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AN EARLY WORK BY KÔEN IN COLOGNE

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This article is dedicated as a small gesture of gratitude to the memory of Bunsaku Kurata, former director of the Nara National Museum who generously helped so many foreign scholars and friends.

1. *The figure of Jizô dated 1249 in Cologne*

Adolf Fischer, the founder of the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst in Cologne, purchased from the dealer Tamai on December 6–9, 1911, the wooden figure of a standing Jizô-bosatsu (bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha). At first he thought it to be a work of the Kônin period (810–824), but he soon changed his dating and extended it to the Tempyô to Jôgan period (729–877).¹ He was fascinated by the «interestingly stylized drapery»² of the figure, and he searched for comparable pieces in the Nara National Museum, but found only one resembling it remotely.

He was irritated by the later addition of a Kamakura period pedestal and had it replaced by a simple wooden board, which still serves as a stand for the statue to this day.

Gunhild Gabbert sixty years later in her detailed catalogue of the Buddhist sculptures in the Cologne Museum, replaced the Jizô to the 12th century, remarking that it definitely showed earlier stylistic elements traceable to the 9th century, i.e. the Jôgan period.³

The Jizô in his appearance of a Buddhist monk⁴ is standing erect, his bare feet slightly apart (Fig. 1). His right arm hangs down in an easy attitude, the hand originally holding a *shakujô*, now however lost. The left forearm is bent forward at a right angle, the hand grasping a jewel (*hôju*)

1 The respective quotations in his handwritten unpublished diaries were spotted by Dr. Ulrich Wiesner, Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Köln.

2 «... ein Werk, das sich durch einen interessant stilisierten Faltenwurf auszeichnet...»

3 *Buddhistische Plastik aus China und Japan*. Bestandskatalog des Museums für Ostasiatische Kunst der Stadt Köln, Wiesbaden, 1972, 25.

4 Inventory No. B 11,37. Hinoki wood with darkened polychromy on *asanuno* and *sabiurushi*. Height 76,6 cm.

which seems to be a later replacement. The Jizô's egg-shaped shaven head sits on a short neck. The total height of the figure (76,6 cm) is about three and a half times the width of the shoulders. Jizô is clad in the traditional Buddhist *nôe* and a *kesa* covering both shoulders.

A striking stylistic feature which had already roused Adolf Fischer's interest in 1911, are the large drapery folds, falling in U-shape patterns in front of the belly, at the «sleeve»-like sides and at the back of the figure. They reappear in smaller scale as half-circles on the lower garment just above the feet. Their moulding is round and deep, it follows the traditional system of the so-called «rolling wave style» (*hompā-shiki*) of the Jôgan period: a fold with a curved high ridge is combined with a small angular one. These folds sweeping across the body of the figure in large curves possess a highly rhythmic quality without aiming at strict realism. They form groups of two or three.

A similar tendency to decorative abstraction is evident in the waves of folds just above the right hand and in the S-like whirl of the *kesa* end in front of the belly.

In striking contrast to the high relief of the draperies the facial features are of a remarkable flatness. The nose is not very prominent, the eyelids and the arches of the brows are much reduced in volume, the mouth is rather small. The length of the face from chin to eyebrows is less than half the height of the complete head so that the high dome of the scull appears exaggerated. Also the exposed part of the chest is comparatively flat in modelling and does not possess the fleshy roundness of 9th century sculptures. The *warihagi* of the Cologne Jizô follows the traditional system as practiced during the late Heian and the Kamakura period.⁵ Head and body were carved from one single block of Hinoki wood (Fig. 2), two flat boardlike pieces were attached to the sides for the «sleeves», and four smaller blocks for hands and feet. After the rough outlines of the figure had been carved out of the central block, this was split sideways into two halves with an axe. Then the inside was carefully hollowed out, leaving only thin «walls», and finally the traces of carving were greatly smoothed out. The head was split from the body in such a way that a stump pro-

5 On the technical aspects of Japanese wooden sculpture cf. B. Kurata: *Butsuzô no mikata: gihô to hyôgen*, Tôkyô, 1965; K. Nishikawa: «Making of Buddhist Sculpture», in: K. Nishikawa and E.J. Sano: *The Great Age of Japanese Sculpture, A.D. 600-1300*, Kimbell Art Museum, Japan Society, Fort Worth - New York, 1982, 47-54; K. Nishikawa: *Ichiboku-zukuri to yosegi-zukuri*, *Nihon no Bijutsu* 202, Tôkyô, 1983.

jecting from the head could be inserted into the opening of the body. The two sideparts for the sleeves were also hollowed.

After that the parts were glued together and the carving of the details was completed. Most parts of the figure were covered with a thin textile layer (*asanuno*) pasted on with a mixture of lacquer and flour (*mugi-urushi*). Onto this a ground of greyish *sabi-urushi* and a thin layer of white were applied as basis for the colouring. Although the figure today is blackened by dust and incense the original colour scheme is still recognizable: The parts of the body not covered by clothes were flesh-colored, the *kesa* was mainly red and the *nôe* blue with green lining visible at the inner «sleeves». The ridges of the folds were accentuated by lines of *kiri-kane*.

The overall impression of the Jizô figure was controversial as Gunhild Gabbert already observed in her catalogue. Some archaistic features stood in contrast to the general stylistic character of the sculpture. These puzzling features found their unexpected explanation in May 1983. At that time restoration work on the Jizô-bosatsu was begun by Mrs. Barbara Piert-Borgers, restorer at the Cologne Museum. Already Gunhild Gabbert had mentioned in her catalogue that through a long crack running nearly all the way down the front of the figure some paper could be seen (Fig. 1). When Mrs. Piert-Borgers now took off the head of the sculpture by removing two old iron nails from the joint between neck and body, both figure and head were found tightly packed with offerings which apparently had not been touched since their original date of deposit. To keep the votive offerings in place they had been secured by bamboo splints which had been fitted horizontally into little shallow holes drilled into the inside walls of the hollow sculpture. To remove them they had to be clipped. But even then some of the larger objects could be taken out through the openings of head and body only after these had been slightly enlarged.

Inside the head two small beautiful gilt bronze figures of standing Buddhas had been placed, the rest of the cavity being completely filled with small votive prints (*shûbutsu*) depicting Amida-butsu. Lying loose on top of the contents of the body was the miniature sculpture of a Jizô-bosatsu. The main contents were texts, mostly handwritten scrolls, a printed Chinese Lotos Sûtra wrapped in a sheet of white paper, and thousands of votive prints in two different sizes, together with a small silken bag, containing a «Buddha relic». Most important for the art historian were the Dedicatory Text (*gansho*) and the List of Contents.

The selection of the votive offerings found inside the Cologne Jizô (Fig. 3) corresponds to the conventional scheme in use during the late Heian and Kamakura periods⁶, but since the material offered an unexpected clue to the stylistic inconsistencies of the sculpture it shall be treated here in extenso.

2. The dedicatory text and the list of contents

Among the handwritten material enshrined inside the body of the Jizô sculpture two texts deserve special attention. One is a comparatively small scroll with a list of all the contents, entitled *Jizô-bosatsu goshin-chû hônô butsu-kyô-tô mokuroku*, «Catalogue of the Buddhist scriptures etc., respectfully enshrined inside the holy body of Jizô-bosatsu» (Fig. 4) (from now on quoted in this article as «List».)⁷ It ends in a colophon stating: «In the first year of the era Kenchô (i.e. 1249 A.D.), cyclical characters *tsuchinoto tori*, on the 21st day of the 11th month (written by) the Master of the Vow (*ganshu*), the monk Saishin» (*Kakihan*).

A comparison of the items listed (numbering by the author of this article) shows that the contents of the figure has remained undisturbed and complete throughout the centuries.

Of still greater importance is the second text written in Chinese characters in 19 lines on one large sheet of paper, measuring 30 × 47,5 cm (Fig. 5). This «Text of the Vow» (*Gansho*) discloses all the facts and details in connection with the manufacturing of this piece of sculpture. The handwriting is in a fluent and lush Cursive Style (*gyôsho*), the grammar of the Chinese is in some instances slightly odd, a fact that is frequently met with in Chinese texts written by educated Japanese Buddhist priests. The following translation is a rendering of the historically informative parts of the text, omitting only some of the bombastic phrases of the actual vow.

«Saishin, priest (*jûsô*) of the Jizô-in in the area of Fukakusa in the province Yamashiro in the Great Japanese Empire (Dai-Nihon-koku) on the continent Jambudvîpa, has for the purification of all living beings in the

6 Votive offerings as contents in Japanese sculptures have been treated by B. Kurata: *Zônai-nônyû-hin*, Nihon no Bijutsu 86, Tôkyô, 1973. Cf. also Bunkachô (ed.): *Ju-yôbunkazai*, Special Vols. 1 and 2, Zônai-nônyû-hin, Tôkyô, 1978.

7 Height of the scroll 14 cm. In reading difficult characters and for the identification of names the author received the help of Miss Eiko Kondô and Miss Hiroko Yoshikawa.

Six Forms of Existence (*rokudô*)⁸, and for the benefit of all kinds within the Sphere of the Absolute (*hokkai*)⁹ promulgated the Great Vow (*dai-seigan*), respectfully to make and set up this image (*gyôzô*)¹⁰ of Jizô-bo-satsu, measuring 2 *shaku* and 5 *son*. This image was respectfully made as a copy (*mo*) of a standing image which had been respectfully produced by the *sôzu* Sentoku Genshin (942–1017) of the Ryôgon-in on Mount Tendai (i.e. Hiei-zan). He had done this in accordance with his wish for purification (in a period when) virtuous men appeared (in this world). I now express my Great Vow with the following words: When that image made by the Dharma-Master (*hosshi*) of Complete Wisdom (*Chiman-hosshi*)¹¹ was struck by fire, it was not burned, but rescued in an unexplainable manner. If among the living beings (abiding) in hell (*jigoku*) an image made by a Buddhist priest should possess these same (qualities), then also this one might resemble it in regard to the complete achievement of religious virtue and the accomplishment of positive roots (*zengon*)¹².

One grain of a Buddha Relic (*butsu-shari*), one gilt bronze figure of 1 *son* and 6 *fun*, each of Shaka and Amida, printed votive pictures (*shûbutsu*), one thousand each of Amida and Jizô, several kinds of *dhâranîs* and of Mahâyâna-sûtras, these all have been respectfully encased inside the holy body. Repeatedly the Buddhist priest Saishin was begged to come and dedicate (*go*) the Jizô, so that the Bodhisattva's beneficial and saving powers may reach the suffering beings, and that, in consequence, the world of the living beings may untiringly draw on (the powers of) this Great Vow. In fulfillment of this vow all the Three Treasures are enshrined in this container (i.e. the sculpture) and receive (the effects of) my vow.

In the first year of the era Kenchô (1249), with the cyclical characters *tsuchinoto tori* on the 15th day of the 10th month the work was begun, on the 24th day of the 11th month in the same year this Text of the Vow (*Gansho*) was deposited (in the figure).

8 See W.E. Soothill and L. Hodous: *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, Reprint Taipei, 1970, 139 (= SH).

