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# A Reassessment of the *Representation of Mt. Wutai* from Dunhuang Cave 61

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The *Representation of Mt. Wutai* (*Wutai Shan Tu*<sup>a</sup>; Figs. 1, 7), a mural covering the west wall of Dunhuang cave 61 (Fig. 2), challenges our preconception about Chinese Buddhist painting created in the tenth century A.D.<sup>1</sup> Although the view that orthodox Buddhism and Buddhist art declined and became stagnant in China after the eighth century generally holds true, the *Representation of Mt. Wutai* will show that, on the contrary, development in Buddhist doctrine and creativity in expression may still be found in post-Tang (618–907) Buddhist art, but in a different guise.

The mural depicts Mt. Wutai (Mountain of Five Peaks), a mountain in present-day Shanxi province that Buddhists believe is the abode of Mañjuśrī (Wenshu Pusa<sup>b</sup>), the Buddhist Bodhisattva of Wisdom.<sup>2</sup> The worship of Mañjuśrī originated in India, and later developed in the Chinese cults of Mt. Wutai and Mañjuśrī.<sup>3</sup> Because followers believe that Mañjuśrī manifests himself on the mountain, Mt. Wutai became an international center of Buddhist pilgrimage from the seventh century onward.<sup>4</sup> The creation of the mural in the tenth century is therefore a testimony to the continuation and vitality of these indigenous religious traditions.

The mural is a Buddhist painting in the sense that its subject is Mañjuśrī and his abode and that it is placed within a cave serving a Buddhist ritual function. However, unlike conventional Buddhist paintings that strictly adhere to the contents of canonical works—usually sūtras translated into Chinese from Sanskrit originals—the *Representation of Mt. Wutai* also addresses the geographical, historical, and political aspects that the worship of Mañjuśrī had acquired in China, namely, the establishment of Mt. Wutai as a cult and pilgrimage center.

In artistic expression the mural follows many compositional principles and pictorial devices from conventional Buddhist painting, but it also differs from tradition by adopting the representational mode of a panorama, a topographic map. The injection of new content and a new pictorial language thus make this painting a fascinating case study of the development of Chinese Buddhist painting in the tenth century A.D.

Previous studies of the mural have focused on the

archaeological, historical, or geographical information contained in the painting.<sup>5</sup> Primarily concerned with verifying the various pieces of information contained in the painting, these investigations reflect an empirical bias that ignores the religious function of the mural, resulting in disparate and unsatisfactory conclusions. In this study I maintain that the mural should be studied in its totality, in its original context and environment. I will establish the function of the painting as essentially religious and iconic, and let this function determine the framework through which the mural is to be interpreted. I will then closely examine relevant textual materials in conjunction with the pictorial imagery in order to uncover as many of the meanings embodied in the painting as possible, and discuss how they are conveyed. In particular I will reexamine some canonical texts and investigate how they may throw light on the meaning of the painting. I will also investigate the sociopolitical aspects of Mañjuśrī and Mt. Wutai worship and the background of the patron to look for any hidden meaning or specific significance the painting may have held for the patron. Finally I will assess the painting's role in different Chinese representational traditions and examine the relationship between the painting's form and its content.

Although this article is an iconological study, I also hope to address more general art historical issues, namely, symbols and iconography; signs and association; representation and reality; narrative in the pictorial medium; concepts of time and space in pictorial art; and ideology and spatial structure.

## DUNHUANG CAVE 61

### *Historical Background, Patronage, Dating, and Physical Condition*

The tenth century A.D. was one of the most prosperous and historically important periods in the history of Dunhuang. It was characterized by the predominance of a number of local clans, who controlled the infrastructure of the community and who were frequently descendants of officials who were posted there centuries earlier. From these powerful clans came officials who served in

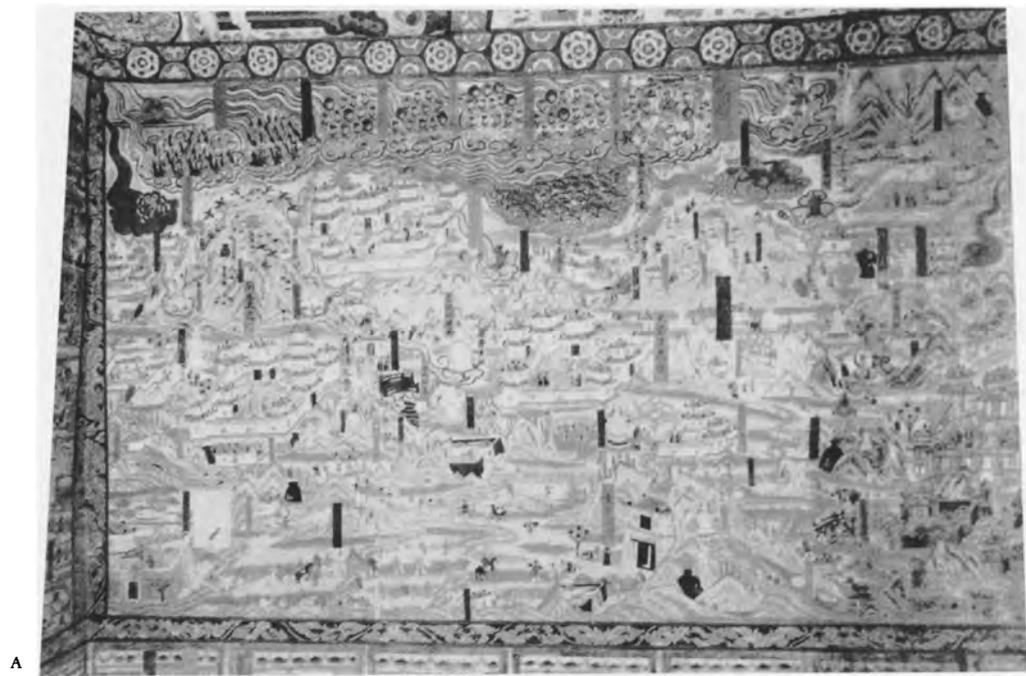


Fig. 1. *Representation of Mt. Wutai*, 10th century, H. 3.5, L. 15.5 m. Because of the central screen, one cannot photograph the middle of the mural. A, left side; B, right side of screen. Figs. 1, 2, 3, 7 A-D, F, G, 8, 10, 14, 17, 18, 19 from Dunhuang Research Institute (ed.), *Chūgoku sekkutsu: Tonkō Bakko-kutsu* (hereafter *TB*) (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1983); Fig. 1 from *TB* vol. 5, top pl. 55; bottom pl. 57.

the local administration, scholars who maintained the Chinese cultural tradition, and high ranking clergy in charge of local temples and religious affairs. Thoroughly Confucian in training, they were at the same time devout Buddhists and chief patrons of the caves.<sup>6</sup>

In fact, the overthrow of the Tibetans, who occupied Dunhuang from 781 to 845, came about because of a consolidation of these local forces. From 848 to 1036 Dunhuang and the entire region west of the Yellow River was governed by hereditary military governors (*guiyijun jiedu shi*; literally “Military Governor of Return to Allegiance Army”), first by the Zhang family and then the Cao family, who succeeded the Zhang in 923. The Zhang and the Cao were both distinguished Dunhuang clans who, like other major clans, were interrelated through marriage and official networks.

The military governors all pledged allegiance to the Tang government, and later to the kingdoms of the Five Dynasties period (907–979) and the Song (960–1279) court. However, because of the weakened state of central governments and turmoil after the fall of the Tang, the Dunhuang governors were the *de facto* rulers. For survival they had to conduct their own diplomacy with neighboring kingdoms—the Uighurs to the east, the Khotanese to the west, and the Liao (916–1125) of northern China—until their dominion was wiped out by the Tungut Xixia (1036–1229) in 1036. The long reign of Cao Yuanzhong<sup>d</sup> (945–974), in particular, was relatively wealthy and stable. It was under Cao’s reign that cave 61 was excavated. An inscription within the cave identifies the major donor as Cao’s wife, Lady Zai (*Zai shi*<sup>e</sup>): *shizhu*

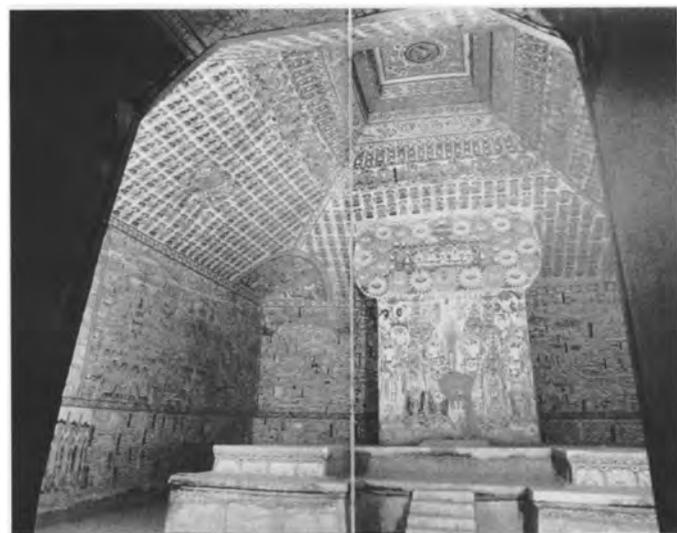
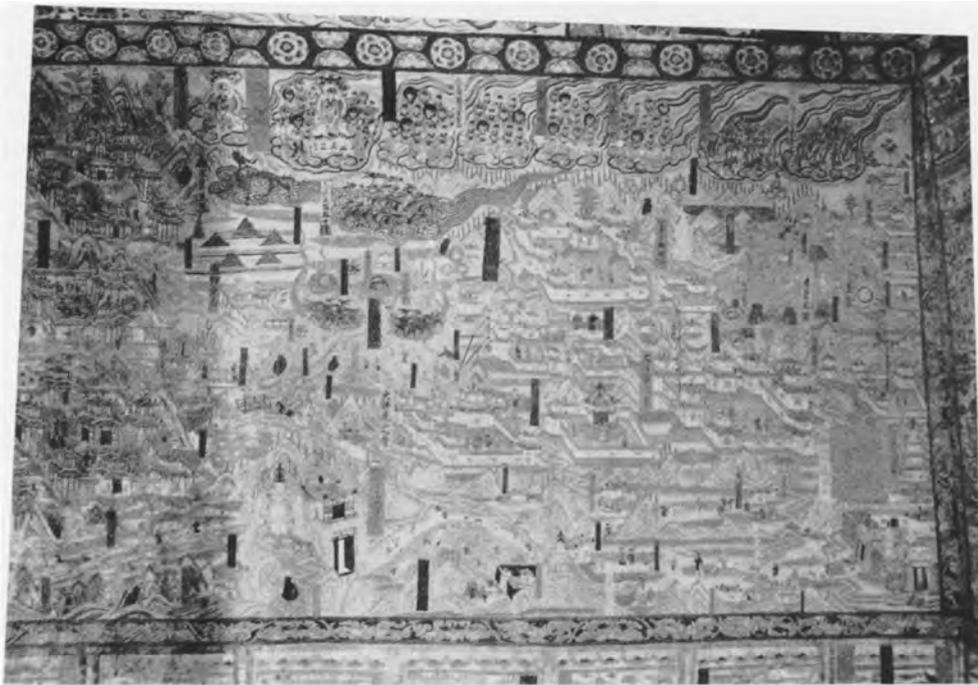


Fig. 2. Interior of cave 61, Dunhuang, dedicated by Lady Zai and clan, A. D. 947–957. The platform originally supported sculptures of Mañjuśrī and attendants; the *Representation of Mt. Wutai* is depicted on the wall directly behind the screen. *TB* vol. 5, pl. 52.

*raishou Xunyang jun furen Zai shi yishin gongyang<sup>f</sup>* (The donor, Lady Zai of the Prefecture of Xunyang [in present-day Jiangxi province] with whole heart dedicates [this cave].)<sup>7</sup> Forty-eight other donors are recorded in the cave, all of them female (Fig. 3).<sup>8</sup>



B



Fig. 3. Detail of female donor images, cave 61, Dunhuang. *TB* vol. 5, pl. 77.

