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The Cult of the Bodhisattva Guanyin in Early China and Korea

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Foreword

By
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The four papers in this issue were inspired by a graduate seminar that I conducted in the spring of 2007. The seminar concentrated on close readings of the three earliest collections of Chinese miracle tales concerning the Bodhisattva of Compassion, Guanyin (in Sanskrit he is called Avalokiteśvara). These three collections were preserved at the Seirenin Temple in Kyoto, Japan, from medieval times, but were only made available for study by modern scholars during the latter part of the twentieth century. The three collections are:

1. *Guangshiyin yingyan ji* (Records of Proofs of Guangshiyin's Responses), which initially consisted of more than ten stories composed sometime before 399 by the recluse Xie Fu. After the collection was lost due to war, seven of the stories were rewritten from memory by Fu Liang (374-426), who served as a high-ranking official under both the Eastern Jin and Song dynasties, and to whose father (also an official) Xie had given the original manuscript.

2. *Xu Guangshiyin yingyan ji* (Continued Records of Proofs of Guangshiyin's Responses), consisting of ten stories, was composed by Zhang Yan, Secretary to the Heir Apparent of the Liu Song Dynasty, in the mid-fifth century.

3. *Xi Guanshiyin yingyan ji* (Further Records of Proofs of Guanshiyin's Responses), with sixty-nine stories, was compiled in 501 by Lu Gao, who held—among other posts—the governorship of Yixing.

Although all four of the papers in this issue utilize these three oldest collections of records of the proofs of Guanyin's miraculous responses to those who called upon him for assistance as raw material for their analyses, two concentrate more directly on the old tales themselves. Jeffrey Rice's paper deals with the literary composition of the texts and their relationship to other narrative genres from before and after their time. His study alerts us to the fundamentally Southern Buddhist nature of the *yingyan* genre and provides a nuanced account of its early evolution. Lala Zuo's geographical study of the stories in the three early collections makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of the spread of popular Buddhism in early medieval China. Although she focuses on the three *yingyan* collections concerning Guanyin, the implications of her findings for early Chinese Buddhist history in general are profound. Daniel Sungbin Sou takes us beyond China and the three oldest *yingyan* collections concerning Guanyin to trace the development of the Gwaneûm cult during the Three Kingdoms Period in Korea. His determinedly critical approach amounts to a radical revision of the common interpretation of the growth of early Buddhism in Korea. Finally, Aurelia Campbell traces the influence of the cult of Guanyin on tenth-century Chinese monasteries. She reveals the intimate interaction between Buddhist art, architecture, and practice on the one hand, and Buddhist literature and beliefs on the other.

Together, the four papers in this issue of *Sino-Platonic Papers* constitute a significant addition to the growing body of scholarship on Guanyin (Avalokiteśvara). We hope that these essays will stimulate further research on the language, lore, and ideology pertaining to perhaps the most important deity in the Buddhist pantheon after Śākyamuni Buddha himself.

ADDENDUM:

Just as this issue was about to go to press, I received the following book: Li Li'an 李利安, *Guanyin xinyang de yuanyuan yu chuanbo* 观音信仰的渊源与传播 [The Origins and Dissemination of Guanyin Devotion] (Beijing: Zongjiao Wenhua Chubanshe, 2008). Perusing it quickly, I could see that Guanyin studies continue apace, and that they

have now become an international enterprise, not the subject of isolated research by individual scholars in separate countries. It is in this spirit of global cooperation that we present this collection of studies on diverse aspects of devotion to Guanyin.

Records of Witness of Responses of Guan(g)shiyin in Three Collections: Image, Icon, and Text

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The discovery in Japan of the twelfth-century manuscript copies of the fifth-century texts, collectively known in their modern edition as *Records of Witness of Responses of Guan(g)shiyin*[1] *in Three Collections* 觀世音應驗記三種, was a significant event, in that these are the oldest surviving manuscripts of their kind to be preserved intact. They are short narrations, written in Classical prose with the incorporation of vernacular elements, whose titles indicate that they are records of spiritual events that are related to other similar texts. In these respects they resemble the texts of *zhiguai* 志怪 and *xiaoshuo* 小說. However, there are indications that these texts form a group that, while overlapping with the latter genres, remains distinct. In content, the tales in all three collections share the same general plot, in which a protagonist facing danger summons a response from Guan(g)shiyin (Avalokiteśvara) and thereby obtains release from that danger. On the other hand, proceeding from the *Records of Witness of Responses of Guangshiyin* to the *Continuing Records of Witness of Responses of Guangshiyin* 續光世音應驗記 and finally to the *Appended Records of Witness of Responses of Guanshiyin*繫觀世音應驗記, there is a notable evolution in the intertextual markers regarding the

[1] Yu notes that the change in name from Guangshiyin to Guanshiyin reflects the eclipse of the Dharmarakşa translation of the *Lotus Sutra* in 286, in which the first is used, by the Kumārajīva translation, in which the second is used. I have used the notation Guan(g)shiyin when referring to the bodhisattva in general as he appears throughout the miracle tale texts, and the variant used in particular tales or collections when referring to those instances specifically. See Yu, p. 161

sources and compilation of the tales themselves, the appearance of the bodhisattva's responses, and the means by which the response of the bodhisattva is summoned. Close study of these texts sheds light on the literary milieu in which the tales developed, the features distinctive to the creation and evolution of the miracle tale genre, and the changing conception of sutras, icons, and the practice of devotion to Avalokiteśvara.

The dates of composition of the three miracle tale collections range from the turn of the fifth century C.E., for the initial *Records of Witnesses of Responses of Guangshiyin* 光世音應驗記, to the turn of the sixth century C.E., for the final *Appended Records of Witness of Responses of Guanshiyin* 繫觀世音應驗記. Contemporaneously, the period between the end of the Han and the reunification by the Sui also saw the development of the distinct though related genre of the *zhiguai* or "anomaly accounts." The status of the *zhiguai* genre, positioned on the border between fiction and history, remains contested. Yet the defining characteristics which this debate over the status of the *zhiguai* genre has fleshed out are useful in understanding both what the *yingyanji* 應驗記 or "records of witness of responses" have in common with the contemporaneously developing *zhiguai*, and which features are distinct.

Summarizing Robert Ford Campany, one of the foremost scholars of medieval Chinese *zhiguai*: "it is possible to argue that a genre of anomaly accounts was created in the Han, and to characterize that genre with reference to the following five features of the texts themselves as well as their intertextual relations and their reception among literate Chinese during these centuries."[2] 1) In form, they are lists of short descriptions or narrations, distinct from either essays or long narratives, 2) in style, they are written in Classical Chinese but with the incorporation of some vernacular elements, and are prose, rather than being subject to requirements of meter or rhyme, 3) in content, they focus on anomalous phenomena (which are marked as such in the texts, not judged to be anomalous according to modern standards of normalcy), 4) in status, they were non-canonical, both in the sense that they were neither part of nor commentary on the

[2] Campany 1996a, p. 24.

Confucian canon, and in the sense that those texts such as the *yingyanji* that showed a particular religious affinity did not become part of the Buddhist or Daoist canons, and 5) in the presence of certain intertextual markers that self-identify them as part of the genre: they often have titles meaning something like 'recording narrations of wonders,' often explicitly refer to continuation of earlier works, and often refer to or quote from other texts in the genre.[3]

The use of intertextual markers is most apparent in the titles of the three collections, since the later texts refer to the existence of those that preceded them: *Records of Witness of Responses of Guangshiyin, Continuing Records of Witness of Responses of Guangshiyin,* and *Appended Records of Witness of Responses of Guanshiyin.* Clearly the latter two are explicitly continuing the project of the first, and thus self-identifying as members of the same genre. Furthermore, in the third collection one frequently finds references to another *yingyanji* text, the *Xuanyanji* 宣驗記, *Records in Proclamation of Manifestations* by Liu Yiqing, which is also an early collection of Buddhist miracle tales. Thus the texts employ a common attribute of the *zhiguai* genre, namely inter-textual identification as an indication of membership in the genre, but use it in a manner to stake out a separate space for the *yingyanji*. This can be further illustrated with the preface from the later text the *Mingbaoji* 冥報記*, Miraculous Retribution.* Rather than focusing on miraculous responses of Guan(g)shiyin specifically, the *Miraculous Retribution* contains stories of divine retribution of various sorts. It both shows a significant Buddhist influence, including the appearance of Guanshiyin in some tales, and includes Daoist and other elements suggesting an overlap between Buddhist tales and *zhiguai* generally. Its preface reads:

> In the past there were Hsieh Fu 謝敷, a reclusive scholar of the Chin dynasty; Fu Liang 傅亮, president of the Department of the Affairs of State under the Sung dynasty; Chang Yen 張演, grand secretary in the Secretariat of the Heir Apparent, and Lu Kao 陸杲, an adjutant in the

[3] Campany 1996a, pp. 24–30.

> service of the director of instruction under the Ch'i dynasty, all of whom were either famous or well-respected men of their times, and all of whom wrote *Records of Miracles Concerning Avalokiteśvara* (*Kuan-shih-yin ying-yen chi* 觀世音應驗記). And there were Hsiao Tzu-liang 蕭子良, Prince of Ching-ling 竟陵王 under the Ch'i dynasty, who wrote the *Hsüan-yen chi* 宣驗記, and Wang Yen 王琰 who wrote the *Ming-hsiang chi* 冥祥記. All these works verified and made clear [the recompense] of good and evil and exhorted and admonished [people] of the future. They truly cause those who hear them to be deeply moved to understanding.[4]

These intertextual references are not only a general characteristic of *zhiguai*, they also function in this case to survey the location of *yingyanji* within the *zhiguai* landscape. Interestingly, not only are the texts referring to each other here distinctly Buddhist, they are also distinctly southern. In addition to the textual commonalities of *zhiguai* delineated by Campany, such as prose narrative and intertextual referents, he also notes a number of attributes shared by the authors of *zhiguai* texts: they were of *Shi* (scholar-official) status, they came from northern émigré families residing in the south, and regardless of their original social status they rose to positions of central prominence during their lifetimes.[5]

While the *zhiguai* genre flourished in the Kuaiji region among literati who were predominantly northern émigrés, the writers of the second and third of the three collections of tales were the rare exceptions, being from "families long established in the Wu region."[6] With respect to the first collection, Xie Fu also represents an exception to the usual profile of *zhiguai* authors in that, rather than achieving a post of importance in the central government, he declined such appointments to pursue Buddhism.[7]

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[4] Gjertson, pp. 156–57.

[5] Ibid., pp. 171–72.

[6] Campany 1996a, p. 172.

[7] Ibid.

Such a connection between Buddhism and the south among certain types of *zhiguai* is not limited to these *yingyanji*. It can be detected in the genre of biographies of eminent monks, which also often contain anomalous acts. Kieschnick notes:

> For many, the *Eminent Monks* series was probably seen as a subset of a larger body of secular literature that eventually became known as *zhiguai*, or "records of the strange." Also growing up alongside the *Biographies* was the genre usually referred to in the West as "miracle tales," that is, stories of the intervention of Buddhist deities in the world of ordinary mortals.[8]

Interestingly enough, Kieschnick notes that Daoxuan, the compiler of the seventh-century *Further Biographies of Eminent Monks,* complains that Huijiao, the compiler of the early sixth-century *Biographies of Eminent Monks,* "concentrated on southern monks to the exclusion of monks from the north."[9] This provides further evidence that the *yingyanji* genre, while stylistically related to the *zhiguai* genre developing contemporaneously, had distinctly Buddhist and southern elements.

Another defining characteristic of *zhiguai* as well as *yingyanji* is narration. Significantly, although narrative is a distinct feature, "fictional" is not. Chinese fiction grew out of the historical *xiaoshuo* genre. However, it is important to remember, as Sheldon Hsiao-Peng Lu points out, "Western concepts of 'narrative,' 'history,' and 'fiction' sometimes do and sometimes do not correspond to the lexical Chinese counterparts."[10] *Xiaoshuo* and *zhiguai* as well as *yingyanji* share some commonalities: the texts are the earliest Chinese narratives in which common individuals are fore grounded as the protagonists, and the events narrated border on the fantastic. Yet these tales purport to record legendary events, rather than to fabricate them. In fact, as Victor

[8] Kieschnick 1997, p. 69.

[9] Kieschnick 1997, p. 7.

[10] Hsiao-peng Lu, p. 150.

Mair has demonstrated, Chinese *xiaoshuo* and English fiction are etymologically separate categories.

> I should, perhaps, begin this section by repeating that the Chinese term for "fiction" is *hsiao-shuo* (literally, "small talk" or "minor talk"). This immediately points to a fundamental contrast with the English word, which is derived ultimately from the past participle of Latin *fingere* ("to form" or "to fashion," "to invent"). Where the Chinese term etymologically implies a kind of gossip or anecdote, the English word indicates something made up or created by an author or writer. *"Hsiao-shuo"* imports something, not of particularly great moment, that is presumed actually to have happened, "fiction" suggests something an author dreamed up in his mind. By calling his work "fiction," an author expressly disclaims that it directly reflects real events and people; when a literary piece is declared to be *"hsaio-shuo,"* we are given to understand that it is gossip or report.

Thus *xiaoshuo,* in common with *zhiguai* and *yingyanji,* are a type of minor history, with the narratives recorded conceived of by both writer and audience as being collected and reported, not invented. This conception of the tales was integral to "the variety of persuasive uses to which the genre was put … all of which rested on contemporaries' assumption that, whatever else could be said about them, these texts were purported to contain reports of actual events."[11] And indeed, it is precisely this variety of persuasive use that distinguishes the *yingyanji* from the *zhiguai* and *xiaoshuo*.

The anomalous events that form the focus of the collections of miracle tales are in every case an instance of someone being rescued from danger by seeking assistance from Guan(g)shiyin. This marks a departure from the usual pattern of *zhiguai* both in the focus on the bodhisattva as well as on the dramatic dangers that form the setting of the

[11] Campany 1996a, p. 148.

narratives and from which the bodhisattva rescues the protagonist. The persuasive use of these dramatic stories is to provide a narrative explication of the *Lotus Sutra* to convince the reader of the efficacy of the bodhisattva and the sutra itself.

The importance of intertextuality for self-identifying a text as part of a genre in both the *zhiguai* and *yingyanji* texts has already been noted above. However, even more important in these texts are the references to the *Lotus Sutra* and more specifically to the twenty-fifth chapter of that sutra, the "Universal Gateway," which also circulated independently as the *Guanshiyin Sutra*. These references not only identify the *yingyanji* texts as Buddhist, but also contribute to the persuasive purpose of the tales. References to this sutra range from the overt to the implied, and also evolved in interesting ways from the early collection to the later collection.

The "Universal Gateway" chapter of the *Lotus Sutra* lists the various adversities from which Guan(g)shiyin will rescue those who call on him for aid. In reading this chapter of the *Lotus Sutra*, the reason there would be a need for such stories becomes apparent. Not only do the *yingyanji* stories help domesticate the bodhisattva by depicting instances of his fulfilling the prophecies of the "Universal Gateway" among the Chinese, perhaps more importantly they provide a narrative illustration of those prophecies. Compared to the rest of the sutra, which often uses narrative, the "Universal Gateway" consists of a list of prophecies of how Guan(g)shiyin will help those who believe in him, such as "if he should be carried off by a great river and call upon the bodhisattva's name, then straightway he would find a shallow place,"[12] without any instances of these ever being said to have occurred. Thus the stories from all three collections provide a supplement to the text, providing the narrative justification for the prophecies felt to be lacking in the sutra itself. In other words, "the miracle tales constitute a narrative mode of apologetics."[13] While all three collections clearly share this motivation, the third collection makes explicit note of this.