9 SH 271.

10 On *gyôzô* and other terms signifying the icon cf. R. Goepfer: «Some thoughts on the icon in Esoteric Buddhism of East Asia», in: *Studia Sino-Mongolica*, Festschrift für Herbert Franke, Münchener Ostasiatische Studien 25, 1982, 247.

11 This seems to be an honorific designation of Genshin, not the personal name of another monk.

12 SH 369.

Master of the Vow (*ganshu*), the monk Saishin (*Kakihan*) *Dai-busshi hôgen Kôen* (*Kakihan*).»

This *Gammon* contains several highly important facts which allow a complete re-evaluation of the Cologne Jizô figure which up to now had been registered as a work in a provincial style of the 12th century, i. e. the Late Heian Period.

Apparently, the sculpture was commissioned by a Tendai monk named Saishin, living in the Jizô-in, probably a minor temple, situated in the area of Fukakusa in the province of Yamashiro, extending around the Heian capital Kyôto.

About the priest Saishin, most probably head-monk of the Jizô-in, nothing seems to have been related in the biographical literature of Tendai priests. He also wrote the List of contents encased inside the sculpture, three days before these offerings were enshrined.

Geographical sources are equally silent about the temple Jizô-in of Fukakusa.¹³ The area, situated right in the center of the culturally fertile province of Yamashiro, has kept its name until today. It is located near the foot of the Momoyama hill between Fushimi and Inari. Several tombs of the imperial family have been erected here, and several large Buddhist temples have in bygone days enhanced the splendour of the area, one of them being the famous Dôjô-ji.¹⁴ Perhaps the Jizô-in of our text was a sub-temple of one of these larger religious complexes. Not far away there survives a place name Roku-Jizô where six temples are supposed to have existed formerly, the main images (*honzon*) of which seem to have been the well-known six forms of Jizô-bosatsu. But their buildings have also vanished completely.

Very important for the history of Japanese Buddhist sculpture is the indication in our text, that the figure was a copy made after another and older work which had been commissioned by the famous Tendai priest Genshin of the Ryôgon-in. This Ryôgon-in¹⁵ or Shuryôgon-in was situated in the Yokawa Valley on the northern slopes of the Hiei-zan. On that site the still more famous Tendai priest Ennin, then aged 35, had built a

13 The Jizô-in of Fukakusa is not to be found in the *Yôshû fushi* of 1682, nor in the *Yamashiro-meishô-shi* of 1705. Also the large modern encyclopedia of Japanese geographical names, T. Yoshida's: *Dainihon-jimei-jisho*, Tôkyô, 1971, does not mention it. The references to the early Japanese sources in footnotes 13, 15, 16 were kindly furnished by Mr. K. Nishikawa.

14 Cf. Yoshida 209.

15 Cf. *Sammon-dôsha-ki*, in: *Gunsho-ruiju* 24, 4082-3; *Eigaki-yôki*, dto. 24, 546-7; Yoshida 652.

small hut for meditation (*sôan*) in 829 A.D. where he had kept two paintings showing the Bodhisattva Shô-Kannon and the protective deity Bishamon. Those two deities had rescued him and his ship in a heavy storm on the way back from his pilgrimage to China. In 848 a more solid hall was erected and two wooden images of the deities were made for the altar. Later, in 975 the priest Ryôgen (912–985) had an image of Fudô added.

Again nearly one century later, the most prominent pupil of Ryôgen made the Ryôgon-in the center of his activities. It was the Tendai priest Genshin (942–1017)¹⁶, mentioned in our *Gansho*. He had studied the Tendai doctrine in its Vatican, the Hiei-zan, but had at the same time devoted most of his energy to theological speculations about the belief in the compassionate saving powers of the Buddha Amitâbha, so that he also became known as the sixth patriarch of the Jôdo-Shin-School of Amidism. Here, in the Ryôgon-in, he composed his most influential works, the *Ôjô-yôshû*, «Essentials of Rebirth in the Pure Land», and his Commentaries on the Amitâbha-sûtras, which were to form the philosophical basis for the powerful Japanese Jôdo Faith.

According to his biography, Genshin had several sculptures made for the Ryôgon-in: The pair of Śâkyamuni and Prabhûtaratna-buddha, and also the four Bodhisattvas Fugen, Monju, Kannon and Miroku have been enumerated. A Jizô statue does not appear in this list. Possibly the Jizô mentioned in our *Gansho* was commissioned separately, but nothing is known about its production. It ought to have been made during the second half of the 10th or very early in the 11th century.

The statement of our *Gansho* that Genshin's Jizô sculpture miraculously survived a conflagration of its temple is corroborated by the *Eigaku-ryakki*¹⁷ which informs us, that in fact on the 5th day of the 2nd month of the fourth year Ninnan (1169) the Ryôgon-in burnt down, but that its sacred figures were saved from the flames. Reconstruction of the temple was started as early as the tenth month of the same year (now: Kaô 1). Since the Jizô figure in Cologne does in no way conform with the style of the mid-13th century, but displays traits of a much earlier sculptural style, it might well provide a clue to the appearance of Genshin's Jizô figure.

The most surprising fact, however, given by the *Gansho* is the unmistakable statement that this figure was carved by the *daibusshi hôgen* Kôen. Before the figure was opened nobody would have thought of ascrib-

16 Biography in *Honchô-kôsô-den*, ed. Bukkyô-zenshû, 169–170; also Sh. Nishimura (ed.): *Mikkyô-daijiten*, Kyôto, 1969, 1, 476–7 (= MDJ).

17 *Gunsho-ruiju* 24, 547.

ing this sculpture to the master of the Kamakura period. In fact, it does not show a trait of the typical Kôen style that we have known until now.

Kôen¹⁸, whose family relationship to other sculptors of the Kamakura period is not quite clear, but who most probably was the son of Kôun and the grandson of Unkei, was born in 1207 (Chôgen 1). He produced the Jizô-bosatsu now in the Cologne Museum, in 1249, when he was 42 years of age, and already functioned as *dai-busshi* and bore the ecclesiastic title of *hôgen*. Anyhow, the year 1249 had a certain impact on Kôen's life. In that year the Sanjûsangen-dô of the temple Rengeô-in in Kyôto burnt down and this incident led to the commission of a new main image of the Thousand-armed Kannon.

Five years later, 1254 (Kenchô 6), Kôen worked together with Kôsei as *shô-busshi* under his teacher Tankei on the production of that Thousand-armed Kannon, the main image of the Rengeô-in (better known today as Sanjûsangen-dô) in Kyôto. Again two years later (1256) he assisted Tankei in carving the Senju-Kannon for the Kôdô of the Tôdai-ji, which he finished as *dai-busshi* after his teacher's death.

His mature work begins with the figures of a Taisan-ô and a Shokô-ô, which Kôen made in 1259 for the Byakugo-ji in Nara. His latest existing work is the figure of Aizen-myô of 1275 in the Jingo-ji. The *Kôfuku-ji ranchô-ki* mentions a dedicatory inscription for a Monju sculpture by Kôen dating from 1285, carved for the Kangaku-in of that large temple. This last work by the aged master, however, does not seem to have survived.

Since it cannot be the aim of this short paper to follow the stylistic development of Kôen's artistic career, we would like to refer the reader to the scholarly works of the two Japanese specialists Kyôtarô and Shinichi Nishikawa. A classification of the Cologne Jizô within the range of Kôen's works and an evaluation of its significance as a copy will be given towards the end of this paper.

18 Kôen and his art are treated by K. Nishikawa: «Kôen saku Shitennô-zô kenzoku-zô ni tsuite» (the statues of Attendants to the Shitennô by Kôen), in: *Museum* 137, August, 1962, 21–24; Sh. Nishikawa: «Kôen-kenkyû-josetsu» (Introduction to the study of Kôen), in: *Tôkyô Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan kiyô* (Bulletin of the Tôkyô National Museum) 3, 1968, 115–176; K. Nishikawa: *Bunkazai Kôza: Nihon no bijutsu* 7 (Chôkoku: Kamakura), Tôkyô, 1977, 144–150.

3. *The Buddha relic*

From the religious point of view the most important of all the contents found inside the Jizô statue is the so-called Buddha relic (*butsu-shari*) (Fig. 6). It appears as the first entry on the List: «Buddha relic, one grain (*ryû*)». This atom of a relic is contained in a small bag of silk tied with a silken cord. Since both cloth and cord are apparently in a very fragile state, the bag was left unopened. Most probably the relic is a small fragment of bone or some precious substance related to the Buddha or some other holy being.

The small silken pouch is 3,4 cm high and 2,8 cm wide.¹⁹ It is made of a warp faced uneven twill (2/1) with a floating weft pattern executed by supplementary wefts in different colours: green, cream, dark purple, golden yellow and light brown. Some of the tinges may have faded. Since it is not possible to investigate the reverse side of the fabric, one cannot see whether supplementary wefts also float on the back, or whether they are bound by the threads of the warp. Both warp and weft threads are not twisted but only compounded. The warp threads are darker and much thinner than the cream coloured ones of the weft. Therefore they figure rather prominently despite the warp faced twill. The custom to enshrine so-called Buddha relics in sculptures did already exist during the Heian period, but it was practiced more extensively during the following Kamakura period.²⁰

4. *Figures within the figure*

Apart from the relic and the textual material the Jizô-bosatsu also contained three small-size figures: two gilt bronze statuettes of standing Buddhas were found in the head (Figs. 9–12) and one miniature wooden sculpture of Jizô-bosatsu in the body (Figs. 7–8). Such «figures inside the figure» are quite frequently deposited together with other offerings. They were not only placed inside the head and upper part of the body, as was the case with the Cologne Jizô, but in such odd places as the upper thigh

19 I owe the analysis of the fabric to Mrs. Brigitte Khan-Majlis, MA, Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum of Ethnology, Cologne.

20 B. Kurata 1973, 28–47.

of a larger sculpture or even in their pedestal.²¹ The technical term for such religious deposits is *tainai-butsu*, «Buddhas in the Womb».²²

a. The miniature sculpture of Jizô-bosatsu

Wood, brightly coloured

Height: 4,1 cm

This small edition of Jizô (Figs. 7–8) seems to have been added to the offerings as the last item, since it was not wrapped and was placed in the opening of the neck above the thoroughly wrapped and tightly stuffed papers inside the body of the sculpture. It is the only object not to appear on the List of contents. This rather gave the impression that the small Jizô was deposited hurriedly just before the head of the main statue was placed onto the upper opening of the body and fastened there. The figure which might have functioned as a kind of «soul» for the bigger figure is of particular importance, since its brilliant colouring may give us some hints as to the original appearance of its bigger brother, although there occur some slight deviations, judging from the traces of the old polychromy of the large Jizô.