Cao Yuanzhong and Lady Zai (Fig. 4) were perhaps the most illustrious patrons of Buddhism in the entire history of Dunhuang. They excavated several large caves at Dunhuang (caves 25, 53, 55, 61, 469) and at the nearby site of Yulin. They also commissioned paintings, votive prints, and a printed sūtra.<sup>9</sup> In addition they undertook extensive reparation work at the cave site and renovated

the colossal Buddha of cave 96. To cater to the demands of these projects a workshop was established and maintained by the Cao government.<sup>10</sup>

Although cave 61 was once dated to the latter part of the tenth century, two scholars from the Dunhuang Research Institute, Ke Shijie and Sun Xiushen, recently redated the cave to 947–957.<sup>11</sup> Cave 61 originally con-



Fig. 4. Donor images of Lady Zai and Cao Yuanzhong, from Yulin cave 19, dated A.D. 926. H. 1.75, 1.73 m. Dunhuang Research Institute (ed.), *Chūgoku sekkutsu: Ansei Yulin-kutsu* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1990), pls. 62, 63.

sisted of an antechamber and a main chamber connected by a passageway, a structure typical of most late ninth- and tenth-century large caves at Dunhuang. The antechamber has been destroyed, but it most likely had a wooden facade on the exterior of the cave; the passageway now serves as the entryway to the main chamber.

The main chamber has a rectangular ground plan and a ceiling shaped like a truncated pyramid (see Fig. 2). In the center but slightly toward the rear is a horseshoe-shaped platform that originally supported a group of sculptures. At the far end of the platform is a screen that reaches the ceiling. Except for the loss of the sculptures and partial damage of the lower portions of the side walls, the cave is in fairly good condition. The entryway walls were repainted during the Yuan period (1279–1368).

#### Subject Matter

The interior of cave 61 is completely covered with murals, which may be divided into three horizontal strata: the ceiling, and the upper and lower registers of the four walls.

The ceiling decoration is symbolic of a heavenly canopy; it consists of a dragon medallion with floral and geometric motifs in the center, images of 1,000 buddhas on the four sides, and the four heavenly kings within the indented corners. The lowest register belongs to the human realm, with western wall panels illustrating legends of the Buddha's life while the other wall surfaces are lined with donor images.

The upper register in the middle is reserved for the

exposition of doctrinal teaching. The north and south walls are each painted with five vertical panels of *jingbian*<sup>8</sup> (another term commonly used in Tang texts is *bianxiang*<sup>9</sup>; *bian* in both terms is derived from the Sanskrit word *pariṇāma* meaning “to transform, to make manifest”; thus *jingbian* or *bianxiang* mean “pictorial transformations” or “apparitions” of doctrine or texts) while the interrupted surface of the east wall is painted with yet another *jingbian* (Fig. 5). Despite the sectarian or doctrinal differences these *jingbian* may represent, their coexistence within a cave indicates the syncretic form of Buddhism typical of this period.

If an order is found in the vertical strata, a hierarchy also exists among the four walls. The entire upper register of the west wall is devoted to a mural of Mt. Wutai, which is directly behind the devotional images and which faces the worshipers as they enter the cave. Its size is stunning: 3.5 meters in height and 15.5 meters in length, with a total area of over 45 square meters. Because of its privileged location and its scale, the Mt. Wutai painting is obviously the most important mural.

The central sculpted image that originally stood on the platform was Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva riding on his lion, evinced by part of the lion's tail still attached to the back screen. Since Mt. Wutai is the abode of Mañjuśrī the mural and the sculpture complement each other thematically.

Furthermore, the original name for cave 61 was possibly Wenshu Tang<sup>1</sup> (Hall of Mañjuśrī). The name is recorded in an important document recovered from Dunhuang entitled *Laba randeng fenpei ku kan mingsu* (List

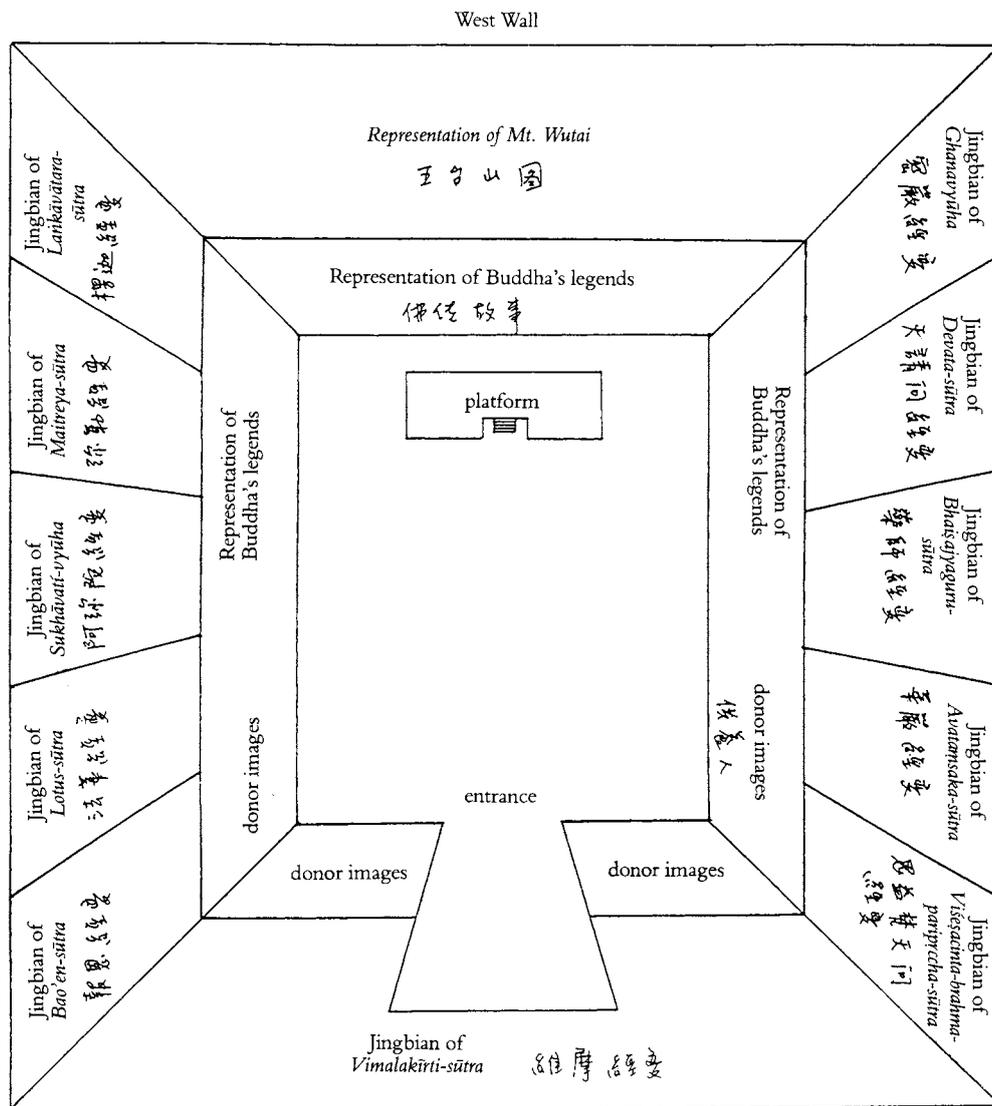


Fig. 5. Subject matter of wall painting of cave 61. Drawing by the author.

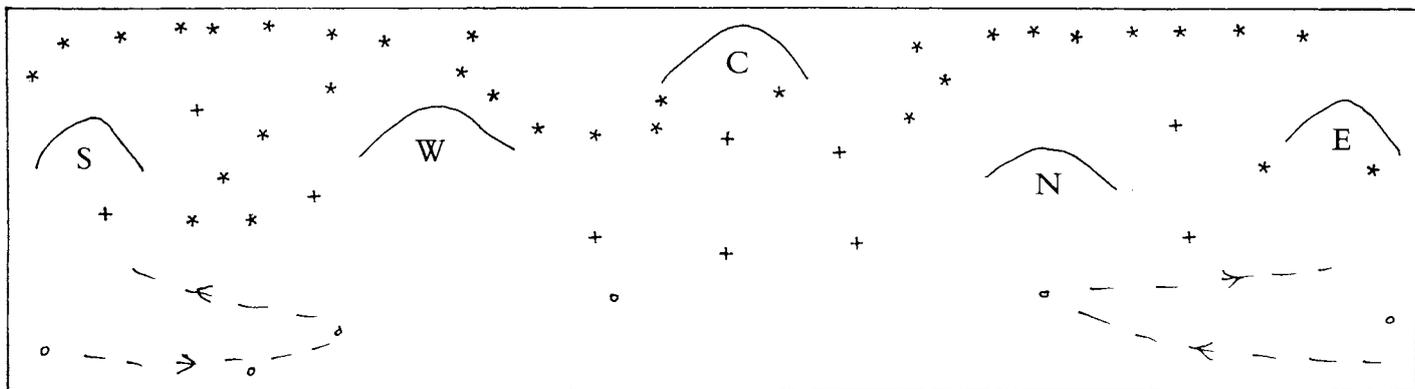


Fig. 6. Diagram of the *Representation of Mt. Wutai*. \* : celestial, legendary beings and images of manifestations; + : major temples; --->--- : pilgrimage routes; o : towns and stations on the pilgrimage routes. Drawing by the author.

of *Names of Caves and Niches Allotted the Lighting of Lamps on the Eighth Day of the Twelfth Month*), which has been dated by the Chinese scholar Jin Weinuo to 1011. Jin also identified the “Hall of Mañjuśrī” mentioned in the document as cave 61, since it is the only cave at Dunhuang where Mañjuśrī is the central icon.<sup>12</sup> Being a large cave, the Hall of Mañjuśrī was allotted the lighting of two lamps on the important occasion celebrating the Buddha’s Birthday in eleventh-century religious practice.<sup>13</sup>

## THE REPRESENTATION OF MT. WUTAI

### *Descriptive Content of the Mural*

The painting contains many short inscriptions written in cartouches that identify details.<sup>14</sup> The following is a summary of the content of the mural and its general composition (Fig. 6) based on my studies of both visual and inscriptional information.

The painting presents a panoramic view of Mt. Wutai, with the ground plane tilted at about 45 degrees and the topography occupying the entire middle and upper grounds. The five peaks, represented as bare, rounded hills studded with pools and hot springs, rise above many smaller hills. Arranged horizontally, from left to right they are the Southern, Western, Central, Northern, and Eastern peaks. Numerous rivers and streams girdle the peaks and hills and zigzag down to the lower plane, while forested mountain ranges line along the upper edge.

Scattered over the mountain territory are numerous religious buildings lit by burning lamps that dot the landscape. All the temple complexes are shown at an angle and converge toward the vertical central axis, which is aligned by the Central Peak and two buildings below—the only buildings shown frontally. Subject matter on either side of the central axis is more or less symmetrically arranged.

Occupying the lower ground are the two symmetrically placed pilgrimage routes leading to Mt. Wutai. The route from the west begins with Taiyuan in Hedong-dao (the Hedong Circuit, in present-day Shanxi province; Fig. 7c), while the eastern route begins with Zhenzhou (Zhengding) in Hebei-dao (the Hebei Circuit, in Hebei province; Fig. 7d). Major towns, stations, and hostels for pilgrims are illustrated, terminating in the mountain gates (shanmen<sup>k</sup>) of the two circuits. Wutai county lies just below the mountain.

Pilgrims, on horse, on foot, or carrying tributary goods, are depicted traveling along the pilgrimage routes. Their journeys begin from the far sides, converge toward the center, reach the mountain gates, and then turn outward and gradually travel zigzagging paths up the mountain. Pilgrims who have reached their destina-

tions are shown standing or kneeling, their hands clasped in a gesture of worship or pointing to specific sites.

Many images resting on clouds are painted in the space above the mountain. In the following sections I will demonstrate that iconographically these images fall into two groups: the first relates to religious doctrines, and the second consists of political symbols that bear significance to the patron. In addition, some historical events and legends associated with Mt. Wutai are indicated by either images or inscriptions at the specific locations where the events occurred.

### *Iconography and the Religious Concepts about Mañjuśrī*

Mañjuśrī is one of the four great bodhisattvas in Mahāyāna Buddhism or, according to some accounts, one of the most important bodhisattvas, equaled only by Avalokiteśvara (Guanyin<sup>l</sup>). Avalokiteśvara represents Compassion (*karuṇā*) and Mañjuśrī, Wisdom (*prajñā*), which are the ultimate conditions of bodhisattvahood.<sup>15</sup> Devotees believe that the worship of Mañjuśrī confers upon them wisdom, intelligence, eloquence, improved memory, and the ability to master difficult sacred scriptures. Mañjuśrī is a latecomer to the Mahāyāna Buddhist pantheon. He does appear in a number of early sūtras, usually as an interlocuter in the quest for ultimate truth. The Chinese are most familiar with Mañjuśrī’s role as an interlocuter through the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra*, also known as the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra*, a popular text that helped Buddhism gain support among the intellectuals.<sup>16</sup>

As Mahāyāna philosophy developed, concepts of Mañjuśrī also became better defined and more elaborate. The most important of these concepts is Mañjuśrī as a bodhisattva of the tenth stage. The ten stages in the bodhisattva path denote the gradual spiritual advancement of a bodhisattva (a being destined to gain full enlightenment and thus to become a buddha).<sup>17</sup> The concept of bodhisattvahood is central to Mahāyāna philosophy and forms an important theme in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* (*Huayan jing*<sup>m</sup>), as it has incorporated the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* (*Pusa benye jing*<sup>n</sup>), the fullest statement on the bodhisattva doctrine.<sup>18</sup> It was partly through the Avataṃsaka school of teaching that Mañjuśrī, along with his counterpart Samantabhadra (Puxian<sup>o</sup>), became popular deities in China and the rest of East Asia.