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[12] Hurvitz, p. 311.

[13] Campany, 1996b, p. 85.

The third collection of tales is categorized according to the list of the various adversities in the "Universal Gateway", with a reference at the end of each section pointing out that the items in that section are an illustration of the truth of the corresponding line of the "Universal Gateway." For example, tale forty-two in the third collection concludes as follows:

> The above twenty-two items are illustrations of the statement in the "Universal Gateway" which says, "When one's body is restricted and bound…".[14]
>
> 右廿二條《普門品》云："檢繫其身。"

While the first two collections also recount instances of protagonists being rescued from such adversities, and sometimes contain citations of the "Universal Gateway," they are not explicitly organized according to the sutra in the way that the third collection is.

What is most interesting about the last collection, however, is less its citations referencing the "Universal Gateway," and more an element that is present in the first two collections and oddly lacking in the third. This is the element of veridiction, a statement at the end of a tale noting the author's source of information. It has already been noted that *yingyanji, zhiguai,* and *xiaoshuo* were all understood as being akin to history, reporting information collected from other sources, as opposed to fiction, tales inspired and created by their authors. Six out of the seven tales in the first collection conclude with an account of how the tale was transmitted by either the protagonist or a witness of the event to the compiler of the collection, as seen in tale seven: "Yi lived on Shimingbao Mountain, and my father was good friends with him when he was young. Every time Yi told this story, he was filled with awe and respectful."[15] (Yet, interestingly, since this collection was re-constructed from memory by Xie Fu after the original compilation of

[14] Dong, p. 142.

[15] Dong, p. 25.

Fu Liang had been lost, there is an unspoken break in the transmission to the compiler of the extant edition for all of these tales.) Of the ten in the second collection, roughly one third conclude in a similar manner.

A much smaller percentage of the tales in the third collection contain such a description of their own transmission. This is interesting because this kind of internal self-reference of a narrative to its own source is usually considered a hallmark of *yingyanji, zhiguai,* and *xiaoshuo*. Mair notes that "many recorders of *hsiao-shuo* are at great pains to tell us exactly from whom, when, where, and in what circumstances they heard their stories."[16] Similarly, Yu writes:

> It is characteristic of all miracle tales that the writer always notes the source of his story whenever possible. If the writer heard the story from somebody, he would provide the person's identity. Even in the later compendia, it is usual for compilers to cite the written sources from which a particular story originated. The chain of transmission guarantees the authenticity of the story.[17]

In the third collection, instead of a veridiction there is often a comparison of the narration with other similar ones from sources such as the *Xuanyanji.* The lack of such a reference to the oral transmission of the narration from a firsthand source does not, of course, indicate that these narratives were conceived of as fiction instead of history, but rather indicates the growing importance of textual rather than oral sources, and of the power of sutra texts in particular, a phenomenon referred to as the "cult of the book." This growth of the cult of the book made its mark on the development of this collection of tales in many ways.

Parallel with this development in intertextual reference eclipsing oral transmission as a source of validity for the stories, there is a transformation of the means of the

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[16] Mair, p. 22.

[17] Yu, p. 171.

bodhisattva's efficacious response. Most visibly, in the third collection we see for the first time the recurrent functioning of the creation of images or statuary of Guanshiyin as either a means to obtain a response from the bodhisattva or a way to express thanks to him for his aid. This increasing emphasis on the imagery of the bodhisattva is particularly interesting when considered in conjunction with the evolution of the responses of the bodhisattva over the course of the three collections of tales. Of the seven stories in the first collection, only the last one contains any reference to the visual appearance of a human form.

> Śramaṇa Zhu Fayi lived in the mountains and loved study. He later became sick for a long time, and he applied all possible treatments and prevention to it but the sickness didn't lessen, daily becoming increasingly critical. It went on like this for a number of days, when he fell asleep during the daytime, and dreamed he saw a monk come to inquire about his sickness, and then cure it for him. He scooped out his bowels and stomach and washed his viscera, seeing that the accumulated impurities were of a large amount. When he was finished cleansing them, he put them back in. He spoke to Yi saying, "Your sickness has already been expelled." When he woke up, all of his suffering dissipated, and shortly he returned to normal. Yi lived on Shimingbao Mountain, and my father was good friends with him when he was young. Every time Yi told this story, he was filled with awe and respect. According to his sutra it is said, "Sometimes he appears as the likeness of a śramaṇa or brāhmaṇa." Doesn't it seem that Mr. Yi's dream was such a case?[18]

The other tales in this collection range from invisible manifestations, such as the changing of the direction of the wind to save a supplicant's home from fire, in the first tale, or the breaking of the knives of those attacking Buddhist monks in the third, to the

[18] Dong, p. 25.

appearance of an amorphous "guiding light" to lead boats through treacherous waters in tales five and six.

In contrast, in the second collection of tales, more often than not there is some kind of visual apparition corresponding to Guangshiyin's response. It is only in tale four, in which believers scheduled for execution by the brigand Sun En find their names magically removed from the executioner's list, and in tale eight, where a change in weather causes a search party to turn back just before the protagonists are captured, that we see the instances of the invisible types of responses so prevalent in the first collection.

In the remaining eight tales of the second collection there is either a dream or a vision of some type. Furthermore, with the exception of the tenth tale, in which a white dragon appears under water to help a person whose boat has capsized safely reach the shore, and the rather odd tale number three, which describes the standoff between a devout monk and the ghosts of a haunted house,[19] all of the appearances in these tales are in some anthropomorphic form, rather than the amorphous "guiding light" type of vision preferred in the first collection: in tale one, a prisoner dreams of a man who tells him to go and wakes up to find his bindings slackened; in tale two, a prisoner condemned to execution has a vision of two monks on either side of the executioner's horse, invisible to other observers, after which he finds himself unexpectedly pardoned. Similarly tales seven and nine both involve prisoners who have a dream in which a monk tells them they are free, and then awake to find their shackles released—although in both cases they are reluctant to leave their cells, an illustration of the Buddhist idea that people become attached to the very things which bind them to the world of suffering.

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[19] Kieschnick notes, "More than an attempt to represent or shape the imagination, many of the stories reflect very real struggles for adherents and resources. There are dozens of stories in the *Biographies* of monks who journey into a new area in which the local inhabitants worship a local god. … Rolf Stein has demonstrated that for much of Daoist history, the most intense religious struggle was not between Daoist priests and Buddhist monks, but between Daoist and local cults. The same was true for Buddhism; away from the capital, monks were at least as if not more concerned with cults to local deities than they were with rival Daoists." Kieschnick 1997, p. 108. This tale is undoubtedly an example of such a case.

Most importantly, in tales five and six we see for the first time the appearance of Guangshiyin himself. The sixth tale depicts the appearance of a superhuman being who fights off an army of ghosts when a monk calls the name of Guangshiyin, implying that the figure is Guangshiyin himself. The preceding tale, number five in the second collection, is even more explicit in this respect.

> The monk Daotai lived in the Hengtang vihāra on Chang Mountain. Once he dreamed that someone told him his lifespan would end at 42, and Tai's heart hated this. Afterwards when he reached that year, he then became critically ill, and his mind was deeply anxious and afraid, and he donated all of his material possessions. A friend said to him, "The sutra says, 'providing patronage for 6.2 billion bodhisattvas is equal in blessing to calling the name of Guangshiyin one time. Why don't you entrust in him in your heart, so that perhaps you can obtain longer life and increase the amount (of your years), and this horrible dream will not be realized?" Tai was then enlightened and thereupon was assiduous for four days and nights. In front of the bed on which he was sitting there hung a curtain, and suddenly beneath the curtain he saw Guangshiyin enter from outside the door; from the top of his feet to his ankles he was glowing gold, and he said, "Did you call on Guangshiyin?" As soon as Tai lifted open (the curtain), he was no longer to be seen. Tai was then delighted and broke out in a sweat, and all of his sufferings immediately were cured. Afterwards people saw him at the age of 44, and he himself told all these things just like this.[20]

I have gone into such a detailed analysis with respect to this increasing emphasis on visual manifestations of the bodhisattva in the second collection as opposed to the first collection because I believe it marks a transition of utmost importance for understanding

[20] Dong, p. 41.

the use of imagery in the third collection, as well as for understanding the functioning of not only the third collection but the corpus as a whole. Comprising sixty-nine tales, as opposed to the seven tales of the first collection and the ten tales of the second, the third collection does not lend itself to the kind of item-by-item description used in examining the first two collections, but general trends can be illustrated by specific exemplars.

As with the first two collections, the tales in the third collection by no means exhibit a consistent or uniform pattern in terms of the types of responses of the bodhisattva to those who call on him. However, with respect to the issue of visual appearances, the third collection reveals not only an increased focus on such appearances, but a new kind of appearance: that of the icon, as opposed to the vision. For example, in tale seventeen, after escaping to the south from the northern caitiffs with the help of Guanshiyin, the protagonist commissions a golden image of him to be made; similarly the protagonist in the twenty-ninth tale creates a golden image of the bodhisattva after being miraculously released from prison.

Rather more interesting than these types of icons, created out of gratitude, are the icons that actually physically save the protagonists. In tale thirteen, the protagonist is a devout believer who wears a golden image of Guanshiyin in his hair. When he faces execution, in every case the blade strikes the image and the prisoner is unharmed. Similarly, in tale fourteen, a believer who wears an image of Guanshiyin in his hair is attacked by knife-wielding bandits; though they repeatedly strike him, he feels no pain, and there is the sound of metal. When the bandits have fled, he examines the icon to find that it has taken all the blows for him.

This tale is especially significant in that it is the first, and one of the few, in which the protagonist never calls on Guanshiyin or recites the sutra. Unlike tale thirteen, in which the protagonist both has an icon and concentrates intently on the bodhisattva, in this tale, having the icon alone is enough to save him. This transition from a focus on being devoted to a disembodied spiritual being in the first collection, to a still abstract and incorporeal though increasingly anthropomorphized supernatural being in the second collection, culminates in the increasing appearance of physical icons as the supernatural

embodiment of the bodhisattva in the third collection. This is most interestingly illustrated in tale number twenty-two:

> The monk Seng Hong lived in the capital at Waguan Temple. He made a six-foot-tall bronze image and had just finished it. It was the year 416, and there was a great prohibition on casting bronze images. Before Seng Hong had opened the mold, he was taken by the officials, detained at the prime minister's residence, judged guilty of treason, and sentenced to death. Seng Hong then recited the "Guanshiyin Sutra" every day for a month; he suddenly saw the image he had forged come into the prison, and rub his forehead, asking, "Are you afraid?" Seng Hong replied, telling the whole situation. The image said, "It is nothing to worry about." He saw in his dream that there was about a square inch on the front of his chest where the bronze appeared still molten. Afterward he was taken into the market to face execution. That day, the prefect of the military was to carry out the punishment. When he first called for his carriage to be yoked, the ox refused to enter the yoke; when the ox did enter the yoke, he ran off, and the carriage was smashed to bits. At that point it was night and there was no one to oversee the execution. Then they rescheduled the date, whereupon there was an official who returned from Peng city, and said, "If Seng Hong has not been killed, he can be set free." Seng Hong then left, and breaking the mold and looking at the image, he saw the front of the chest was just as in his dream. This image is today at Waguan Temple, and receives many prayers.[21]

In this tale we see the icon as both the physical metal object and the dream being who magically stays the execution by acting upon forces in a different city from the protagonist. It is tempting to see the replacement of the abstract and spiritual with the

[21] Dong, pp. 84–85.

concrete and manufactured as a commercialization of faith, but to take such a view is overly simplistic. Kieschnick points out in *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture* that "The manufacture of Buddhist images was not chiefly the product of the pursuit of beauty so much as it was the product of the pursuit of the sacred. … [T]hey were objects of worship, repositories of powers capable of rewarding the pious and punishing the disrespectful."[22] Icons were seen as the locus of numinous power, as in this story, residing in the metal form but sending the spirit of the bodhisattva into the world to assist the supplicant.

The promotion of iconography did, whether as a primary or secondary effect, have a material effect on the practice of the faith that is reinforced in the latest miracle tales. As Kieschnick points out,

> The making of Buddhist images is almost always a social rather than an individual activity, always involving negotiations between patrons and craftsmen, and often requiring the participation of monks and nuns as well. Certain networks of relationships and modes of interaction between disparate social groups would never have developed were it not for the need to create Buddhist images.[23]

However, as Chünfang Yü points out, "When a devotee enjoyed such an intimate rapport with the icon, it is then possible to imagine that when he had a vision of Kuan-yin either in a dream or in a waking state, he would be most likely to see the bodhisattva in the form depicted by contemporary iconography."[24] Thus images of the bodhisattva were not simply objects to remind one of him; they became in some sense the bodhisattva himself, as Robert Sharf notes in the introduction to his translation of *The Scripture of the Production of Buddha Images*. He states that the consecration of an icon was "intended to

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[22] Kieschnick 2003, p. 56.

[23] Ibid., p. 54.

[24] Yü, p. 179.

transform an icon into a living deity, and both textual and ethnographic sources indicate that icons thus empowered were treated as spiritual beings possessed of apotropaic powers, to be worshipped with regular offerings of incense, flowers, food, money and assorted valuables."[25] This scripture itself promoted the production of icons as a means to acquire merit, and, based on evidence from the Fengshan caves, was "the center of an attempt, spanning the seventh to the twelfth centuries, to preserve the entire Buddhist canon on stone slabs";[26] it was "particularly popular in medieval times: the only scriptures that warranted more copies at Fengshan were the *Heart Sūtra (Bore boluomiduo xin jing)* and the *Diamond Sūtra (Jingang bore boluomi jing).*"[27] The fact that Guan(g)shiyin became an increasingly popular subject of gilt bronzes throughout the fifth century, along with the clear evolution of iconography in the miracle tales during the course of that same century, suggests that the influence of the *Scripture on the Production of Buddhist Images* became influential in China centuries before the Tang.

The increased emphasis on the iconographic objects is mirrored by the increased emphasis on the object of the sutra as the dominant means to call upon the bodhisattva in the later tale collection. Throughout all of the stories, Guan(g)shiyin is summoned by such acts as concentrating one's heart on him, taking refuge in him, calling his name, reciting his name, focusing on him with one's mind and heart, or reciting his sutra. Each of the three tale collections mentions a variety of these methods, but as we move to the third collection of stories, there is a much more frequent emphasis on reciting the sutra, as opposed to calling the name of Guangshiyin, which is the predominant method in the first two collections. Kieschnick points out that, in India, "the idea that one can gain merit by copying manuscripts, a part of what has been termed the *cult of the book*, seems to have emerged in the first centuries of the Common Era in the body of texts now grouped

[25] Sharf, p. 261.

[26] Ibid., p. 263.