The exposed parts of the body, like head and hands, are painted in a pure white, the shaven part of the skull is tinted light blue. The surface of the *nôe*, the priestly robe, is of a yellowish white with black bordures and tiny ornaments in green, blue and red. Large folds are accentuated by golden lines of *kirikane* (cut gold foil). The «collar part» and the inner side of the left «sleeve» are green, the outside of the right «sleeve» is coloured in a brilliant red. The tiny Jizô wears black slippers and stands on a lotos pedestal which is green in its upper and white in its lower part, the downward turned petals (*kaeribana*) shaded in a light blue. A halo of bent gold wire surrounds the head.

b. Standing Amitâbha-buddha

Gilt bronze

Overall height 9,8 cm, height of figure 5,3 cm

This figure was placed inside the head of the Jizô sculpture, facing the same direction as the Jizô (Figs. 9–10). Amida-butsu is standing on a delicate lotos pedestal, behind him an elaborate boat-shaped mandorla (*funâ-*

21 Cf. B. Kurata 1973, 42 (fig. 92): Jizô of the Denkô-ji; and dto. 48 (fig. 105–6): Nikkô-bosatsu of the Yakushi-ji.

22 Kurata 1973, 48–57.

gata-kôhai). The iconographic details, such as robe and *mudrâs* correspond to the canonical rules. The whole figure is made of six parts joined together:

1. Figure of the Amida and core of the lotos pedestal (*renniku*) which is probably a kind of extended pin locked into parts 2, 3, 4 and 5.
2. Four rows of lotos petals (*renben*), each row cut out of a strip of gilt bronze sheet and then bent into a circle. The individual petals are delicately curved, their tips bent outward.
3. Central torus (*shikinasu*) of the pedestal.
4. Ring of lotos petals bent downward (*kaeribana*).
5. Base of the pedestal (*kamachi-za*) with six small feet.
6. Mandorla with tip bent forward (*funagata-kôhai*), attached to the Buddha's back with two rivets. It is decorated with openwork in lattice design apparently cut or sawed from the sheet, and some delicately embossed ornaments behind the body.

The overall gilding (except the underside of the pedestal) is extremely well preserved, making the figure look new. The hair is coloured blackish blue, eyes and eyebrows are painted in black and white, the lips are red.

The figure had obviously been besmeared with a red substance which had in parts coagulated into lacquerlike drops. A chemical analysis proved beyond doubt that this substance is human blood.²³ The other Buddha figure was treated in the same manner. It seems that the priest consecrating the figure, most probably Saishin, and perhaps other persons partaking in the ceremony had sacrificed drops of their blood to establish a close and magical relation (*kechien*)²⁴ with the holy essence personified in the figures. To our knowledge no similar instance in treatment of such offerings has been known so far.

The List of contents has under no. 3 the following entry covering this figure: «One bronze figure, height 1 *son* and 6 *fun*, of Amida, copied after the Amida of Shinnyo-no-miya». Prince Shinnyo²⁵, son of the 81st Emperor of Japan, Heijô-tennô (reigned 806–809), who founded the temple

23 The chemical examinations were executed by Mr. Kurt Hangst of the Cologne Museum. In the previous examination the oeroxidasis reaction proved the existence of phenolphthalein, the main proof examination led to a reaction of crystallization, and the microscope showed crystals of acetone chlorhaemin.

24 *SH* 386; *MDJ* 1, 449; Nakamura: *Bukkyô-go daijiten*, Tôkyô, 1975, 1, 314–5.

25 Prince Takaoka, *MDJ* 3, 1297–8.

Chôshô-ji in Yamato²⁶, travelled to China, but met his end while sailing to India. He lived in the middle of the 9th century, and the allusion to an Amida figure that might have functioned as model for our small figure, is probably a matter of pious politeness.

c. *Standing Śâkyamuni-buddha*

Gilt bronze

Overall height 9,9 cm, height of figure 5,5 cm

The figure is essentially formed similar in shape as the Amida (Figs. 11–12). His hands form the *varada*- and the *abhaya-mudrâ*, and his robe is draped over both shoulders, whereby he may be distinguished as Śâkyamuni. His mandorla was cast showing floral scrolls in beautiful relief, and is fastened to the Buddha's back by a small horizontal band of metal with hooked ends which hold the mandorla, and which is in its turn riveted to the figure. This equally well preserved Shaka was placed in the back part of the head of Jizô, facing backwards. It must have been pushed in with a certain amount of force since its boat-shaped halo was bent out of shape and turned slightly backward.

The List of contents, under no. 2, says: «One bronze figure, 1 *son* and 6 *fun* high, of Shaka, copied after the Shaka of Saga.» Whether this alludes to a figure commissioned by Saga-tennô, (786–842)²⁷, the emperor of Japan and great promoter of Kûkai, or whether it refers to a sculpture in a temple situated in the area of Saga, can hardly be of any significance, since the style of the charming little figure excludes any connection with a sculpture of the 9th century. Again the allusion seems to be a pious flourish.

As was stated above, this small icon was also besmeared with human blood.

26 The temple Chôshô-ji, formerly a place of retreat for Heijô-tennô, was situated on the western bank of the pond Saki-no-ike in Yamato. The princely priest Shinnyo erected there a temple with the five Tathâgatas of the Kongôkai-mandara as main images. During the era Shôreki (990–995) there happened in this temple a miraculous appearance of Amida in the smoke of incense.

27 *MDJ* 2, 765. Nothing seems to be known about a special image of Shaka, dedicated by this emperor.

5. *The votive prints*

The largest portion by numbers of the votive offerings deposited inside the Jizô sculpture were the so-called «votive prints» (*shûbutsu*, «printed Buddhas»). Altogether there were about six thousand items which were in fact used as stuffing to keep the other offerings securely in place. The lower part of Jizô's body was completely filled with *shûbutsu*, within the chest they were arranged around the scrolls with handwritten texts and the Chinese Lotus Sûtra, and in the hollow head they were squeezed into the space between the two gilt bronze figures.

Apparently the prints were stamped one by one on small slips of paper cut from larger sheets. Many of these had previously been used for writing notes or letters since the reverse sides of many of these sheets bear fragments of more or less well written texts in a fluent style by different hands. An attempt to construe longer sequences of these most probably trivial texts would mean a good deal of puzzle work.

Such *shûbutsu* as offerings inside Buddhist sculptures have been well documented since the 12th century.²⁸ The practice seems to have become more popular during the Kamakura period. The prints apparently were sold in the temples to raise funds for the making of Buddhist images. In many cases, as also with the Jizô in Cologne, the names of the respective donors were inscribed on the back of the print.

The Jizô in Cologne contained two different types of *shûbutsu*. The larger ones were stamped on sheets of firm yellowish paper on an average sized 14,3 × 6,4 cm.²⁹ They depict a standing Jizô-bosatsu, occupying the entire sheet. Jizô's right hand is raised to form the *abhaya-mudrâ*, the left holds a jewel in front of the chest. The style is rather simple, the ink was strongly diluted so that, as a consequence, the printing is fairly blotchy. All prints have a small perforation near the upper margin, but they were not tied together.³⁰ Still, they had been made into bundles of varying numbers of sheets. Altogether nearly one thousand were counted. None of the larger *shûbutsu* had a dedicatory inscription on the back.

28 On *shûbutsu* cf. M. Ishida: *Japanese Buddhist Prints*, New York, 1964; B. Kurata 1973, 73–82.

29 Entry No. 5 in the List: «1000 pieces of Jizô-bosatsu, measuring 6 *son*, *shûbutsu*.»

30 For such bundles of prints tied together by a string cf. B. Kurata 1973, 78, fig. 17 and 179.

The second and smaller type measures 7,7 × 3 cm, and is printed by the same process on the same kind of paper.³¹ The print shows a standing Amida-butsu on a lotus pedestal (Fig. 13). The iconography is identical with the gilt bronze figure found in the head. In total they numbered nearly five thousand. Only a few were tied together with paper strings, most of them had also been inserted in loose bundles. Again paper had been made second use of as the fragments of handwritten inscriptions show.

Among the *shûbutsu* depicting Amida there appear several sets of sheets with inscriptions on the back without any system being apparent. The total amount was 139 sheets. The stereotyped formula used throughout reads: «N.N. for his rebirth in the Gokuraku Paradise, *Namu Amida-butsu*» (Fig. 13).

The adoration formula for Amitâbha is sometimes written in the usual Chinese characters, although some variations appear, sometimes in Siddham writing, sometimes by mixing both systems, and sometimes also in Katakana.

The names of the donors, often written in a rather illegible cursive style, have not yet been evaluated exhaustively, but some preliminary conclusions will be given below.

6. *The votive texts*

The handwritten texts and the one printed Chinese book found inside the Jizô statue are interesting from several points of view. Firstly, their derivation from different traditions of Buddhist thinking provide a clue for the spiritual climate which gave birth to our figure. Secondly, they show the degree of erudition among the Buddhist clergy of the time, and thirdly, they give us some hints as to the social stratification of a Buddhist congregation contributing funds for the making of a larger image for a local temple.

Most of the texts were written with the brush on whitish fibrous paper of a rather firm texture and they were densely rolled into tight scrolls. At the right margin the scribes made a vertical cut halfway up to the total height of the paper, thereby forming a narrow band-like strip which was wound around the scroll and tied into a simple knot. This knot was «sealed» by a black brushmark.

31 Entry No. 4 in the List: «6000 pieces of Amida, measuring 1 *son* 6 *fun*, *shûbutsu*.»

The texts will here be treated in the sequence given to them by the monk Saishin in his List of Contents. There they occupy the nos. 6 to 53.

a) *Handwritten scrolls*

The first 25 titles on the List (Nos. 6 to 31) have all been written onto one long scroll of 20 sheets of paper glued together.³² On the outside it gives the title «Mantras» (*Sho-shingon*). Most of the 27 texts are written in Siddham characters³³ and in a fairly correct Buddhist Sanskrit, but some of them are in Chinese, in a handwriting of intellectual character by the priest Shôkû³⁴, bestowed with the monastic rank of Dentô-daihosshi. The colophon by him is dated to the eleventh month of Kenchô 1 (1249).

The texts are of varying length, some only filling one or two lines, but some also stretching over more than one hundred lines. They all belong to the Esoteric tradition of the Tendai and Shingon schools of Japanese Buddhism.

The first (No. 6 of the List) are 40 verses in Chinese, 7 characters each, a «Request for Instruction on the Mahâpratisarâ-dhâraṇî», *Zuigu-darani-keishô*, the Sanskrit text of which follows as No. 7 of the List.

This Dhâraṇî, with a very long title, is a spell supposedly uttered by the Buddha to protect the beings from all kinds of expressively specified evils and physical dangers. She has been given the aspect of a female deity who is one of the prominent figures in the so-called Pañca-rakṣâ group of «Protectresses» in Tantric Buddhism.³⁵ The text written here in 111 lines of Siddham characters by Shôkû corresponds to the one given in T. 20,1153. So, our scroll opens with one of the most powerful protective spells known in Buddhism.

No. 8 of the List is called *Busshin-shingon* (skr. *Buddhacitta-mantra*) and consists of 6 lines in Siddham. It is followed by the «Mantra of the Seal of all Buddha Minds», *Issai-busshin-in-shingon* in only two lines of Siddham (List No. 9).

32 Height 14 cm, width of the sheets varying between 40,5 and 40,3 cm. Width of first sheet 40 cm, of last sheet 9,6 cm. Total length of scroll 777 cm.