According to the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*, bodhisattvas of the tenth stage possess all the interpenetrating knowledge and mystic powers of buddhas including *nirmāna* (magical transformations) or *prātihārya* (manifestations).<sup>19</sup> Mañjuśrī can therefore manifest himself in different forms according to the spiritual ability and needs of sentient beings. Through the revelation of apparitional bodies of Mañjuśrī, which must correspond with devotional acts, the merits of Mañjuśrī may be transferred to suffering beings, who may then be freed from the lower realms.<sup>20</sup>

Like buddhas, Mañjuśrī also has his own *buddhakṣetra* (buddha field; *fotu*<sup>p</sup>). A buddha field is a cosmos in which a buddha, or a bodhisattva of the tenth stage, exerts his spiritual influence and preaches to sentient beings. A passage in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* mentions that a mountain called Qingliang Shan<sup>q</sup> (literally, “Clear and Cool Mountain”) in the northeast is the dwelling place of bodhisattvas past and present, including Mañjuśrī, who at present preaches to his assembly of heavenly beings there.<sup>21</sup> Since Mt. Wutai was known to the Chinese as Mt. Qingliang in ancient times, it thus became associated with Mañjuśrī from the fifth century onward.<sup>22</sup> The later version of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, translated in the seventh century, consists of the same passage.<sup>23</sup> However, in the esoteric text *Mañjuśrī Law Treasure-Store Dhāraṇī Sūtra* it is clearly mentioned that Mañjuśrī dwells on Mt. Wutai in China.<sup>24</sup> This direct reference to Mt. Wutai is not surprising as, by the seventh century, the cult of Mt. Wutai was already in full force.

Mountain worship and pilgrimages to sacred places are devotional acts common to many religions. Mt. Wutai possesses many unique features that predispose it to be chosen as a mountain of spiritual significance. They include its natural configuration of the five peaks in a semicircle—five being a significant number in Buddhism and in Chinese traditional beliefs, as in the case of the five elements; its high altitude—all the peaks are above 3,000 meters at sea level; its summits, which rise above the treeline, revealing bare peaks—hence their comparison to the reverse sides of alms bowls or to thrones for deities; its unusual flora and fauna; its weather with frequent rain, thunderstorms, hailstorms, and thick mist; and the occurrence of luminous light rays, which can be explained as the interplay of sunlight with varying levels of humidity. In addition, the physical act of climbing all five peaks must have been arduous in medieval times, inducing in the pilgrims a sense of awe and reverence.

Before Mt. Wutai became a Buddhist mountain, however, ancient texts indicate that it was associated with the Daoist immortality cult in the third and fourth centuries A.D.<sup>25</sup> Once the connection to Mañjuśrī was made, Mt. Wutai then became the sacred territory, the buddha field, of Mañjuśrī.

How, then, are these concepts about Mañjuśrī translated into visual imagery? Bearing in mind that a large sculptural image of Mañjuśrī originally stood in front of the mural, the painting then represents the bodhisattva’s *buddhakṣetra*, the land he purifies, which is destined to be a pure land when Mañjuśrī becomes a buddha. This is verified by an inscription set in between the Southern and Western peaks that reads: Qingliuli shijie<sup>r</sup> (Blue Lapis Lazuli World; Fig. 7A, right of center), the name of Mañjuśrī’s *buddhakṣetra*.

In the upper areas of the painting are many images of deities, animals, and other objects floating on clouds that

may be classified into celestial and legendary beings, Mañjuśrī’s manifestations, and auspicious omens. Their identifying inscriptions mostly end with the character *xian*<sup>s</sup> (manifestation, apparition) or consist of the character *hua* (from *huaxian*,<sup>t</sup> transformation), both being derived from the Sanskrit word *nirmāṇa*. Clouds are a pictorial device in conventional Buddhist painting to indicate the spiritual nature of images or to convey the concept of *nirmāṇa*, as in images of *nirmāṇa*-buddhas (*huafo*<sup>u</sup>).

The heavenly beings who inhabit Mañjuśrī’s sacred territory are lined up along the top edge of the pictorial frame (see Fig. 1). They are divided into sixteen groups, eight on either side of the Central Peak, all making the adoration gesture and in three-quarter view facing toward the center. Immediately flanking the Central Peak are Avalokiteśvara on the right and Vaiśravaṇa (Bishamentian<sup>v</sup>) on the left, followed by Mañjuśrī on a lion with attendants and Samantabhadra on an elephant with attendants, respectively. Behind them are four groups of bodhisattvas on either side, each identified in the inscription as consisting of 1,250 bodhisattvas; the total number of 10,000 bodhisattvas corresponds with that mentioned in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*. On the left and right corners are two groups of 150 *arhats*.

Immediately below the celestial assembly and close to the center are 500 poisonous dragons divided into two groups, each led by a Sagara Nāga King—legendary beings who inhabit Mt. Wutai. On the Eastern Peak is an image of Gongde-nū<sup>w</sup> (Fig. 7B); Gongde-nū is Lakṣmī, the Indian goddess of wealth.

For the efficacy of teaching, Mañjuśrī can manifest himself in different forms. This is stated in the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* as follows:

In their own bodies they [bodhisattvas of the tenth stage] manifest the lights of the ten directions, including the lusters of jewels, lighting, the lights of the sun and moon, and the lights of all deities of light. With each breath they shake endless worlds, yet without frightening the sentient beings therein. They also manifest the destruction by gales, fires, and floods in the ten directions. Also they cause the appearance of physical adornments according to the wishes of beings: they manifest the body of Buddha in their own body; they manifest their own body in the body of the Buddha; they manifest the body of Buddha in their own Buddha land.<sup>26</sup>

Mañjuśrī’s manifestations depicted in the painting, in fact, closely follow this passage. They include the sun and moon symbols in the upper left and right corners, god of thunder and hailstorm (Fig. 1A, top left), god of thunder and lightning, golden Buddha’s head (Fig. 7H, top left), Buddha’s hand (Fig. 7A, right of center), Buddha’s foot, Gold-colored World (Fig. 1B, upper right), Golden Five Peaks (Fig. 1B, upper left), halo, mandorla (Fig. 1B, lower right), jewel, five-colored light, the sacred bell, golden *stūpa*, the lion, and *lokapāla* (guardian deity).

Light symbolism plays a significant role in Mañjuśrī’s



Fig. 7A. Detail of *Representation of Mt. Wutai*, top left, showing the Southern Peak, the Da Jin'ge-si to its right, the Da Qingliang-si to its front; the heavenly assembly lining the top edge; manifestations of the thunder god, top left; Blue Lapis Lazuli World, Buddha's hand, mandorla, golden bridge, etc. in mid-section. *TB* vol. 5, pl. 59.



Fig. 7B. Detail of *Representation of Mt. Wutai*, top right, showing the Eastern Peak; the heavenly assembly; a number of temples and smaller buildings; manifestations of the Golden Five Peaks, Gongde-nü, the jewel (all near the Eastern Peak); and Buddhapālita encountering Mañjuśrī as an old man (lower left). *TB* vol. 5, pl. 61.



Fig. 7C. Detail of *Representation of Mt. Wutai*, bottom left center, showing pilgrimage route of Hedong-dao: Dingxiang county of Xinzhou, mountain gate of Hedong-dao (right). *TB* vol. 5, pl. 63.



Fig. 7D. Detail of *Representation of Mt. Wutai*, bottom right, showing pilgrimage route of Hebei-dao: Zhenzhou; royal emissaries enroute to Mt. Wutai. *TB* vol. 5, pl. 64.

realm, as seen in the frequent mentioning of five-colored rays, halo, or Buddha's light (in the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* light symbolizes the light of "revelation," the "omniscient superknowledge" of the buddhas). This may be explained by a passage in the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* that describes the innumerable rays of light emerging from every part of the body of the tenth-stage bodhisattva. These light rays are said to illumine beings in all realms up to bodhisattvas of their own rank and extinguish their sufferings or present them with knowledge and wis-

dom.<sup>27</sup> The passage also explains why beings only up to the same rank of Mañjuśrī are represented in the assembly.

The discussion so far has shown that the pictorial imagery is a close interpretation of the concepts about Mañjuśrī described in canonical texts. Before discussing ways these concepts are reinforced in the composition, however, I will first interpret the meaning of other pictorial images from different perspectives as necessitated by their contents.



Fig. 7E. Detail of *Representation of Mt. Wutai*, center, showing the Wenshu Zhenshen-dian below the Central Peak, and the triad of Śākyamuni, Mañjuśrī, and Samantabhadra within the courtyard. Figs. 7E, H from Ernesta Marchand, *The Panorama of Wu-t'ai Shan as an Example of Tenth Century Cartography*, *Oriental Art* (Summer 1976): Fig. 7E, figs. 9, 10.



Fig. 7F. Detail of *Representation of Mt. Wutai*, lower center immediately below the Wenshu Zhenshen-dian in Figure 7E, showing the Wan Pusa-lou on the central axis, with bodhisattvas worshipping a pagoda in its courtyard. *TB* vol. 5, pl. 60.



Fig. 7C. Detail of *Representation of Mt. Wutai*, lower right, showing the Da Foguang-si. *TB* vol. 5, pl. 62.



Fig. 7H. Detail of *Representation of Mt. Wutai*, upper left of central axis, showing Buddhapālita's encounter with Mañjuśrī in the guise of an old man. From Marchand, *The Panorama of Wu-t'ai Shan as an Example of Tenth Century Cartography*, fig. 8.

### *Signs and Association: Narration of the History of Mt. Wutai*

Both the *Ancient History* and the *Extended History* narrate the history of Mt. Wutai in the form of biographies of individuals, accounts of individual events, or histories of temples. Without the benefit of verbal accounts, how does the mural in cave 61 narrate the history of Mt. Wutai? Again pictorial images and identifying inscriptions are the first clue to the historical dimension of the painting.

About ninety, or half, of the inscriptions in the mural are names of religious buildings. They include a dozen large temple complexes (si<sup>x</sup>), many individual halls (yuan,<sup>y</sup> lou,<sup>z</sup> dian,<sup>aa</sup> tang<sup>ab</sup>), pavilions (ge<sup>ac</sup>), *stūpas* (or pagodas; ta<sup>ad</sup>), monks' retreats called lanruo,<sup>ae</sup> thatched huts for meditation (an<sup>af</sup>), and a couple of Daoist temples (guan<sup>ag</sup>).

Images of the temple complexes look more or less the same. They mostly are walled enclosures with corner towers and a two-story structure above the entrance. Within the courtyard are one or two 2-story individual buildings and sometimes a pagoda; all are built on stone foundations. Though the appearance of individual elements varies, it is doubtful that these are portraits of the actual structures. The fact that the pictorial images are but shorthand abbreviations of actual temples is further indicated in the inscriptions. The character *si* (for temple) is always preceded by the character *zhi*,<sup>ah</sup> as in "Da Qingliang zhi si."<sup>ai</sup> Marchand noted that "the buildings do not belong to any monastery but stand for their actual counterparts."<sup>28</sup>

The illustrations of these buildings indicate the famous sites and their relative locations as in a pilgrim's map. But grafted onto the visual panorama of places is the entire history, both secular and religious, of the mountain up to the point of the creation of the mural.

Conventional signs are often used to indicate landmarks in topographic maps. Rudolf Arnheim made the observation that in map-reading, conventional signs (in his case he refers to letters and digits) can arouse visual imagery: "they conjure it up from the reservoirs of the viewers' memory."<sup>29</sup> The inscriptions in the mural have a similar function. However, instead of conjuring up images of temples, which are supplied in the painting, they conjure up the histories of these buildings, and the people and events associated with them, just as allusions function in poems and eulogies. This method of association is further supported by the fact that most an, and some lanruo, are named after individuals, thus recalling their deeds and spiritual experiences.

### *Representation and Historical Reality*

It would be beyond the scope of this article to investigate in depth all the individual histories of temples, events, or individuals represented in the painting. I will, however,

use a few examples to demonstrate the narrative method and to discuss the issue of representation and historical reality.