[27] Ibid., p. 264.

under the heading of 'Mahāyāna.'"[28] This can be seen in the *Lotus Sutra* itself, which includes the following passage from Chapter 19:

> At that time, the Buddha declared to the bodhisattva-mahāsattva Ever Persevering (Satatasamitābhiyukta), "If any good man or good woman shall accept and keep this Scripture of the Dharma Blossom, whether reading it, reciting it, interpreting it, or copying it, that person shall attain eight hundred virtues of the eye, one thousand two hundred virtues of the ear, eight hundred virtues of the nose, one thousand two hundred virtues of the tongue, eight hundred virtues of the body, and one thousand two hundred virtues of the mind, by means of which virtues he shall adorn his six faculties, causing them all to be pure.[29]

Indeed, Kieschnick points out that the "*Lotus Sutra*, for instance, contains so many self-referential passages insisting on the marvelousness of the scripture and the merit accruing to all who recite and copy it, that first-time readers are often baffled by just where the 'message' of the scripture lies, if not in these very self-referential passages themselves."[30]

He goes on to note the following. "Not only was the book a source of information, but it was also a physical object of worship to be venerated with offerings 'as if it were the Buddha himself.'"[31] This is best illustrated by the following tale, number forty-three from the third collection:

> Liu Du was a native of Liao city in the central plain. In his village there were over a thousand families who all served Buddha, erected an image

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[28] Kieschnick 2003, p. 164.

[29] Hurvitz, p. 264.

[30] Kieschnick 1997, p. 91.

[31] Ibid., p. 165.

> and supported a community of monks. This county once had harbored refugees (from the North) and the chief caitiff Mumo was very angry, and wanted to kill the entire city completely. There was great fear in the city; the people understood that they would be beheaded and wiped out. Du then led the crowd of people and together they entrusted their fate to Guanshiyin. Thereupon the chief caitiff suddenly saw something descend from heaven, and wrap around the central pillar of his quarters. Surprised, he arose and examined it, and it was the *Guanshiyin sutra.* He had someone read it to him, and then he was very pleased. He granted a reduction of the death penalty, and the whole town was without further ado.[32]

A related development in the treatment of sutras in the tales of the third collection is the emphasis on the particular number of times the sutra is chanted in order to invoke a response. For example, in tales 27 and 34 a response occurs once the sutra has been recited a thousand times; in tale thirty-seven it is after three hundred recitations; tale thirty-nine gives the more vague count of 'many hundreds of times," etc. While it may not be suggested in the tales, we know from Gernet's excellent study, *Buddhism in Chinese Society: An Economic History from the Fifth to the Tenth Centuries*, that monks and monasteries received donations in exchange for performing recitations to accumulate merit on behalf of the donor.[33] Thus this shift from the early emphasis on abiding in Guangshiyin to the focus of the later tales on reciting the Guanshiyin sutra a particular number of times is likely connected to the same networks of relationships and modes of interaction involved in the creation of Buddhist images. The development of the nexus of merit, donation and object then gave rise to the importance of icons and sutras in the later tales. Regardless of the exact economic aspects, the chanting of sutras, like the copying of manuscripts, served to objectify and quantify them. In short, as Kieschnick concludes:

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[32] Dong, p. 147.

[33] Gernet, pp. 204–07.

> …production of an object takes the place of knowledge of the scriptures. This point is particularly striking here, since the object in question is itself a scripture. As we have seen, both the *Lotus* and *Diamond* list copying scriptures among a number of activities that bring merit, including *explaining* the scripture to others.[34] In other words, the injunctions of the scriptures assume the importance of understanding their content. In the Chinese stories, however, the scriptures become the equivalent of Princess Abi Tissa's cave—just another source of merit, no different in nature from buildings, images, or any other merit-earning objects.[35]

In conclusion, a close reading of the *Records of Witness of Responses of Guan(g)shiyin in Three Collections* reveals interesting developments over the period of composition of the tales. All three collections represent a distinctly Southern and Buddhist variant on the *zhiguai* genre of the time. All three also employ narrative as evidence to persuade the hearer of the truth of the saving graces enumerated in the "Universal Gateway" chapter of the *Lotus Sutra.* Yet over time the beliefs regarding the means of salvation and the power of texts and icons evolved. In the two early collections, mental and spiritual concentration on the bodhisattva or his sutra brought a response that was not necessarily visual. In the final collection, it is the production of icons and sutras (whether through copying or reciting) that bring about responses, which come from an anthropomorphized bodhisattva, if not the icon or text itself. From an origin as a record of reported speech, the *yingyanji* genre had come to rely solely on texts themselves to persuade and establish their veracity. Evidently, the status and power of written texts, at least in the Southern Buddhist *yingyanji* genre if not in literature generally, underwent a powerful transformation in fifth-century China.

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[34] Interestingly, it is quite likely that explanation of the scripture was exactly what the compilers of miracle tales conceived of themselves as doing.

[35] Kieschnick 2003, p. 170.

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A Geographical Study of the *Records of the Verifications of the Responses of Guanshiyin in Three Volumes*

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Introduction

The *Records of the Verifications of the Responses of Guanshiyin in Three Volumes* (*Guanshiyin yingyanji sanzhong*觀世音應驗記三种) includes more than eighty stories collected and recorded during the Eastern Jin (317–420 A.D.) and Liang (502–557 A.D.) periods of the Six Dynasties. In these stories, many contemporary names of rivers, mountains, prefectures, and counties are mentioned. Because these names tell us where the stories were collected and recorded and where the miracles of Guanyin[1] were said to have taken place, it is important to pay attention to the geographical information given in the texts. Moreover, when these accounts of the miracles of Guanyin were edited during the fourth through the sixth centuries, China was not a unified empire, but was ruled separately by a court of Han Chinese in the south (approximately below the Huai River淮水), and non-Han Chinese people in the north. Due to these separate influences, Buddhism during this period likely developed differently in the north and in the south. Using the Guanyin miracle tales in this book as a case study, I will attempt to explain how Buddhism, and specifically the Guanyin cult, differed from place to place during the Six Dynasties period in China.

My methodology includes collecting all the names of rivers, mountains, counties,

[1] Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara is called Guanshiyin 觀世音 or Guangshiyin 光世音 in the book *Guanshiyin yinyanji sanzhong* 觀世音應驗記三种. I will use the name Guanyin, the term most often used today, to refer to Avalokitesvara.

and prefectures mentioned in these miracle stories and locating them on both historical maps from the Southern Dynasties and modern maps. I will first discuss the places at which the authors of these stories were born, at which they lived, to which they moved, and at which they wrote the stories. Then I will study the places at which the characters in the stories were born, at which they lived, to which they moved, and at which these stories took place.

Throughout Chinese history, north and south have always been divided by a topographic line. The location of this "line" varies from time to time and from occasion to occasion. These days, the topographic line that is most often applied consists of the Huai River淮河, an east-west river in present-day northern Jiangsu Province, and the Qin mountain range秦嶺, an east-west range between the Shaanxi and Sichuan provinces (see Map I[2]). During the Eastern Jin and the Southern Qi period, the line of the Huai River and the Qin mountain range separated the southern Han Chinese court from the northern states and dynasties. During the Song period, the borderline that divided the southern and northern dynasties was composed of the Qin mountain range and the Yellow River, which is north of the Huai River. In order to be consistent in this paper, I will use the line of the Huai River and the Qin mountain range as my criterion in categorizing the places in the Guanyin miracle tales into north or south.

The Authors

Xie Qingxu謝慶緒, the original writer of Volume I of the Records was a lay Buddhist of the Eastern Jin period and a native of Guiji會稽, present-day Shaoxing 紹興 city in northern Zhejiang Province.[3] Fu Liang傅亮, who rewrote the first volume based on his memory of Xie Qingxu's version, was originally from a prefecture called Lingzhou 靈州, which was located in or near present-day Ningxia Province in northwest China. Fu Liang and his family once lived in Guiji, where his father met Xie Qingxu and obtained

[2] Map I displays the provinces and major cities of modern China.

[3] *Jin shu* 94: 2456.

Xie's book.[4] According to Fu Liang's biography in the *Song shu*宋書 (Song dynastic history), although his family was originally from northwest China, Fu Liang served the Eastern Jin and the Song emperors of the Southern Dynasties in the imperial court at Jiankang建康, present-day Nanjing[5]. While there is no evidence in his biography to tell us where Fu Liang lived permanently, it is very possible that he lived in Jiankang, or at least lived close to the capital. Very likely his book on the miracles of Guanyin was finished in or near the capital city.

Information on the second author, Zhang Yan張演, can be found only in his father's biography in the *Song Shu*.[6] His family came from a commandery called Wujun 吳郡, present-day Suzhou in Jiangsu Province in southeast China, and he lived through the Song (420–479 A.D.) and the Qi (479–502 A.D.) periods of the Six Dynasties. Lu Gao陸杲, the author of Volume III, was also a native of Wujun. Lu Gao's biography in the *Liang Shu*梁書 (Liang dynastic history), tells us that he lived through the Qi and Liang periods.[7] Lu Gao was born and served as an officer in present-day Jiangsu Province, in which is located the capital city, Jiankang (Nanjing).

From the information above, we learn that, except for Fu Liang, the recreator of the first volume, the authors of these miracles of Guanyin were from the Jiangnan area, the present Zhejiang and Jiangsu provinces, ruled by the courts of the dynasties in the south. Interestingly, although Fu Liang's family was from the far northwest part of the country, he read and re-wrote these stories in the south after moving there with his father. The four authors' connections with the south are not particularly exceptional during the history of the Northern and Southern Dynasties. Since the Six Dynasties, many Han Chinese people who had lived in the north had been forced to immigrate to the south by the invasion of non-Chinese people. Therefore many Han Chinese literati gathered in the Jiangnan area, where the court of the Southern Dynasties was located. This may partially

[4] Dong Zhiqiao,1

[5] *Song shu* 43.1335.

[6] *Song shu* 53.1511.

[7] *Liang shu* 26.398.

explain why the authors of these Guanyin miracle stories were all from or lived in the Jiangnan area.

Although the authors of these stories had deep connections with the Jiangnan area, the regions in which the stories took place are not limited to the southeast. In the following paragraphs, I will introduce, volume by volume, the *native places*, that is, the ancestral places or birthplaces of the characters in the stories, and the *locations* at which these stories occurred.

Volume I

The first volume, written by Fu Liang, comprises seven stories (see Chart I and Map II[8]), five of which can definitively be dated to the Eastern Jin (317–420 A.D.) period. Six of the stories tell us the native places of the characters. The characters in story number 1, Zhu Changshu, and number 3, three non-Chinese monks, are non-Chinese. Zhu Changshu came from the Western Regions西域, present-day Xinjiang, and the three non-Chinese monks' citizenship remains unknown. In the other five stories, using present-day Chinese provinces, there is one character from Hebei, one from Shandong, one from Henan, one from Jiangsu, and the last one remains unknown. Even though four characters were from the north and only one from the south, a noteworthy three miracles happened in Zhejiang, a territory of the Han Chinese court in the south. With regard to the other four responses, one happened at Luoyang in Henan Province, one happened at Ye in Hebei Province, and two remain unknown.

[8] This is a map of the Eastern Jin period. The red marks show the places where the stories took place, and the green marks show the native places of the characters.

Chart I.

Character	Ancestral Home or Birth Place	Where the Story Happened	Other Places	Date
1. Zhu Changshu 竺長舒	Xi Yu 西域 (Western Region, Xinjiang), **North**	Luoyang 洛陽(Luoyang in Henan), North	Resided at Luoyang	Eastern Jin
2. Monk Bo Faqiao 帛法橋	Zhongshan 中山 (Tang County 唐縣 and Ding County 定縣 of Hebei), **North**			Later Zhao (319–352 A.D.) During Eastern Jin
3. Three non-Chinese monks	胡人 Non-Chinese	Ye 鄴 (Wei County 魏縣 of Hebei), **North**		Ran Wei 冉魏 (350–352 A.D.) During Eastern Jin
4. Dou Zhuan 竇傳	He Nei 河內 (Qinyang 沁陽 of Henan), **North**			Eastern Jin
5. Lü Song 呂竦	Prefecture Yan 兗州 (Shandong), **North**	Shifeng 始豐 (Tiantai County 天台縣 of Zhejiang), **South**		
6. Xu Rong 徐榮	Langya 琅琊 (north to Nanjing), **South**	Dongyang 東陽 (Jinhua 金華 of Zhejiang), **South** Mountain Ding 定山 (Southeast to Hangzhou), **South**	Xu later moved to Guiji.	
7. Monk Zhu Fayi 竺法義		Mountain Bao 保山 at Shining 始寧(southeast to Shaoxing of Zhejiang), **South**		Eastern Jin

Volume II

The second volume, written by Zhang Yan during the Song (420–479 A.D.) period, consists of ten stories (see Chart II and Map III[9]). Precisely five stories date to the Eastern Jin, and one story dates to the Song period. The dates of the other four stories remain unclear. Among these ten stories, only four characters' native places are mentioned in the stories: character number 1, Xuyi, was from present Shaanxi Province, number 2, Zhang Zhan, was from present Hebei Province, number 10, Han Dang, was

[9] This is also an Eastern Jin map. The red marks show the places at which the stories took place in Volume II, and the green marks show the native places of the characters in the stories.

from present Shandong Province, and number 8, Mao Dezu, was from the "north," a vague description. These four characters were exclusively from the north.

Information regarding the locations where the stories occurred has been almost uniformly provided in Volume II. Among these stories, three (nos. 1, 5, and 10) happened in present Hebei Province; three (nos. 3, 6, and 7) occurred in present Hubei Province; one (no. 8) happened on the way while the character Mao Dezu was fleeing from the north to the south; and one (no. 4) happened somewhere on the southeast coast. Only the locations of two stories remain unknown. Although most characters in Volume II were from the north, the locations where the stories took place were evenly distributed between north and south.

Chart II.

Character	Ancestral Home or Birth Place	Where the Stories Happened	Date
1. Xu Yi 徐義	Gaolu 高陸 (Gaoling 高陵 County of Shaanxi), **North**	Ye 鄴 (Wei County 魏縣 of Hebei), **North**	Former Qin (351–394 A.D.) During the Eastern Jin
2. Zhang Zhan 張展	Guangning Commandery 廣寧郡 (Xuanhua 宣化 County in Hebei), **North**		
3. Monk Huijian 惠簡道人		Prefecture Jin 荊州 (Hubei), **South**	Eastern Jin
4. Two people about to be executed		Southeast coast	Eastern Jin
5. Monk Daotai 道泰道人		Mount Chang 常山 (Mount Heng at Quyang 曲陽 of Hebei), **North**	
6. Shi Sengrong 釋僧融		Jiangling 江陵 (Jiangling County in Hubei), **South** Mount Lu 廬山 (Mount Lu in Jiangxi), **South**	
7. A person from Jiangling 江陵(Zhang Xing 張興)		Jiangling 江陵 (Jiangling County in Hubei), **South**	Song (420–479 A.D.)
8. Mao Dezu 毛德祖	**North**	On the way from north to south	Eastern Jin
9. A man			Eastern Jin

during the Yixi 義熙 reign period			
10. Han Dang 韓當	Pingyuan 平原 (Shangdong), **North**	Hutuo River 滹沱河 (in Hebei), **North**	

Volume III

Volume III comprises sixty-nine miracle tales (see Chart III and Map IV[10]) and two supplemental stories of Korean people during the period of the Paekche Kingdom (18 B.C. – 660 A.D.). Of these sixty-nine stories, forty-six are precisely dated: twenty stories date to the Song period (420–479 A.D.), fourteen to the Eastern Jin period (317–420 A.D.), four to the Northern Wei period (386–534 A.D.), three to the Later Qin period (394–416 A.D.), two to the Xia period (407–431 A.D.), two to the Northern Yan period (407–436 A.D.), and only one to the Southern Qi period (479–502 A.D.). To summarize, most of these miracle tales took place during the fourth and fifth centuries.