33 About this script cf. R. H. van Gulik: *Siddham*, an essay on the history of Sanskrit studies in China and Japan, Reprint New Delhi, 1956, Sarasvati-Vihara Series 36; G. Nagao: «Siddham and its study in Japan», in: *Acta Asiatica* 21, 1971, 1–12.

34 Nothing seems to be known about this Tendai priest.

35 About this group of deities and Mahâpratisarâ in particular cf. E. Getty: *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, Oxford, 1928, 139; B. Bhattacharya: *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Calcutta, 1968, 243 and 303; B. Bhattacharya (ed.): *Sâdhana-Mâlâ* 2, Gaekwad's Oriental Series 41, Baroda, 1968, Nos. 20, 206.

Next (List No. 10) is a «Mantra of Initiation», *Kanjô-shingon* (*Abhi-seka-mantra*) in 4 lines of Sanskrit, leading to a more specified «Mantra of the Seal of Initiation of all Tathâgatas», *Issai-nyorai kanjô-in shingon* of two Siddham lines (List No. 11). It reads: Oṃ amṛta-vare vara vara prava-
vara viśuddhe hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ svâhâ.

No. 12 is the «Mantra for Binding the Area for all Tathâgatas», *Issai-nyorai kekkai-shingon*, effective to form a protective circle around the sacred area in which the rites take place and the image is set up.³⁶ It says: Oṃ amṛta-vilokini garbha-surakṣiṇi akarṣaṇi hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ svâhâ.

As No. 13 we have the «Mantra Inside the Mind of all Tathâgatas», *Issai-nyorai shinchû shingon*, in 2 lines, and as No. 14 the «Mantra Following the Minds of All Tathâgatas», *Issai-nyorai zuishin shingon*, also in two Siddham lines.

After this there is a caesura in the texts, marked by the Sanskrit word «samapta», «finished», and an elaborate symbol for a full stop.

Shôkû then continues by writing, as No. 15, in 49 Chinese verses a *Dai-zuigu-darani-myôô* followed by the famous *Dai-Butchô-darani*, addressing the female deity Mahâ-Vajroṣṇî. The Siddham Text of 195 lines corresponds to the one given in T. 19, 944b. Together with the above quoted *Dai-zuigu-darani* it is the most popular longer Sanskrit formula intoned in rites of Japanese Esoteric Buddhism. Already during the Tang period a stele engraved with Amoghavajra's Chinese translation of the Dhâraṇî was set up in the precincts of the mighty temple Qinglong-si in Changan.³⁷ Of hardly lesser importance is the next Siddham text (List No. 17), the *Issai-nyorai zenshin-shari-hôkyô-in darani*, skr.: *Dhâtu-kâraṇḍa-mudrâ-dhâraṇî*. The text, translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra, and brought to Japan by Kûkai, Ennin and Enchin as soon as the early 9th century, contains the legendary sermon of Buddha about a miraculous old and decaying Stûpa which contained the relics (*shari*) of the Tathâgata. Our text of 22 lines corresponds to the one given in T. 19, 1022b. The next text (List No. 18) is the «Great Formula of Amitâbha», *Amida-daiju*, in ten lines of Siddham.

The following Dhâraṇî (List No. 19) is addressed to the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara. Like No. 18, it accentuates the concept of Great

36 About the rite of *kekkai* (*sîmâbandha*) cf. Sh. Manabe: «Mikkyô-zuzô ni miero kansô-jô no kekkai ni tsuite», in: *Nanto-bukkyô* 23, Nara, 1969, 45–111; R. Goepper: «Kekkai, notes on a Shingon ceremony and its connections with art», in: *Nihon ni okeru Bukkyô-bijutsu no juyô to tenkai* (Formation and development of Buddhist art in Japan), Nara, 1978, 41–58.

37 On this Dhâraṇî see *MDJ* 3, 1533.

Compassion (*daihi, mahâkaruṇâ*) as one of the basic ideas of Mahâyâna Buddhism. The text comprises 29 lines in Siddham and is identical with the one given in T. 20, 1061 and 1062 B. The full title is: *Senju-sengen kôdai-emman muge daihi-shin darani*.

With the following «Mantra of the Three (Buddha) Bodies» (List No. 20) we return to Mikkyô concepts. The *Sanshin-shingon* runs: Aṃ-vaṃ-ṛaṃ-ḥaṃ-khaṃ, A-vi-ra-hûṃ-khaṃ, A-ra-pa-ca-na. It symbolizes the three bodies of Mahâ-Vairocana-buddha, his Dharma-kâya, Sambhoga- and Nirmâna-kâya. Its three parts belong to the most common Mantras of Shingon Buddhism.³⁸ The next Shingon (List No. 21) is that of Jizô-bosatsu (Kṣitigarbha) who is represented by Kôen's sculpture: Oṃ-ha-ha-ha visamaye svâhâ, the beginning of which symbolizes the laughter uttered out of joy about the help which the Bodhisattva is offering.³⁹ Again, the following Mantra (List No. 22) can be related to that of Jizô. It is that of Emma-ten (Yama-râja), the King of Hell, which Jizô entered to save the tormented souls. It runs: Oṃ Yamaya svâhâ. Also the following Mantras have to do with death and with rebirth in Amida's paradise.

No. 23 is the famous *Kettei-ôjô-shingon*, the «Mantra of Decided Rebirth (in the Western Land)»: Namaḥ samanta-buddhânâm amṛtodbhave svâhâ, followed by the *Daijikkkyô ha-jigoku-shingon*, the «Mantra of the Great Collected Sûtras, Breaking (the Bondage) of Hell» (List No. 24), in which meaningless magic syllables are mixed together with an invocation of the Three Jewels, namely Buddha, Religion and Congregation: Namo buddhâya, namo dharmâya, namo samghâya, huru huru sidhuru sini-bhakiribha siddhâni puruṇi svâhâ. The same effect is, by the way, also ascribed to some of the following texts (e.g. No. 25). The next Dhâraṇî of five lines in Siddham writing has the long title *Daihôkôbaku-rôkaku-zenju-himitsu kompon darani* (skr.: *Mahâmaṇi-vipula-vimâna-viśva-supra-tiṣṭhita-guhya-parama-rahasya-kalpa-râja-dhâraṇî*), identical with T. 19, 1005.

After this follow the 28 titles of the chapters of the Lotos Sûtra (List No. 26) in Chinese: *Hokke-kyô nijûhachi-bon shudai*. Apparently they function also as a kind of magic spells, containing in an abridged and condensed form the whole content of the famous Sûtra.

No. 27 is the most powerful *Kômyô-shingon*, the «Mantra of Light», used over and over again in the Esoteric Sects of Buddhism. It is taken from the *Amoghapâśa-hṛdaya*, translated by Amoghavajra (T. 19, 1002).

38 Cf. *Hôbôgin* 7, s.v. Abiraunken.

39 MDJ 2, 960.

By chanting it, one destroys all evil Karma through the shining light of the Buddha: *Oṃ amogha-vairocana mahâmuḍrâ maṇipadma jvala pravarttaya hūṃ*. Strangely enough, here our monk Shôkû committed some serious orthographic errors in his Siddham character. The *Sokushin-jô-butsu-shingon* (List No. 28), the «Mantra of Attaining Buddhahood in this very Existence», consists only of the five variations which the basic vowel «A» can undergo in the Siddham alphabet: A-â-am-aḥ-âḥ.⁴⁰ This sound-combination is called *A-ji goten*, the «Five Turns of the Character A», and is used as Mantra of Vairocana. The five sounds are tied up with a detailed system of pentadic notions, among others with the five Steps on the Way to Enlightenment.⁴¹

As No. 29 there follows a Chinese text of four lines, containing some of the most important short formulae of Buddhist thinking. The title is *Hosshin-ge*, «Gâthâ of the Absolute Body».

No. 30 is the well-known *Butchô-sonshô-darani*, addressing one of the most powerful protective deities, Buddhoṣṇiṣa, existing in many different forms and symbolizing the magic protuberance growing out of the cranium on Buddha's head.⁴² Our Siddham text of 31 lines corresponds with T. 19, 973.

The last title (List No. 31) reads *Senkan-naiku-shishin-hatsushin*, «Setting forth the utmost Mind in Inner Veneration of Thousand Visualisations», as heading for the text itself, and as *Senkan-naiku-hatsugan*, «Promulgation of the Vow concerning the Inner Veneration of Thousand Visualisations», in the List. It consists of 80 Chinese verses, followed by ten lines of prosa. Right at the end of the role there is a colophon in three lines, giving us the date, when the writing was completed, i. e. the seventh day of the eleventh month in the year Kenchô 1 (1249), and the name of the scribe, Shôkû.

After this highly interesting sequence of more or less purely esoteric texts the List continues to enumerate holy scriptures, partly of esoteric, but mostly of a more general mahâyânistic character.

The Lotos Sûtra (*Myôhō-enge-kyô*, T. 262) in form of a printed Chinese book (*Tô-hon*) which will be treated separately below, figures as No. 32.

40 The last character should read correctly «âṃḥ», combining the four preceding variations into one.

41 *Hôbôgirin* 4-5; R. Sawa: *Mikkyô-jiten*, Kyôto, 1975, 7 (= MJ).

42 *MDJ* 4, 1939.

No. 33 are two handwritten scrolls with the text of the *Bommô-kyô* (*Brahmajâla-sûtra*, T. 21), the basic canon of discipline and commandments which the Bodhisattva of Mahâyâna, and according to his model all serious followers of the faith should observe.⁴³

Under No. 34 follows the *Hannya-rishu-kyô* (*Naya-sûtra*, T. 243), one of the basic early texts of Esoteric Buddhism⁴⁴, to which is added a *Kongôkai-raisammon*, both written by the *śramana* (*shamon*) Shinkai, about whom nothing seems to be known. The scroll is also dated to the 11th month of 1249.

No. 35 is called *Fugen-bosatsu jûgan*, and corresponds to ch. 40 of the voluminous *Kegon-kyô* (*Avatamsaka-sûtra*, T. 278, 279). There is no colophon or date.

The following three texts, written on four scrolls, are tied together with a string. They are the three basic Sûtras of Amidism in East Asia⁴⁵, namely

No. 36, the *Muryôju-kyô* (*Sukhâvatî-vyûha*, T. 360), in two scrolls (Fig. 14),

No. 37, the *Kan-Muryôju-kyô* (*Amitâyurdhyâna-sûtra*, T. 365), and

No. 38, the *Shô-Amida-kyô*, the «Shorter Amitâbha-sûtra» (T. 366).

Nos. 39 and 40 were written on one scroll on the 17th day of the 11th month in 1249 A.D. by someone whose signature at the end is difficult to decipher. No. 39 is the famous *Hannya-shin-kyô* (*Prajñâpâramitâ-hṛdaya-sûtra*, T. 8, 251–255), containing the essence of the extensive *Prajñâpâramitâ* teaching in a condensed form. The title postulates that each single character while intoned should be accompanied by three prostrations (*ichi-ji san-rei*). No. 40 is called *Jizô-bosatsu-kyô*, «Sûtra of the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha», and corresponds to T. 13, 412. The text is centered on the Original Vow (*hongan*) of the Bodhisattva to save the suffering living beings.