According to tradition, Dafu Lingjiu-si (The Great Temple of Faith on the Vulture's Peak, also called Jiufeng-si, Temple on the Vulture Peak) was the first temple founded on Mt. Wutai.<sup>30</sup> Its name came from the fact that the temple is located on a small hill said to resemble the Vulture's Peak (Gr̥dhra-kūṭa) in northern India, where Śākyamuni had lived and preached. The hill is situated in Taihuai, the valley encircled by the five peaks and in later times the heart of Mt. Wutai where most Buddhist sanctuaries are concentrated (see Figure 22).

Because of its central location and its symbolic significance, throughout Mt. Wutai's history Dafu Lingjiu-si remained the most important temple, serving as the headquarters of the mountain's monastic community beginning in the Tang dynasty and as a center of the Avatamsaka school in Tang and Song times. To honor Empress Wu's (Wu Zetian, r. 690–705) patronage of the Avatamsaka school, the temple's name was changed to Da Huayan-si (The Great Flower Garland Temple; Huayan is the Chinese translation for Avatamsaka).<sup>31</sup>

When he visited Mt. Wutai in 840, the Japanese monk Ennin<sup>aj</sup> recorded that the temple consisted of twelve individual buildings and gave an account of the colossal image of Mañjuśrī he saw in the Pusa-tang-yuan (Hall of the Bodhisattva) and the legend of its miraculous casting.<sup>32</sup>

In the painting only two halls from the temple complex are illustrated: the Wenshu Zhenshen-dian (Hall of the True Body of Mañjuśrī; Fig. 7E) and the Wan Pusa-lou (Hall of Ten Thousand Bodhisattvas; Fig. 7F). A triad of the Historical Buddha flanked by Mañjuśrī on the right and Samantabhadra on the left is depicted within the courtyard of the Wenshu Zhenshen-dian. In the Wan Pusa-lou, a group of worshipping bodhisattvas sit around a pagoda in the center of the courtyard.

The colossal image of Mañjuśrī described by Ennin is not illustrated, nor does the representation correspond to the Japanese monk Jōjin's<sup>ak</sup> account of his visit to Mt. Wutai in 1072. Jōjin recorded that the Zhenrong-yuan (Hall of [Mañjuśrī's] True Appearance) was the focus of Da Huayan-si, and that other buildings included a four-story Wenshu-ge (Pavilion of Mañjuśrī) and a Baozhang-ge (Pavilion of the Glorification of Treasure) that housed 10,000 images of bodhisattvas in silver.<sup>33</sup>

Ennin's diary is a faithful account of the state of temples on Mt. Wutai before the Buddhist persecution of 845, while Jōjin's account reports the conditions two centuries later, after the restoration of ten major temples on Mt. Wutai by the Song emperor Taizong (r. 976–997). A few decades ago when scholars considered cave 61 to date to the early years of the Song dynasty, Ennin's

and Jōjin's accounts were cited by Hibino and Su Bai in their studies of the mural. Since both accounts contrasted with the images in the painting, Hibino came to the conclusion that the mural depicts the condition after the Buddhist persecution but before the restoration in the late tenth century. Su Bai, however, using this example and other discrepancies between the mural and the *Extended History*, surmised that the mural in cave 61 must have been based on a model (fenben,<sup>31</sup> powder copy or trace copy) from central China of a date closer to Ennin's time.<sup>34</sup>

The fault in both arguments lies in the assumption that the painting was necessarily a historical document, a faithful record of Mt. Wutai at a particular historical moment. Focusing on eyewitness accounts, these scholars underestimated the Dunhuang artists' ability to transcend the specificity of time and space in the conception of the painting, and misinterpreted the essential nature of the painting.

Although the names of temples and other buildings mostly correspond with those in historical records, whether or not the images are representations of the actual buildings is perhaps beside the point. The choice of the two particular halls to represent the Dafu Lingjiusi/Da Huayan-si is linked to their direct association with Mañjuśrī. The buildings are the focus of pilgrimage, and as such have acquired an iconic status. Accordingly they are the only ones in the mural that are placed on the central axis and portrayed frontally.

#### *Pictorial Narrative: Temporality and Spatiality*

Ever since Mañjuśrī became connected with Mt. Wutai in the fifth century, there were numerous reports of "spiritual happenings" that occurred on the mountain. In the 660s an imperial delegation was sent to investigate these claims, which resulted in the first official report and the first picture of Mt. Wutai.<sup>35</sup> By the late seventh century Mt. Wutai had already become an international center of Buddhist pilgrimage, attracting pilgrims from all over China and from as far as Kashmir, south and central India, Sri Lanka, Silla, Koryō, and Japan.

The most famous account of his manifestations is that Mañjuśrī appeared to the Kashmiri monk Buddhapālita (Fotuo Poli<sup>am</sup>), who came to China and visited Mt. Wutai in the year 676. The monk encountered Mañjuśrī in the guise of an old man, who asked if he had brought from the West a copy of the Tantric text *Uṣṇīṣa-vijayā-dhāraṇī sūtra* (*Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing*<sup>an</sup>).<sup>36</sup> Buddhapālita said no and the old man sent him back to fetch the scripture. The Kashmiri monk returned with the *sūtra* and presented it to the old man, who then led him into the Jin'gang-ku<sup>40</sup> (Diamond Grotto). The grotto then closed by itself and the two were seen no more.<sup>37</sup>

Inscriptions and illustrations of this legend are indicated twice in the mural (Fig. 7H and Fig. 7D, lower left),

as the Kashmiri monk had encountered the old man twice. Clouds are not depicted, since Mañjuśrī manifested himself in human flesh and the event is therefore given a specific, historical, and temporal context. However, to indicate the importance of the event, the old man and the monk are much larger than the rest of the figures.

Suffice it to say that the images of religious establishments, individuals, and events in the mural are an abbreviated way of narrating the entire history of Mt. Wutai, with indexical inscriptions inscribed upon the appropriate locations. An analogy may be drawn between this method of narration and the written histories of Mt. Wutai in that they both share the same conception of "history" as being made up of important events, individuals, and institutions, as opposed to, for example, the concept of history as a unilinear progression of time such as that narrated in annalistic accounts.<sup>38</sup> Accordingly, both the pictorial and written narration of Mt. Wutai's larger history is structured around these separate units of individual histories of events, people, or institutions.

The methods of narration in the two mediums, however, are vastly different. The French scholar Paul Ricoeur in his essay on "Narrative Time" remarks that "I take temporality to be that structure of essence that reaches language in narrativity and narrativity to be the language structure that has temporality as its ultimate referent."<sup>39</sup> In the pictorial medium, I propose that narrativity in the visual structure has as its ultimate referent spatiality rather than temporality.<sup>40</sup> In the mural of cave 61 there is no attempt to depict temporality—the duration of time that is embodied in each individual unit of history—by showing images in action in a temporal sequence. Instead, the images of people, buildings, or markers of events are anchored in their respective geographic locations, that is, where the action took place or where a monument was established. By placing in the same visual plane images that refer to events and actions that had occurred at different times in the past, the pictorial method thus simultaneously transcends and embraces historical time.

Our dependence on literary sources to identify the subject matter today should not imply that the word takes precedence over the image. Just as the great tradition of Mt. Wutai was being memorialized in historical accounts, diaries, travelogues, poems, and eulogies, it was being memorialized in pictorial images as well. If the word is the poetic, eulogized picture of Mt. Wutai, the image is the pictorial poem and eulogy.

#### *Political Symbolism and Patronage*

State cults and Buddhism have had a long collaboration in China, and on Mt. Wutai the Buddhist establishments received imperial patronage from Xiaowen-di (r. 472–499) of the Northern Wei (386–534) down to Emperor Qianlong (r. 1736–1795) of the Qing dynasty (1644–

1911). Several factors contributed to the infusion of political significance in the worship of Mañjuśrī and Mt. Wutai: Mañjuśrī's manifestations interpreted as auspicious omens signaling approval of the ruler, who was then identified as the *cakravartin*, the Buddhist universal ruler; the identification of Mt. Wutai as a Buddhist sacred mountain, which recalled mountain worship in traditional Chinese state religion; and the identification of Mañjuśrī as a protector of the state from the mid-Tang period onward.

The painting contains a group of images of "spiritual beings"—floating on clouds and inscribed with the character *xian*—that do not come from the Buddhist tradition. Instead, they are the "auspicious omens" (*xiang-rui*<sup>ap</sup>) from the native Chinese tradition. These include the golden dragons (Fig. 7E, right), qilin<sup>aq</sup> (Fig. 7E, left), sacred deer, a divine bird, and white cranes. Han state religion viewed the appearances of certain rare animals auspicious omens sent from heaven to applaud a new regime or to approve of the existing one—a concept developed to justify the Heavenly Mandate of a new or existing emperor.<sup>41</sup> This tradition continued into the mid-seventh century and was employed as a political ploy by Wu Zetian in preparation for her usurpation of the Tang throne in 674. Thus reports of seeing auspicious omens became rampant, and officials who made such reports were generously rewarded.<sup>42</sup>

Since Empress Wu widely employed Buddhism for political ends, even to the extent of proclaiming herself the Maitreya Incarnate and a *cakravartin*, no doubt the occurrences of Mañjuśrī's manifestations were regarded as auspicious omens of a special type, blending Buddhist ideas with the native state cult. Indeed, Huize, the monk who headed the imperial delegation to Mt. Wutai, reported to Empress Wu the unusual visions he had on Mt. Wutai as *jiexiang* (good and auspicious).<sup>43</sup> Empress Wu's sponsorship of the new translation of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and subsequent patronage of the Avataṃsaka school also helped in promoting the worship of Mañjuśrī.

Later Tang emperors continued to view Mañjuśrī's manifestations as auspicious signs, as Ennin recounted that every report of manifestation would result in the Tang emperor sending gifts like incense, tea, or scarves to the temples on Mt. Wutai.<sup>44</sup> Another reason for imperial support was Mt. Wutai's proximity to Taiyuan, the place of origin of the Tang imperial house.

Furthermore, Chinese state religion has a long tradition of mountain worship. First the Qin Shihuang Di (r. 221–210 B.C.), then the Tang and other emperors, performed the *feng*<sup>ar</sup> and *shan*<sup>as</sup> ceremonies on the summit of Mt. Tai, in Shandong province, as a form of communion between the emperor—the Son of Heaven—and Heaven in order for the emperor to receive the Heavenly Mandate.<sup>45</sup> The identification of Mt. Wutai as a Buddhist

sacred mountain therefore provided a Buddhist parallel in traditional mountain worship.

Mañjuśrī's increase in prominence as a cult figure, particularly in state Buddhism, from the mid-eighth century onward, however, should be attributed to the Sinhalese monk Amoghavajra (Bukong Jin'gang,<sup>at</sup> 705–774), one of the founders of Esoteric Buddhism in China. Amoghavajra rose to prominence in 741 and for the rest of his life served three Tang emperors at court. Taking advantage of the chaotic situation in the aftermath of the An Lushan rebellion of 755, he greatly expanded the instruments of state Buddhism by performing ceremonies and offering prayers for the protection of the state. In his teachings to the Tang emperors, he emphasized their role as *cakravartins*.<sup>46</sup>

Amoghavajra especially venerated Mañjuśrī, whom he held to be omniscient. A significant number of the *dhāraṇī sūtras* that Amoghavajra translated invoke the name of Mañjuśrī. Through Amoghavajra's campaign at court, an enormous sum of money was raised to complete the magnificent Jin'ge-si (Temple of the Golden Pavilion) on Mt. Wutai in 766, which had been started in the 730s by the monk Daoyi<sup>au</sup> after his vision of an apparitional temple (the Jin'ge-si and a manifestation of the golden bridge associated with its miraculous founding are both depicted in the mural: Fig. 7A, top and lower center).<sup>47</sup> Amoghavajra also solicited imperial orders, in 769, to install an image of Mañjuśrī in the dining hall of every monastery and, in 772, to have every monastery in the empire build a Mañjuśrī chapel. Mañjuśrī was thus promoted as a protector of the state.<sup>48</sup>

The dramatic increase in the number of Mañjuśrī images at Dunhuang during the Tibetan occupation period evinced the Tibetans' interest in Mañjuśrī worship through their patronage of Esoteric Buddhism. The *Jiu Tangshu* (*Old Dynastic History of the Tang*) records that in 824 a Tibetan king requested a picture of Mt. Wutai from the Tang court.<sup>49</sup> At the same time the first images of Mt. Wutai were depicted in murals. This period of worship continued in the late ninth and tenth centuries, culminating in the fullest expression in cave 61.