In the sixty-nine stories of Volume III, the native places of forty-two characters are given in the texts. There are ten stories (nos. 13, 19, 32, 33, 34, 38, 48, 61, 62, and 63) whose characters were from present-day Jiangsu Province. Six characters (in stories numbered 6, 12, 17, 30, 44, 49, and 68) were from present-day Shaanxi Province, among which characters of numbers 68, 44, and 49 were from Xi'an. For the characters in the remaining stories, six (nos. 7, 27, 28, 43, 56, and 64) were from present Shandong Province, five (nos. 23, 24, 42, 47, and 69) from Shanxi Province, three (nos. 25, 53, and 57) from Hebei Province, two (nos. 20 and 59) from Gansu Province and two (nos. 36 and 37) from Liaoning Province. Characters of story numbers 4, 15, 29, 40, and 41 belonged to present-day Zhejiang, Henan, Xinjiang, Hunan, and Sichuan provinces respectively. In story number 11, the author tells us that the character was from the north but no precise place name was given. The author also mentions that, in story number 10, the characters were foreigners, but their citizenship remains unknown.

To summarize these data of the native places of the characters in Volume III,

[10] Map IV is based on a historical map of the Song period. The red marks show the locations of the stories in Volume III, and the green marks show the native places of the characters.

among the forty-two people whose native places are known to us, only nine were from the south. In other words, according to the available data from the texts of Volume III, four-fifths of the people who experienced the responses of Guanyin were northerners.

With regard to the locations where the stories took place in Volume III, forty-six stories include information on where they took place. Among these forty-six tales, five happened in present-day Shandong Province (nos. 1, 16, 44, 61, and 67), another five in present Jiangsu Province (nos. 7, 18, 22 38, and 54), three in Zhejiang (nos. 2, 21, and 32), three in Hubei (nos. 23, 24, and 34) and three in Henan (nos. 25, 52, and 60). Two stories (nos. 14 and 62) happened in Sichuan Province, two in Liaoning (nos. 36 and 37), and two in Gansu (nos. 46 and 59). Among the other responses, one took place in Xinjiang (no. 6), one in Shanxi (no. 11), one in Shaanxi (no. 17), one in Hunan (no. 39) and one in Anhui (no. 58). Interestingly, it is written in stories numbers 15, 26, 50, 51, and 63 that the responses of Guanyin took place in the "north," though the specific locations are not given. In addition, story number 66 happened in a state called Yuezhi 月氏, which is probably located in present Gansu or Qinghai province.

Lu Gao, the author of Volume III, also explains in some stories that these miracles of Guanyin occurred during travel or as the characters were fleeing from the north to the south. Among these kinds of stories, five (nos. 9, 47, 49, 56, and 57) happened on the way when the characters fled to the south. As the miracles during travel, one took place on a journey passing through present-day Poyang Lake 鄱阳湖 (no. 5), which is located in the northwest of present Jiangxi Province; one happened on a sailing voyage from Sri Lanka to Cambodia (no. 10); one during a delivery of silk from Hebei to Datong in north Shanxi (no. 28); one on the way back from Gansu to Sichuan (no. 53), and one on the way back from Henan to southern Shanxi (no. 69).

In summary, according to my division between north and south, among the sixty-nine stories recorded in Volume III, twenty-four took place in the north, fifteen in the south, and six on the way from the north to the south.

Chart III.

Character	Ancestral Home or Birth Place	Where the Stories Happened	Other Places	Date
1. Monk Shi Fali 釋法力道人		Lu Commandery 魯郡 (Qufu 曲阜 in Shandong), **North**		
2. Monk Shi Fazhi 釋法智道人				
3. An official of Wuxing Commandery 吳興郡		Wuxing Commandery 吳興郡(Huzhou 湖州 in Zhejiang), **South**		Song
4. A man from Haiyan 海鹽	Haiyan 海鹽 (Haining 海寧 in Zhejiang), **South**			
5. Liu Cheng 劉澄		Gongting Lake 宮亭湖 (Poyang Lake 鄱阳湖), **South**	On the way to Guangzhou 廣州	Song
6. Monk Shi Daojiong 釋道冏道人	Haozhi 好畤 at Fufeng 扶風 (County Qian 乾縣 in Shaanxi), **North**	River Mengjin 孟津河 (Xinjiang), **North**		Song
7. Fu Wanshou 伏萬壽	Pinchang 平昌 (between County Jiao 膠縣 and Laiwu 萊蕪 of Shandong), **North**	On the way from the capital Jiankang to Guangling 廣陵 (Yangzhou 揚州 in Jiangsu), **South**	Fu lived in the capital Jiankang.	Song
8. Monk Shi Fachun 釋法純道人			Shi Fachun was the abbot of Xianyi Monastery 顯義寺 at Shanyin County 山陰縣 (Shaoxing in Zhejiang).	Eastern Jin
9. Liang Sheng 梁聲		On the way back from the north to the south	Liang used to live at a county called Hebei 河北 at north (Ruicheng 芮城 of Shanxi).	
10. A hundred foreigners	Foreign countries	While sailing from Sri Lanka to Cambodia		

11. A monk from the north	**North**	The west mountain at Shouyang 壽陽 (Shouyang county in Shanxi), **North**		
12. Monk Fachan 法禪 from Guanzhong 關中 and other five people	Guanzhong 關中 (around Xi'an and Xianyang 咸陽), **North**			Later Qin 后秦(384–417 A.D.)
13. A man from Pengcheng 彭城 in the north	Pengcheng 彭城 (Xuzhou 徐州 of Jiangsu), **North**			Eastern Jin
14. A layman from Shu 蜀		Shu 蜀 (Sichuan), **South**		Later Qin
15. Gao Xun 高荀	Xingyang 滎陽 (Xingyang in Henan), **North**	In the **north**	Gao built a monastery at Jingxian 京縣 (south to Luoyang and Zhengzhou in Henan).	Eastern Jin
16. The wife of Du Hechi 杜賀敕婦		Qingzhou 青州 (Yidu 益都 of Shandong), **North**	This story was heard at Gushu 孤孰 (Dangtu 當涂 county in Anhui).	Song
17. Nangong Zi'ao 南公子敖	Shiping 始平 (Xingping 興平 county at Shaanxi), **North**	Xinping 新平 (Bin 邠縣 county in Shaanxi), **North**		Xia 夏(407–431 A.D.)
18. Monk Huihe 慧和道人		Xinlin 新林 (south to Nanjing), **South**	Monk from a monastery at Jiankang (Nanjing)	Song
19. Gai Hu 蓋護	Shanyang 山陽 (Huai'an 淮安 of Jiangsu), **South**			
20. Widow Li from Liangzhou 涼州婦人李氏	Liangzhou 涼州 (Wuwei 武威 county of Gansu), **North**			
21. A storehouse guard named Xia at Guiji 會稽庫吏姓夏		Guiji 會稽 (Shaoxing of Zhejiang)，**South**	Later Xia went to Mount Shan (Sheng County 嵊縣 of Zhejiang) to learn the Buddhist teachings.	Eastern Jin
22. Monk Shi Senghong 釋僧洪道人		Jiankang (Nanjing), **South**		Eastern Jin

23. Wang Qiu 王球	Taiyuan 太原 (Taiyuan), **North**	Jiangling 江陵 (Jiangling of Hubei), **South**		Song
24. Guo Xuan 郭宣	Taiyuan 太原, **North**	Jingzhou 荊州 (Jingzhou of Hubei), **South**		Eastern Jin
25. Monk Chaoda 超達道人	Commandery Zhao 趙郡 (Hebei), **North**	Xingyang 滎陽 (Xingyang in Henan), **North**		Northern Wei 北魏 (386–534 A.D.)
26. An abbot from the north 虜中寺主		**North**		Northern Wei
27. Wang Kui 王葵	Yangping 陽平 (Wenshang 汶上 of Shandong), **North**			Northern Wei
28. Gaodu 高度	Bohai 渤海(Linji 臨濟 of Shandong), **North**	Delivered silk from Zhaojun 趙郡 (Hebei) to the Northern Wei capital Pingcheng 平城(Datong 大同 of Shanxi), **North**		Northern Wei
29. The son-in-law of the king of Khotan 于闐王女婿	Khotan 于闐 (Xinjiang), **North**			
30. A man from Guanzhong 關中人	Guanzhong 關中, **North**			
31. A rescue witnessed by Monk Sengbao 僧苞道人所見劫			Monk Sengbao lived at Jingzhao 京兆(near Xi'an).	
32. Zhu Lingshi 朱齡石	Pei 沛(northwest to Su County 宿縣 of Jiangsu), **North**	Wukang 武康 of Wuxing 吳興(Huzhou 湖州 of Zhejiang), **South**		Eastern Jin
33. A man called Seng Ru from Shanyang 山陽一人名僧儒	Shangyang 山陽 (Huai'an 淮安 of Jiangsu), **South**			

34. Governor Zhang of Guiji 張會稽史君	Wu 吳(Suzhou), **South**	Jingzhou 荊州 (Jingzhou of Hubei)**, South**		Song
35. Zhang Da 張達				
36. Wang Gu 王穀	Jiande Commandery 建德郡(Bailang County 白狼縣 of Liaoning), **North**	Yellow Dragon State 黃龍國(Chaoyang 朝陽 of Liaoning), **North**		Northern Yan 北燕 (407–436 A.D.)
37. Sun Qin 孫欽	Jiande Commandery 建德郡(Bailang County 白狼縣 of Liaoning), **North**	Yellow Dragon State 黃龍國(Chaoyang 朝陽 of Liaoning), **North**		Northern Yan 北燕 (407–436 A.D.)
38. Tang Yongzu 唐永祖	Jiankang 建康 (Nanjing), **South**	Jiankang, **South**		Song
39. The son of Youzong's older brother 幼宗兄子		Changsha 長沙 (Changsha of Hunan)**, South**	Resided at Zhijiang 枝江 (in Hubei Province)	Song
40. Peng Ziqiao 彭子喬	Yiyang 益陽 (Yiyang of Hunan), **South**			Southern Qi (479–502 A.D.)
41. A monk from Yizhou 益州一道人	Yizhou 益州 (Sichuan), **South**			
42. An old nun from Hebei 河北一老尼	Hebei 河北 (Ruicheng 芮城 of Shanxi), **North**			
43. Liu Du 劉度	Liaocheng 聊城 of Pingyuan 平原 (Yanggu County 陽谷縣 of Shandong), **North**			Western Qin 西秦(428–431 A.D.), during the Song period
44. Shi Huibiao 釋慧標	Chang'an 長安 (Xi'an), **North**	Jizhou 冀州(Jinan 濟南 of Shandong), **North**		Xia 夏(407–431 A.D.)
45. Le Gou 樂苟			Le was the magistrate of Fuping 富平 county (in the middle part of Shaanxi).	
46. Shi Kaida 釋開達		Long 隴(Gansu), **North**		Eastern Jin

47. Pei Anqi 裴安起	Hedong 河東 (southwest of Shanxi), **North**	Fled from the north to the south	Later Pei built a pagoda at Chengdu, Sichuan.	Song
48. A lady surnamed Mao 毛氏女	Qinjun 秦郡(Liuhe county 六合縣 of Jiangsu), **South**			
49. Zhang Chong 張崇	Jingzhao 京兆 (near Xi'an), **North**	Fled from the north to the south		Eastern Jin
50. Wu Qianzhong 吳乾鍾		**North**	Wu was the prefect of Xihai 西海 (Haizhou 海州 of Jiangsu)	Song
51. Monk Fazhi 法智道人		**North**		Later Qin
52. Li Ru 李儒		Hulao 虎牢 (Xingyang 滎陽 of Henan), **North**		Eastern Jin
53. Buddhist Master Shi Daowang 釋道汪法師	Changle 長樂 of Jizhou 冀州 (County Ji 冀县 of Hebei), **North**	On the way from Liangzhou 梁州 (south part of Gansu) to Sichuan	The master had many diciples at Yizhou 益州, present Sichuan.	Song
54. Monk Shi Daoming 釋道明道人		Wuyuan 武原(County Pi 邳縣 of Jiangsu), **North**		
55. A man surnamed Tai 有人姓臺				
56. Bi Lan 畢覽	Dongping 東平 (Dongping county of Shandong), **North**	While fleeing to the south		Northern Yan 北燕 (326–396 A.D.), during the Eastern Jin
57. Xing Huaiming 邢懷明	Hejian 河間 (Hejian of Hebei), **North**	On the way fleeing to the south		Song
58. Eight people from the defeat of Fujian 苻堅敗時八人		Shicheng 石城 (Anqing 安慶 of Anhui), **South**		Former Qin 前秦 (350–394 A.D.), during the Eastern Jin
59. Shi Senglang 釋僧朗	Liangzhou 涼州 (Weiwu 威武縣 County of Gansu), **North**	Liangzhou 涼州 (Weiwu 威武縣 County of Gansu), **North**	Fleeing from Chouchi 仇池 (County Cheng 成縣 of Gansu) to Jingzhou 荊州 (Hubei)	Song

60. Monk Shi Daojiong 釋道冏道人		Mount Huo 霍山 at Henan 河南 (Huoshan County 霍山縣 of Henan), **North**		Eastern Jin
61. Pan Daoxiu 潘道秀	Wujun 吳郡 (County Wu of Jiangsu), **South**	On the way to Guanggu 廣固 (Yidu County 益都縣 of Shandong)		Eastern Jin
62. Han Muzhi 韓睦之	Pengcheng 彭城 (Xuzhou of Jiangsu), **North**	Yizhou 益州 (Sichuan), **South**		Song
63. An old lady from Pengcheng 彭城嫗	Pengcheng 彭城 (Xuzhou of Jiangsu), **North**	North		Song
64. Chi Jingang 池金罡	Pingyuan 平原 (Pingyuan County of Shandong), **North**			
65. The story of a lazar told by Monk Daoyu 道豫道人說癩人				
66. A person from Yuezhi State 月氏國人(Rouzhi)		Yuezhi State (Gansu or Qinghai), **North**		
67. Monk Shi Huiyuan 釋惠緣道人		Qingzhou 青州 (Yidu 益都 of Shandong), **North**		Song
68. Wang Tao 王桃	Jingzhao 京兆 (Xi'an), **North**			
69. Monk Faling 法領道人	Xiangyuan 襄垣 of Shangdang 上黨(Xiangyuan County of Shanxi), **North**	On the way from Henei 河內(Qinyang 沁陽 of Henan) to Xiangyuan 襄垣, **North**		Song
* Two supplemental stories took place at Paekche 百濟 in present-day Korea.				

Northerners vs. Southerners

If we categorize the above data, some interesting points emerge. First, we can see how the data differ from the north to the south. Map V displays the geographical information offered in the eighty-six miracle tales of Guanyin contained in the three total

volumes, plus two supplemental stories concerned with Korean people. As on the other maps, the green marks show the native places of the characters, and the red marks indicate the locations where the responses of Guanyin were witnessed. There are also some red arrows, which indicate the movement of the characters.

In summarizing the information that is provided by all the green marks, we can see that forty of the characters in the tales were from the north, ten from the south, two are foreigners, and the native places of thirty-four characters are unknown. On the other hand, in regard to the locations where the stories took place, as the red marks indicate, twenty-nine stories happened in the north, twenty-three in the south, seven on the way from the north to the south, and one happened outside of the continent. In addition, the locations of twenty-six stories are unknown.

In contrast to the results concerning the native places of the characters, in which the number of the northerners is four times that of the southerners, the locations where the stories took place are quite evenly distributed (twenty-nine in the north versus twenty-three in the south). These results reveal that, although most of the devotees of the Guanyin cult were born in the north, or their families were originally from the north, many of them emigrated to the south and were exposed to the Buddhist teachings of Guanyin there.