Nos. 41 to 50 are all written onto one long scroll consisting of two parts. The material is a finer and more yellowish paper which was furnished with thin grey marginal lines as upper and lower border for the

43 About this important Sûtra cf. J.J.M. de Groot: «Le Code du Mahâyâna en Chine, son influence sur la vie monacale et sur le monde laïque», *Verh. Koninkl. Akad. van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam*, Afd. Letterkunde I, 2, 1893; also M. W. de Visser: *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, Leiden, 1935, 2, 572–6.

44 Cf. the classic by Sh. Toganoo: *Rishu-kyô no kenkyû*, Reprint Kôyasan, 1970; also Y. Hatta: *Himitsu-kyôten, Rishu-kyô*, Tôkyô, 1982.

45 English translations of the three Sûtras appeared in vol. 49 of *The Sacred Books of the East*, London, 1884.

writing. The first sheet is covered by the *Dai-hannya-rishu-bun*, i.e. section No. 478 of Xuanzang's translation of the Large Prajñâpâramitâ.⁴⁶ The longer second sheet opens with section No. 490 of the same Sûtra, titled *Dai-hannya-zenken-bon*. A small slip of paper was pasted to the beginning of the text saying: «This was written by Sukemitsu Mabito», a person about whom nothing seems to be known. After this there follow eight sections of the *Mahâ-parinirvâna-sûtra* (Nos. 43 to 50). The first five sections were also written by Sukemitsu Mabito, but in front of the last three sections there is again a small slip of paper saying: «This was written by Muneyori». At the end of the roll an undated postscript in elegant hand is saying that Fujiwara Muneyori wrote this text aspiring enlightenment, and that Jizô-bosatsu might testify the vow of his heart. He adds, that he hereby follows in the footsteps of the former Eshin-sôzu.

This is the second instance that the votiv texts of our Jizô refer to the famous priest Genshin. It is highly improbable that the writer named Fujiwara Muneyori is identical with the courtier and painter of the same name, and at the peak of his career serving as *gon-dainagon*, since that man lived at least half a century earlier (1154–1203).⁴⁷

No. 51 of the List is the *Hokke-sampô* in one roll. This is an extract from the longer *Hokke-sammaya-sangi* (T. 46, 1941). The abridged form of this text on penitence is used by Japanese Buddhist schools down to these days during the Hokke-sammai ceremony.

No. 52 corresponds to the Dedicatory Text (*Gansho*), treated above.

The last, No. 53, is a short roll containing 24 times the «precious name» (*hōgo*) of Jizô-bosatsu. It is written in rather clumsy Chinese characters.

b) Lotos Sûtra

Book in leporello form

22 × 8,6 cm, thickness 3 cm

beige-coloured paper, printed in black ink

Cover in form of a wrapper of thicker paper, dyed blue.

An object of quite different provenance from the other texts is a thick printed book, which was carefully wrapped in white Japanese paper, before it was placed inside the body of the Jizô figure (Figs. 15–16). Only

46 T. 220. The text fills vols. 5–7 of the Taishô Canon.

47 Heibonsha (ed.): *Dai-jimmei-jiten*, 1954, 5, 436; Sawada: *Nihon-gakka-jiten*, Kyôto, 1970, 611.

with some difficulties could it be removed through the opening of the neck.

The text was printed on beige-coloured paper which must have been a special delicacy for Japanese book worms, since it is the only document showing damage by vermin, although to a tolerable extent.

The printed characters are accurately cut, there are 12 lines per page, with 33 characters per line.

The text of the *Myôhō-rengē-kyô* (*Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra*, T. 262) is the classical Chinese translation by Kumārajīva (344–413), preceded by an introduction written by Daoxuan (596–667) of the Zhongnan-shan near the Tang capital Changan.

The book has a wrapper-like cover for protection made of thick blue paper, which is glued to the first page. The title label on the outside reading: *Miao-fa lian-hua jing, quan-bu*.

The book opens with a fine title illustration stretching over five pages (Fig. 15). The woodblock print in black ink shows the Buddha Śākyamuni preaching to a multitude of all kinds of living beings. He is sitting on a lion throne under a flying canopy and is surrounded by Arhats and Bodhisattvas. Immediately in front of him stand Śāriputra and the pious king Aśoka, flanked by the four Heavenly Kings (*lokapāla*). On both sides a congregation of stellar gods, Indra and Brahmā, Nāgarājas, Gandharvas, of Asura and Garuḍa, are in attendance. Flying Apsaras and Devas, Mañjuśrī on his lion, Samantabhadra on his elephant are depicted above as well as a pagoda-like Stūpa in the upper left corner. In the lower left corner we find the signature of the carver of this fine woodblock: Ling Zhang.

The text also ends with an illustration: a page of yellow paper is glued to the end, showing a void label in the center, placed on a rich lotos pedestal and crowned by a canopy with flying Devas (Fig. 16). The cartouche is flanked by two Heavenly Kings on clouds.

The last page of the text has a label with the printers impressum in the lower left corner. According to its inscription the book was printed by a publisher whose firm was situated south of the Zhongan-Bridge of Lin'an-fu, the capital of Southern Song China (today: Hangzhou). This impressum and the fact that the book was found in our sculpture prove that it must have been printed between 1129 and 1249.⁴⁸ It is a good example for the high standard of printing during the Southern Song Dynasty. Its

48 The name of the city was changed to Lin'an-fu in 1129 A.D. *Zhongguo gujin diming dacidian*, Shanghai, 1933, 1288. O. Franke: *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches*, 5, Berlin, 1952, 215.

appearance and the style of the title illustration – although they differ thematically – makes the Cologne Sûtra closely related to a printed Chinese Lotos Sûtra found inside the Jizô figure of the Denkô-ji of Nara, made only twenty one years prior to the Cologne sculpture (1228).⁴⁹ Books like these must have been quite precious objects in Japan of the Kamakura period since they were expensive imports from mainland China.

7. Conclusions

The facts stated in this article allow some interesting conclusions. Some of them may only be preliminary and therefore open to further discussion. None the less they should be presented here.

a. The artist

According to the Dedicatory Text (*gansho*) the Cologne Jizô-bosatsu is the earliest known dated work by the famous sculptor Kôen. He was born in 1207, since he states his age as 69 (i.e. 68) in an inscription on the pedestal of his Aizen-myôô figure in the Jingo-ji⁵⁰, which is dated 1275. So Kôen was 42 years old when he made the Jizô-bosatsu.

The most interesting fact is, that he produced the Jizô as a copy after an earlier figure, supposedly dedicated by the famous priest Genshin early in the 11th century. This explains why the figure had till recently been dated much earlier. Adolf Fischer, when he bought the sculpture in 1911, labelled it as a work of the Tempyô period, i.e. the 8th or early 9th century.⁵¹ Gunhild Gabbert in her catalogue of the sculptures in the Cologne Museum ascribed it to the 12th century, saying that its style definitely showed traces of the Jôgan style of the 9th century, but that the construction of the *warihagi*-system at any rate excluded such an early dating.⁵²

Taken that Kôen copied Genshin's figure faithfully, then even that prototype of the 11th century was not in keeping with the contemporary style. Some elements like the *hompâ-shiki* folds with their alternatively round and angular cross-section really rather point to the 9th century. But the overall modelling in Kôen sculpture is much softer, and the «ductus»

49 Kurata 1973, fig. 14–15.

50 Reproduced in Shôgakkan (ed.): *Genshoku Nihon no bijutsu* 9, Tôkyô, 1968, pl. 82. Cf. also Sh. Nishikawa, 1967, 115.

51 Notes in Fischer's unpublished handwritten diaries.

52 Gabbert 1972, 25.

of the draperies is more elegant and mannered, and lacks the strength of Jôgan sculpture. The folds of the front of the robe and in the area of the right «sleeve» form a rhythmic pattern rather than showing a natural flow. The details of the face are flat and stereotyped and do not show the «fleshy» quality of the 9th century.⁵³ All this seems to point to the fact, that either Genshin's Jizô was already archaistic in style, or that the prototype actually was a figure of the 9th century only ascribed to Genshin for sentimental pious reasons. In any case, the simple fact that an artist of the mid-13th century tried to imitate a style which must have appeared old-fashioned to his contemporaries, is highly important for the history of Japanese Buddhist sculpture. To what extent the «historism» of such copying was common practice in Japanese sculpture needs to be further investigated in special studies. Anyhow, the style of the Cologne Jizô presents an unexpected surprise to all specialists, since there is no stylistic relationship whatsoever between the piece in Cologne and all the other known sculptures by Kôen.⁵⁴ But even among the 89 sculptures of the standing Jizô-bosatsu registered as «Important Cultural Properties» not one single piece is directly comparable to our Jizô of 1249 by Kôen.⁵⁵

Another interesting point is raised by Kôen's designation as *dai-busshi* in the Cologne Dedicatory Inscription. In 1254, five years after the Cologne text, Kôen acted as *shô-busshi*, «Lesser Buddha Master», together with Kôsei under the direction of Tankei who signed as *dai-busshi*, in the production of the monumental Thousand-armed Kannon-bosatsu of the Rengeô-in in Heian-kyô (Kyôto).⁵⁶ After Tankei's death in 1256 he was promoted to *dai-busshi* and commissioned to finish the Kannon in the main hall (*hondô*) of the Rengeô-in and another one in the lecture hall (*Kôdô*) of the Tôdai-ji.⁵⁷ After this date he signed most of his works giving his rank as *dai-busshi*, «Great Buddha Master». Since it is improbable that Kôen was degraded between 1249 and 1254 from *dai-* to *shô-busshi*, one can conclude that the two busshi ranks were not conferred or acquired as permanent titles, but that they simply stated the actual position a sculptor held during a certain commission or during his stay in a certain *bussho*. In our case, Kôen in 1249 as leading artist in the manufacture of the Co-

53 Cf. for instance the Jizô in the Muro-ji, reproduced *Genshoku* 5, pl. 84; and Jizô in the Nakamura Collection, *ibidem* 5, pl. 126.

54 Sh. Nishikawa 1967, *passim*.

55 Bunkachô (ed.): *Juyô-bunkazai* 3, Chôkoku 3, Tôkyô, 1973, fig. 304-393.

56 Sh. Nishikawa 1967, 117-121.

57 Sh. Nishikawa 1967, 117.

logne Jizô in the small temple Jizô-in of Fukakusa, acted as *dai-busshi*, but five years later could only fill a secondary position in the execution of the monumental Kannon for the important metropolitan temple Rengeô-in. Only after the leading artist's death could he step into his vestiges and acquire his rank.

b. The donors

The 139 small votive prints of Amida-butsu bearing dedicatory inscriptions on their back provide interesting clues as to the social background of the donation of Buddhist figures in the Kamakura period.⁵⁸ The handwritten short texts are sometimes in a very cursive style and therefore difficult to decipher. A final evaluation has to be postponed till all the names have been read, but a short preliminary survey shall be given here.

The production of a Buddhist icon like the Cologne Jizô was apparently financed by private donations to the temple. The individuals hoped for their share in this enterprise to be rewarded with rebirth in the Gokuraku Paradise of the Buddha Amitâbha, as is clearly evident from the stereotyped inscriptions on the *shûbutsu*. In our Jizô's case practically all the donors seem to have come from the upper levels of society, at least as far as lay people are concerned. But even most of the monks were of upper class origin.

