

The Yuan Buddhist Mural of the Paradise of Bhaiṣajyaguru

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A MONUMENTAL BUDDHIST MURAL in The Metropolitan Museum of Art depicting the Paradise of Bhaiṣajyaguru (Figure 1) has long been mistaken as the Assembly of Śākyamuni.¹ Problems concerning its function, date, and stylistic position in the pictorial tradition of Chinese Buddhist art have not yet been solved. The present essay attempts to clarify these and some closely related issues, including the date of a Maitreya mural in Toronto, the origin of Tejaprabha Buddha, and the school of Zhu Haogu^A (see Glossary for the Chinese characters keyed to the superscript letters).

The Metropolitan Museum's mural came from the eastern gable wall of the Main Hall of the Guangsheng Lower Monastery (Guangsheng Xiasi^B), one of the two compounds of a Buddhist monastery known as Guangsheng Si^C, which is situated about fourteen and a half miles southeast of the county seat of Zhaocheng County in the Huo Mountains of southern Shanxi Province (Figure 2). The other compound is the Guangsheng Upper Monastery (Guangsheng Shangsi^D). The two compounds are located about a mile apart, with the Upper Monastery on a hillside and the Lower Monastery at the foot of the hill.²

The Lower Monastery is constructed along a north-south axis, with a gate at the south end of the compound, a Front Hall in the middle, and the Main Hall at the northern end. The two halls are connected by a walkway and flanked by subsidiary buildings (Figure 3). The buildings—now protected by the state mainly for their architectural merit—were reconstructions of earlier buildings that were destroyed in a devastating earthquake, which struck the area in 1303.³

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Guangsheng Si predates the Tang dynasty (618–907). According to the Gazetteer of the Prefecture of Pingyang (Pingyang fuzhi^E), the monastery was first built in A.D. 147.⁴ Another early gazetteer relates that the Upper Monastery (Guangsheng Shangsi) was rebuilt in 769,⁵ a date probably based on an inscription indicating the twenty-seventh day of the fifth month of that year. Recarved in 1064 on a stone stele now set in a wall of the Rear Hall in the Upper Monastery,⁶ the inscription says that the original name of the monastery was Ayu Wang (King Aśoka). In 769 Emperor Daizong (r. 762–779) of the Tang dynasty granted it the name Guangsheng (Vast Triumph), which is still its name.⁷

Guangsheng Si had a close association with royalty. Not only was its name granted by Tang Daizong but, also during the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368), a portrait of Khubilai Khan (1215–94, the founder and the first emperor of the Yuan Dynasty) was hung in the monastery where ceremonies for the celebration of royal birthdays also took place. The monastery was also known for its Buddhist relics and an imperially bestowed Tripiṭaka (literally, Three Baskets, a comprehensive compilation of Buddhist writings).⁸ Little is known about the edition of this Tripiṭaka, but about 4,700 out of 7,000 volumes of a valuable Jin (1115–1234) edition Tripiṭaka, probably a different set, have been preserved in the monastery.⁹

It was through the discovery of this Jin edition Tripiṭaka in 1933 that Guangsheng Si became well known to the outside world. By the early 1930s many scholars had visited the monastery, among whom were Laurence Sickman, Liang Sicheng, and Lin Huiyin.¹⁰ The last two investigated the monastery in 1933. They saw fragments of a mural on the eastern gable wall in the Main Hall of the Lower Monastery and learned that in 1927 the murals on



Figure 1. *Paradise of Bhaiṣajyaguru*, mural from Main Hall, Guangsheng Lower Monastery, Shanxi. Yuan dynasty (after 1309, before 1319). Paint on plaster, 24 ft. 8 in. × 49 ft. 7 in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Arthur M. Sackler, in honor of his parents, Isaac and Sophie Sackler, 1965, 65.29.2

both gable walls of the Main Hall had been sold by the monks in order to renovate the buildings.¹¹ In their 1935 article Liang Sicheng and Lin Huiyin also mentioned the murals that they believed belonged originally to the Front Hall and had been sold before 1927. These murals were eventually acquired by three museums in the United States: two entered the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania between 1926 and 1929; one was acquired by the Nelson-Atkins Art Gallery in Kansas City in 1932; and another was purchased by Arthur M. Sackler and later given to the Metropolitan in 1954.¹²

Aschwin Lippe has pointed out that the length of the murals in Philadelphia, presumably around 32 feet each in their original condition, was about the length of the gable wall of the Front Hall of the

Lower Monastery, which is about 33 feet long, while the length of the murals in Kansas City and in the Metropolitan, each almost 50 feet long, is equal to the length of the gable wall of its Main Hall. Using these measurements as a basis, Lippe proposed rather convincingly that the Philadelphia set came from the Front Hall and the paintings in Kansas City and in the Metropolitan from the two gable walls in the Main Hall.¹³ While he correctly identified the subject of the mural in Kansas City as Teja-prabha, his identification of the subject of the Metropolitan Museum's mural as the Assembly of Śākyamuni deserves reconsideration.

The Metropolitan Museum's mural is centered upon a triad of a Buddha and two major bodhisattvas (Figure 4). The Buddha is attended by four secondary bodhisattvas: one on his upper right up-

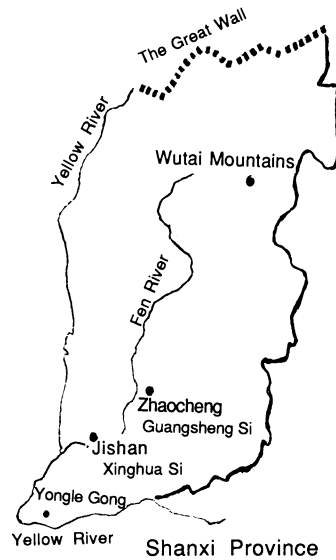


Figure 2. Map of Shanxi Province

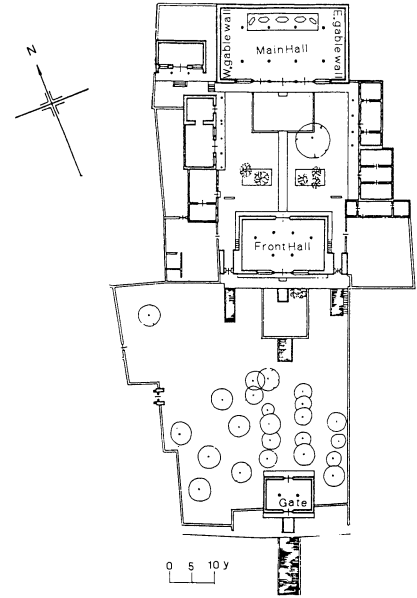


Figure 3. Plan of the Guangsheng Lower Monastery, Shanxi (after *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu shi* [Peking, 1984], fig. 144-1)

holding a moon disk, one on his upper left holding a sun disk, one on his lower right carrying a monk's staff (*khakkhara*), and one on his lower left bearing a bowl (*pātra*). Each of the two major bodhisattvas is attended by a minor bodhisattva. Below the triad are four minor bodhisattvas: two making offerings to the Buddha and one offering to each of the two major bodhisattvas. Above the triad are two flying attendants (*apsarasas*) and six more miniature Buddhas.

It is these six small Buddhas that Lippe took as the basis for his identification of the subject of the mural as the Assembly of Śākyamuni: "Together with the central figure they almost certainly represent the Seven Buddhas of the Past: that is, the historical Buddha Śākyamuni and the six 'mortal' Buddhas that were supposed to have preceded him. The

assembly would then be the one of Śākyamuni."¹⁴

Indeed, a group of six Buddhas may represent the six mortal Buddhas preceding Śākyamuni, but there are other possibilities. For example, they could also represent the six predecessors of Bhaiṣajyaguru, the Buddha of medicine. According to the *Saptatathāgatapūrvapraṇīdhānaviśeṣa sūtra*, a Buddhist text translated by Yi Jing^F (635–713), Bhaiṣajyaguru is preceded by six Buddhas. Before they became fully enlightened Buddhas, they took a prescribed number of vows to help sentient beings. The vows culminated in the Twelve Great Vows of Bhaiṣajyaguru.¹⁵ In Chinese Buddhist art, Bhaiṣajyaguru and his six predecessors are frequently presented together as a group. For instance, the seven medical Buddhas as a group appear in many caves at Dunhuang, including Caves 9, 99, 126, 155, and