Generally speaking, emigration from the north is a very well known phenomenon in the history of China during the Eastern Jin and Southern Dynasties. Crowell points out that, during the Eastern Jin and Southern Dynasties, the southern Han Chinese court faced large-scale southward migrations of people fleeing nomadic conquerors in the north. This population movement began even before the Yongjia reign period (307–314 A.D.), the number of people who immigrated before the fourth century was almost two million, and this number significantly increased as the movement continued through the Southern Dynasties.[11] Such a movement of population from north to south not only is proved by the statistical results of analyzing the data, but also is described in some of the miracle tales themselves — seven of the eighty-six stories occurred while the characters were

[11] Crowell, 174–75.

fleeing the northern nomadic conquerors. Thus the geographical information provided by these Guanyin miracle tales during the Southern Dynasties also verifies this historical large-scale migration of people from the north to the south, which is a very significant historical fact of the Eastern Jin and Southern Dynasties.

Where the Miracles Cluster

The geographical information provided by the Guanyin miracle tales is very helpful for understanding the population movement from north to south during the Southern Dynasties. Moreover, from Map VI, in which some areas are marked by blue circles of different sizes, we also find that there are clusters of places that are located in specific cities or areas.

Four big blue circles are shown on Map VI. The westernmost circle shows a cluster of places centered on Xi'an, the capital city Chang'an of the Western Han Dynasty and also the capital of the Former Qin (351–394 A.D.), which was an important northern state during the second half of the fourth century. Marks within this circle of Xi'an are mostly green, which means that many of the characters' native places are located in this area. There is one red mark in this area, which means that few stories happened here.

The circle next to the Xi'an circle shows a cluster centered on Luoyang, which was also an important city during the Eastern Han to Tang period. Luoyang was the capital city of the Eastern Han and the Northern Wei. A famous book called *Luoyang qie lan ji* 洛陽伽藍記 (Records of the Buddhist Monasteries at Luoyang), written by Yang Xuanzhi 楊衒之 during the Northern Wei, displays the prosperity of Buddhism in the capital city of the Northern Wei, Luoyang. In this circle, there are more red marks than green marks, which shows that, although not many of the characters were from the area, many Guanyin miracles were experienced there.

The large easternmost circle (not the small one to its south) shows the cluster centered on Nanjing, the capital city Jiankang of the Eastern Jin and the Southern Dynasties. Both green marks and red marks are clustered in this area. This data is not surprising, since most of the authors of the stories are southerners and most of them

served the court at Jiankang during their lifetimes. It is very likely that the miracle tales experienced by the local people near Jiankang were readily available to the authors. For the same reason, the small circle south of the Jiankang area centered on a culturally important place called Guiji, from which two of the authors came.

The northernmost circle is not centered on any specific large or well-known city. This circle is located on the lower reaches of the Yellow River, the major part of which is in present-day Shandong Province. With regard to the popularity of Shandong Province during the Southern Dynasties, Wang Shiju suggests that during this time, compared to other provinces, the area of present Shandong Province ranks first in the number of the historical figures, and Henan, Jiangsu, and Zhejiang ranks in the second to the fourth positions.[12] These "historical figures" discussed by Wang Shiju are the people who had either political power or cultural influence during the Southern Dynasties. Therefore, it is no surprise that many of the Guanyin miracles were experienced in the area of Shandong Province.

The purple arrow shown on the left of Map VI starts from present-day Xinjiang Province and ends at present-day Lanzhou in Gansu Province. Some stories happened in the Hexi Corridor 河西走廊, which had been part of the Silk Road since the Han dynasty, and some characters were from the Western Region, which was also an area through which the ancient Silk Road passed. These locations reveal that, in fourth- to sixth-century China, the areas close to the Silk Road, through which Buddhism was transmitted, were heavily influenced by Buddhist teachings, including the cult of Guanyin.

In summary, the native places and the locations of these Guanyin miracle tales concentrate on the cities of Xi'an, Luoyang, Nanjing, and Shandong Province. Two smaller clusters are located at Guiji and Jinzhou, and the area along the Silk Road is also involved in some stories. Xi'an (Chang'an), Luoyang, and Nanjing (Jiankang) are very important cities in the history of ancient China. Each of them was once the capital city of the country. These cities were well populated and had very developed cultures, and thus Buddhism might have been widely preached there. Moreover, in Yan Gengwang's

[12] Wang Shiju, 47.

research regarding eminent Buddhist monks, *gaoseng*高僧, of the Eastern Jin and the Northern and Southern Dynasties, he points out that monks in the north usually gathered at the cities of Chang'an and Luoyang, and monks in the south were usually active around Jiankang, Guiji, and Jingzhou, just as Map VI shows.[13] Although the characters of these Guanyin miracles are not limited to dignified Buddhist monks, we can still conclude that this geographical coincidence indicates that the circled areas on Map VI are the places where Buddhism prospered during the Northern and Southern Dynasties.

Emptiness in the Center

The clusters of the places discussed in the previous section form an interesting area on Map VI: the middle square marked by pink in semi-transparency. This area consists of the eastern part of present Anhui, the southern part of present Henan and the northern part of present Hubei. The area occupies the very center of mainland China but shows no evidence of the Guanyin miracles. It is very intriguing that no stories happened within this area and that no character came from this area.

One reason for this might be that the natural environment of this area is uninhabitable. However, according to Map VII, this is not true, since Map VII shows that the area is located between the Huabei Plain (North China Plain) and the Middle Yangtze River Plain. It excludes the mountains to the west, and the Huai River runs through it. Only the southeastern border of the empty area is blocked by the Dabie Mountain Range 大別山. Thus, with regard to its topographical condition, this area is mostly quite habitable.

Yan Gengwang also mentioned that no eminent Buddhist monks lived in the commanderies of Nanyang南陽, Yingchuan潁川, and Runan汝南 of the Eastern Jin (which comprises the pink area on Map VI), which is contrary to the situation during the Han Dynasty. During the Han Dynasty, this area was very prosperous economically and had a large population.[14] The lack of Buddhist monks in this area indicates that this area

[13] Yan Gengwang, 57.

[14] Yan Gengwang, 57.

was not very developed, at least in terms of Buddhism. Therefore, no miracle tales of Guanyin were recorded about this area.

The fundamental reason for the lack of Buddhism in the pink area on Map VI can be explained by the military conflicts between the north and south. Many important battles and wars between the north and the south took place within this pink area. For instance, the Battle of Fei River (淝水) took place at Shouyang壽陽, northwest of present Hefei city, which is located in the western part of the pink area. A battle between the Southern Qi and Northern Wei during the second year of Jianyuan reign period (479–482 A.D.) also happened in Shouyang.[15] Moreover, after the Emperor Xiaowen of the Northern Wei moved his capital from Datong to Luoyang in 493 A.D., he attacked the Southern Qi many times, and many of the battles took place along the upper reaches of the Huai River, where the pink area is located.

In summary, the pink area, which was very prosperous and well populated during the Han Dynasty, became uninhabitable during the Northern and Southern Dynasties because of the frequent military conflicts between the north and the south. Therefore, almost no eminent monks preached there, and Buddhism was blocked out of this area. For the same reason, no Guanyin miracle tales took place in that area, and no people from that area were recorded to have experienced the responses of Guanyin.

Conclusion

Before concluding, I will locate all the stories on a map of modern China (see Map VIII), showing where the stories took place, or where the characters came from if the former information is unknown. We can clearly see that these stories cluster along the southeast coast of China, where two pilgrimage sites related to Guanyin, Putuoshan 普陀山 and Upper Tianzhu 上天竺, later developed in the Northern Song Dynasty. These stories are located no farther south than Changsha, Hunan Province, and no farther north than Inner Mongolia, but they range as far west as Xinjiang and as far east as Korea.

[15] *Nan Qi shu* 2.36.

Most of the characters that appear in the miracle tales of Guanyin were from the northern part of China, while the places where they saw the miracles were evenly distributed between north and south. The places mentioned in these stories cluster at some specific large cities or certain regions, which coincide with the major preaching areas of the Buddhist monks during the same period. The last interesting point is that there is an area empty of all Guanyin miracle tales in the center of mainland China. The natural environment of this area is suitable for habitation, but it was ruined by hundreds of years of wars between the north and the south, lasting from the Eastern Jin until the unification of the whole country in the Sui dynasty. Consequently, Buddhist preachers, such as those eminent monks studied by Yan Gengwang, avoided going to this area, and the development of Buddhism stagnated there.

The geographical information in the three volumes of the miracle stories of Guanyin illustrates many aspects of the society during the Southern Dynasties in China. It tells us stories of population movement, shows the relative population of some important cities and places, and indicates whether Buddhism was transmitted there.

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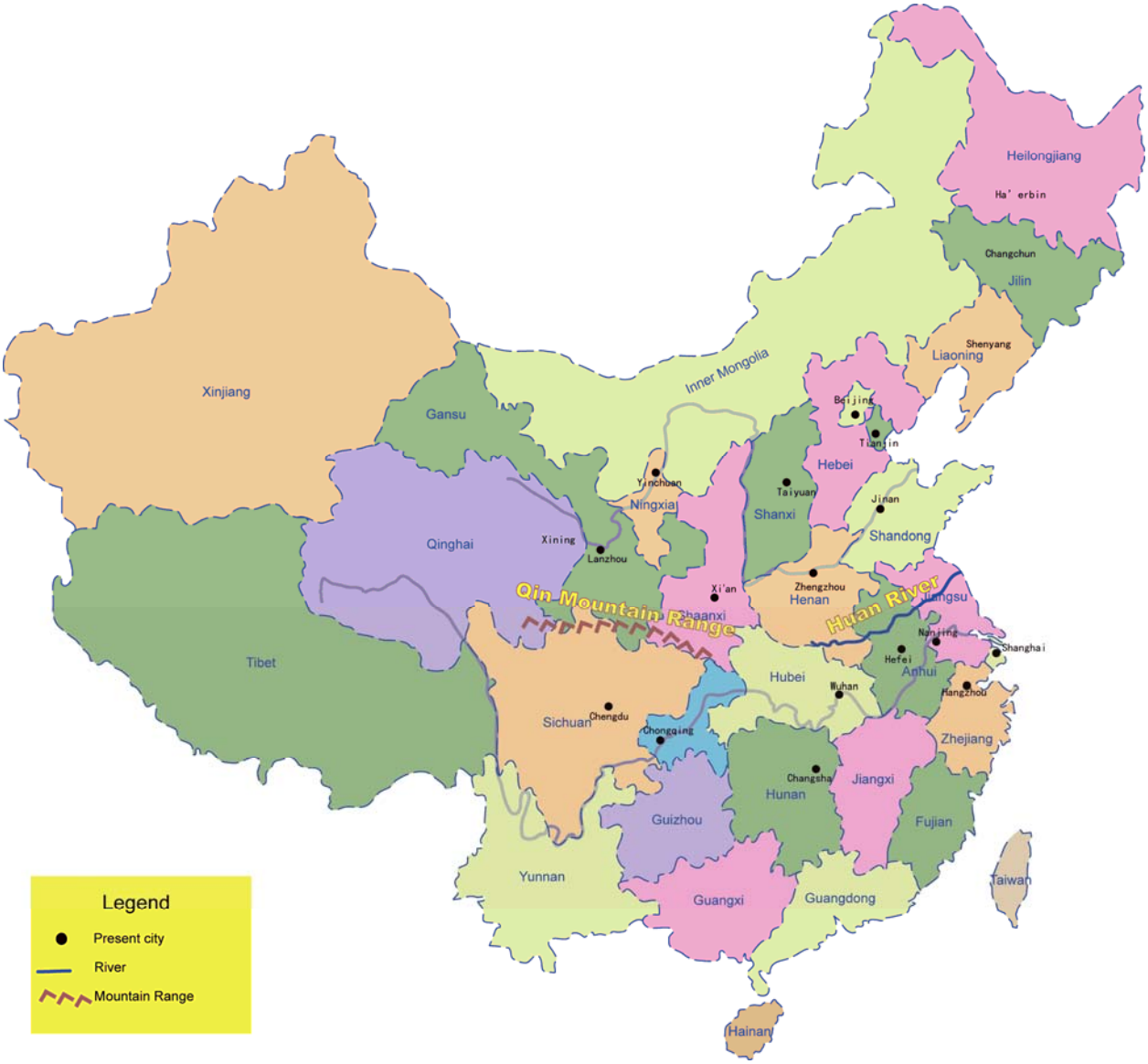
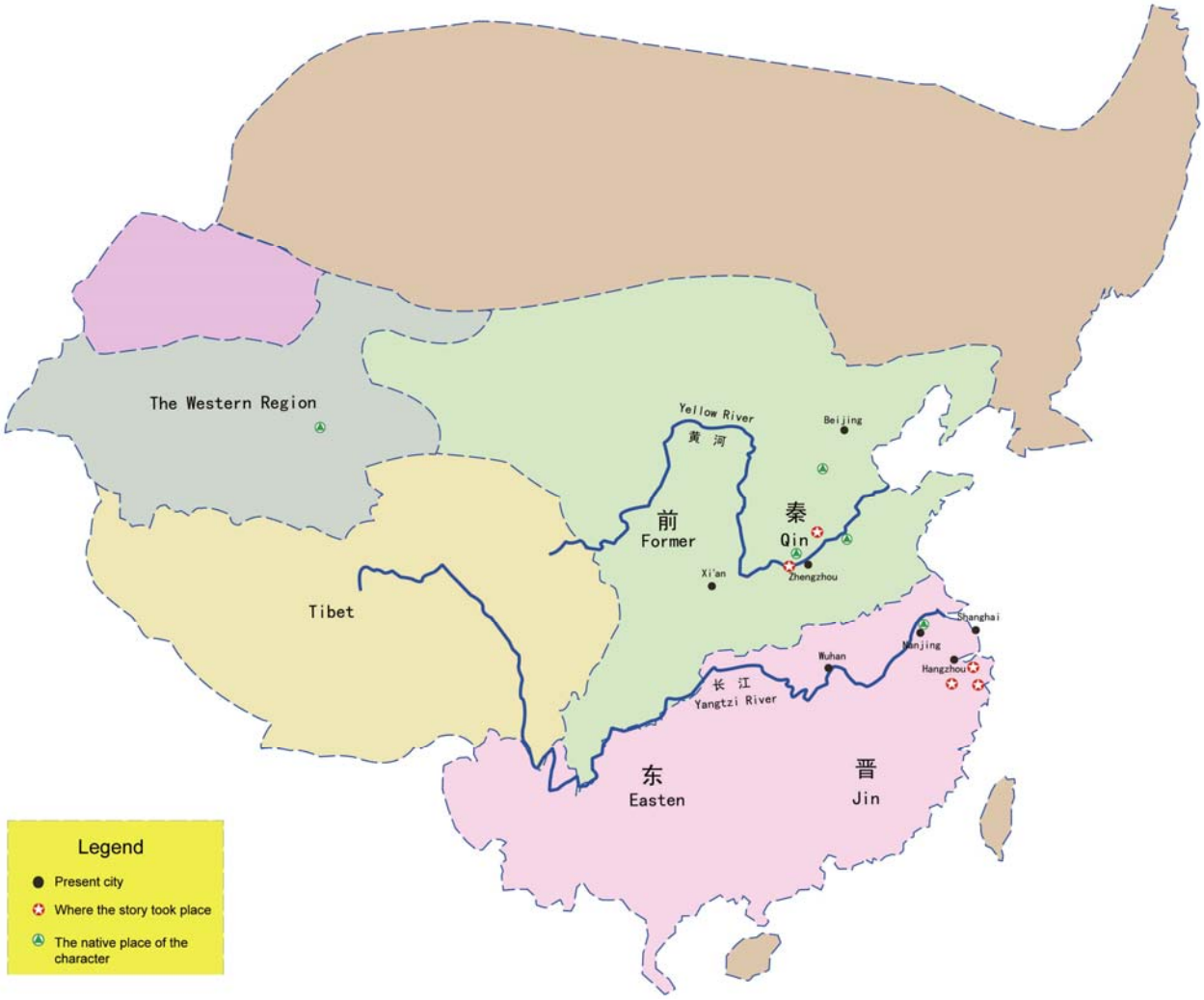
Appendix: Maps