Among the names of Buddhist priests we meet the full scale of hierarchic ranks.⁵⁹ There are *ajari*, the «Masters» or Seniors of Esoteric Schools, like Kenzen, Shûson and Sonzen, and we find two *shônin*, religious leaders of Amida Schools, one of them named Gesshô, two *hosshi*, one of them bearing the strange name Fumonji («the Ear that does not hear»), two *hosshin*, called Ryôgô and Seikaku, one *hokkyô* from Suruga, and one *kengyô*, a priest who takes care of the temple's affairs, with the simple name Jirô. We also have the three traditional ranks of *sôjô* represented by Chûen, Kengon and Kenkai, of *sôzu* by Shôen, and of *risshi* by Shôshin.

Most numerous are the Preceptors, *daitoku*, elders who had been ordained monks for more than ten years. There are 13 names, including a Jôshin, Jôzen, Jitsuyû, Ryôshin and Geiren. But also the lowest step of the ecclesiastic ladder is represented, the Novices, *shami*, with six names: Sainen, Shimmyô, Butsukei, Seiren, Jôbutsu and Shimbutsu, the latter two

58 Cf. also M. Ishida 1964, 29–31.

59 For the ecclesiastical ranks cf. *MDJ* 3, 1373–4, s.v. *sôji*.

sounding rather naive. At least five nuns appear among the donors, namely Emmyô, Binô, Kaigyô, Shin-Amidabutsu and Yui-Amidabutsu. There are other composita with the element of Amitâbha Buddha's name, which seem to have been quite popular at that time. Whether their bearer were male or female is difficult to decide: Se-Amidabutsu, Ken-, Kin-, En-, and Jizô-Amidabutsu.

Out of the non-ecclesiastic lay-donors at least six stem from the highest noble family, the Fujiwaras. We find the Prime Minister of State (*dajô-daijin*) Fujiwara no Ason Yoshihira⁶⁰, beside the Former Vice Advisor to the Emperor (*zen gon-no-chûnagon*) Fujiwara no Ason Norinari and the Prosecutor (*kensatsu-shi*) Fujiwara no Ason Sadataka-kyô. A certain Fujiwara no Ason Nagakiyo-kyô occupied the third court rank (*shô-sammi*), and there are two *Saemon-no-jô* of the Fujiwara clan, one called Nobutaka, the other Mitsutoki.

Apart of the Fujiwara family there appears one member of the Taira clan, two of the Takahashi family, namely Yukihiro and Yukisane, most probably two brothers, and also a certain Ajiri Jirô.

Other donors signed with the designations of their living quarters, like Tosa-bô, A-bô, Tango-bô, Miroku-bô or Shijô-in, still others just gave their official ranks, like *kemmotsu* (super-intendant of the store-houses), *shoshi-no-otoko* (plain official?), *shinshi* and *dai-shinshi*, who have passed the state examinations.

Women are generally recognizable by affixes to their names: Fukujujo, Sambô-jo, Myôhôte-rengê-jo, Ryôtei-no-haha and Yorimazu-jôza-notsuma.

The ending -maru might signify children: Ichi-maru, Kongô-maru, Yakushi-maru and Kôgara-maru.

Simple and popular components are Shichirô, Jirô and Seishirô.

Some local officials only used geographical designations: Etchû-no-otoko, Echizen-no-otoko and Kazusa-no-otoko.

Lastly, some relatives seem to have donated for the benefit of members of their clan. So we meet the grandfather, the younger brother and a cousin of a certain Terusada, a Kikusen (?)-hosshi with his wife and son.

Although the general picture of the social background of the donors of Kôen's Jizô-bosatsu is comparatively clear, further investigations might define their group more precisely. In any case, they seem to have come from the higher nobility of the capital or they were officials and high

60 He seems to have held this position for a short time only, from the middle of 1238 to the beginning of 1239. Cf. Tôkyô-daigaku (ed.): *Tokushi-biyô*, Tôkyô, 1975, 190.

priests of nearby areas. Of course it seems doubtful whether a Prime Minister of the State personally donated funds for the figure in the Jizô-in of Fukakusa. Probably the money was collected from his family or his office, and the same may apply to the other nobles of higher rank. Perhaps it may not be too far-fetched a speculation to imply that the priest Saishin made it a matter of prestige to have as many «good» names as possible on his list of donations.

c. Religious background

An interesting indication as to the religious atmosphere in which the figure of Jizô was made, is provided by the scrolls with Sûtras and other texts which Saishin deposited inside the sculpture. The long scroll (Nos. 6–31 of the List) with all the Mantras and Dhâraṇîs evidently mirrors the spiritual tradition of Esoteric Buddhism, as represented by the Tendai and Shingon schools. Most of the important and basic Sanskrit invocations used by Japanese Mikkyô appear in a comparatively well executed Siddham writing. The *Hannya-rishu-kyô* (List No. 34) with the following *Kongôkai-raisammon* and the *Dai-hannya-rishu-bun* (List No. 41) stem from the same religious climate. Since the prototype of our Jizô stood in the Tendai temple Ryôgon-in on Hiei-zan we may conclude that the Jizô-in of Fukakusa was a Tendai foundation as well. Many of the monks' names appearing in the votive texts point to the same direction.

Other books like the printed Chinese Lotos Sûtra (List No. 32), the two scrolls with the *Brahmajâla-sûtra* (No. 33), the chapters from the *Avatamsaka-sûtra* (No. 35), the *Hrdaya-sûtra* (No. 39) and the extracts from the *Mahâ-parinirvâṇa-sûtra* (Nos. 43–50) are classical Mahâyâna texts.

Lastly we have the group of the three *Amitâbha-sûtras* (Nos. 36 to 38), tied into a bundle with a string, and some ecclesiastic names like that of the Master of the Vow Saishin («Belief in the West», i.e. Amida's Paradise) and the names formed directly with the element «-Amidabutsu», which accentuate the growing popular belief in this Buddha of Mercy, into whose Gokuraku Paradise his followers wish to be reborn.

So the present combination of Buddhist texts from different religious traditions clearly reflect the situation of Kamakura Buddhism.

As early as the 9th century in the Heian period the theological speculations of Esoteric Buddhist thinking had progressively been tinted by notions of the Nembutsu belief of Amidism. At the very end of the 9th century the priest Mukû had introduced ideas about rebirth in Amida's Paradise into the Kongôbu-ji, the stronghold of Shingon on the Kôyasan. Un-

der Ningai (951–1046) Jôdo thought established firm roots in the Esoteric tradition, leading to the famous movement of the *Kôya-hijiri*.⁶¹ The same tendencies became apparent in the other Mikkyô school, the Tendai, where Genshin (942–1017), the donator of our prototype Jizô in his Ryôgon-in, wrote the basic exegetical texts and became the key-figure of this syncretistic form of Buddhism. The general religious tendency of the age, to combine the highly speculative Mikkyô with the popular and simple belief in Amida and his power of redeeming mercy, and even with the magic rites connected with Jizô-bosatsu, is clearly reflected in the contents of Kôen's sculpture in the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst in Cologne, which therefore may stand as a symbol for the synthesis which priests of the 13th century may have had in mind.

61 Y. Matsunaga: *Mikkyô no rekishi*, 7. ed., Kyôto, 1974, 219–225.

List of important names and terms

Ajiri Jirô	阿尻二郎	ichi-ji san-rei	無空
busshi	仏師	Jizô-in	仁海
butsu-shari	仏舍利	jûsô	蓮華王院
Chiman-hosshi	智満法師	kechien	良源
dai-busshi	大仏師	kemmotsu	楞嚴院
Daoxuan	道宣	Kenchô	粒
Eshin-sôzu	恵心僧都	Kôen	西信
Fujiwara Mitsutoki	藤原光時	Kôsei	先徳
F. Muneyori	宗頼	Kôun	審快
F. Nagakiyo	長清	Kôya-hijiri	小仏師
F. Nobutaka	信高	mo	照空
F. Norinari	教成	Mukû	所司男
F. Sadataka	定高	Ningai	摺仏
F. Yoshihira	良平	Rengeô-in	願主
Fukakusa	深草	Ryôgen	源信
gammon	願文	Ryôgon-in	法眼
gansho	願書	ryû	宝号
ganshu	康清	Saishin	一字三礼
Genshin	康運	Sentoku	地藏院
hôgen	高野聖	Shinkai	住僧
hôgo	摸	shô-busshi	結縁

Shôkû	豎物
shoshi-no-otoko	建長
shûbutsu	康円
Sukemitsu Mabito	佐光真人
tainai-butsu	胎内仏
Takahashi Yukihiro	高橋行広
T. Yukisane	行実
Tankei	湛慶
Tô-hon	唐本
Unkei	運慶
Yamashiro	山城
Zhongan-qiao	眾安橋
Zhongnan-shan	終南山