We may remember that when cave 61 was dedicated, the chief donor's husband, Cao Yuanzhong, was serving as the governor of Dunhuang. Like other powerful military governors of late Tang or rulers of the Five Dynasties kingdoms, Cao also considered the patroning of Buddhism essential to governing. As the Tang empire disintegrated, state Buddhism provided a rationale for regional military rulers to assert their political autonomy and claim the legitimacy to rule.<sup>50</sup> The excavation of cave chapels and the creation of images and paintings were devotional acts carried out to accrue merit. The patrons hoped that if they appeased the protective deities and gained approval from the Buddhist church, the govern-



Fig. 8. Detail from *Jingbian of Vimalakīrti-sūtra*, Dunhuang cave 103, east wall, first half 8th century. *TB* vol. 3, pl. 154.

ment would then be empowered, and stability and prosperity of the society would be assured.

In this context, building the Hall of Mañjuśrī represents the efforts of a political ruler (made on his behalf by his wife) to invoke the powers of Mañjuśrī to protect the state. The depiction of auspicious omens in the painting empowers the governor with the Heavenly Mandate to rule. Furthermore, the representation of Mt. Wutai enabled the ruler to pay homage to the mountain. Certainly, for similar reasons, the Tibetan king sought a picture of Mt. Wutai. Likewise, the depiction of royal emissaries from Koryō, Silla, and the Five Dynasties Chu state from Hunan (Fig. 7D) sending gifts to the mountain underlines the political significance in the worship of Mañjuśrī and Mt. Wutai.<sup>51</sup>

#### *Representational Imagery of Mañjuśrī and Mt. Wutai*

In Mahāyāna Buddhist art, Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī is traditionally represented as a young crown prince riding on a lion. Beginning in the Tang dynasty, Mañjuśrī was often paired with Samantabhadra, who rides an elephant.



Fig. 9. Mañjuśrī, 9th century, ink and colors on silk. H. 39.5, w. 14.5 cm. 1919.1-1 0137 Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Together these two bodhisattvas flanked the Historical Buddha Śākyamuni, as seen in the courtyard of the Wenshu Zhenshen-dian in the mural (Fig. 7E). Another of Mañjuśrī's famous roles is in illustrations of the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra* beginning in the fifth century (Fig. 8).

In esoteric form Mañjuśrī holds in his right hand a sword, symbolizing wisdom, whose sharpness destroys ignorance (Fig. 9), and sometimes in his left hand a book (the *Prajñāpāramitā*). He also wears a five-pointed crown,



Fig. 10. Thousand-armed Mañjuśrī with 1,000 alms bowls, Dunhuang cave 99, south wall, Five Dynasties period. *TB* vol. 5, pl. 34.

as he is frequently associated with the number five.<sup>52</sup> In another common esoteric form, Mañjuśrī is portrayed with 1,000 arms, each hand holding an alms bowl (Fig. 10).

A number of devotional woodblock prints of Mañjuśrī (Fig. 11) have survived from Dunhuang; they date to about the same time as cave 61.<sup>53</sup> The dedicatory inscription on the prints is significant in understanding the worship of Mañjuśrī and Mt. Wutai at this time:

This Mañjuśrī from among the Wu-t'ai Hills, the Great Holy One, appears in many diverse true manifestations. By his might and magic unfathomable he long ago achieved true illumination, but did not relax his great compassion. He lurked amid the Planes of Existence and his body shows the marks of a *deva* or man. In company with ten thousand Bodhisattvas he dwelt on Mount Ch'ing-liang [Qingliang], assuming different forms that (spiritual) profit might be spread far and wide. All his thoughts and meditations were turned towards the increase of our happiness and good fortune. If we do obeisance to him and extol him he can fulfil all our wishes. Let us exhort the Four Classes (of the Buddhist community) to make offer-

40



Fig. 11. Mañjuśrī, mid-10th century, woodblock print, ink on paper. H. 27.9, w. 16.8 cm. 1919.1-1 0237 Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

ing and submit to the doctrine, that in the future they may all enjoy the exquisite fruits of Bodhi.

Mañjuśrī Kumarabhūta Bodhisattva's Five-syllable Heart-spell: Arapaṇa.

Mañjuśrī the Great Majestic and Virtuous One's Law Treasure Store Heart *dhāraṇī*: Om! Avira. Hum! Khasaro.<sup>54</sup>

Also from Dunhuang were similar votive prints of Avalokiteśvara and Vaiśravaṇa (Figs. 12 and 13) commissioned by Cao Yuanzhong in 947.<sup>55</sup> Significantly, the inscriptions state that Cao was praying to the deities for protection on behalf of his city, his prefecture, his "state." The following is part of the inscription from the Avalokiteśvara print:

. . . [Cao Yuanzhong] carved this printing block and offered it on



Fig. 12. Avalokiteśvara print engraved for Cao Yuanzhong, Governor at Dunhuang, A.D. 947, woodblock print, ink on paper. H. 31.7, w. 20.0 cm. Stein Painting 1919.1-1 0242 Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

behalf of the municipal shrines of the city, that they may know no troubles; on behalf of the whole prefecture, that they may be intact and peaceful. That the ways leading east and west may remain open and unimpeded. That the barbarians (?) of north and south may submit and obey. May all severe diseases disappear. May the sound of the war-trumpet no longer be heard; may we have the delight of witnessing and hearing good things and all be wetted by (the dew of) fortune and prosperity. . . .<sup>56</sup>

In the mural the two figures closest to the Central Peak and leading the heavenly assembly are Avalokiteśvara and Vaiśravaṇa. The prints therefore confirm the political meaning that the mural represented for Cao. Although the Mañjuśrī print does not name the donor, it may also have been commissioned by Cao Yuanzhong, who was the most important patron of the time.<sup>57</sup>

The earliest examples of the depiction of Mt. Wutai at Dunhuang come from a number of Tibetan period caves dating to the late 830s, including caves 159 (Fig. 14) and 361. In both examples Mañjuśrī and his abode of Mt. Wutai are juxtaposed with Samantabhadra and his abode



Fig. 13. Vaiśravaṇa with attendants and a donor for Cao Yuanzhong, Governor at Dunhuang, A.D. 947, woodblock print, ink on paper. H. 40.0, w. 26.5 cm. 1919.1-1 0245 Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

of Mt. E'mei flanking each side of the niche on the west wall, which houses the central icons. These relatively simple depictions of Mt. Wutai already contain illustrations of temples, *stūpas*, and worshipers on the mountain, as well as Mañjuśrī's "manifestations" on trailing clouds.

A Dunhuang painting in Musée Guimet also depicts Mañjuśrī and Mt. Wutai (EO 3588; Fig. 15). Probably dating to the tenth century, it illustrates a large figure of Mañjuśrī with attendants amidst a forested mountain range. Cartouches scattered over the mountain identify

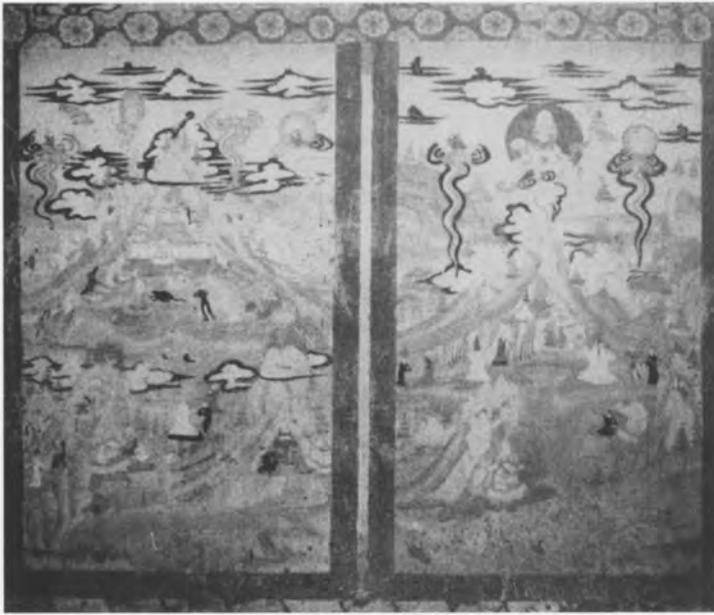


Fig. 14. Detail of west wall of cave 159 (A.D. 836–840), Dunhuang, panels depicting Mt. Wutai below an image of Mañjuśrī outside the niche. *TB* vol. 4, pl. 76.

names of temples on Mt. Wutai. Nevertheless, the hieratic placement of a cult figure in the middle and the disproportionately small and schematized mountainscape leave no doubt that it is but a conceptual, imaginary depiction of the sacred mountain that has no relation to the actual topography of Mt. Wutai. In what ways, then, do these predecessors differ from the mural in cave 61? And how do we assess the mural in artistic terms?

#### *Assessment of the Mural in the Landscape Tradition*

Since the subject matter of the Mt. Wutai mural is the mountainscape, one way of assessing the painting is to relate it to the development of secular landscape painting—a genre that had taken great strides in the tenth century with such masters as Dong Yuan (d. 962) and Li Cheng (d. 967). However, the style of the mural has little in common with contemporary secular landscapes, judging from a set of landscape woodcuts that illuminate text leaves of an imperial edition of a Buddhist *sūtra* printed some time between 984 and 991, and now in the collection of the Harvard University Art Museums (Fig. 16).<sup>58</sup> After detailed study of landscape motifs in these works, Max Loehr concluded that the prints retained an “archaic character” that harked back to the Tang landscape tradition. The only proximity in style to secular landscapes by well-known masters, Loehr remarked, is that of the monumental landscape style as developed by the late Tang masters Jing Hao and Guan Tong.<sup>59</sup>

The prints and the Mt. Wutai mural are comparable in that the conception and rendering of landscape in both



Fig. 15. *Mañjuśrī on Mt. Wutai*, Dunhuang, 10th century, ink on paper. Musée Guimet EO 3588. Courtesy Musée Guimet.

works come directly from the Buddhist painting tradition. In both, the panoramic vision of landscape is basically akin to the conception of a Buddha’s pure land, depicted from a bird’s-eye view, spread out in a grand fashion in front of the viewer. From the eighth century onward, landscape scenes began to play a more significant role in Buddhist paintings and they usually serve as a backdrop against which the Buddha preaches to the assembly (Fig. 17), or as a setting at which Avalokiteśvara performs compassionate deeds (Fig. 18). When the iconic image in the mural of cave 61 is removed, therefore, a panorama of Mt. Wutai, similar to the landscape print of Figure 16, is left. Furthermore, the three-tiered structure, central axis, and symmetry are spatial organizational principles directly inherited from the pure land scenes.

Other rendering techniques and motifs of both the

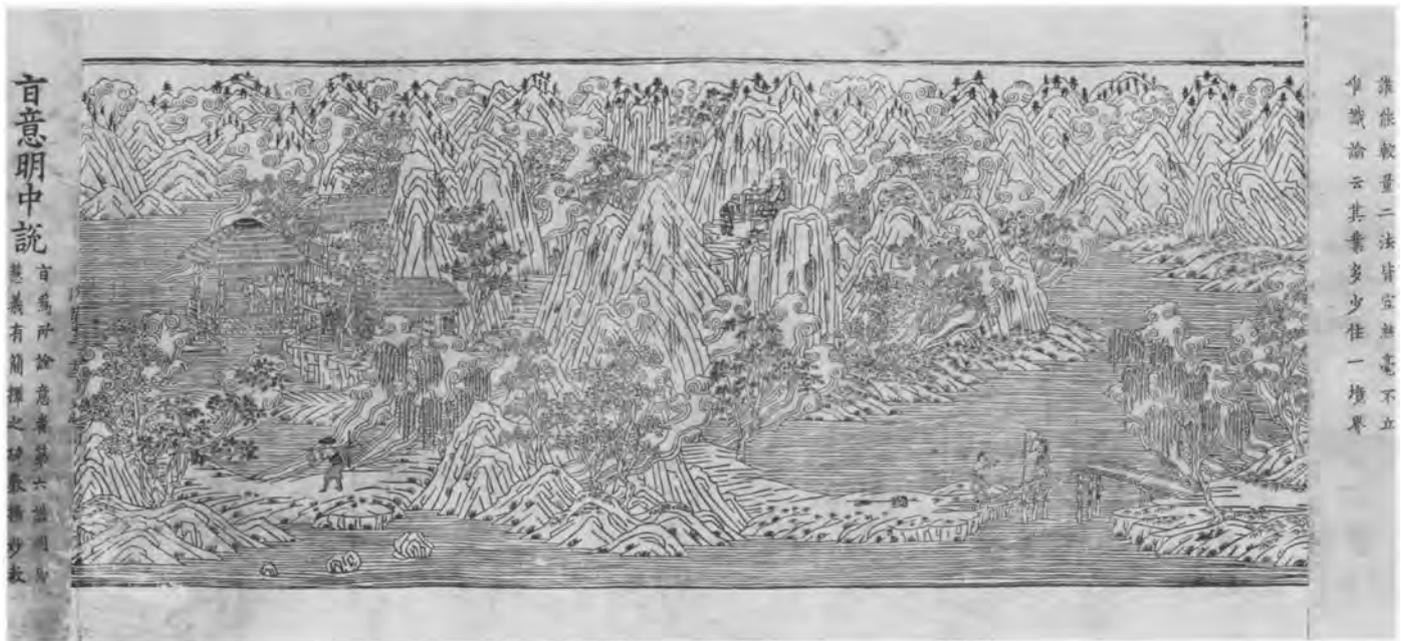


Fig. 16. Landscape print mounted with text leaf of the imperial edition of *Bizang zhuan*, woodblocks carved between 984 and 991. Woodblock print, ink on paper. H. 22.7, L. 53.0 cm. By permission of the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. Louise H. Daly, Alpheus Hyatt, and Anonymous Funds. 1962.11.3



Fig. 17. *Jingbian* of the *Lotus Sūtra* set against a panorama of mountainscape. Dunhuang cave 321, south wall, 7th century. *TB* vol. 3, pl. 53.