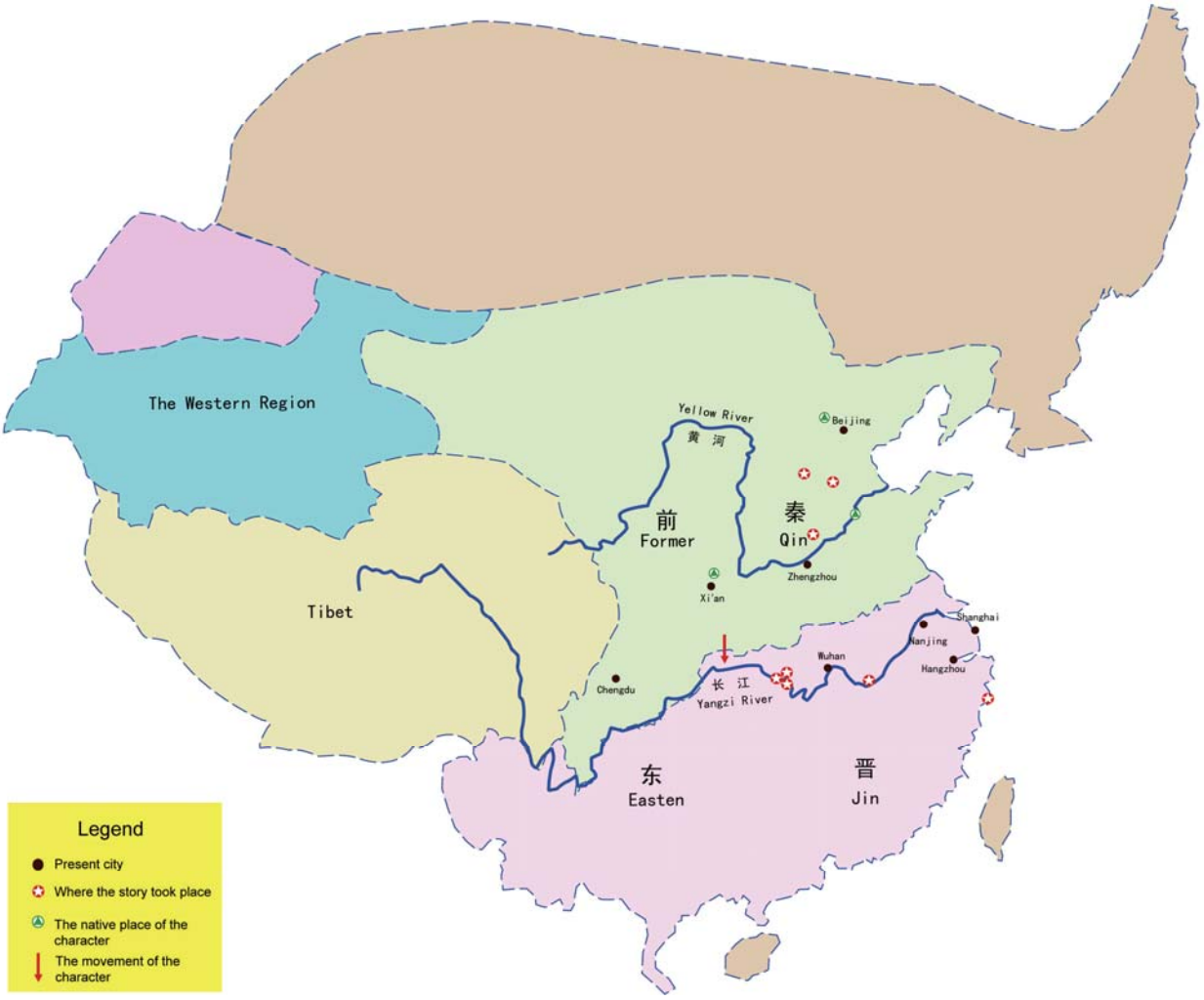
Map I. The provinces and major cities of modern China.



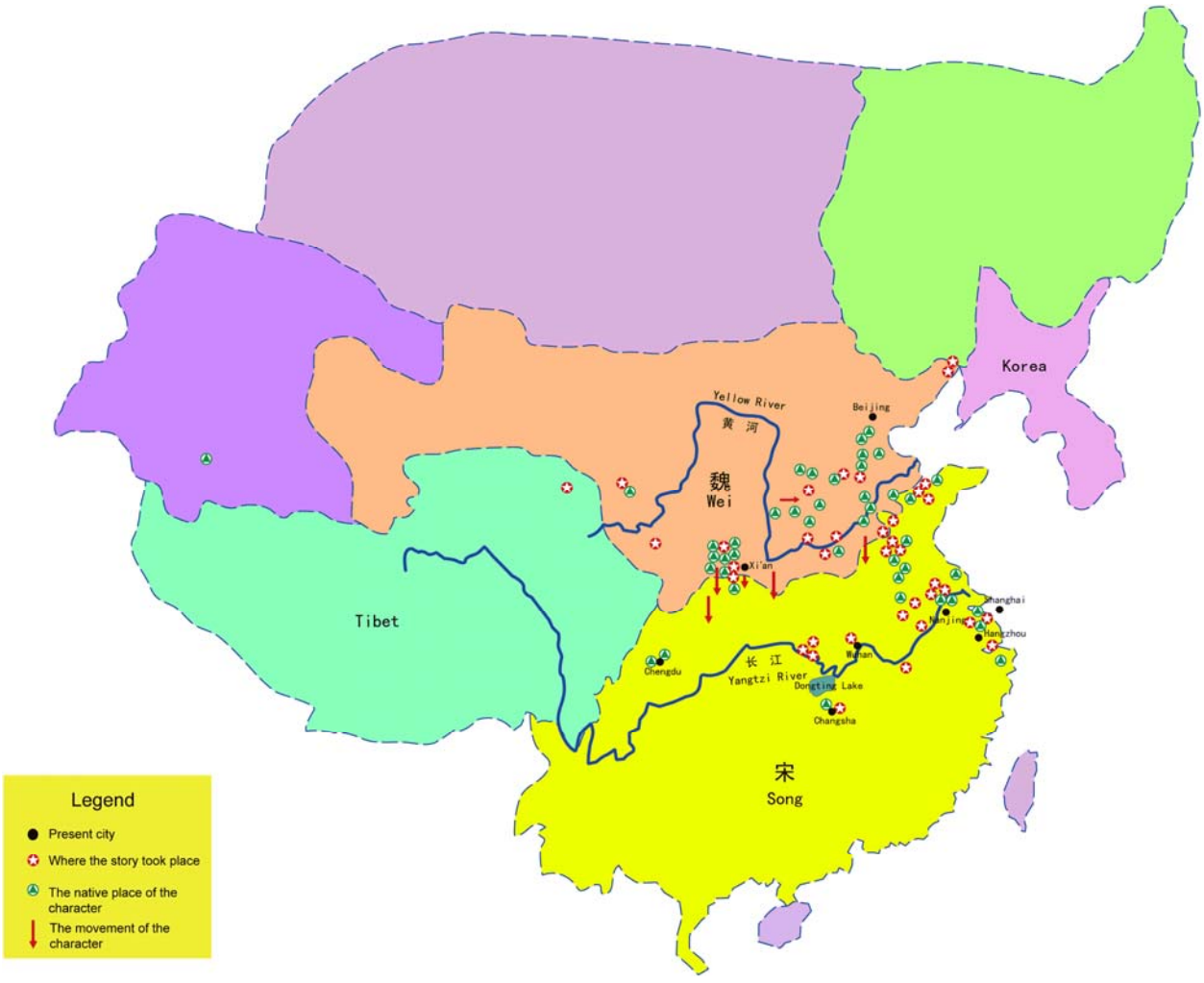
Map II. An Eastern Jin map displaying the geographical information in Volume I.



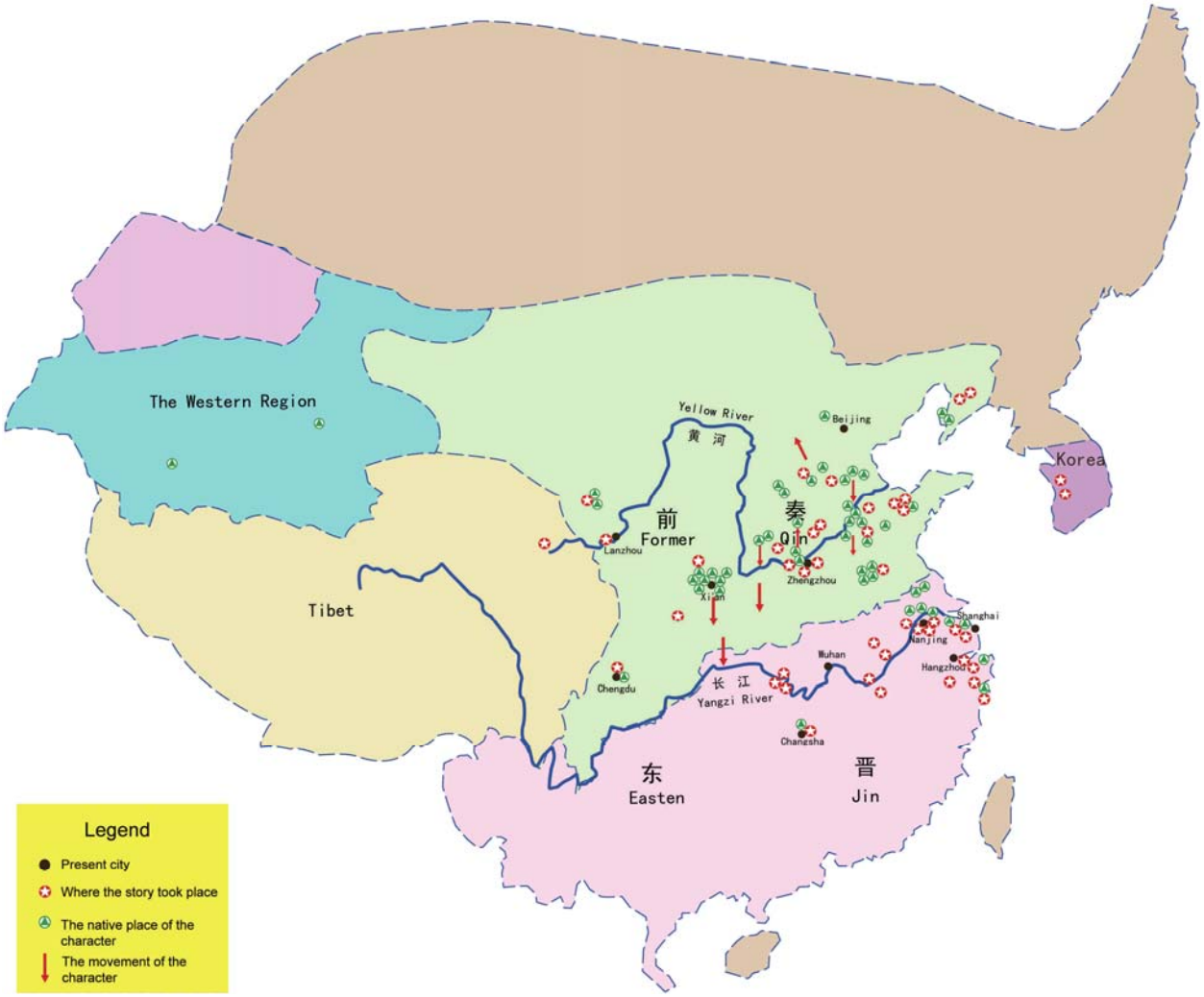
Map III. An Eastern Jin map displaying the geographical information in Volume II.



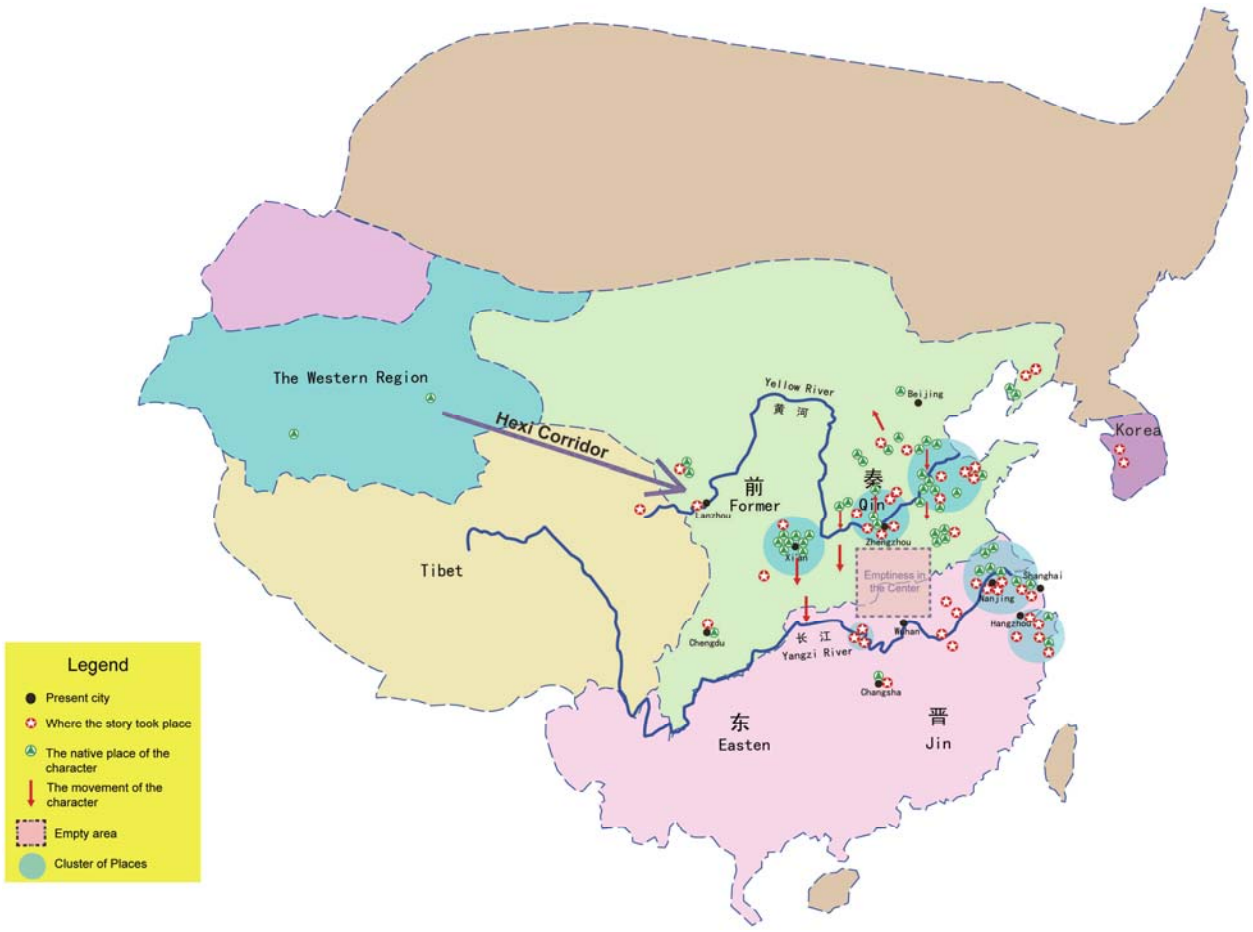
Map IV. A Song map displaying the geographical information in Volume III.