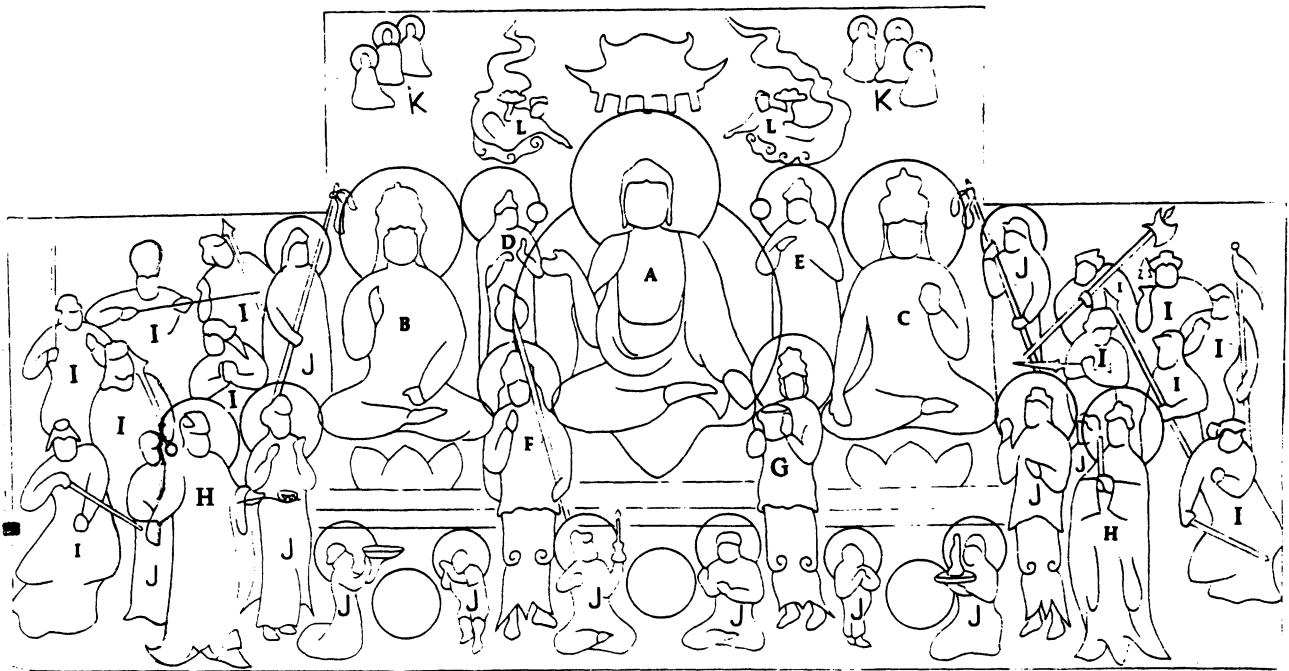


Figure 4. Drawing of *Paradise of Bhaiṣajyaguru*. A: Bhaiṣajyaguru; B: Avalokiteśvara; C: Cintāmaṇicakra; D: Candraprabha; E: Sūryaprabha; F: Bhaiṣajyasamudgata; G: Bhaiṣajyarāja; H: worshipers; I: the twelve guardian generals; J: minor figures; K: Buddhas; L: Apsarasas

171 of the Tang period. In the Museum's mural the six small Buddhas must be the predecessors of Bhaiṣajyaguru, who can be positively identified by the presence of the other bodhisattvas and guardian generals pertaining to his paradise and by his hand gesture (*mudrā*) and attribute.

The Buddha sits on a lotus throne in the center (Figure 5). His right hand is raised at the level of the breast with the palm turned upward and the index and the thumb close to each other in a variant of *dharmacakra mudrā*, or teaching gesture. In paintings of Bhaiṣajyaguru from Dunhuang, if the Buddha's right hand is not holding a monk's staff, it usually displays the teaching gesture with the index and thumb forming a ring, while his left hand holds a bowl, a symbol of medicine (Figure 6). In the Metropolitan Museum's mural the three iconographical features of Bhaiṣajyaguru—the teaching gesture, the monk's staff, and the bowl—are present: his monk's staff is carried by the bodhisattva at his lower right and the bowl is held toward him by the bodhisattva at his lower left.

Bhaiṣajyaguru is believed to be a Buddha of salvation. The faithful turn to him for enlightenment as well as for the prevention of disasters and for the

material things needed in this world. Through the Twelve Great Vows that he took as a bodhisattva he pledged that after he became a Buddha, he would do the following: (1) give bodily perfection of a Buddha to all the sentient beings; (2) enlighten all those who are still groping in the dark; (3) bring a life of plenty to every person; (4) convert those who do not practice Mahayāna Buddhism (the "Great Vehicle," one of the three major Buddhist practices); (5) insure that all his students would follow instructions and behave well; (6) cure those with bodily deformities and mental disabilities; (7) relieve the destitute and homeless when they hear his name; (8) insure that women who are unhappy with their sex may be reborn as men; (9) lead the fallen onto the correct path; (10) free prisoners from death row; (11) give a feast to the desperate driven by hunger before their spiritual meals; and (12) colorfully garb the naked exposed to the elements and insects and provide amusement through dancers and musicians.¹⁶

The two most important bodhisattvas in the paradise of Bhaiṣajyaguru are Sūryaprabha, the Sunlight Bodhisattva, and Candraprabha, the Moonlight Bodhisattva. Sūryaprabha's attribute is a sun



Figure 5. Detail of Figure 1, showing Bhaiṣajyaguru

disk with a red bird in the center, as is seen in a painting from Dunhuang that is now in the British Museum (Figure 7). In the Metropolitan Museum's mural the bodhisattva at the upper left of the Buddha, holding a sun disk with a red bird in the middle, is clearly Sūryaprabha. His counterpart at the upper right of the Buddha holding a moon disk is Candraprabha. According to the *Bhaiṣajyaguru-pūrvapraṇidhāna sūtra*, the two possess the orthodox teaching of Bhaiṣajyaguru and occupy the highest

positions among the countless bodhisattvas in this Buddha's paradise.¹⁷ In scenes of Bhaiṣajyaguru paradise, the two bodhisattvas usually form a triad with the Buddha.

Since they are specific bodhisattvas rather than generalized figures, their counterparts below—that is, the two bodhisattvas who carry the monk's staff and the bowl for Bhaiṣajyaguru—might also not be generalized figures: the one with the bowl might be Bhaiṣajyarāja and the other with the monk's staff



Figure 6. *Bhaiṣajyaguru*. From Dunhuang, Gansu. Five dynasties, A.D. early 10th century. Ink and colors on silk, 72.5 × 55.5 cm. London, British Museum, Stein painting 27. Ch. 00101 (photo courtesy Trustees of the British Museum)

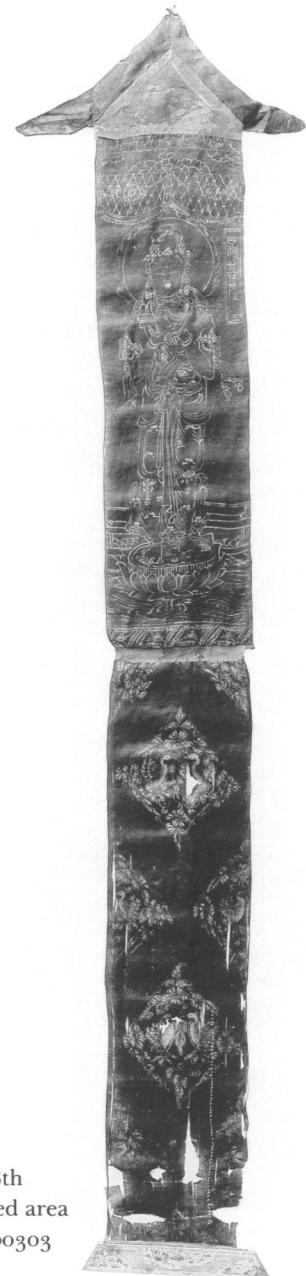


Figure 7. *Sūryaprabha*. From Dunhuang, Gansu. Tang dynasty, A.D. 8th century. White outline and colors on silk; total length 213 cm; painted area 89.6 × 25.5 cm. London, British Museum, Stein painting 121. Ch. 00303 (photo courtesy Trustees of the British Museum)



Figure 8. *Paradise of Bhaiṣajyaguru*, mural from Front Hall, Guangsheng Lower Monastery, Shanxi. Ming dynasty, after 1475. Philadelphia, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania (photo: University Museum)

Bhaiṣajyasamudgata. It was believed that the two were brothers associated with medicine for the benefit of all sentient beings. According to the *Bhaiṣajya-rājabhaiṣajyasamudgati sūtra*, the two brothers became bodhisattvas because of the wonderful medicine offered to monks in their previous lives. Those who hear the names of the two would be freed from suffering and from the cycle of birth and rebirth (*samsāra*).¹⁸ Their association with Bhaiṣajyaguru is made clear in the text *Foshuo guāndīng bachu guozui shengsi dedu jing*,¹⁹ in which they are mentioned as two of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas serving Bhaiṣajyaguru.¹⁹

Another important feature of the Paradise of Bhaiṣajyaguru is the presence of the Twelve Guardian Generals who symbolize the Buddha's Twelve Great Vows. According to *Bhaiṣajyagurupūrvaprāṇidhāna sūtra*, they pledge to protect those who disseminate Bhaiṣajyaguru's teaching and make offerings to the Buddha in order to free them from suffering and fulfill all their wishes.²⁰ In the mural the Twelve Guardian Generals are depicted in two groups on either side.

