry; his long hair cascades down to his shoulders from beneath an ornamented headpiece. Sitting on a lotus with both legs crossed, his right hand forms the gesture of fearlessness and his left holds an alms bowl. The following liturgy appears in the lower portion of the print:

143. Waley 1931: 84.

144. For the dating, see Dunhuang yanjiuyuan 1996: 213; and pl. 37. For more detailed reproductions of the painting, see Duan 1993: 26–27.

145. Liu, Hu, and Li 1985: 505–506.

146. Guo 1999b: 132, pl. 140.

147. For a survey of Dunhuang woodcut prints preserved in the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, see Kikutake 1975: 3–35.

FIGURE 31. Remains of the Maṇḍala of Eight Great Bodhisattvas. Yulin cave 25, Anxi, Gansu. Photograph courtesy of Dunhuang Research Academy.

An Abbreviated Version of the Dizang Ritual (*Dizang lueyi* 地藏略儀)
Single-heartedly I take refuge with my life and prostrate to all the Tathāgatas, who are of equal nature and of the same body.
Great compassionate saint, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Dizang,
I, together with living beings—may we all take refuge with our lives, and by the transference of merits may [all] be reborn in the Land of Peaceful Joy (*anle guo* 安樂國). (prostrate ten times)
Next, my mind totally resolute and singularly fixed on the deity, I recite The Mantra of Dizang Bodhisattva's Dharmakāya for Extinguishing and Determining Karmic Obstacles:
An boluomotani suofuhe 唵 鉢囉沫他鶴 娑縛賀.

This *mantra* clearly possesses great austere power to extinguish and determine grave sins and karmic obstacles; it is able to eliminate disaster and epidemics, extend the life span, and protect the body. The fourfold congregation [monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen] are universally encouraged to recite and observe [this *mantra*] with a resolute mind and to transfer merits [so that all] may together be reborn in the Land of Immeasurable Life Span (*wuliangshou guo* 無量壽國).

P 4514.5 obviously does not promulgate the kind of systematized esoteric practices associated with Amoghavajra and other Tang esoteric teachers. In the broader religious setting, the esoteric practices were absorbed by and merged with the exoteric—as in the ritual text above, which incorporates Pure Land imagery. Originating in Mahāyāna scriptures, *mantra* and *dhāraṇī* recitation is claimed by esoteric Buddhism as one of its core practices. Precisely because of its more diffused origins, *mantra* recitation swiftly became a vehicle for spreading esoteric teachings and practices and an indispensable part of daily religious praxis for monastic and lay practitioners alike.[148] Woodblock printing facilitated the mass production of images and *mantra*s for daily worship. P 4514.5 is an example of this kind of production featur-

148. *Mantra* recitation was so widely circulated in the medieval milieu that it was incorporated into the daily routine of Chinese Buddhist monasteries of the period. The Chinese translation of the *Susiddhikara* (*Suxidijieluo jing* 蘇悉地羯囉經), an esoteric text, contains a chapter titled "Chapter on Observing Precepts" (Chijie pin 持戒品), which outlines the use of *mantra* recitation in everyday monastic life. See T893:18.606a–608a. The text prescribes *mantra*s for a repertory of daily activities, including morning ablutions, eating, and so forth, as it aims to ritualize and sanctify the mundane by transforming the secular into the sacred. This kind of alternative practice for Chinese monastics is not unusual, and modern scholarship has produced several studies on the Chan disciplinary code (e.g., Foulk, 1995, 454–472). The esoteric contribution to modern Chinese monastic codes is significant and needs to be more fully explored. It would be interesting to examine to what extent the chapter on precepts from the *Susiddhikara* was actualized in the medieval Chinese context. Monastic use of *mantra* recitation in daily activities is an important antecedent for similar practices found in a later genre of Chinese disciplinary literature called *pini riyong* 毘尼日用, or "*vinaya* for daily functions," which emerged during the Ming.

ing, in this case, the Bodhisattva Dizang as the patron saint for daily worship, combined in an ad hoc fashion with esoteric and Pure Land elements.

Forgotten Images in Religious Artifacts

Visual and epigraphic evidence shows that Dizang worship rapidly expanded across north central China to the western borders of Gansu and Sichuan. In Longmen sculpture, Dizang was first represented in the princely householder's guise typical of bodhisattvas before a special iconography was introduced. The *Scripture on the Ten Wheels* provides the *śramaṇa* iconography, as well as the imagery of the six paths of rebirth and the wish-granting jewel. Moreover, Longmen art and epigraphy tie Dizang to other cults, especially Guanyin and the Amitābha triad.