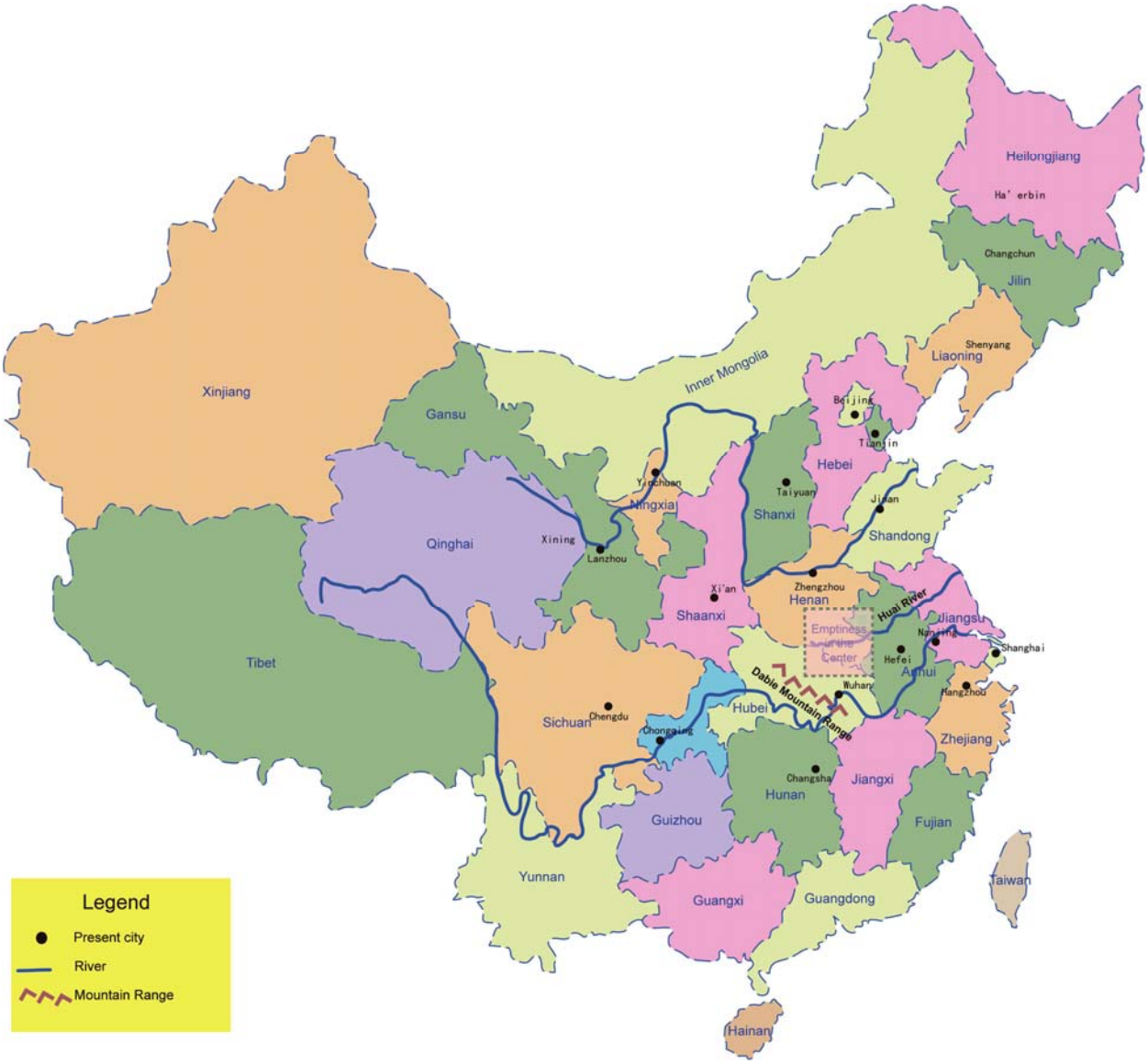
Map V. An Eastern Jin map integrating the geographical information in volumes I–III.



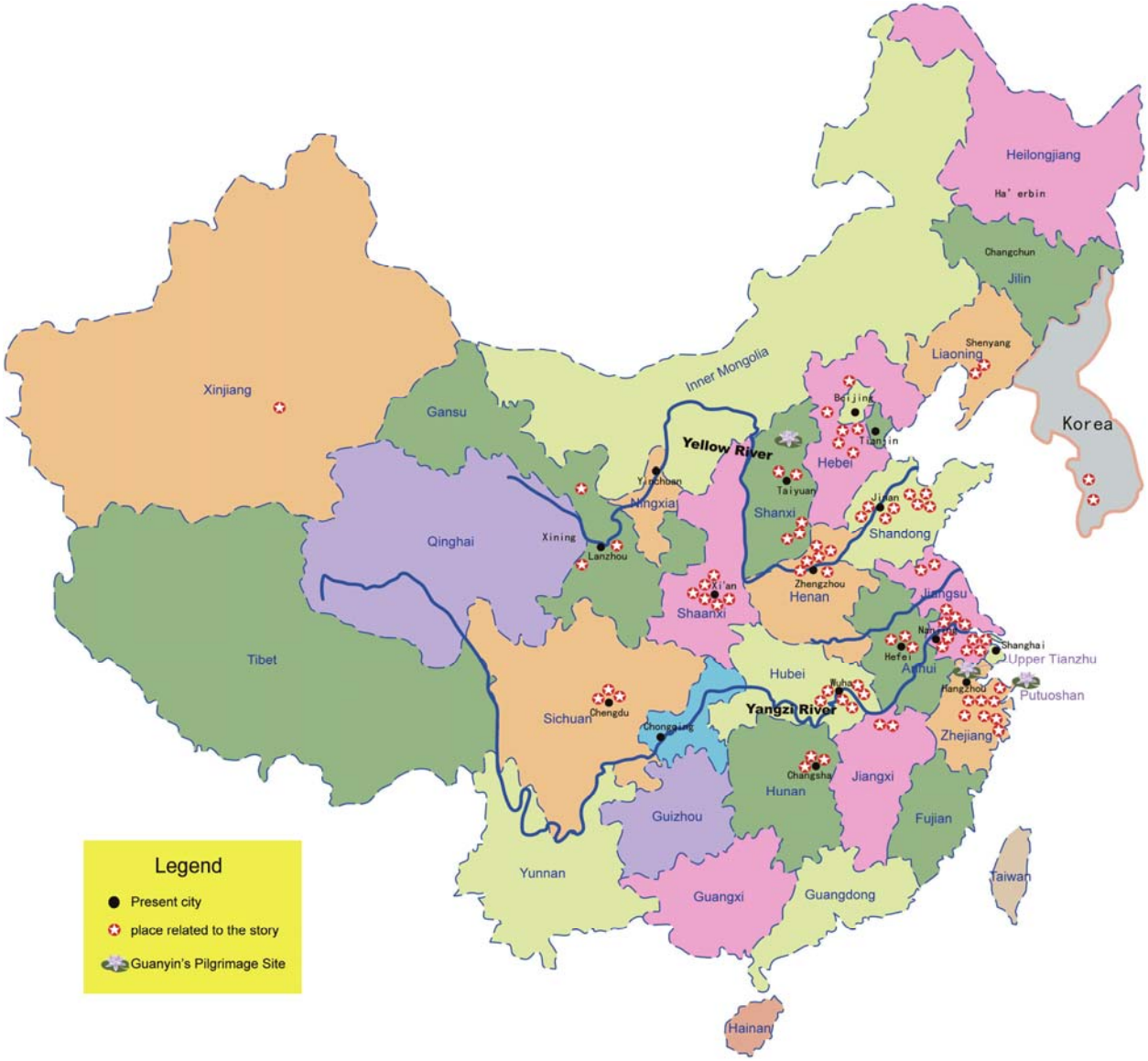
Map VI. A map based on Map V, displaying the movement of the characters, clusters of places, and the emptiness in the center.



Map VII. A map of modern China displaying the topographical condition of the empty area in the center.



Map VIII. A map of modern China displaying the geographical information in volumes I–III.



The Gwaneŭm (觀音) Cult in The Three Kingdoms Period (三國時代) of Korea

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Gwaneŭm (觀音) or Gwansae'eŭm (觀世音), the Korean equivalent of the Indian Avalokiteśvara bodhisattva, has long been worshipped as one of the most influential and popular deities in Korean history. In fact, the Gwaneŭm cult is popular throughout East Asia, and, in the case of China, we can document it as early as 374 A.D., based on the *Records of Verifications of Responses of Guanshiyin* (觀世音應驗記), which were discovered in Japan.[1] As one of Gwaneŭm's titles, "the Great Compassionate One (大悲)," indicates, whoever tries to invoke his mercy is given an instant response, and this interaction can be assumed to be the main reason for the popularity of this bodhisattva. The enthusiasm for Christianity in Korea is well known, but Buddhism has a nearly 2,000-year-long history there, and it still maintains its cultural and political influence in Korean society. Gwaneŭm survives in tandem with that Buddhist influence.

The purpose of this paper is to examine what we know about the date at which the Gwaneŭm cult was transmitted from China and how ancient Koreans in the Three Kingdoms period (ca. 16 B.C. – ca. 668 A.D.) responded to and adopted it as part of their own culture. Because the period under examination dates to the early stages of Korean history, and Korean academic study of this period is not yet as mature as that of the later dynasties such as Goryo and Chosun (朝鮮), theoretical issues related to the Gwaneŭm cult are difficult to assess. Nonetheless, this paper will provide the information needed to

[1] Dong Zhiqiao 董志翹, *Three Pieces of Records of Verifications of Responses of Guanshiyin with Commentary* (觀世音應驗記三種 譯注) (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 2002).

pursue further studies about the Gwaneŭm cult and also help to broaden our understanding of religious transmission during this period.

The main source for this topic is *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms* (三國遺事), composed by the monk Il Yon (一然) in 1280–1282 A.D., for it is the earliest received text listing various marvel stories and records regarding Gwaneŭm and other Buddhist ideas.[2] However, the newly discovered *Records of Verifications of Responses of Guanshiyin* will also be consulted in the case of Paekche (百濟), along with several surviving Buddhist icons in Korea.

It should be noted that reconstructing what ancient Koreans thought and wrote based on historical records must be done with extreme care. Most of the stories are "marvel stories," which narrate miraculous events. Moreover, the primary source, *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*, was composed in the thirteenth century by a native of Goryo (高麗), so that it is possible that facts might have been distorted, some materials might have been included according to personal bias, and the text might have been revised. Hereafter, to avoid such problems, I will compare the Korean records with as many corroborative writings and extant historical relics as possible. Yet even this effort will be highly restricted because of lack of evidence.

Koguryo (高句麗, 37 B.C. ~ 668 A.D.)

Among the three Kingdoms, Koguryo was the first to receive Buddhism. There are two extant records about its transmission. First, according to the *Chronicles of the Three Kingdoms*, Emperor Fu Jian (符堅, r. 357–385 A.D.) of the Former Qin (前秦) sent the monk Shun Dao (順道) and his entourage to King Sosurim (小獸林王, r. 371–383 A.D.),

[2] Mishina Shōhei 三品 彰永, ed., *Sangoku iji kōshō* 三國遺事考證, vols. 1–3 (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1975–1995). Hereafter I will cite *Samguk yusa* as the *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*.

along with Buddhist icons (佛像) and sutrās (經文) from Chang'an (長安).[3] Although Koguryo was the first kingdom to import and promote Buddhism in the early seventh century, surviving evidence regarding the Gwaneŭm cult is scarce.[4]

The only historical remnant extant is the "Gilt-Bronze Three Triad with an inscription made in year Shin'myao" (金銅辛卯銘三尊佛, National Treasure no. 85), which was made in the thirteenth year of King Pyongwon's reign (571 A.D.) (Fig. 1). The attendant on the left is believed to be Gwaneŭm, because of the triangle with a mark inside the crown.

However, it would be reckless to assert, as some Korean scholars do, based solely on this triad, that the Gwaneŭm cult was popular, because there is no other known supporting evidence.[5] Most likely, people who worshiped this triad might have venerated the middle icon, who is Amitabha Buddha (無量壽), the principal among the three.

Paekche (百濟, 18 B.C. ~ 660 A.D.)

In Paekche, Buddhism was introduced in the first year (384 A.D.) of King Chimryu's 枕流王 reign (384–385 A.D.) from Eastern Jin (東晉), by a Central Asian monk named

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[3] *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*, "Shun Dao brought [Buddhism to] Koguryo" (順道肇麗), 3a/11. According to the *Chronicles of the Three Kingdoms*, the year Buddhism was introduced was the second year of the reign of King Sosurim (372 A.D.).

[4] In *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*, "King Bo Jang honored elders, and the monk Bo Duk moved to another monastery" (寶藏奉老, 普德移庵), 3a/108. During the Chinese year Zhenguan (貞觀, 618–649 A.D.), the people of Koguryo "rushed to believe the five pecks of rice tradition (五斗米教)," which "threatens the safety of the country." In the record, "five pecks of rice tradition" was represented as "the left way (i.e., heterodox)" (左道) while Buddhism was "right (i.e., orthodox)" (正), proving that Buddhism had spread widely and also was accepted as the authorized religion. See also James Huntley Grayson, *Korea: A Religious History* (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002), 26–27.

[5] Park Sun-young, "Samguksidae Gwaneumbosalsang ui Yeongu" (A Study on the images of Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva of the Three Kingdoms Period) 三國時代의 觀音菩薩像 硏究, *Journal of Buddhist Art and Cultural Properties*, 2 (1995): 51, 56.

Maranan'ta[6] (Mālānanda, 摩羅難陀), through a west coast harbor, Boepseong (法聖浦). Along with the other kingdom, Silla (新羅), Paekche was recognized for its dedication to Buddhism, judging from the extensive excavated evidence and historical records. However, there are only a few stories of Gwaneŭm; none are found in the *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*, and most are set outside Korea.

First, a note about the folklore of Gwaneŭm sa 觀音寺 as recorded in the *Historiography of Chosen Monasteries*. The story is about a Paekche native of Jin (晋) named Hong Zhuang 洪莊, who became empress after the first empress died in the year Yongkang (永康) Dinghai (丁亥). She made a Gwaneŭm icon (觀音像) and prayed every day. Later, she put the icon in a stone boat (石船) and sent it back to Paekche, hoping Gwaneŭm would look after her people. At Paekche, a woman named Song Duk (聖德) discovered the icon and took it to her hometown, Okgwa (玉果). Though the icon was light as heather, it became heavy when she walked by a mountain. So Song Duk and the people living nearby started to build the Gwaneŭm monastery. This story was handed down to Baek Maeja (白梅子) from the abbot of the Gwaneŭm monastery during the fifth year of the reign of Yongjo (英祖) (1729 A.D.).[7]

This record, related as it is to the Gwaneŭm monastery, provides many details about each character's work as well as some precise geographical information. Yet the story has

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[6] In the *Biographies of Eminent Korean Monks*, "Maranan'ta was a native of Hu 胡 and was capable of communicating with the spirits. . . . The King (King Chimryu) went out to greet him on the outskirts of the capital, invited him and his entourage to the palace, respected and honored him, and cherished his words" (釋摩羅難陀, 胡僧也。神異感通。… 王出郊迎之。邀致宮中。敬奉供養。稟受其說。 Peter H. Lee, trans., *Lives of Eminent Korean Monks* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), 45.