The twelve figures appear on one of the pair of murals from the gable walls in the Front Hall of the Guangsheng Lower Monastery, now in the University Museum (Figure 8). Among them (four on the right side, seen only in fragments) the second from the right of the Buddha carries a monk's staff while the second from the left of the Buddha holds a bowl. The presence of the Twelve Guardian Generals and of the monk's staff paired with the bowl carried by two of them indicate that the Philadelphia mural also portrays the paradise of Bhaiṣajyaguru. The subject is further clarified by the representation of the central Buddha and the two major bodhisattvas. Like the Bhaiṣajyaguru Buddha in the Metropolitan Museum's mural, the central Buddha's right hand is in a variant of the teaching gesture, while his left hand is placed on his left knee with the palm turned downward. Each of the two major bodhisattvas has a disk on his head and these can be read as the sun disk and the moon disk, the attributes of Sūryaprabha and Candraprabha.

Normally the two major bodhisattvas in a paradise of Bhaiṣajyaguru are Sūryaprabha and Candra-



Figure 9. Pedestal. Chinese, Tang dynasty, ca. A.D. 650. Philadelphia, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania (photo: University Museum)



Figure 10. *Cintāmanicakra*, from Dunhuang, Gansu. Tang dynasty, 2nd half 9th century B.C. Ink and colors on silk, 111 × 74.5 cm. London, British Museum, Stein painting 10. Ch. xxvi. 001 (photo courtesy Trustees of the British Museum)

prabha, as in the Philadelphia mural. In the Metropolitan's mural they are relegated to secondary positions after two bodhisattvas, Avalokiteśvara and Cintāmanicakra, with the former on the Buddha's right. This part of the mural is particularly fragmentary and has been heavily restored, so that it is difficult to identify the attribute in his right hand. But on his headdress, seven red miniature Buddhas in gestures of meditation (*dhyāna mudrā*) are visible. In Chinese Buddhist art the color red and the meditation gesture are characteristic of Amitābha, and a miniature Amitābha in the headdress of a bodhisattva indicates Avalokiteśvara. The presence of Amitābha in the headdress of Avalokiteśvara is also described in Buddhist scriptures such as the *Amoghapāśadhāra ṇi sūtra*.²¹

What is unusual in the headdress is that there are seven images of Amitābha, a larger one above six smaller ones. This arrangement may refer to a special relationship between the Paradise of Bhaiṣajyaguru and that of Amitābha. In Chinese Buddhist art, the Paradise of Bhaiṣajyaguru, which is believed to be the Eastern Paradise, is usually paired with the Western Paradise of Amitābha. In Bhaiṣajyaguru texts the only paradise mentioned, other than that of Bhaiṣajyaguru, is the Paradise of Amitābha. According to the *Bhaiṣajyagurupūrvapraṇidhāna sūtra*, anyone who wishes to be reborn in the Paradise of Amitābha can have his wish fulfilled if he hears the name of Bhaiṣajyaguru once in his lifetime. At the end of a person's life, eight great bodhisattvas, including Avalokiteśvara, descend from heaven to guide him to the Paradise of Amitābha.²² Therefore, by putting faith in Bhaiṣajyaguru, one is also guaranteed access to the Paradise of Amitābha. In the Metropolitan's mural the larger figure of Amitābha on the top might suggest the link between the Paradise of Amitābha and that of Bhaiṣajyaguru, and the six smaller figures might allude to connections between Amitābha and the six predecessors of Bhaiṣajyaguru at the top in the mural.

It is notable that in the mural Avalokiteśvara is combined with Bhaiṣajyaguru. Another example of such a combination is a Tang Buddhist pedestal with inscriptions in the University Museum, Philadelphia. In the center of the right face of the pedestal is Bhaiṣajyaguru, who holds a bowl and is flanked by four identical images of Avalokiteśvara (Figure 9).

The other major bodhisattva on the left of the Metropolitan Museum's Bhaiṣajyaguru also has a red Amitābha on his headdress; this suggests his association with Amitābha, while his other attributes

identify him as Cintāmaṇicakra, another form of Avalokiteśvara.

Cintāmaṇicakra's popular forms often have multiple arms, with each hand holding one attribute offering another way to salvation, as in the image of a six-armed Cintāmaṇicakra (Figure 10). In the Metropolitan's mural, however, Cintāmaṇicakra is presented in his less well-known two-arm form; his left hand holds a gem (*maṇi*) and his right hand performs a variant of a gift-bestowing gesture (*varada mudrā*). In a text on a Buddha known as Tejaprabha entitled *Da sheng miao jixiang pusa shuo chuzai jiaoling falun*^H, Cintāmaṇicakra is described as holding a round gem in his left hand and performing a gift-bestowing gesture with his right hand.²³ The attribute and gesture of the bodhisattva in the Museum's mural agree exactly with this textual description. The agreement cannot be a coincidence: on the wall opposite that of the Metropolitan Museum's mural there was a painted Assembly of Tejaprabha, which is now in the Nelson-Atkins Art Gallery. This unusual combination was adopted not only in the Main Hall but also in the Front Hall.

Traditionally, Bhaiṣajyaguru was not paired with Tejaprabha. In about ninety-six caves in Dunhuang which contain the paradise paintings of Bhaiṣajyaguru, ranging in date from the Sui dynasty (581–618) to the Song dynasty (960–1279), there is not a single case in which the Paradise of Bhaiṣajyaguru is paired with the Assembly of Tejaprabha. Why was Bhaiṣajyaguru paired with Tejaprabha in the Lower Monastery murals? What is the religious significance of such an iconographical design? To solve these problems we need to know more about Tejaprabha, who has not yet been studied in any significant depth.

Tejaprabha is one of the most nebulous Buddhist figures, for he and his entourage are unrelated to the main body of the Buddhist pantheon. Alexander Soper defines the role of this iconographically complex Buddha as follows: "His prime function was to serve as a magical control against natural aberrations and catastrophes of celestial origin."²⁴ This function will become clear once his origin is clarified.

A textual study of Buddhist treatises on astronomy suggests that Tejaprabha had not yet evolved into an independent entity by the time of the Chinese Buddhist monk Ixing^I (673–727), one of the most important early architects for the hierarchic system of celestial deities in Chinese Buddhism.

The text *Fantian huoluo jiyao*^J attributed to Ixing



Figure 11. *Tejaprabha Buddha and the Five Planets*, from Dunhuang, Gansu. Tang dynasty, dated 897. Ink and colors on silk, 80.4 × 55.4 cm. London, British Museum (photo courtesy Trustees of the British Museum)



Figure 12. *Beidou*, from Wuliangci, Shandong. Eastern Han dynasty. Rubbing (from Needham, *Science and Civilization in China III*, fig. 90)