Fig. 18. *Jingbian of the Avalokiteśvara Sūtra*, with iconic image of Avalokiteśvara set against a panorama of mountainscape. Dunhuang cave 45, first half 8th century. *TB* vol. 3, pl. 131.

mural and the prints also find precedents in earlier paintings. These include the primarily linear method without internal modeling (in the mural, the mountain forms and the ground are overlaid with flat, parallel bands of green, white, and brown colors); progressive overlapping to suggest spatial recession (cf. Fig. 19), the zigzagging rivers and streams; and the jagged silhouette of distant mountains lined with trees (cf. Fig. 17). Advancements in techniques from earlier painting, however, may be found in the more convincing scale of figures in relation to landscapes, and in the unified, coherent composition.

As a landscape per se, the *Representation of Mt. Wutai* is relatively conservative, and solidly grounded in the convention of Buddhist painting. The secular ink landscape tradition did make an impact on Dunhuang, but this influence came much later, as may be seen in a depiction of Mt. Wutai from Yulin cave 3, which dates to the Xixia period (A.D. 1036–1229).<sup>60</sup> On the other hand, the innovations of the landscape mural in cave 61 lie in its grand conception, its dense symbolic “text,” and its combining a convincing portrayal of geographical and historical reality with a religious conception.



Fig. 19. Detail of *Jingbian of the Lotus Sūtra* with a landscape scene showing overlapping of hills in progressive recession. Dunhuang cave 103, south wall, first half 8th century. *TB* vol. 3, pl. 153.

The *Representation of Mt. Wutai* differs from previous paintings of Mt. Wutai in that it adopts the representational mode of a topographic map, a choice that enables the painting to present illusions of historical and geographical reality. It is credible as a map because of the amount of geographical information it conveys, and because it is placed separately behind the altar with the sculptural image of Mañjuśrī. Otherwise, if the main image had been included in the painting, its large size, dictated by its function as an icon, would have destroyed any believable sense of scale.

In the latest comprehensive text on the history of cartography, the editors J. B. Harley and David Woodward gave the following definition for maps: “Maps are graphic representations that facilitate a spatial understanding of things, concepts, conditions, processes, or events in the human world.” P. D. A. Harvey defined a topographic map as “a large-scale map, one that sets out to convey the shape and pattern of landscape, showing a tiny portion of the earth’s surface as it lies within one’s own direct experience . . .”<sup>61</sup>

While the mural of Mt. Wutai describes and conveys geographical information about Mt. Wutai, it also depicts its religious sites and pilgrimage routes, as well as the celestial realm above. Therefore, properly speaking, the mural is a religious or a pilgrim’s map. As in the case of pilgrim’s maps in other cultures, such as the T-O maps with Jerusalem in the center, maps illustrating the Muslim sacred sites of Mecca and Medina, or the Shinto shrine *mandalas* of Japan, the mural translates a religious ideology, a cosmography into the pictorial form of a landscape in a reconstructed space analogical to reality. In his article on cartography and art, Ronald Rees noted how maps produced in medieval times—a time when religion and art and science were one—not only addressed sight but also mediated between the “multidimensional planes of truth” that were conceived as “concurrent parts of a harmonious whole.”<sup>62</sup> Other scholars who study maps both as art and artifacts also noted the “eloquence and expressive power” of maps as signs (according to semiologists), as texts to be read (as interpreted by structural linguists), or as coded iconographic symbols.<sup>63</sup>

The meaning of the sign, text, or symbol, nevertheless, needs to be expressed through form and structure. In the painting, the arrangement of pictorial space articulates a hierarchical three-tiered structure: a spiritual realm above, an intermediary territory of the mountain in the middle, and the human world below. To reinforce this conceptual order several devices are employed to distinguish the sacred space from the secular space.

The clouds and the character *xian*, as discussed earlier,

clearly indicate the spiritual nature of the heavenly beings and images of manifestations that occupy the space above the mountain. In addition, the mountain proper is marked off from the mundane world by the mountain gates that serve as end-points of the pilgrimage routes before they diverge and zigzag up the mountain. *Shanmen* refers to the outer gate of a temple, while the temple is symbolic of the universal mountain in Buddhist cosmology. In this case the temple—the seat of the deity—is in the actual form of a mountain. The mountain gates thus serve as markers, as in a temple, that separate the sacred territory of Mañjuśrī from the secular world below.

Furthermore, there is a clear distinction between the human activities occurring on the mountain and those occurring below it. Most of the pilgrims and worshipers on the mountain, inside temples or in front of sacred sites, stand immobile with hands clasped in a worshiping gesture. By contrast, bustling activities such as commercial transactions or traveling pilgrims on the pilgrimage routes give a sense of continuous movement in time (Fig. 7c). The difference between the sacred and the secular is thus further heightened by the contrast between the static and the moving; the worshiping figures are transfixed, frozen in time, while the figures in action are given a temporal dimension.

The three-tiered structure therefore denotes a hierarchy of spirituality: descending from the blissful, timeless images in the atmospheric space, to the transfixed worshipers in the middle ground, and finally to the mundane concerns of people in the secular world.

Although distinct and separate, the three realms are connected through acts of communication. Worshipers can gain access to the mountain through the ritual act of pilgrimage, while, up on the mountain, they can make contact with the spiritual through worship in correspondence with Mañjuśrī’s compassionate acts of manifestation. As spaces are traversed, so are the dimensions of time. Transcendent time is communicated to humans through the transfixed acts of worship and manifestation, and that in turn can be reenacted in historical time through the reoccurrences of rituals.<sup>64</sup>

On both sides of the central, vertical axis, the peaks, spiritual beings, temples, and the pilgrimage routes are more or less symmetrically arranged, and in a hierarchical order moving away from the center to the sides. The Central Peak at the top, and the two most important buildings on Mt. Wutai on the central axis receive frontal treatment. The organizational principles of frontality, centrality, symmetry, as well as the three-tiered structure are characteristic of the iconic mode in Buddhist imagery, from iconic images to pure land scenes. These conventional compositional principles firmly establish the iconic mode of the *Representation of Mt. Wutai*. Thus the paint-



Fig. 20. Topographic map of Mt. Wutai, 18th century. Woodblock print. From Chiang Tingxi (comp.), *Gujin tushu jicheng*, Qing ed.

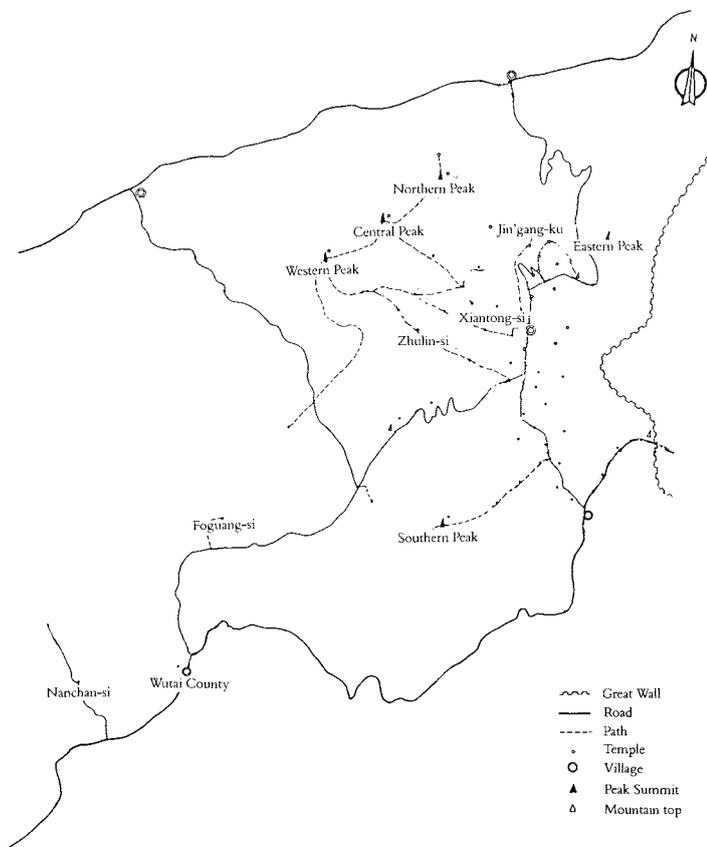


Fig. 21. Modern aerial map of Mt. Wutai. Adapted from Department of Commerce, Shanxi province, and the Tourist Supply Company, *Wutai shan* (Beijing: Wenwu Press, 1984), p. 5.

ing represents a Buddhist metaphysical conception of space, while presenting the mountain as the pure land of Mañjuśrī, an object of worship.

#### *Conflicts of Spiritual and Geographic Reality*

If iconic worship is the primary function of the painting, then how does the geographical, physical reality of this worship compromise with this religious ideology?

Secular maps of China traditionally take a north-south, and therefore neutral, orientation.<sup>65</sup> Secular maps of Mt. Wutai from the Qing to modern times, both in the topographic mode and in the abstracted, aerial mode (Figs. 20, 21) also take the north-south orientation and show the configuration of the five peaks in a semicircle surrounding a valley in the center (photograph in Figure 22). However, when visitors enter the valley from the southeast, they directly face the Central Peak in front and turn their gaze from left to right; then the five peaks spread out horizontally in the same order as depicted in the mural: Southern, Western, Central, Northern, and Eastern. Thus the mural's orientation is governed by the visitors' actual experience and their relationship to the mountain, namely, the view is that of a pilgrim who comes to worship the sacred mountain, the focus of pilgrimage.

The geographical location of some temples has also been altered, most notably that of Foguang-si (Temple of Buddha's Light; Fig. 7G), a renowned ancient temple of Mt. Wutai.<sup>66</sup> In its history the temple is associated with two eminent monks: Monk Jietuo<sup>av</sup> of the early seventh century, and the Pure Land Buddhist monk Fazhao<sup>aw</sup> (d. 821), who founded the Zhulin-si (Temple

Fig. 22. Photograph of Taihuai encircled by the Five Peaks. From Tokiwa Taizo and Sekino Tei, *Shina Bukkyō shiseki* (Tokyo: Shina Bukkyō shiseki kenkyūkai, 1926–1931), vol. 5, pl. 4.



Fig. 23. Dunhuang ms. s397, a pilgrim's travelogue to Mt. Wutai. Courtesy of The British Library, Oriental and Indian Office Collections.

of the Bamboo Grove) on Mt. Wutai after having a vision of an apparitional temple near the Foguang-si.<sup>67</sup>

The Foguang-si is located at the foothill of Mt. Wutai and lies on the main traveling route between Taiyuan and the valley town of Taihuai up on the mountain (see map, Fig. 21 and photograph, Fig. 22). The temple is therefore a frequent stopover for pilgrims and travelers to and

from Mt. Wutai. Its name is often mentioned in eulogies and poems on Mt. Wutai, and in pilgrims' diaries and travelogues, such as Ennin's diary and Dunhuang ms. s397 (Fig. 23). The names of towns and station hostels on the pilgrimage route mentioned in ms. s397 in fact match those listed in the painting, thus lending credence to the painting as a map.<sup>68</sup>



Fig. 24. Buddha group showing Buddhapālita meeting Mañjuśrī, who manifested himself as an old man. Chinese, late 9th–10th century, gray limestone. Fuji Yurin Kan, Kyoto. Photograph by Miwako Koetsuka.