Figure 1

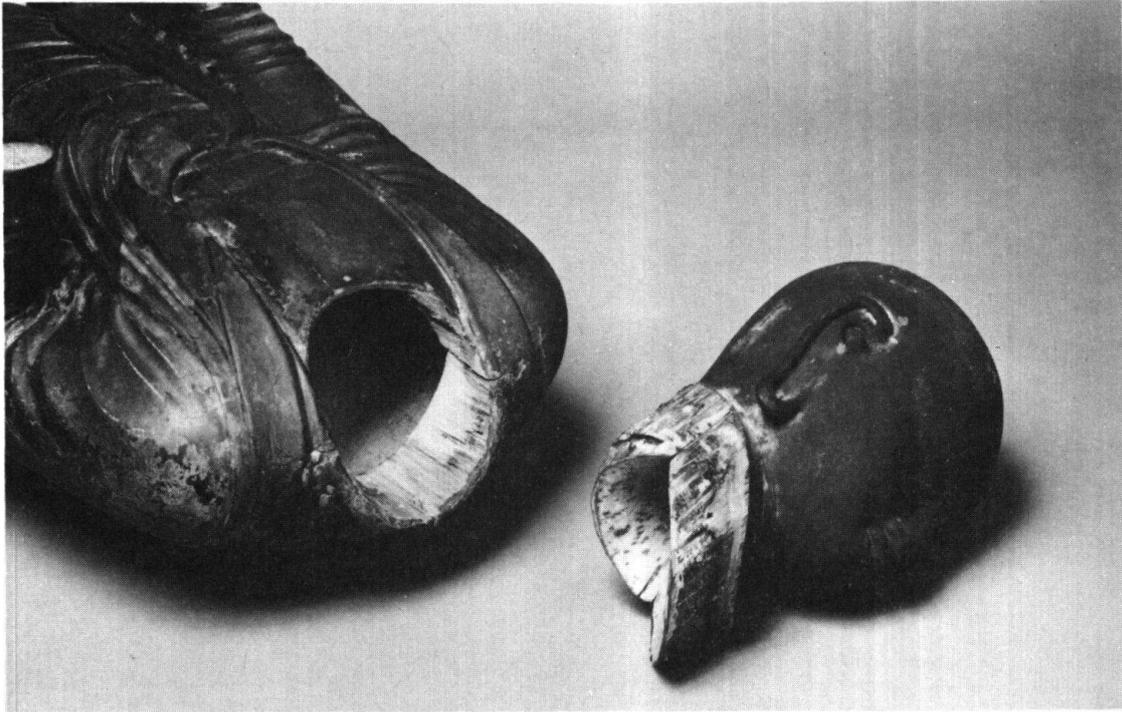


Figure 2

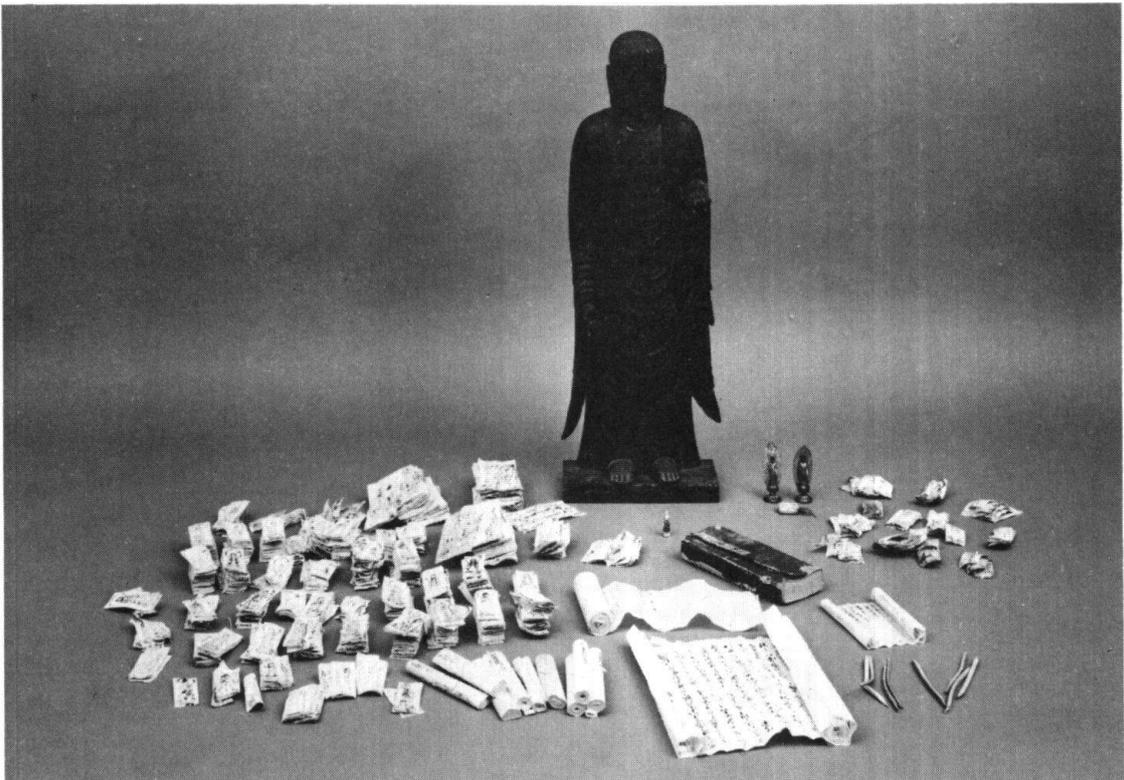


Figure 3

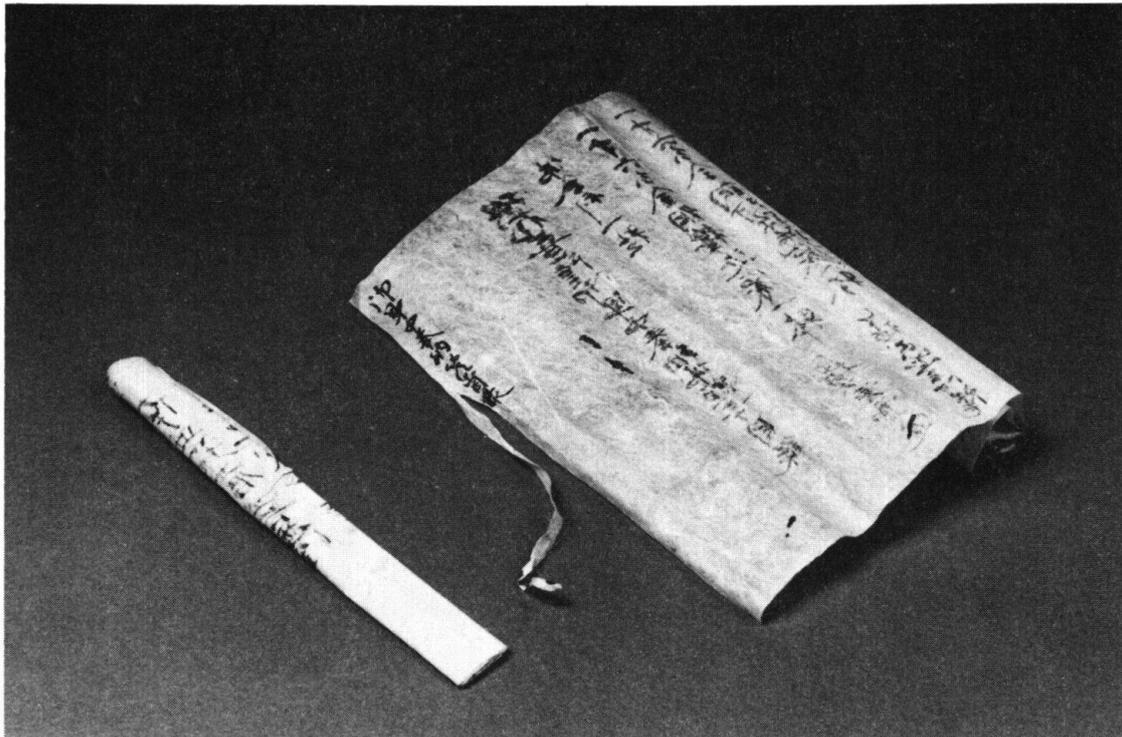


Figure 4

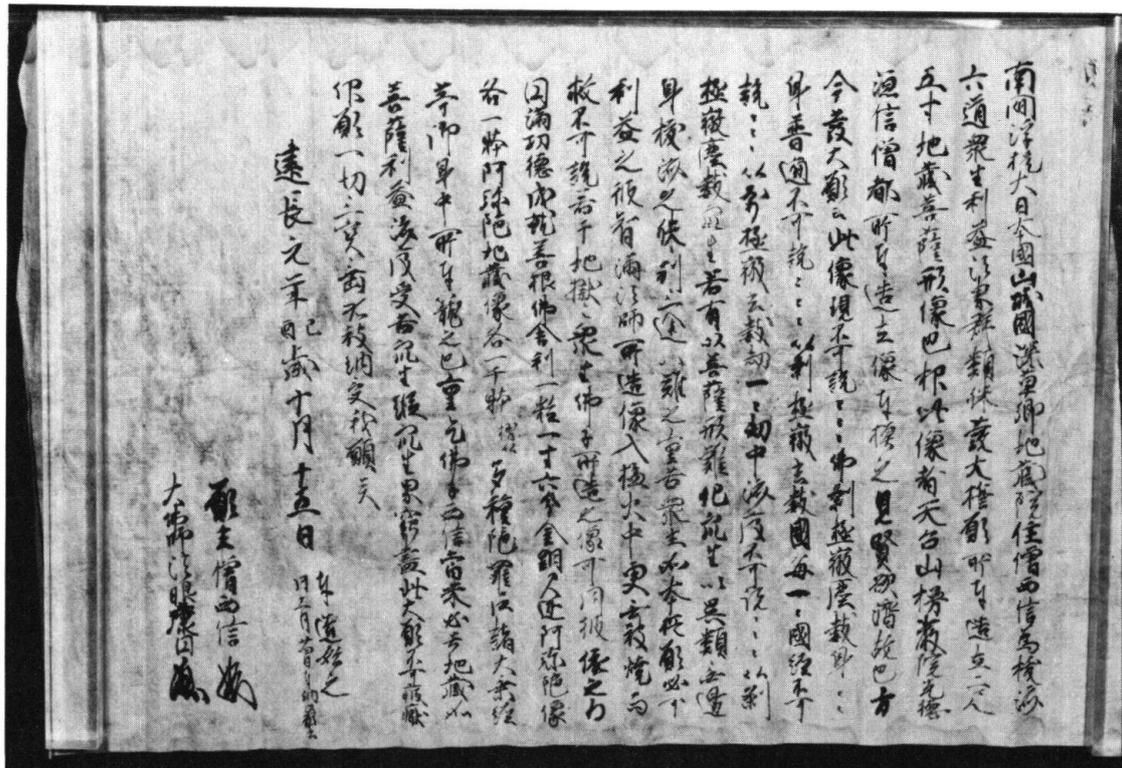


Figure 5

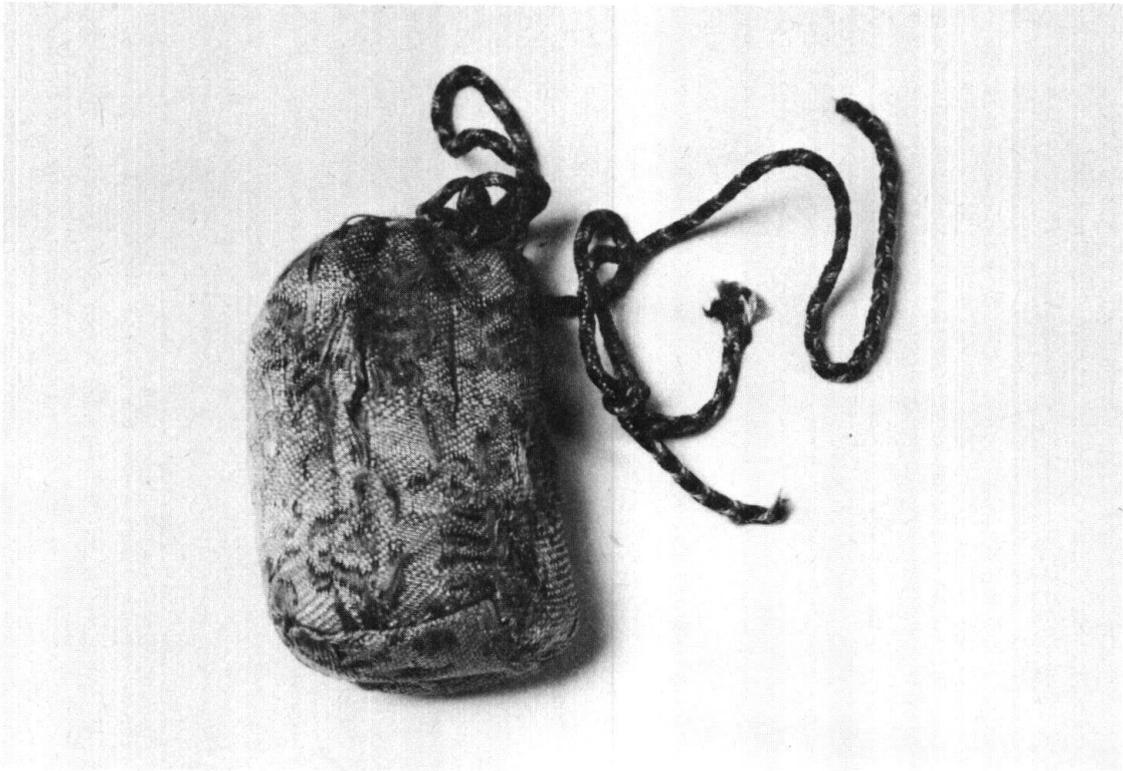


Figure 6



Figure 7



Figure 8



Figure 9



Figure 10

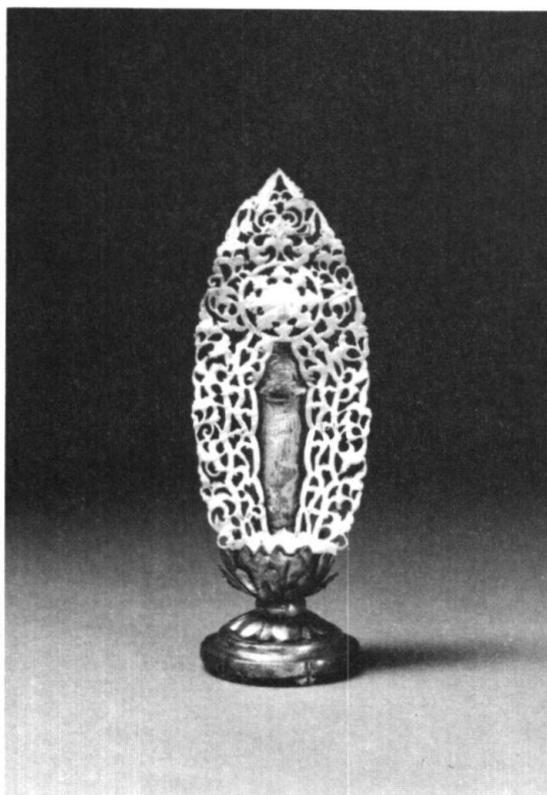