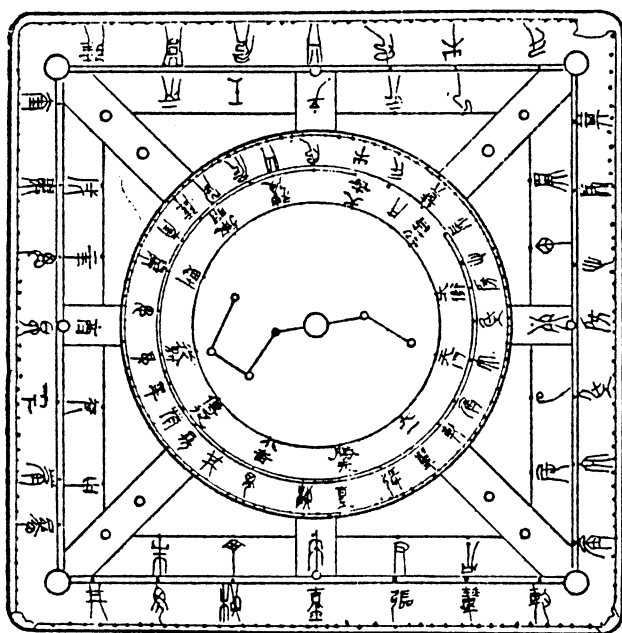


Figure 13. Astronomical diagram of *Beidou*. Excavated at Mojuzi, Wuwei, Gansu. Han dynasty (from *Wenwu*, no. 12 [1972], p. 14)

teaches the prevention of calamities by worshipping the Nine Luminaries (the Five Planets—Mercury, Venus, Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars—plus the Sun, Moon, and two Indian celestial deities, Ketu and Rāru); here, Tejabrabha is not even mentioned. His significant absence and the description of the Nine Luminaries in human forms suggest that the concept of Tejabrabha did not even exist when the iconographical identities of the Nine Luminaries were more or less formed.²⁵

Another text, *Xiuyao igui*^K, written by Ixing on the secret incantation (*dhāraṇī*) of the Nine Luminaries, presents the concept of Tejabrabha in embryonic form. In that text the expression “Tejabrabhabudhauṣṇiṣa” (Chishengguang foding^L), or the Buddha Crown (that is, a turban as one of the thirty-two auspicious signs of a Buddha) of Tejabrabha, occurs as the name of a *dao chang*^M, or shrine for offerings to dispel catastrophes caused by the disarray of the Luminaries.²⁶

In the text *Foshuo chishengguang daweide xiaozai jixiang tuoluoni jing*^N,²⁷ translated into Chinese by the Chinese monk Bu Kong^O (705–774), Tejabrabha is still not yet mentioned as an independent Buddha.

By the end of the ninth century, however, Tejabrabha emerged in visual art as a celestial Buddha with a stellar retinue of the Five Planets. In a Dunhuang painting dated 897 (Figure 11), the earliest

of six known surviving Tejabrabha paintings,²⁸ the Buddha is depicted as a celestial ruler sitting in a chariot in a royal procession followed by the Five Planets, which are easily recognizable because of their rather standard attributes: Mercury as a female scribe with a brush in one hand and a sacred Buddhist text (*sūtra*) in the other, Venus as a female musician with a *pipa* (a Chinese lute), Saturn as an ascetic with a bull, Jupiter as an official with offerings, and Mars as a warrior with weapons. In later paintings the retinue is expanded to include more planets, the Twenty-eight Constellations and other stellar deities.

The figural representation and iconography of Tejabrabha is derived from that of the Chinese Beidou^P, the constellation known in the West as the Great Bear or Big Dipper (*Ursa Major*). In China Beidou was regarded as the controller of stars in the heaven and of men on the earth. In establishing a celestial pantheon in Chinese Buddhism, which was necessary for Buddhists because of the cardinal importance of astronomy in religious, political, social, and economic life and in state affairs in ancient China, the Chinese Buddhist monk-astronomers first followed the Chinese celestial system and worshiped Beidou as a supreme celestial monarch. Later on, Beidou as the celestial monarch in the Buddhist context was simply replaced by the newly created Buddha Tejabrabha.

In the *Fantian huoluo jiyao*, a passage entitled “the Daoist Immortal Ge Hong’s^Q [284–364] method of worshipping Beidou” (“Ge Xiangong li beidou fa^R”), teaches that all human beings, from rulers down to ordinary people, are controlled by the seven stars of Beidou. In order to avoid calamities they should always obey and worship Beidou.²⁹ The inclusion of the Daoist teaching in the Buddhist treatise on the Nine Luminaries was obviously an effort to organize the Nine Luminaries into a more disciplined hierarchy under Beidou according to the Daoist belief.

The Daoist worship of Beidou can be traced further back to the Han dynasty (206 B.C. – A.D. 220). The Han astronomer Zhang Heng^S (78–139) described a celestial system with Beidou occupying the central position:

In the star-studded sky there are seven moving planets: the sun, the ancestor of the Yang principle; the moon, the ancestor of the Yin principle; and the Five Planets, the essence of the Five Elements. With their forms born on the earth and essence completed in the heaven, the stars, though arranged unevenly, fall into their own proper positions. . . . Among them, there are

five most divine and important groups, consisting of thirty-five units. The group in the center is called Beidou. In each of the four directions there are seven constellations forming the Twenty-eight Constellations. The Sun and Moon traverse the sky to foretell each of the good and bad omens. The Five Planets travel to presage misfortunes or fortunes.³⁰

In this celestial system Beidou presides in the center—he is a supreme monarch controlling the Seven Planets and the Twenty-eight Constellations and influencing the fate of men. The great historian Sima Qian^T (b. 145 B.C.?), in the astronomical chapter “Tianguan shu”^U of his *Shiji*^V (The Historical Record), speaks of Beidou as an emperor riding in a chariot: “Beidou is an emperor riding in a chariot. He traverses around the center to inspect and control the four sides. The separation of the Yin and Yang, the establishment of the four seasons, the evening of the Five Elements, the changes of the seasons, and the formation of the laws all depend upon Beidou.”³¹

Sima Qian’s description of Beidou gives us a clue to the identification of an important stellar image of the Han dynasty. In a rubbing from the Wu Family Shrine in Shandong, a celestial monarch seated in a chariot formed by the seven individual stars of Beidou is greeted by five other figures (Figure 12). The monarch in the chariot is no doubt the personification of the constellation Beidou and the five worshipers may be the Five Planets. Among them, the one on the right riding on a horse coming toward the Beidou is reminiscent of the images of Saturn in later Buddhist paintings. In the Dunhuang Tejabrabha painting of 897 (Figure 11) Saturn leads a bull in front of the chariot. In a handscroll “The Five Planets and Twenty-eight Constellations,” now in the Osaka Municipal Museum, Saturn rides a bull. The bull of Saturn in these later Chinese Buddhist paintings is probably a reincarnation of the Han horse. In a Han astronomical diagram excavated in a tomb at Mojuzi, Wuwei, in Gansu Province, Beidou is depicted in the center of heavens surrounded by the constellations (Figure 13). The Han presentations of Beidou are exactly the same as later Buddhist maṇḍalas or diagrams of Tejabrabha.

In *Jinshu*^W, the official history of the Jin dynasty (265–420), Beidou is described as an emperor and also an imperial chariot: “Beidou has the form of a human emperor because he is the master who gives orders. He is also an imperial chariot which symbolizes movement.”³²



Figure 14. Japanese copy of Beidou Maṇḍala of Tang Dynasty, dated 1148. Ink on paper, 115.5 × 51.5 cm. Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music (photo: Museum of Tokyo National University)

It is important to note that the chariot in which the celestial emperor rides symbolizes the movement of Beidou. During a year, the handle of Beidou points to different directions. In ancient China the seasons were decided by the direction of Beidou’s handle at dusk. When the handle pointed to

the east, it was spring; to the south, summer; to the west, autumn; and to the north, winter. Joseph Needham has aptly said: “For an agricultural economy, astronomical knowledge as regulator of the calendar was of prime importance. He who could give a calendar to the people would be their leader.”³³ In ancient China agricultural activities were tied to the movement of Beidou, which was perhaps one of the most important reasons why Beidou was regarded as the supreme celestial monarch.

The traditional Chinese concept of Beidou as a supreme celestial ruler was also shared by Buddhist monks. In an anonymous Tang Buddhist treatise, Beidou is worshiped as a celestial ruler:

Beidou is the essence of the Sun, Moon, and the Five Planets. He controls the Seven Luminaries, illuminates the eight directions, enlightens the gods in heaven and governs men on the earth. He judges what is good and what is evil, and determines misfortune and fortune. All the stars pay homage to him, and all the souls prostrate in worship before him.³⁴

This Buddhist statement disregards the highest authority of the “three jewels” (*triratna*) of Buddhism—the Buddha, the Buddhist “Law” (*dharmā*), and “the clergy” (*saṅgha*). There is no fundamental Buddhist concern for retribution (*karma*) or the liberation from the cycle of birth and rebirth (*samsāra*). Instead, emphasis is given to the supreme power of the ruler, moral judgment, and obedience by the ruled; these views touch upon traditional Chinese thought. The Chinese Beidou worshiped by the Chinese Buddhist monks was entirely different from the image of the Indian Beidou introduced later.