Although outside Mt. Wutai's boundaries, Foguang-si is traditionally associated with the mountain because of its religious significance. For this reason it is accorded a prominent position in the mural, lying up on the mountain territory near the Northern Peak (Fig. 7G; the temple's actual location is closer to the Central and Southern peaks). The depiction of a three-bay hall also does not match with the seven-bay hall of the extant Great Eastern Hall, which dates to 857. The fact that neither the temple's location nor its appearance is accurate is insignificant, because the temple's geographical location and physical reality are superseded by its religious importance.

As discussed earlier, the pictorial images of temples and other types of buildings are but conventional signs. The actual scale of mountain to temples and human beings has also been much reduced for clearer representation.

The reduction in scale, use of conventionalized symbols, and adjusted placement of important features are devices frequently employed in maps.<sup>69</sup> As no map is free from ideology, these modifications are made because the primary function and intent of the mural is religious. We may therefore justly call the painting of Mt. Wutai an ideological map, a Buddhist metaphysical conception of the mountain.

In his essay on *The Eiffel Tower*, Roland Barthes analyzed the intellectual character of a panoramic vision, remarking that the panorama's power of inducing intellection lay in its invitation to decipher, to plunge into time and history through geographic space—a type of duration that becomes panoramic.<sup>70</sup> As a religious panorama, the *Representation of Mt. Wutai* mediates not just between place and historical time, but between the exterior geographical space and the religious, mental geography of the devotees. It simultaneously narrates

the history of Mt. Wutai, describes its geographical space, expounds the Buddhist teachings about Mañjuśrī, and embodies the political significance of this worship to the patron. It is at once a doctrine, an icon, a text, a map, a myth, a devotional act, and a ritual. In its totality and with all of its potency as an image, the painting is an apparition of Mañjuśrī's pure land on earth that materializes the religious tradition of Mt. Wutai and makes manifest its multifaceted planes of truth and reality.

#### POSTSCRIPT

While conducting research in Kyoto in the spring of 1993, in the Fuji Yurinkan I came across a rare small carving that illustrates the legend of the Kashmiri monk Buddhapālita meeting Mañjuśrī disguised as an old man (Fig. 24). The carving, about 20 centimeters high, shows a shallow niche with a seated Buddha flanked by monks and a bodhisattva. On the far right are Buddhapālita, wearing a Central Asian style hat and nomadic garb, greeting Mañjuśrī, shown as an old monk with a hunched back. The depiction is exactly the same as that in the mural. To the far left an attendant figure is shown with Mañjuśrī's lion. The first two lines of the inscription below read: "A foreign monk from the western country came to pay tribute to the Buddha. Mañjuśrī manifested himself in the body of an old man." Provenance of the piece is unknown, but from the style of carving (a relaxation of the High Tang hieratic stance, the protruding bellies) and the subject matter, the carving probably dates to the late ninth to the tenth century. The crudeness of the carving also points to its provincial origin and the fact that the piece was made as an act of piety rather than for aesthetic pleasure. I would like to thank Miwako Koetsuka for taking the photograph.

#### Notes

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1. Color illustrations of the mural are published in Dunhuang Research Institute (ed.), *Chūgoku sekkutsu: Tonkō Bakko-kutsu* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1983), vol. 5, pls. 55–64. A complete set of black-and-white photographs of the entire mural is in the James and Lucy Lo Archive of Dunhuang photographs at Princeton University.

2. Mt. Wutai is one of China's Four Sacred Buddhist Mountains. The other three are also considered abodes of great bodhisattvas: Mt. Putuo in Zhejiang for Avalokiteśvara, Mt. E'mei in Sichuan for Samantabhadra, and Mt. Jiuhua in Anhui for Kṣtigarbha (Dizang<sup>2x</sup>).

3. The two cults differ, however, in that the cult of Mt. Wutai is directly linked with the worship of Mañjuśrī while the Mañjuśrī cult is neither localized nor exclusively related to Mt. Wutai.

4. What we know today about Mt. Wutai in medieval times depends primarily on two texts: the *Gu Qingliang zhuan*<sup>xy</sup> (*Ancient History of Mt. Qingliang*, hereafter *Ancient History*), written by Huixiang in the seventh century; and the *Guang Qingliang zhuan*<sup>zz</sup> (*Extended History of Mt. Qingliang*, hereafter *Extended History*) compiled by Yanyi with a preface dated to A.D. 1061. The two texts are included in *Taishō shinshū daizokyo* (hereafter *TD*), Takakusu Junjirō and Watanabe Kaigyoku (eds.) (Tokyo: Taishō Shinshū Daizokyo Kan-kokai, 1924–1932), vol. 51, nos. 2098 and 2099, pp. 1092–1101 and 1101–1127, respectively. Pilgrims' diaries also give detailed accounts of Mt. Wutai, most notably the Japanese monk Ennin's diary of his visit in 840, *Nittō guhō junrei gyōki* in *Dai Nihon bukkyō zensho* (Tokyo: Bussho Kankōkai, 1912, vol. 72; for an edited and commented version see Ono Katsutoshi, *Nittō guhō junrei gyōki no kenkyū*, 4 vols. (Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1964–1969); for an English translation see *Ennin's Diary: The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law*, Edwin O. Reishauer (trans.) (New York: Ronald Press, 1955), pp. 214–268. Modern studies on Mt. Wutai are perhaps best represented by *Godaisan*, written by the Japanese scholars Ono Katsutoshi and Hibino Jōbu (Tokyo: Zayuhō Kankōkai, 1942). More recently, Raoul Birnbaum has written a number of monographs relating to Mañjuśrī and Mt. Wutai: *Studies on the Mysteries of Mañjuśrī*, Society for the Study of Chinese Religions monograph no. 2, 1983; *The Manifestation of a Monastery: Shenying's Experiences on Mount Wu-t'ai in T'ang Context*, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 106 (1–2)(1986):119–137.

5. The Chinese scholars Su Bai and Liang Sicheng were primarily concerned with the archaeological information of architectural form and style found in the painting (Su Bai, *Dunhuang Mogaku zhong de Wutai shan tu*; and Liang Sicheng, *Dunhuang bihua zhong suojiang de gudai jianzhu*, *Wenwu cankao zhiliao* 2 (5)(1951):49–71, 1–48, respectively). The Japanese scholar Hibino Jōbu assessed the painting in terms of its accuracy in depicting historical and geographical reality in *Tonkō no Godaisan-zu ni tsuite*, *Bukkyō Bijutsu* 34 (1958):75–86, while Ernesta Marchand wrote an article called *The Panorama of Wu-t'ai Shan as an Example of Tenth Century Cartography*, in *Oriental Art* (Summer 1976):158–173.

6. Shi Weixiang, *Shizhu yu shiku*, in *Dunhuang Yanjiu Wenji* (Gansu: Renmin Press, 1982), pp. 151–164.

7. An inscription from cave 220 states that the Zai moved from Xunyang to Dunhuang in 579, and Zai family chapels at Dunhuang include caves 220 (dated 642) and 85 (dated 862); see Shi Weixiang, *Shizhu yu shiku*, p. 155.

8. The names of the 48 donors are recorded in *Dunhuang Research Institute* (ed.), *Dunhuang mogaoku gongyangren tiji* (Beijing: Wenwu Press, 1986), pp. 20–25.

9. Those paintings in the Stein collection: Arthur Waley, *A Catalogue of Paintings Recovered from Tun-huang by Sir Aurel Stein* (London: The British Museum and the Government of India, 1931), cat. nos. CCXLI, CCXLV; in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, P4514, P5415. For Cao Yuanzhong's patronage activities see Jiang Liangfu, *Mogaoku nianbiao* (Shanghai: Guji Press, 1985), pp. 528–575. A eulogy on Lady Zai, *Cao furen zan*<sup>ba</sup> is recorded in *Dunhuang shishi yishu*, Luo Zhenyu and Jiang Fu (eds.), (1909), vol. 3, while an inscription dated to 966 and listing the benefactions made to the Dunhuang cave temples made by Cao Yuanzhong is written on the reverse of a Dunhuang painting now in the British Museum, in Roderick Whitfield, *Art of Central Asia* (Tokyo and London: Kodansha International, 1982), vol. II, fig. 84.

10. Xian Da, Mogao, Yulin erku zakao, *Wenwu cankao zhiliao* 2 (5)(1951):92; Jao Tsung-i, *Peintures monochromes de Dunhuang* (Paris: École Française d'Extrême Orient, 1978), vol. 3, pp. 16–20; Duan Wenjie, Mogaoku wanqi de yishu, in *Chūgoku sekkutsu: Tonkō Bakko-kutsu*, vol. 5, pp. 161–162.

11. Ke Shijie and Sun Xiushen, *Gua sha Cao shi yu Dunhuang Mogaoku*, *Dunhuang yanjiu wenji* (Lanzhou: Gansu Renmen Press, 1982), pp. 250–252.

12. Jin Weinuo, *Dunhuang ku kan mingsu kao*, *Wenwu* (5)(1959); reprinted in Jin Weinuo, *Zhongguo meishushi lunji* (Beijing: Renmin Meishu, 1981), pp. 326–340.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 339–340.

14. The French Sinologist Paul Pelliot copied a total of 191 inscriptions in 1908, which are published in *Grottoes de Touen-houang, Carnet de Notes de Paul Pelliot, Mission Paul Pelliot, Documents Conservés au Musée Guimet* (Paris: Collège de France, Instituts d'Asie, Centre de Recherche sur l'Asie et la Haute Asie, 1984), vol. XIV, pp. 8–11.

15. Scholarly studies of Mañjuśrī include Étienne Lamotte, Mañjuśrī, *T'oung Pao* (48)(1960):1–96; and Marie Thérèse de Malleman, *Étude Iconographique sur Mañjuśrī* (Paris: École Française d'Extrême Orient, 1964). See also discussions by Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography* (London: Oxford University Press, 1924), pp. 15–31; entry on Monju in *Bukkyō daijiten*, Mochizuki Shinkō (ed.), 4th ed. (Tokyo: Sekai seiten kankō kyokai, 1963), pp. 4875–4879; chapter 1 of Alex Wayman's translation of the *Mañjuśrī-nāmasamgīti*, in *Chanting the Names of Manjusri* (Boston and London: Shambhala, 1985), pp. 1–5; Paul Williams, *Mahāyāna Buddhism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), pp. 238–241; and entry on Mañjuśrī by Raoul Birnbaum in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, Mircea Eliade (ed.) (London and New York: Macmillan, 1987), vol. 9, pp. 174–175.

16. The *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra* was translated into Chinese from the third to the seventh centuries by Zhiqian (*TD* no. 474), Kumārajīva (*TD* no. 475), and Xuanzang (*TD* no. 476).

17. See Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature* (Delhi, Patna, and Varanasi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1932), chapter VI, *The Bhūmis*, pp. 270–291; Edward J. Thomas, *The History of Buddhist Thought* (London and New York, 1933), pp. 204–211; Williams, *Mahāyāna Buddhism*, pp. 204–214; and entry on Bodhisattva path in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 2, pp. 265–269.

18. The *Avatamsaka-sūtra*, a composite work probably compiled in central Asia in the fourth century, was first translated into Chinese by Buddhahadra between 418 and 420 (*TD* no. 278); the second and enlarged translation was by Śikṣānanda between 695 and 699 (*TD* no. 279) under the sponsorship of Empress Wu (r. 690–705). The seventh-century version was translated into English by Thomas Cleary, *The Flower Ornament Scripture: A Translation of the Avatamsaka Sūtra*, 3 vols. (Boston and London: Shambhala, 1984–1987). The *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* (fascicles 22 and 26 of the first and second versions of the *Avatamsaka-sūtra*, respectively) was first translated into Chinese in the third century (*TD* nos. 281–284).

19. *Nirmāṇa* relates to the notion of the *trikāya* (triple bodies; san-shen<sup>bb</sup>) of buddhas. The three bodies are the *dharmakāya* (body of the Law, fashen<sup>bc</sup>), the pure essence of the buddhas' teachings and knowledge; the *sambhoga-kāya* (body of bliss, baoshen<sup>bd</sup>) the supramundane form of buddhas revealed for the enjoyment of doctrine while preaching to assemblies of bodhisattvas and *devas* in all universes; and the *nirmāṇa-kāya* (body of transformation or apparitional body, huashen<sup>be</sup>) the form buddhas assume for all living creatures in response to their needs. See Daisetz T. Suzuki, *Studies in the Lankāvatāra Sūtra* (Boulder: Prajna Press, 1981), pp. 308–338; T. R. V. Murti, *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism: A Study of the Madhyamika System*, 2nd ed. (London, Boston, and Sydney: Mandala Books, 1960), pp. 280–287; and Williams, *Mahāyāna Buddhism*, pp. 167–179.

20. Lamotte, Mañjuśrī, pp. 13, 35–39.

21. *TD* no. 278, vol. 9, p. 590.