From the eighth century on, the western regions of Sichuan and Dunhuang became the centers of Dizang art. Substantial increases in the size and number of niches and sculptures reflect the growth of Dizang cults in the area. Sichuan and Dunhuang art also captured critical moments in Dizang's history. In Dunhuang the veneration of Dizang as Lord of the Underworld came into its own, drawing on medieval afterlife concepts such as the Ten Kings and the Bodhisattva Yinlu. Parallel developments occurred in Sichuan: In Anyue province, Dizang and the Ten Kings iconographies borrowed elements from Mulian mythology, an important source for Tang imaginings of the afterlife. To what extent these religious currents, particularly as they relate to the underworld, were molded by Central Asian cultures requires further research. Undoubtably, the staff and hood of the itinerant monk braving the sandy deserts of Central Asia were adopted by Chinese Buddhists in their visualizing of the Bodhisattva Dizang, the afterlife savior who guides travelers through the six paths of rebirth, promising mercy to the deceased as they stumble through the dark realm of the Ten Kings. The coming together of Dizang worship and the Ten Kings, while not clearly articulated in textual sources, is attested to in visual materials. In Dizang art from Dunhuang and Sichuan, hell imagery became the focus of depictions of the six paths of rebirth, culminating in Baoding shan cave 20's panoramic display of hell tortures from the Southern Song (1127–1279). Also on the western borders the combination of the jewel and staff remained constant in Dizang's iconography.

Vestiges of a possible link between Dizang and Bhaiṣajyaguru are discernible in Sichuan and Dunhuang art, especially in a pair of tableaux inspired by the *Scripture on the Healing Buddha* at Beishan Fowan. Although Bhaiṣajyaguru never gained the same level of prominence as Amitābha, he appears consistently in East Asian Buddhist art. As the buddha of healing and prolonging life, he appealed to medieval Chinese, with their penchant for the mantic arts and magico-religious techniques for healing and exorcism such as those detailed in the indigenous scripture *The Exorcism Method*. Given their iconographic similarities, it is not surprising that Sichuan devo-

tees of Bhaiṣajyaguru and Dizang addressed their prayers for assistance in combating the evils of this world, procuring benefits for family members, and bringing about a good rebirth for the dead to both deities. No textual evidence exists, however, of a connection between these two cults. This "lost" relationship may have been the inspiration behind the birth of Enmei Jizō (Life-Prolonging Jizō) in Japanese Buddhism in the twelfth century. In medieval China, there temporarily flourished a life-prolonging bodhisattva called Yanming pusa 延命菩薩 who evolved, like the Bodhisattva Yinlu, from the personification of an attribute from the array of generic functions shared by all bodhisattvas. These "generic" bodhisattvas were eventually absorbed by the cults of more prominent Buddhist deities.

Finally, among artistic and epigraphical materials we find an "esoteric" Dizang as a member of the eight bodhisattvas, forming a *maṇḍala* with a buddha or receiving veneration as the presiding deity in esoteric rites. Although my survey is hardly exhaustive, it does indicate that such esoteric expressions are relatively few in number when compared to other iconographies, notably the underworld Dizang. As one of the eight bodhisattvas, Dizang usually appears as a householder bodhisattva who more or less resembles the other members of the entourage. His iconography is hardly uniform: His hand gestures and accessories are varied and rarely coincide with textual renditions. An intriguing iconography is the octagonal pagoda at the Daota po in Dazu Baoding shan, which bears little resemblance to *maṇḍala* designs seen in Japanese Shingon Buddhism. Here Dizang carries the staff and jewel, which are more commonly associated with his underworld aspect than his membership in the cult of the eight bodhisattvas. Other evidence of Dizang as the patron deity of esoteric rites can be found in Dunhuang woodblock print P 4514.5. This print verifies that the so-called esoteric rites enumerated in *A Ritual Manual*, especially in the abbreviated version of P 4514.5, were practiced in an everyday context and the text was frequently printed in large quantities. In the abbreviated version, Dizang was venerated using a ritual formula that draws on image contemplation, *mantra* recitation, and the goal of rebirth in the Pure Land, all of which are broadly disseminated religious elements that cannot be relegated to a single tradition.