In the treatise *Beidou qixing niansong igui*^x, translated by the Indian monk Vajrabodhi (669–741), the Indian Beidou is not a supreme ruler but a group of eight female deities.³⁵ In Indian Tantric religious pantheons, females (unless they are the *śakti*, or energy, of major male deities) have relatively low positions. The eight females are neither “Buddha-mothers” (*foṃw*) nor “female bodhisattvas” (*mu pusa*^z), who have important roles in the Tantric Buddhist pantheon. Like the other planets, they have the potential to cause trouble. But if a secret Incantation (*dhāraṇī*) of the Eight Stars taught by Śākyamuni Buddha is chanted, the eight females will protect the faithful and fulfill their wishes.

The Indian concept of Beidou was totally different from the traditional Chinese belief. The solution to this discrepancy seems to have been the creation of Tejaprabha to replace the Chinese Beidou

as the supreme celestial ruler and the adaptation of the female images of the Indian Beidou as some of Tejaprabha’s attendants.

The evidence for the replacement of the Chinese Beidou by Tejaprabha can be found in Buddhist texts such as the Fantian huoluo juyao.³⁶ The replacement is also evident in Buddhist art. A twelfth-century Japanese copy of a Chinese stellar maṇḍala with a Buddha sitting in the center surrounded by stellar deities is inscribed not as the Maṇḍala of Tejaprabha but as the Maṇḍala of Beidou of the Tang Dynasty (Figure 14). Among the stellar deities above the Buddha in the picture is a group of seven small figures representing the seven individual stars of Beidou. As humble attendants, these figures are obviously based on the group of females of the Indian Beidou. While it is not organized around them, nor devoted to them, the maṇḍala is called “The Maṇḍala of Beidou of the Tang.” The only reasonable explanation for this discrepancy between the name and the structure of the maṇḍala is that the prototype for such maṇḍalas was originally presided over by the Chinese Beidou, hence the name. After Tejaprabha became identified with the Chinese Beidou, the two were functionally interchangeable. Therefore, there was no need to change the original name of the maṇḍala.

In the Dunhuang painting Tejaprabha sits in a chariot like the Chinese Beidou in the Han rubbing, where his chariot symbolizes the movement of the constellation. However, Tejaprabha in the chariot is totally out of context here. Texts on Tejaprabha never mention or suggest his movement or travel. To make sense out of the irrelevantly inherited attribute, the chariot in most later Tejaprabha pictures is reduced to a wheel, which in Buddhist art is always read as the *dharmacakra*, the Wheel of the Law. The chariot was thus turned into a Buddhist attribute placed in the hands of Tejaprabha, symbolizing his teachings on preventing social and natural disasters.

Tejaprabha’s special function as celestial controller against disasters must be the most important reason for pairing him with Bhaiṣajyaguru in the Lower Monastery murals. When the monastery was rebuilt after the earthquake in 1309, priority had to be given to the prevention of similar destructive forces, whether of social or cosmic origins. When the Assembly of Tejaprabha was paired with the Paradise of Bhaiṣajyaguru, Tejaprabha was evoked to guard against social and natural disasters; Bhaiṣajyaguru, whose power was tripled by the presence of the two saviors Avalokiteśvara and Cintāmani-



Figure 15. Zhu Haogu workshop, *Paradise of Maitreya*, mural from Xinghua Monastery, Shanxi. Yuan dynasty, 1320? Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum (photo: Royal Ontario Museum)

cakra, was called upon to provide the strongest protection from harm.

As a date for the mural from the Guangsheng Lower Monastery, Aschwin Lippe suggested the second quarter of the fourteenth century based on three dates Laurence Sickman found, not in the Guangsheng Lower Monastery but in the temple for Mingying Wang, which lies southwest of the Lower Monastery. The three inscriptions on the wall paintings in the temple give the dates 1316 and 1324, and a stele commemorating the reconstruction of the temple is dated 1319. A more important date found in the Main Hall by some Chinese archaeologists in the early 1950s, however, has been overlooked by scholars. An inscription dated autumn 1309 is written on the ridge purlin. Based on this date and the styles of the building, sculptures, and the fragments of the murals remaining on top of both gable walls, these Chinese archaeologists believed that the Main Hall was rebuilt in 1309.³⁷ The 1319 stele in the temple for Mingying Wang describes the rebuilt Guangsheng Si as “most magnificent and beautiful.” Thus, by this date, the Guangsheng Lower Monastery had fully recovered from the earthquake. Accordingly, the mural from the Main Hall can be more precisely dated between 1309 and 1319.

The new evidence for this date enables us to study the style of the Museum’s mural on firmer ground.

It clarifies to some extent the stylistic relationship between the murals from the Main Hall and some related murals from the same area. These include the murals from the Front Hall of the Guangsheng Lower Monastery, now in Philadelphia; a Maitreya mural in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto (Figure 15), originally from the Xinghua^{AA} Monastery, which was situated nine miles south of the county seat of Jishan and about forty miles southwest of Pingyang;³⁸ and the mural in the leading Daoist monastery, that of the Quanzhen^{AB} Sect Yongle^{AC} Palace. Of these, only the murals from two halls of the Yongle Palace are dated: the Sanqing Hall murals of 1325 and the Chungyang Hall murals of 1358. When the dates of the other murals are known, the stylistic relationships between these murals will be clear. This should reveal not only the development of the mural style in southern Shanxi but will also shed light on some of the murals’ iconographical problems, most of which have so far been misunderstood. It is beyond the scope of this essay to deal with further iconographical problems, but a brief discussion of the dates of the other undated murals is necessary before the direct stylistic source of the Metropolitan Museum’s mural can be traced.

The murals from the Front Hall of the Guangsheng Lower Monastery, now in Philadelphia, are generally accepted as being contemporaneous with

the murals of the Main Hall. Their style, however, is different from that of the Museum's mural. In the Philadelphia Bhaiṣajyaguru mural, for example, the color scheme is similar to that of the New York mural—red and green are the basic colors, but larger areas of the bodies and garments are defined by outlines against white ground, which give the mural a much higher key. The face of the Buddha is not as full as that of the Metropolitan Museum's Buddha, and the two major bodhisattvas are placed lower than the Buddha in the picture plane. They are in three-quarter view with their heads and bodies turned toward the Buddha, thus forming a pyramidal spatial relationship. But in the Metropolitan's mural the Buddha and the two major bodhisattvas sit in strict frontal positions, more or less at the same level. The difference in spatial structure reflects the different dates of the murals.

When Guangsheng Si was studied in the early 1950s new evidence for dating was found in the Front Hall. An inscription quoted by the investigators states that the reconstruction of the Front Hall was completed in the eleventh year of the Chenghua^{AD} reign (1475) of the Ming dynasty.³⁹ Since the Philadelphia murals are from the Front Hall, it now seems clear that they should be dated after 1475.

The date of the Toronto mural, the Paradise of Maitreya, has been disputed since 1938. Its clarification is particularly important for the stylistic study of the Museum's mural. The Toronto mural is presumably from the North Hall of the northern compound of the Xinghua Monastery.⁴⁰ After the mural (now in Toronto) had been removed, Li Jizhi of Qinghua University visited the monastery in 1926 and found an inscription on a wall.⁴¹ The published inscription indicates that a mural was completed on the fourteenth day of the eighth month of the cyclical year *wuxu*^{AE} of the Great Yuan State (1271–1368). Since the Chinese dating system is based on a cycle of sixty years, each cyclical name reoccurs every sixty years. However, mention of an imperial reign period or dynasty often provides further information, as is the case of this inscription, which includes the term the "Great Yuan State." During the Great Yuan State the *wuxu* year occurred twice: the first corresponded to 1298 and the second to 1358. In 1938 William White commissioned two students to investigate the Xinghua Monastery. The students sent back a reading of an inscription that mentions that Zhu Haogu, a "painter-in-attendance" (*huihua daizhao*^{AF}) from Xiangling^{AG} county, and his pupil Zhang Boyuan^{AH} completed their painting on the fourteenth day of the eighth month

of the "*qingshen*"^{AI} year of the Great Yuan State.⁴² Since there is no such cyclical year as *qingshen* among the cyclical names, White assumed that the students' mistranscription and the date-paragraph given by Li was "obviously the same inscription"; he published it incorrectly as 1238, a year that falls outside the span of the Yuan dynasty.⁴³

This mistake was corrected in an article published in 1947 by Ludwig Bachhofer, who pointed out that the *wuxu* year of the Great Yuan State in the inscription read by Li could not be 1238, because the term "Great Yuan State" was not in use until 1271.⁴⁴ He discussed four possible readings of the students' version of the date, all of which fall before 1321, and proposes the year *gengshen*^{AJ}, which corresponds to 1320.⁴⁵

In a recent article Nancy Steinhardt refutes Ludwig Bachhofer's date and interprets Li's reading of the year *wuxu* as 1358.⁴⁶ According to her argument, two inscriptions, dated to the *wuxu* year 1358, on the walls of the Chunyang Hall of the Yongle Palace contain the signatures of Zhu Haogu. She argues that since the name of Zhu Haogu also appears in the Xinghua Monastery, the *wuxu* year in the Xinghua Monastery reported by Li must be the second of the two *wuxu* years of the Yuan dynasty, corresponding to 1358 rather than 1298, because it is impossible for Zhu to have been a master craftsman working in the Xinghua Monastery in 1298 and to have still been active in the Yongle Palace in 1358.