22. Various mountain ranges in India, the Himalayas, and central Asia, particularly those with a configuration of five peaks, have also been identified as Mañjuśrī's territory, but none of them had attained international recognition as had Mt. Wutai in China; see Lamotte, *Mañjuśrī*, pp. 32–35, 49–54.

23. *TD* no. 279, vol. 10, p. 241; English translation is in Cleary, *The Flower Ornament Scripture*, vol. II, p. 218.

24. *TD* no. 1185, vol. 20, p. 791.

25. Ono and Hibino pointed out that Mt. Qingliang had already had Daoist associations in the fourth century, as it was called *xiandu*,<sup>bf</sup> the “land of immortals” (based on a passage from Li Daoyuan's *Shui jing zhu*, a Northern Wei text quoted by Huixiang in *Ancient History*). However, because of the intense study of the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* beginning in the fifth century, Mt. Wutai became identified as the sacred territory of Mañjuśrī (Ono and Hibino, *Godaisan*, pp. 9–17).

26. Cleary, *The Flower Ornament Scripture*, vol. II, pp. 108–109.

27. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 102.

28. Marchand quoted Joseph Mullie's study on the particle *zhi* that the character is not specifically a genitive but a “particle of liaison and a mark of qualification,” in *The Panorama of Wu-t'ai Shan as an Example of Tenth Century Cartography*, p. 169.

29. Rudolf Arnheim, *The Perception of Maps*, in *New Essays on the Psychology of Art* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1986), p. 194.

30. The founding of the temple is attributed to Emperor Xiaowen (r. 472–499) of the Northern Wei (386–534), a devout Buddhist emperor and an instrumental figure in disseminating Buddhism in the Northern Dynasties period. Another traditional attribution is Emperor Ming (r. 58–75) of the Eastern Han (A.D. 9–220), who is associated with the formal introduction of Buddhism into China, as in the eminent Tang monk Daoxuan's *Ji shenzhou sanbao gantong lu* (*TD* no. 2106, vol. 52, p. 437), and in Yanyi (comp.), *Extended History* (p. 1103). The Eastern Han date is very unlikely and may be seen as an attempt to mythologize and attach more importance to the status of Mt. Wutai in later times; see Ono and Hibino, *Godaisan*, pp. 6–9.

31. During restorations in Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) times, the original Da Huayan-si was split into smaller temples. The present-day Xiantong-si probably stands on the ground of the original Dafu Lingjiu-si, and the present-day Pusa-ding on the ground of the Wenshu Zhenshen-dian and Wan Pusa-lou, on the summit of the hill.

32. Reischauer (trans.), *Ennin's Diary*, pp. 229–237; see also Ono and Hibino's discussion of the Da Huayan-si in Tang times, *Godaisan*, pp. 38–45.

33. *San Tendai Godaisan ki*, in *Dai Nihon bukkyō zensho* vol. 72; for a commented edition see Shimazu Kusako, *Jōjin ajari boshu, san Tendai Godaisan ki no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kotoku-sha, 1959), pp. 461–462.

34. Hibino, *Tonkō no Godaisan-zu ni tsuite*, pp. 81–82; Su Bai, *Dunhuang Mogaku zhong de Wutai Shan tu*, pp. 55–57.

35. Huixiang, *Ancient History*, p. 1098.

36. The *Uṣṇīṣa-vijayā-dhāraṇī sūtra* was translated into Chinese by Buddhapālita, *TD* no. 967.

37. Yanyi (comp.), *Extended History*, p. 1111; Reischauer (trans.), *Ennin's Diary*, pp. 246–247.

38. See Hayden White's discussion of the different forms of representations of historical reality in *The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality*, in W. J. T. Mitchell (ed.), *On Narrative* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1981), pp. 1–23.

39. Paul Ricoeur, *Narrative Time*, in Mitchell (ed.), *On Narrative*, p. 165.

40. For discussions on the nature and relationship of word and image by scholars in different disciplines see Roland Barthes, *Rhetoric of the Image*, *Image/Music/Text*, Stephen Heath (trans.) (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), pp. 33–51; Nelson Goodman, *Languages of Art: An Approach to the Theory of Symbols* (Indianapolis: Hackett,

1976), pp. 40–43, 225–244; Svetlana Alpers, *Describe or Narrate? A Problem in Realistic Representation*, *New Literary History* 8 (1976):15–41; Norman Bryson, *Word and Image: French Painting of the Ancien Regime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), chapter 1 and conclusion; Meyer Schapiro, *Words and Pictures: On the Literal and Symbolic in Illustrations of a Text* (The Hague: Mouton, 1973).

41. See Wu Hung, *A Sanpan Shan Chariot Ornament and the Xiangrui Design in Western Han Art*, *Archives of Asian Art* 37 (1984):38–59.

42. Chen Yinke, *Wu Ying yu fojiao*, reprinted in *Chen Yinke xian-sheng wenshi lunji* (Hong Kong: Wen Wen, 1973), vol. 2, pp. 183–200.

43. Huixiang, *Ancient History*, p. 1098.

44. Reischauer (trans.), *Ennin's Diary*, pp. 233–234.

45. *Shiji*, compiled by Sima Qian, chuan 28, *Feng shan shu* (Treatise on the Feng and Shan Sacrifices) (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1959), vol. 4, pp. 1355–1404; and Michael Loewe, *The Imperial Cults, Chinese Ideas of Life and Death* (London and Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1981), pp. 127–143.

46. Such ideas were spelled out in one of the texts Amoghavajra translated: the *Wenshu renwang huguo jing*<sup>bs</sup> (*TD* nos. 245, 246); see Weinstein's discussion of Amoghavajra, *Buddhism Under the T'ang*, pp. 77–83.

47. See accounts of the Jin'ge-si in Yanyi (comp.), *Extended History*, pp. 1113–1114, and in Reischauer (trans.), *Ennin's Diary*, pp. 252–256. In Ennin's day the Jin'ge-si was still a thriving center of the esoteric Mañjuśrī cult.

48. *Song gaoseng zhuan*, Zanning et al. (comps.), *TD* vol. 50, no. 2061, pp. 712–714; Weinstein, *Buddhism Under the T'ang*, pp. 79–82; Ono and Hibino, *Godaisan*, pp. 45–56.

49. *Jiu Tangshu*, Liu Xu et al. (comps.), 945, chuan 17, *Jingzong ji*, and chuan 196, *Tufan zhuan* (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1975).

50. For discussions of Buddhism of the Five Dynasties period see Nakamura Hajime et al., *Chūgoku bukkyō hatten shi*, translated into Chinese by Yu Wanju (Taipei: Tianhua, 1984), vol. 1, pp. 385–398; Makita Tairyō, *Godai shūkyō shi kenkyū* (Kyoto: Heiraku-jū shoten, 1971), pp. 153–195.

51. The emissary from Hunan has been identified as that sent by the Chu state in 947; see Yanyi (comp.), *Extended History*, entry on Zhaohua<sup>bs</sup> p. 1122, and a discussion by Sun Xiushen, *Mogaoku fojiao shijihua neirong kaoshi, Dunhuang yanjiu* (1) (1988): 5–6.

52. Lamotte, *Mañjuśrī*, p. 2.

53. See Aurel Stein, *Serindia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921), p. 976; Waley, *A Catalogue of Paintings Recovered from Tun-huang by Sir Aurel Stein*, cat. no. CCXXXV; Whitfield, *Art of Central Asia*, vol. II, figs. 142, 143, 147; Whitfield and Anne Farrer, *Cave of the Thousand Buddhas* (London: The British Museum, 1990), cat. no. 86; prints in the Bibliothèque Nationale include P4514, 2(5).

54. Waley, *A Catalogue of Paintings Recovered from Tun-huang by Sir Aurel Stein*, p. 197.

55. *Ibid.*, cat. nos. CCXLI, CCXLV, pp. 199–201; Whitfield and Farrer, *Cave of the Thousand Buddhas*, cat. nos. 84, 85.

56. Translated by Waley, *A Catalogue of Paintings Recovered from Tun-huang by Sir Aurel Stein*, pp. 199–200; another translation by Lionel Giles is in *Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese Manuscripts from Tunhuang in the British Museum* (London: The British Museum, 1957), p. 279.

57. Jiang Liangfu, *Mogaoku nianbiao*, pp. 537–541.

58. The prints are published in Max Loehr, *Chinese Landscape Woodcuts* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968), pls. 1–16.

59. *Ibid.*, pp. 34–54.

60. This depiction of Mt. Wutai from Yulin cave 3 is illustrated in Dunhuang Research Institute (ed.), *Chūgoku sekkutsu: Ansei Yulinkutsu* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1990), pl. 165.

61. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (eds.), *The History of Cartog-*

raphy (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1987), vol. 1, p. 1; P. D. A. Harvey, *The History of Topographical Maps: Symbols, Pictures and Surveys* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), p. 9.

62. Ronald Rees, Historical Links Between Cartography and Art, *The Geographical Review* 70 (1)(January 1980):66.

63. The nature of maps has been the focus of a number of recent publications: both Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels (eds.), *The Iconography of Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) and David Woodward (ed.), *Art and Cartography* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1987) consist of a number of articles by different authors; see also chapter 1, The Map and the Development of the History of Cartography, in Harley and Woodward (eds.), *The History of Cartography*, pp. 1–41; and Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).

64. See Irene Winter's discussion of space and time in Mesopotamian art in two conference papers: Reading Concepts of Space from Ancient Mesopotamian Monuments, in K. Vatsyayan (ed.), *Concepts of Space, Ancient and Modern* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1991), pp. 57–73; and Fixed, Transcended, and Recumbent Time in the Art of Ancient Mesopotamia, to be published as part of the proceedings of an International Seminar on Time sponsored by the

Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, New Delhi, 1990, edited by K. Vatsyayan (in press).

65. An example is the *General Map of China* by Huang Shang, ca. 1193, which was engraved on a stele in Suzhou by Wang Zhiyuan, ca. 1247; see Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization of China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), vol. 3, pl. LXXXIII, pp. 543–551.

66. Marilyn M. Rhie, *The Fo-kuang ssu* (New York and London: Garland, 1977) is an in-depth study of the history of the temple and its sculptures; see also the accounts in Huixiang, *Ancient History* and Yanyi (comp.), *Extended History, TD* vol. 51, pp. 1095 and 1108, respectively.

67. Huixiang, *Ancient History* has an entry on Jietuo, p. 1095; for Fazhao see Yanyi (comp.), *Extended History*, pp. 1114–1116 and Weinstein, *Buddhism Under the T'ang*, pp. 73–74.

68. Reischauer (trans.), *Ennin's Diary*, p. 265; the text of ms. 5397 has been translated into English by Marilyn Rhie, *The Fo-kuang ssu*, pp. 49–60.

69. See Harvey, *The History of Topographical Maps*, pp. 9–14; Rees, *Historical Links Between Cartography and Art*, p. 66.

70. Roland Barthes, *The Eiffel Tower*, Richard Howard (trans.), New York: Hill and Wang, 1979), pp. 3–17.

## Chinese Characters

- |                        |              |             |
|------------------------|--------------|-------------|
| a. 五台山圖                | aa. 殿        | ba. 曹夫人贊    |
| b. 文殊菩薩                | ab. 堂        | bb. 三身      |
| c. 歸義軍節度使              | ac. 閣        | bc. 法身      |
| d. 曹元忠                 | ad. 塔        | bd. 報身      |
| e. 翟氏                  | ae. 蘭若       | be. 化身      |
| f. 施主勅授潯陽郡夫人<br>翟氏一心供養 | af. 庵        | bf. 仙都      |
| g. 經變                  | ag. 觀        | bg. 文殊仁王護國經 |
| h. 變相                  | ah. 之        | bh. 趙化      |
| i. 文殊堂                 | ai. 大清涼之寺    |             |
| j. 臘八燃燈分配窟龕<br>名數      | aj. 圓仁       |             |
| k. 山門                  | ak. 成尋       |             |
| l. 觀音                  | al. 粉本       |             |
| m. 華嚴經                 | am. 佛陀波利     |             |
| n. 菩薩本業經               | an. 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼經 |             |
| o. 普賢                  | ao. 金剛窟      |             |
| p. 佛土                  | ap. 祥瑞       |             |
| q. 清涼山                 | aq. 騎麟       |             |
| r. 清琉璃世界               | ar. 封        |             |
| s. 現                   | as. 禪        |             |
| t. 化現                  | at. 不空金剛     |             |
| u. 化佛                  | au. 道義       |             |
| v. 毘沙門天                | av. 解脫       |             |
| w. 功德女                 | aw. 法照       |             |
| x. 寺                   | ax. 地藏       |             |
| y. 院                   | ay. 古清涼傳     |             |
| z. 樓                   | az. 廣清涼傳     |             |