Figure 11



Figure 12

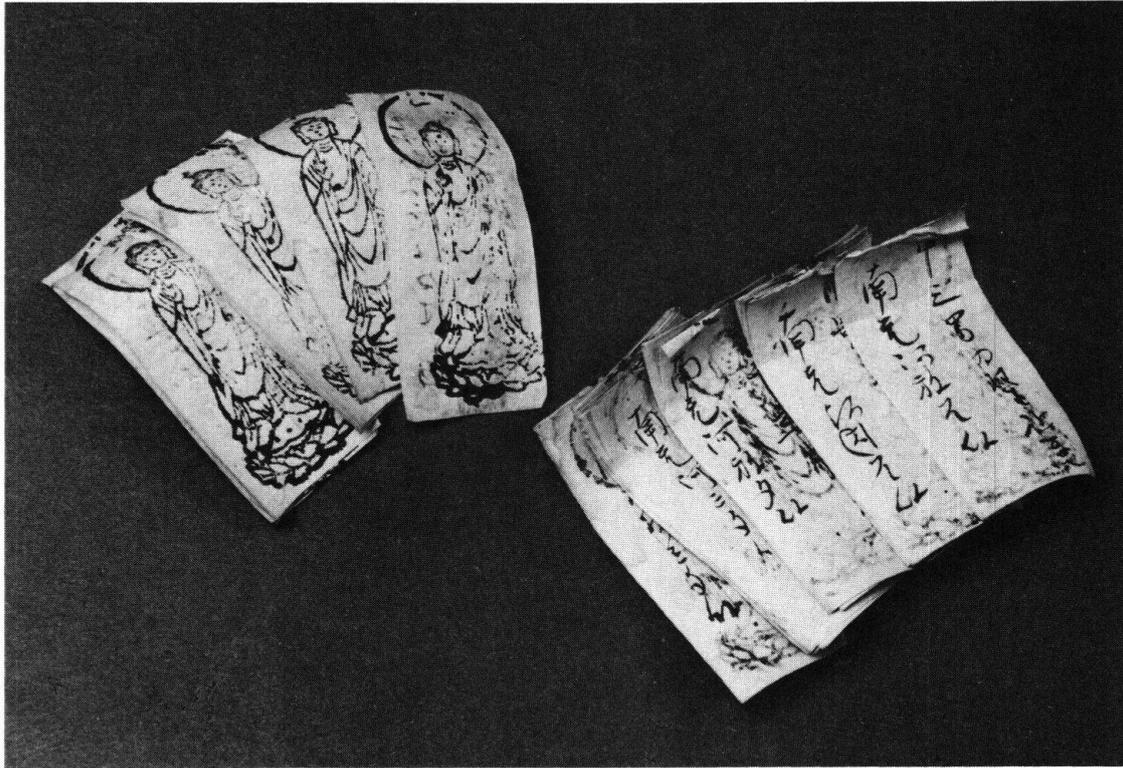


Figure 13

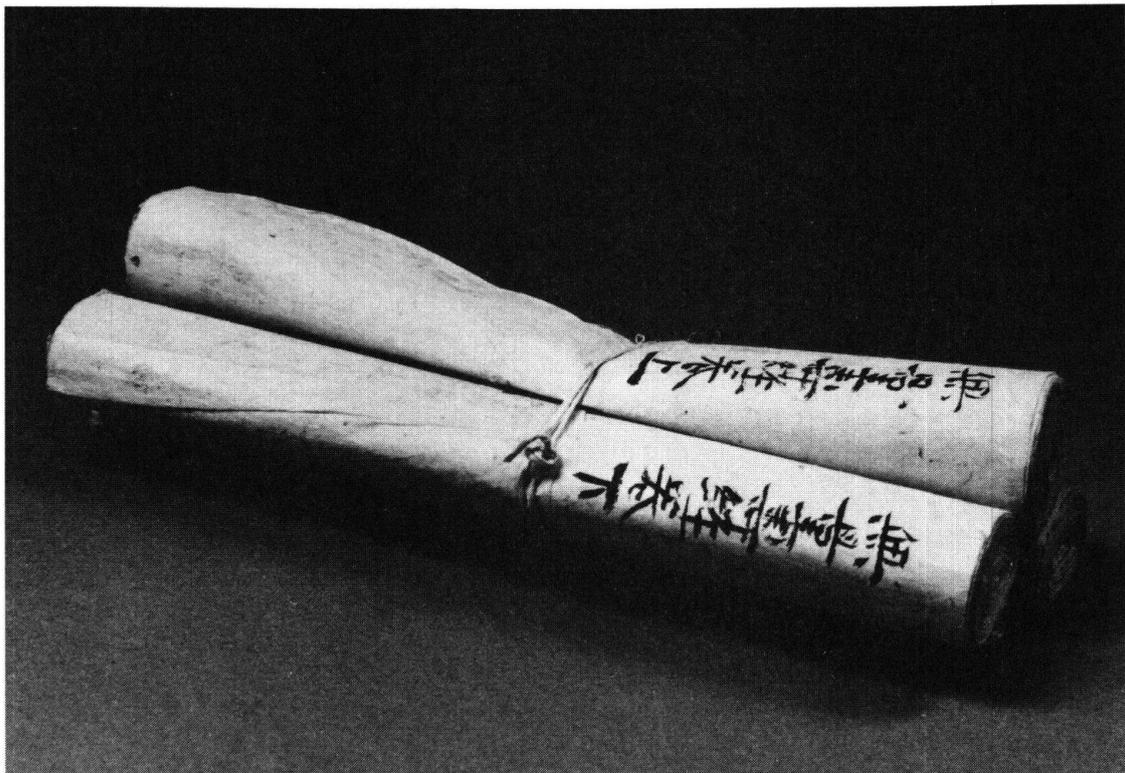


Figure 14



Figure 15

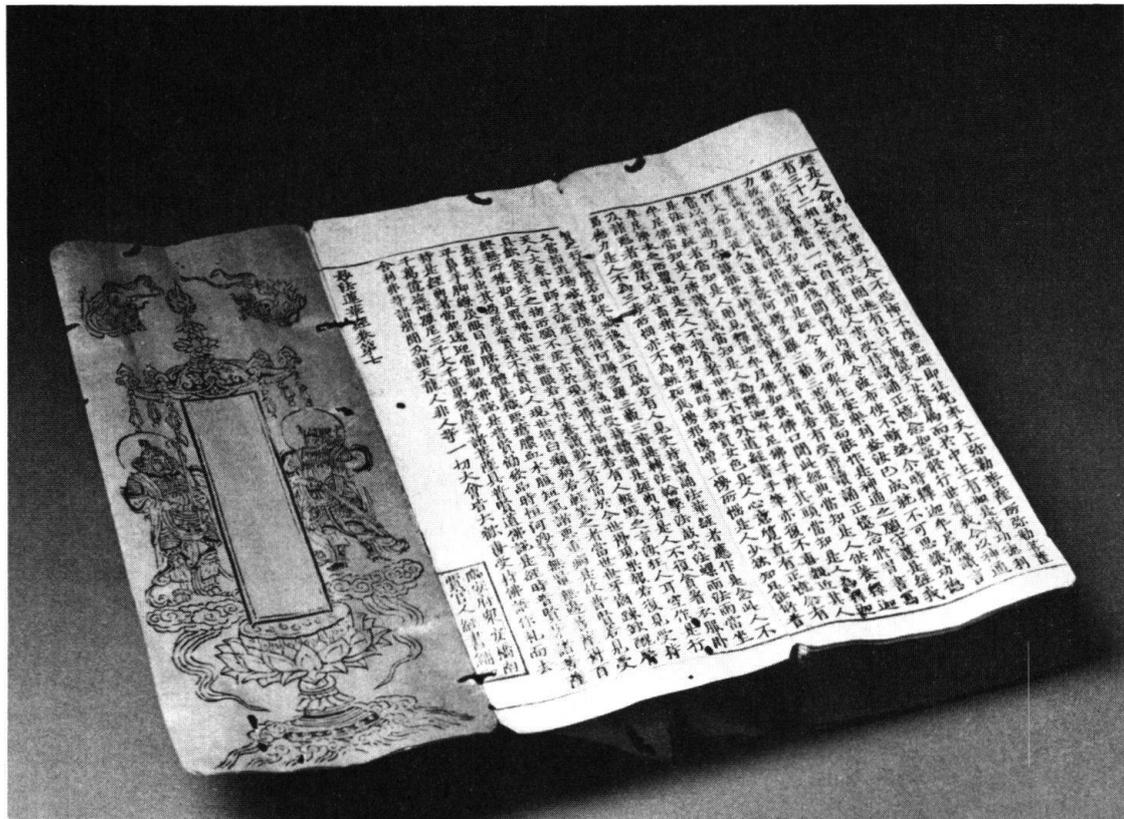


Figure 16



Horā Diagram, water color drawings and text on paper, late Heian period, Kyōōgokokuji, Kyōto.

(Photographed from a facsimile in the collection of Professor Alexander C. Soper)