The name Zhu Haogu in the inscriptions of the Yongle Palace was not the signature of Zhu. The name was used to modify the two characters "*men tu*"^{AK} (disciples) in the inscriptions, meaning "the disciples of Zhu Haogu." Zhu did not paint on the walls of the Yongle Palace, nor did he leave his signature. Instead, his disciples were responsible for the murals. The inscriptions, therefore, do not seem to support the argument that Zhu was active as late as 1358. On the contrary, they tend to prove that Zhu painted in an earlier period, a generation ahead of his pupils. This would push Zhu's active date back to the early years of the fourteenth century.

If the inscriptions reported by Li and by White's students are indeed two readings of the same inscription and if Li's cyclical year of *wuxu* is correct, Zhu should have painted in the Xinghua Monastery in the earlier *wuxu* year of 1298 instead of 1358. If he did paint in the Xinghua Monastery in 1298, however, it is doubtful that his paintings and inscription could have survived the earthquake of 1303, which destroyed Guangsheng Si nearby.

Therefore, Bachhofer's suggestion that the students may have meant *gengshen*, corresponding to 1320, is reasonable and does not conflict with the historical situation of the earthquake. If Zhu worked a generation ahead of his pupils who painted in 1358, 1320 seems to be an appropriate time.

In any case, the inscriptions from the Xinghua Monastery and the Yongle Palace provide important and reliable information: "a famous painter, Zhu Haogu, painted in the Xinghua Monastery in the early decades of the fourteenth century; he was not an ordinary craftsman working individually but a leading master who had established his lineage through a painting school." The information gathered from the inscriptions can be supplemented by the brief entry for Zhu in the *Shanxi tongzhi*^{AL} (the Gazetteer of Shanxi): "Zhu Haogu was a native of Xiangling. He was good at landscape and figure painting. Zhu and his countrymen Zhang Maoqing^{AM} and Chang Yunrui^{AN} were known as famous painters. People who obtain their paintings treasure them as jades. They were called 'The Three Painters of Xiangling.'"⁴⁷

What is now crucial for a more tangible knowledge of Zhu is whether the Toronto mural from the Xinghua Monastery dates back to the early decades of the fourteenth century when Zhu was painting there. If the mural is indeed an early-fourteenth-century work, it was undoubtedly painted by Zhu. However, since the locations of the inscription and mural in the Xinghua Monastery are by no means certain, the probable date of 1320 in the inscription does not automatically apply to the mural. The inscription is reliable only for Zhu's active date in the Xinghua Monastery; it is not necessarily the date of the mural—only the style of the mural speaks eloquently for its date. Therefore, the style of the Toronto mural has to be examined to see if it agrees with the period style of the early fourteenth century. A comparison with the Metropolitan's mural, which can be firmly dated to the second decade of the century, will confirm its early date. The figure style of the Buddha in the Metropolitan Museum's mural (Figure 5) and the Toronto mural (Figure 15) is similar. It is characterized by the large exposed protuberance (*uṣṇīṣa*) at the top of the head; high, curving eyebrows; archlike eye sockets; almond eyes; thick nose; double chins; a few lines on the neck and the chest; and exposed chest and upper part of the stomach. The garment is wrapped around the figure's left shoulder and arm and the right shoulder, with the right arm bare. The draperies on the trousers are indicated by parallel lines at equal intervals.

In the Toronto mural the two major bodhisattvas sit with the Buddha in strictly frontal positions in a row within the shallow pictorial space of a friezelike horizontal band similar to their counterparts in the Metropolitan Museum's mural. They form a sharp contrast with the major bodhisattvas in the Philadelphia murals, which were painted after 1475 (Figure 8). Candrabhadra on the Buddha's right in the Philadelphia Bhaiṣajyaguru mural, for example, is depicted not only in three-quarter view but also in a foreshortened position, as if he were to be seen from a higher vantage point. The foreshortening of the figure and its lower placement in the picture plane create a sense of volume and the illusion of three-dimensional space. The four immediate attendants around the Buddha in Toronto's mural, like their counterparts in the Metropolitan's mural, are almost superimposed one over another, creating the shallow pictorial space typical of the early fourteenth century.

The Toronto and Metropolitan murals share a similar composition. The central Buddha is surrounded by four secondary figures and flanked by the two major bodhisattvas. The other minor figures are arranged on the sides of the central triad. The emphasis of the composition is on hierarchical order. The Toronto mural shares some major decorative motifs with the Metropolitan's mural, such as the haloed flower before the throne. In Buddhist art, while figural style was highly derivative owing to the use of standard texts and sketchbooks, the non-iconographical elements were always flexible. The artists could reproduce the shapes of figures through the use of cartoons and other devices, but they could not reproduce a sense of volume, spatial relationships, and pictorial spaces. The Toronto mural is similar in these aspects to the New York mural, which clearly shares all the major features of early-fourteenth-century style, of which Zhu Haogu was a leading master.

The affinity between the Toronto and New York murals also shows that the direct stylistic source of the latter is in the painting tradition of Zhu Haogu. Although no literary evidence has survived to document Zhu's connection with the Main Hall of the Guangsheng Si, stylistic evidence links the Museum's mural with Zhu's school.

Zhu's rendering of the figure of Buddha is derived from late Liao (907–1125) and Jin (1115–1234) Buddhist art as exemplified by a wood-block print of Tejaprabha (Figure 16), discovered in 1974 in a pagoda in Shanxi.⁴⁸ The stylistic features in the murals—the facial and body shapes, the garment,



Figure 16. *Tejaprabha Buddha and the Planets*. Yingxian, Shanxi. Late Liao or Early Jin dynasties. Woodblock print with colors on paper, 120 × 45.9 cm (from *Chinese Graphic Art Annual* [1982–1983] p. 253)

the drapery on the trousers, the shallow space around the Buddha with superimposed attendants, and the color scheme with red and green as the major hues—can all be found in the late Liao or early Jin prints.

The Zhu Haogu school, though dominant in southern Shanxi area, had limited influence elsewhere. Outside southern Shanxi, a new court style initiated by the Nepalese artist Anige^{AO} (1245–1306)

prevailed. During the Yuan dynasty, Tibetan Buddhism became the most important religion practiced at the Yuan court, where the Tibetan monks brought with them the style of the Himalayas to meet the needs of Tibetan Buddhist practices. Promoted at the court and patronized by the Yuan rulers, the court style swept throughout China from Dadu (modern Beijing) in the east to Dunhuang in the west, and from Zhejiang in the south to Mongolia in the north. In the Wutai Mountains in neighboring northern Shanxi, Anige was busy building court-style temples and stūpas for Yuan emperors. As a high-ranking official in charge of Yuan court art, Anige patronized a Buddhist temple in the Wutai Mountains during the last years of his life, and his new style might have reached the Guangsheng Lower Monastery. As mentioned earlier, the Guangsheng Si had a close relationship with the Yuan court and possessed a portrait of Khubilai Khan. It is known that the prototype for the formal portrait of Khubilai Khan was painted by Anige after Khubilai's death in 1294, and it is likely that Buddhist paintings executed in the court style traveled to the Guangsheng Si together with the portrait. However, Zhu's style was not influenced by the court style.

The difference between Zhu's style and the court style can be seen through a comparison of the Museum's Bhaiṣajyaguru mural and a Yuan woodblock print of Bhaiṣajyaguru designed in the court style by the Chinese artist Chen Sheng^{AP} (Figure 17).⁴⁹ The subject of the print is Śākyamuni's teaching of the Paradise of Bhaiṣajyaguru, with the presence of the seven medical Buddhas in the air above, Sūryaprabha holding a sun disk on Śākyamuni's left, Candraprabha bearing a moon disk on the Buddha's right, and the Twelve Generals on both sides in the foreground. These figures are completely reinterpreted in the new court style, a style that synthesizes traditional Chinese Buddhist art and contemporary Nepalese Buddhist art, which had absorbed the late Pāla-Sena schools of Indian art during the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Bihār and Bengal regions. The difference between the figure styles of the Buddhas in the two pictures is particularly striking. In the print the Buddha is rendered with a youthful face, elegant torso, clinging garment, and more esoteric teaching gesture. The elaborate throne is clustered with exotic Indian mythological creatures: two rearing *simhavyālas* (lionlike creatures) stand on the heads of two elephants and support a beam on which perch two *makaras* (quasi-crocodilian creatures), whose tails are

turned into elaborate floral motifs connected by two snakes that are being swallowed by Garuḍa (a bird-like creature) on the top. Even the floral motifs behind the torso of the Buddha are carefully designed to recapture the flavor of the Nepalese style.

While the new court style was prevalent elsewhere, in the southern Shanxi area the old style of Liao and Jin Buddhist art still survived. The Metropolitan Museum's mural and the other murals from the same area are among the few surviving witnesses to this heritage. Although the Zhu Haogu school revitalized the Liao and Jin Buddhist art tradition during the Yuan and early Ming periods, it remained a local school and represented one of the last waves in the succession of the Liao–Jin Buddhist art tradition.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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NOTES

1. This interpretation originated with Aschwin Lippe's article "Buddha and the Holy Multitude," *MMAB* (May 1965) pp. 325–336.
2. Qi Yingtao et al., "Liangnian lai Shanxi sheng xin faxian de gu jianzhu (The ancient architecture in Shanxi Province newly discovered in the last two years)," *Wenwu cankao ziliao* 11 (1954) p. 61.
3. In front of the Lower Monastery is a spring named Huoquan, which provided irrigation for nearby farmland. A temple southwest of the Lower Monastery is dedicated to Mingying Wang, the deified spirit of the spring. A stele from the temple dated 1319 records that the earthquake "was particularly serious in our county; nothing was left [after the earthquake]." See *Chongxiu Mingying Wang dian zhi bei* (The stele in commemoration of the rebuilding of the Hall of the Mingying Wang), published by Laurence Sickman, "Wall-Paintings of the Yuan Period in Kuangsheng-ssu, Shanxi," *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* 11 (June 1937) pl. x.
4. However, there is no other source to affirm this early date; see *Zhaocheng xianzhi* (Gazetteer of the Zhaocheng County) (Zhaocheng, 1827) *ce* 5, *juan* 27, p. 11a.
5. Quoted in *ibid.*
6. The inscription is published in Qi Yingtao et al., "Liangnian lai Shanxisheng," p. 61.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Sickman, "Wall-Paintings of the Yuan Period," pl. x.

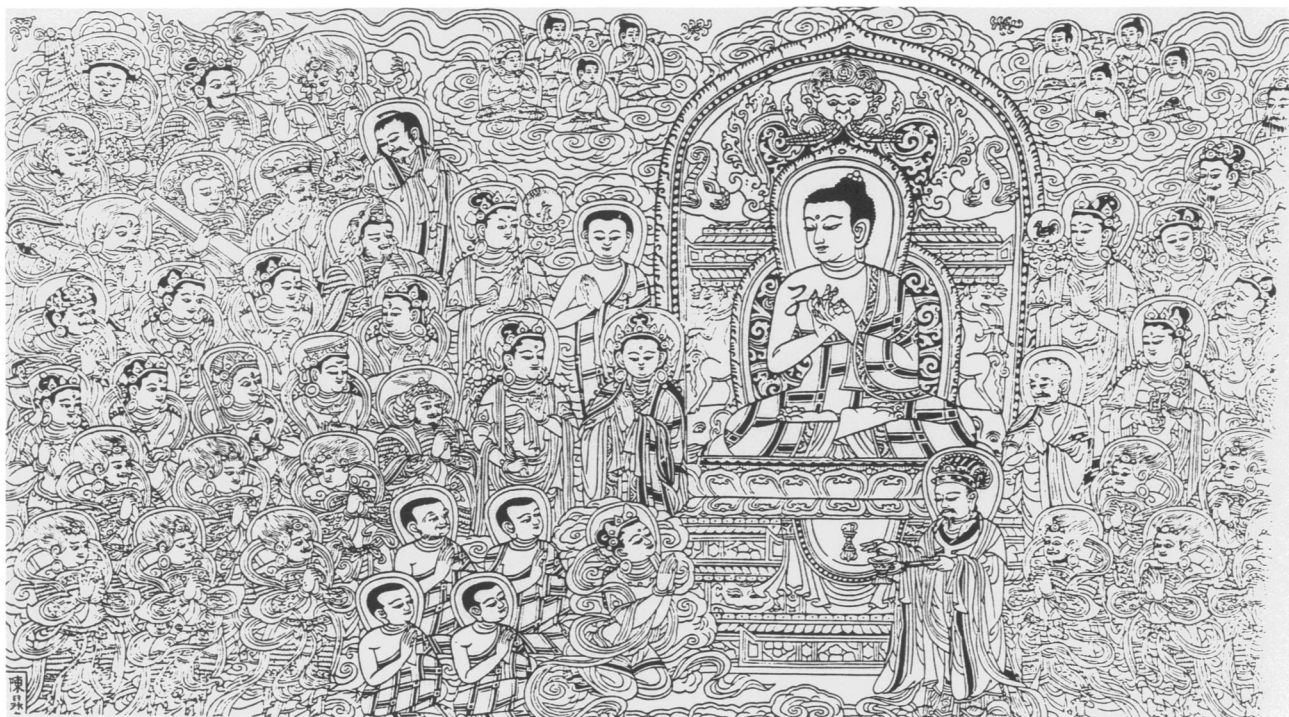


Figure 17. Chen Sheng, *Śākyamuni's Teaching on the Bhaiṣajyaguru Paradise*. Yuan dynasty. Woodblock print (from *Zhongguo banhua xuan* [Peking, 1958])

9. For a study of the Jin edition Tripiṭaka in the Guangsheng Monastery, see Jiang Weixin, *Jin zang diaoyin shimuo kao* (A study of the history of the Jin edition Tripiṭaka) (Nanjing, 1935).

10. For Sickman's studies, see "Wall-Paintings of the Yuan Period," pp. 53–67, and "Notes on Later Chinese Buddhist Art," *Parnassus* 11, 4 (April 1939) pp. 13–17. For Liang's study, see Lin Huiyin and Liang Sicheng, "Jinfen gu jianzhu yucha jiluo," *Zhongguo yingzao xueche huikan* (Bulletin of the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture) 5, 3 (March 1935) pp. 41–54.

11. Lin Huiyin and Liang Sicheng, "Jinfen gu jianzhu yucha jiluo," p. 46.

12. See Nancy Shatsman Steinhardt, "Zhu Haogu Reconsidered: A New Date for the ROM Painting and the Southern Shanxi Buddhist-Daoist Style," *Artibus Asiae* 48 (1987) p. 12; Lippe, "Buddha and the Holy Multitude," p. 326. The murals in the University Museum, Philadelphia, are published by Helen Fernald in three articles: "Chinese Frescoes of the T'ang Dynasty in the Museum," *The Museum Journal* 17, 3 (Sept. 1929) pp. 229–255; "Another Fresco from Moon Hill Monastery," *The Museum Journal* 19, 1 (June 1928) pp. 109–129; and "Two Sections of Chinese Fresco Newly Acquired: Belonging to the Great Kuan Yin Wall," *The Museum Journal* 20, 2 (June 1929) pp. 119–129. The mural in the Nelson-Atkins Art Gallery is published by Laurence Sickman in "Notes on Later Chinese Buddhist Art."

13. Lippe, "Buddha and the Holy Multitude," p. 329.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 334.

15. *Saptatathāgatapūrvapranīdhānaviśeṣa sūtra* (The scripture of the seven Bhaiṣajyaguru Buddhas) Yi Jing (635–713), trans., in *Taisho shinshu daizokyo* (The tripiṭaka of the Taisho edition) J. Takakusu and K. Watanabe, eds. (Tokyo, 1925) no. 451, vol. 14, pp. 409–418 (hereafter *TSD*).

16. *Bhaiṣajyagurupūrvapranīdhāna sūtra*, Dharmagupta (?–619), trans., in *TSD*, no. 449, vol. 14, pp. 401b–402a.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 402a.

18. *Bhaiṣajyarājabhaiṣajyasamudgati sūtra* (Scripture of Bhaiṣajyarāja and Bhaiṣajyasamudgata), Kālayāśa (act. 424–after 442), trans., in *TSD*, no. 1161, vol. 20, p. 665a–c.

19. *Foshuo guangind bechu guo zui shengsi dedu jing*, vol. 12 of *Guanding jing* or *Abhiṣeka sūtras*, Śrīmitra (act. 307–after 322), trans. in *TSD*, no. 1331, vol. 21, p. 533c. Alexander C. Soper believes that it is a later translation attributed to Śrīmitra. See Soper, "Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China," *Artibus Asiae*, Supp. 19, p. 170.

20. *Bhaiṣajyagurupūrvapranīdhāna sūtra*, in *TSD*, no. 449, vol. 14, p. 404b.

21. *Amoghapāśadhāraṇī sūtra*, in *TSD*, no. 1096, vol. 20, p. 410c.

22. *Bhaiṣajyagurupūrvapranīdhāna sūtra*, in *TSD*, no. 449, vol. 14, p. 402c.

23. *Da sheng miao jixiang pusa shuo chuzai jiao ling falun*, in *TSD*, no. 966, vol. 19, p. 343b.

24. Alexander C. Soper, "Hsiang-kuo-ssu, an Imperial Temple of Northern Sung," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 68 (1948) p. 42.

25. In the text only five of the luminaries, the Five Planets, are described in recognizable anthropomorphic form. By contrast,

the other four luminaries—the Sun, Moon, Ketu, and Rāhu—are mentioned in vague terms. The only indication of their human forms is that they wear brocade clothes. This suggests that the last four were latecomers in the system. See *TSD*, no. 1311, vol. 21, pp. 459b–462c.

26. *TSD*, no. 1304, vol. 21, p. 423b.

27. *TSD*, no. 963, vol. 19, pp. 337c–338a.

28. Until recently only three surviving paintings of Tejaprabha were recognized: a Dunhuang painting dated 897 now in the British Museum, a wall painting in Cave 61 at Dunhuang, and another painting in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. To these three at least three more can now be added: the mate of the Metropolitan Museum's mural now in Kansas City, the mate of the Philadelphia Bhaiṣajyaguru mural now in Philadelphia, and a woodblock print of the late Liao dynasty or early Jin dynasty discovered in 1974 in a pagoda in Shanxi (see Figure 16).

29. *TSD*, no. 1311, vol. 21, p. 462a.

30. Quoted by Fang Xuanling et al. *Jinshu*, *juan* 11, *zhi* 1 (reprinted Beijing, 1974) vol. 2, p. 288.

31. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, *juan* 27, vol. 4, p. 1291.

32. Fang Xuanling et al., *Jinshu*, p. 290.

33. Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China* (London, 1959) III, p. 189.

34. *Beidou qixing humo miyao yigui*, in *TSD*, no. 1306, vol. 21, pp. 424c–425a.

35. *TSD*, no. 1307, vol. 21, pp. 423c–424b.

36. In the *Fantian huoluo jiuao* attributed to Ixing, the dominant stellar ruler is Beidou preached by the Daoist Ge Hong. But in the *Beidou qixing humuo fa*^{AR}, a treatise attributed to Ixing on the worship of Beidou for the prevention of disasters, Beidou no longer has the dominant position. Attached to the end of the text are two subtitles: the "Beidou fa"^{AR} (the method of Beidou) and the "Chishengguang yao fa"^{AS} (the important method of Tejaprabha). The first subtitle "Beidou fa" is no doubt the last three words of "Ge Xiangong li beidou fa" adopted in *Fantian huoluo jiuao*. Here not only the words "Ge Xiangong li" (the Daoist Immortal Ge Hong's worship) but the whole text under this subtitle has been deleted. This deleted section originally might have been the same Daoist text adopted in *Fantian huoluo jiuao*. Under the second title is an independent passage about Tejaprabhadhauṣṇīśadhāṇī, the Incantation of the Buddha Crown of Tejaprabha. This passage is actually a condensed version of the *Foshuo Chishengguang daweide xiaozai jixiang tuoluoni jing* translated by Bu Kong. As noted above, in Ixing's *Xiyao Igui*, Tejaprabha appears as the name of one of the shrines; Ixing obviously had no knowledge of the Tejaprabha text. The deletion of the Daoist method of worship of Beidou and the addition of the Tejaprabha text to the treatise devoted to Beidou had to be an effort by the followers of Vajrabodhi and his student Amoghavajra to purify the text attributed to Ixing. In any case, it indicates the replacement of Beidou by the new Buddha Tejaprabha. In the *Da sheng miao jixiang pusa shuo chuzai jiaoling falun*, the text describing the maṇḍala of Tejaprabha, this process of replacement has been completed. Beidou in this text is reduced to a much lower position than the Luminaries.

37. Qi Yingtao et al., "Liangnian lai Shanxisheng," p. 66.

38. William Charles White, *Chinese Temple Frescoes* (Toronto, 1940) p. 46.
39. Qi Yingtao et al., “Liangnian lai Shanxisheng,” p. 65.
40. White, *Chinese Temple Frescoes*, p. 53.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
42. *Ibid.*, fig. 11a.
43. White, *Chinese Temple Frescoes*, p. 54.
44. Ludwig Bachhofer, “‘Maitreya in Ketumati’ by Chu Hao-ku,” *India Antiqua* (Leiden, 1947) p. 3.
45. *Ibid.* Judging from the structure of the character “qing” in the wrong cyclical year, “qingshen” is most likely to be a mistake for “geng” in “gengshen,” which corresponds to 1320.
46. See Steinhardt, “Zhu Haogu Reconsidered,” pp. 7–11.
47. Wang Xuan et al, comp., *Shanxi tongzhi* (1892, reprinted by *huawen shuju gufen youxian gongsi*) *juan* 161, p. 19b.
48. For the archaeological report, see “Shanxi Yingxian Fogong si faxian zhengui wenwu,” *Wenwu* 6 (1982) pp. 1–8.
49. *Zhongguo banhua xuan* (Beijing, 1958) I. n.p.

GLOSSARY

- A. Zhu Haogu 朱好古
- B. Guangsheng Xiasi 廣勝下寺
- C. Guangsheng Si 廣勝寺
- D. Guangsheng Shangsi 廣勝上寺
- E. Pingyang fuzhi 平陽府誌
- F. Yi Jing 義淨
- G. *Foshuo guanding bachu guozui shengsi dedu jing*
佛說灌頂拔除過罪生死得度經
- H. *Da sheng miao jixiang pusa shuo chuzai jiaoling falun*
大聖妙吉祥菩薩說除災教令法輪
- I. Ixing 一行

- J. *Fantian huohuo jiuyao* 梵天火羅九曜
- K. *Xiuyao igui* 宿曜儀軌
- L. Chishengguang foding 熾盛光佛頂
- M. *dao chang* 道場
- N. *Foshuo chishengguang dawei de xiaozai jixiang tuoluoni jing*
佛說熾盛光大威德消災吉祥陀羅尼經
- O. Bu Kong 不空
- P. Beidou 北斗
- Q. Ge Hong 葛洪
- R. “Ge Xiangong li beidou fa” 葛仙公禮北斗法
- S. Zhang Heng 張衡
- T. Sima Qian 司馬遷
- U. “Tianguan shu” 天官書
- V. *Shiji* 史記
- W. *Jinshu* 晉書
- X. *Beidou qixing niansong igui* 北斗七星念誦儀軌
- Y. *fomu* 佛母
- Z. *mu pusa* 母菩薩
- AA. Xinghua (Si) 興化(寺)
- AB. Quanzhen 全真
- AC. Yongle (Gong) 永樂(宮)
- AD. Chenghua 成化
- AE. *wuxu* 戊戌
- AF. *huihua daizhao* 繪畫待詔
- AG. Xiangling 襄陵
- AH. Zhang Boyuan 張伯淵
- AI. “qingshen” 慶申

AJ. *gengshen* 庚申

AK. *men tu* 門徒

AL. *Shanxi tongzhi* 山西通誌

AM. Zhang Maoqing 張茂卿

AN. Chang Yunrui 暢雲瑞

AO. Anige 阿尼哥

AP. Chen Sheng 陳昇

AQ. *Beidou qixing humuo fa* 北斗七星護摩法

AR. “Beidou fa” 北斗法

AS. “Chishengguang yao fa” 熾盛光要法