[7] Chōsen Sōtokufu **朝鮮總督府**, ed., *Historiography of Chosen Monasteries* (Chōsen jisatsu shiryō, **朝鮮寺刹史料**) (Tōkyō: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1971), "Evidence about the Gwaneŭm monastery at Mt. Seongduk in Okgwa district" (玉果縣聖德山觀音寺事蹟), 244–48. According to Kim Youngtae's research, a Gwaneŭm icon was placed inside the monastery but was lost after the monastery was burnt down during the Korean War. The icon was listed as Treasure no. 214 during the Japanese occupation. Kim Youngtae, "Baekje ui Gwaneum Nyeongu" (Avalokitesvara thought of Paekche) 百濟의 觀音思想, *Culture of Mahan and Paekche*, 3 (1979): 20–1.

some questionable statements, particularly the historical date. The record claims "Yongkang (永康) Dinghai (丁亥), the fifth month (**五月**)" was the date of the death of the first empress. "Yongkang" is the reigning year title that belongs to Emperor Hui (惠帝), which lasted only one year ("永康元年," 300 A.D.).[8]

Regardless of the questionable reign year, if this story is true, then the event happened eighty-three years before the importation of Buddhism into Paekche and far earlier than the arrival of Buddhism in Koguryo. Judging from this discrepancy in time, I believe the story of the Gwaneŭm monastery must have been fabricated later, for if it were true, then Buddhism must have been introduced by 301 A.D., at least, and there are no historical data confirming this either in China or Korea. The story might have been transmitted orally during 1729; no evidence tracing it to an earlier date has yet been found. Moreover, there is no historical record of the death of the empress or of a native Paekche woman becoming a member of the imperial family during Emperor Hui's reign.

Besides the folklore of the Gwaneŭm monastery, there are two other stories listed in the Appendix of the *Records of Verifications of the Responses of Guanshiyin*. The first concerns a Paekche monk, Bal Jong (沙門發正), who studied more than thirty years at Liang (**梁**) during the Tianjian reign period (天監, 502–520 A.D.). According to the story, on his way back to Paekche, Bal Jong stopped by Mt. Jie 界山 in the Yue prefecture 越州 to witness the manifestation of Guanshiyin. The primary narrative focus of this tale is two unnamed monks who encourage each other to recite the entire Lotus Sutra (法華經) and Avatamsaka Sutra (華嚴經) respectively; the one who recites the Lotus Sutra keeps teasing the other monk about his slow progress. Later in the story, an old man, who is the incarnation of Guanyin, appears and tells the monk who recited Avatamsaka Sutra (華嚴誦者) that the other monk (法華誦者) has treated him disrespectfully.[9] The story ends without any further information about Bal Jong's origins back in Paekche.

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[8] Dong Zuobin 董作賓, *Chronological Tables of Chinese History* (中國年曆總譜) (Hong Kong: Xianggang daxue chubanshe, 1960), 35.

[9] Records of Verifications of the Responses of Guanshiyin, 211.

Jonathan West believes Bal Jong might be the earliest Paekche person, other than members of a diplomatic delegation, to have gone to China, and the date ascribed to Bal Jong's studies in China correlates well with the historical fact that Buddhism was recognized socially and culturally in Paekche in the early sixth century.[10] However, as with the folk stories about the Gwaneŭm monastery cited above, there are no historical records about a monk named Bal Jong outside the original source. What makes this story even more questionable is that, among all the Gwaneŭm marvel stories during the Three Kingdoms period, there are no stories depicting the incarnation of Gwaneŭm as an "old man" or even as a monk.

The second story in the Appendix is a record concerning the Jaesoek monastery (帝釋寺). The story opens with King Mun (文王) transferring the capital to Jimo milji (枳慕蜜地) and erecting a new monastery during the thirteenh year of Zhenguan 貞觀 (639 A.D.). According to the story, there was a fire at the monastery that destroyed everything. After the fire, people found a crystal bottle (水精甁) containing six *sarīra* (舍利, "relic") and a *Vajracchedikā Prajnāpāramita Sūtra* (or Diamond Sutra, 金剛波[般]若經) inscribed on "paper made of copper" (以銅作紙, probably referring to copper sheets) that had been placed in a wooden box discovered under a burnt pagoda. Later, King Mun reconstructed the monastery and enshrined these objects inside. The tale ends with an aphorism from the "Universal Gateway" (普門品): "Fire cannot destroy."[11]

Though Korean records corresponding to this story are lacking, in 1965 scholars excavated several relics that match the above record from inside a five-story pagoda at

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[10] Jonathan W. Best, "Tales of Three Paekche Monks Who Traveled Afar in Search of the Law," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 5, (1) (June 1991): 151–52. Kim Youngtae, 1979, 19. Song Il-Gi, "Gyeongdo Cheongnyeonwon jang *Gwanseeumeungheomgi* sosu Baekjegisa ui Geomto" (A bibliographical approach to the Paekche articles of *Kwanseum hungheum gi* (觀世音應驗記) in Chungryunwon (靑蓮院) in Kyoto, Japan) 京都 靑蓮院藏 觀世音應驗記 所收 百濟記事의 檢討, *Journal of Bibliography* 30 (2005): 137–38. This appears even in the modern "authorized" chronicles: National Institute of Korean History, ed., *Korean History* (한국사) 8:57–8. (Kyungki do: Tamgu dang munhua sa, 1998).

[11] *Records of Verifications of the Responses of Guanshiyin*, 217.

Wang'gung li (王宮里) of Yiksan city (益山市). Korean scholars believe this site is none other than that at which the monastery and relics described in the *Records of Verifications of the Responses of Guanshiyin* were located, for several reasons. First, the geographical name "Jimo milji (枳慕蜜地)" is one of the old names of Yisan city (another name was Jima maji, 只馬馬知). Second, the excavation team found a tile embossed with the name "Jaesok monastery" (帝釋寺) near the site. Last, the relics they found inside the pagoda were a dark blue crystal bottle with sixteen *sarīras* inside a gold box (Fig. 2-1), a wooden box containing another gold box inside of which was a Diamond Sutra (金剛經) inscribed on a gold sheet (Fig. 2-2), and a Buddha icon along with jade necklaces (Fig. 2-3).[12] Due to the lack of any written evidence in Korea, it is unclear why King Mu enshrined these inside the pagoda. But, based on the fact that Korean Buddhism was largely similar to that of China, it is possible that King Mu and others believed that the relics could survive because of Gwaneŭm's intervention. Additionally, the Lotus Sutra, which contains the "Universal Gateway," had been widely spread among the nobles and royal family since the mid-sixth century A.D. by the monk Hyun Guang (玄光) and Hye Hyon (惠現) and was believed to save the country and the royal family from difficulties.[13] So it is plausible that the people of Paekche, including King Mu, believed the survival of the relics would be a response from Gwaneŭm.

In addition to the written records, there is a sculpture related to the Gwaneŭm cult in Paekche: "Buddha relief carved on rock at Mt. Baek Hua (White Flower or White Lotus) of Tae'an" (泰安磨崖佛), which depicts the Buddha triad and was made in around the mid- or late sixth century (Fig. 3). Unlike the Koguryo triad, the Gwaneŭm figure is placed in the middle even though it is smaller than the figures on either side.[14] Along

[12] Kim Sontae, "Baekje Sabi e daehan Nyeongu" (Study on the site of the Paek-je pagoda) 百濟 塔址에 대한 硏究 (M.A. thesis, Dong'A University, 1993), 37–38.

[13] Gil Gitae, "Baekche Sabi Sidae ui Bulgyo" (Study of Buddhism in the Sabi era of Paekche) 百濟 泗沘時代의 佛教信仰 硏究 (Ph.D. diss., Chongnam University, 2006), 129–30, 143–45.

[14] According to Gang Wubang, the middle icon is Gwaneŭm, the attendant on the left is Amitābha (阿彌陀), and the attendant on the right is Bhaiṣajyaguru (藥師如來). Gang Wubang, *Hanguk Bulgyo Jogaksa ui*

with the name of the mountain where the sculpture is located, it suggests that Gwaneŭm was the principal entity, the responding goddess among the three figures. What the people of Paekche prayed for is unknown, but considering the "Buddha relief" is located at the mid-slope of Mt. White Flower (白華山), where it looks down on a nearby harbor named Dang Jin (唐津), we can assume that they petitioned for help related to marine commerce, such as increased profit, the usual blessings, and safe journeys. As the name shows, this harbor connected the Korean peninsula with the Tang dynasty through Shandong (山東), and this connection continued not only for Paekche but throughout Korean history.

Many scholars, especially those who are Korean, simply accept the story of the monk Bal Jong and date the Gwaneŭm cult to the early sixth century. However, as shown above, this story date is rather unreliable because of the lack of any supporting intertextual evidence in Korea. It is more plausible to place the Gwaneŭm cult in the seventh century, relying on the records of the Jaesok monastery and the Buddha relief carved in rock at Mt. Baek Hua.

Silla (新羅, 57 B.C. ~ 935 A.D.)

Silla was the last kingdom into which Buddhism was imported and the only kingdom into which Buddhism was not introduced directly from China; it came first from Koguryo with a monk named Mook Hoza (墨胡子) during the reign of King Nul Ji (r. 417–458 A.D.) and then was spread widely by a monk name A Do (阿道), whose nationality is unknown.[15] Though Silla was the last to receive Buddhism, it was the most devoted kingdom among the three and later even gave itself the name "Buddha country" (佛國土).

The stories related to Gwaneŭm in the *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms* all belong to Silla, and in all cases Gwaneŭm is incarnated as a female figure. The chapter

Heureum (The development of Korean Buddhist sculptures) 韓國佛教彫刻의 흐름 (Seoul: Taewon sa, 1995), 180–82.

[15] "A Do founded Buddhism at Silla," *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*, 3a: 33.

title and a summary of each story are listed below:

1. "King Munho, Bupmin" (文虎王, 法敏寺): People established a monastery and named it "Yin Yong monastery" (仁容寺); along with a Gwaneŭm Hall (觀音道場), it was intended to save Kim Yinmun (金仁問), a diplomat captured by the Tang imperial court. Later he was released but died on his way back; afterwards, the people renamed the Hall "Amitaba monastery" (彌陀道場).
2. "Gwaneŭm Located in Three Places, Chongsaeng Monastery" (三所觀音, 中生寺): The whole chapter is given over to four stories related to the Chongsaeng monastery and the miracles performed by Gwaneŭm. First, "Gwaneŭm located in three places" means the three paintings of Gwaneŭm done by an unknown court painter (or Zhang Sengyao [張僧繇]) who fled to Silla after he drew the eleven-faced Gwaneŭm for the Emperor during the Tianjian (天監) reign year (502–519 A.D.) of Liang (**梁**). Second, during the end of Silla, in the reign of Tiancheng 天誠 (926–929 A.D.), Choe Enseong 崔殷誠 prayed to the Great Mercy (大慈) for a son. After the son was born, Paekche attacked Silla, and Enseong left the son near the painting, saying, "My son was born through your blessing; care for him and nourish him in your bosom till I come back." After two weeks, people found the baby, clean and with the smell of fresh milk in his mouth. This baby was Choe Sengro 崔承老. Third, during the reign of Tonghe (統和, 992 A.D.), the abbot told Gwaneŭm that he could not perform any of the services because of the tax increase. Gwaneŭm appeared in his dream to tell him not to worry, and, fourteen days later, two men from the Kum prefecture (**金**州) made a large donation sufficient to pay for the services. And in the last, there was a fire: the people rushed to save the Gwaneŭm paintings but found they had already been placed in the courtyard.[16]

[16] "Gwaneŭm Located in Three Places, Chongsaeng Monastery," *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*, 3a: 216–17.

3. "Baekyul monastery" (栢栗寺): A group of Huarang (花郎, "flower lads," i.e., handsome young men from noble families where were dressed up and made up with cosmetics, for others to admire), led by Buyerang (夫禮郎), were captured by the Manchurians (靺鞨, Malgal kr.) in the fourth year of Tianshou (天授, 693 A.D.). Later, Buyerang and his group were released after his parents prayed in front of the Great Passionate bodhisattva icon (大悲菩薩像).[17]
4. "Minjang monastery" (敏藏寺): The mother of a merchant prayed to Gwaneŭm for seven days for her son's safe return. Later, the son verified that he and his crew were saved from a severe storm. According to the end of the record, this event happened on the eighth of April, which is the birthday of Shakyamuni Buddha, in the fourth year of Tianbao (天寶, 745 A.D.).[18]
5. "The Thousand-handed Great Compassionate One of Bunhuang Monastery: A Blind Child Gained His Sight" (芬皇寺千手大悲, 盲見得眼): A mother ordered her blind son to sing a song about devotion in front of the Thousand-handed Great Compassionate One (千手大悲), to try to recover his sight. The story happened at King Gyongduk (景德王, r. 742–765 A.D.).[19]
6. "Two Eminent Sages at Mt. Nak Monastery, Gwaneŭm, the Lovesick, Cho Shin" (山寺二大聖, 觀音, 正趣, 調信): The story starts by explaining the name of the monastery: "(Ui Sang 義湘) heard that the real body of the Great Compassionate One (大悲) was harbored inside a cave near the seashore. Thereupon, named Nak San. (This is) the West area's Bota lakga san" (普陀洛伽山. A transliteration of Potalaka, "san," means "mountain"). After several days of praying, Ui Sang met Gwaneŭm, the Great Compassionate

[17] "Baekyul Monastery," *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*, 3a: 229–30.

[18] "Minjang Monastery," *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*, 3a: 238.

[19] ""The Thousand-hand Great Compassionate One of Bunhuang Monastery: A Blind Child Gained His Sight," *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*, 3a: 306.

One, and built the Gwaneŭm monastery and enshrined a wish-fulfilling gem (如意珠) and a crystal rosary (水精念珠) that he had received from two different dragons while praying. Later, the monk Won Hyo (元曉) tried to seduce young women who were washing clothes and farming (or the women provoked him to do so); he turned out to be the incarnation of Gwaneŭm. He then became awakened. The last story in this chapter is about a monk named Cho Shin (調信), who prayed to the Great Compassionate One (大悲) to make his love for a young woman successful. Gwaneŭm awakened him by showing that love and marriage are not things to which he should attach himself.[20]

7. "Fifty Thousand *True Body* (or "*dharmakāya* and *Sambhogakāya*," 眞身) at Mt. O'Dae" ([五]臺山五萬眞身): "Before the Heir, Prince Bo Chon (寶川, early eighth century) entered Nirvana, he presented a list of annual events that must be held in the mountains for the benefit of the Silla. . . . This mountain range (五臺山) is the great chain (大脈) of Mt. Baekdu (白頭山), and each range (臺) is the place where *True Body* (眞身) harbors. As for blue (靑, East), it is [between] the North peak of the Eastern range and the end of the Northern foot of the Northern range. [Here] establish a hall for Gwaneŭm with a sculpture of Gwaneŭm and a painting of ten thousand Gwaneŭm on a blue background. Arrange five monks, make them recite eight volumes of the *Diamond Sutra* (**金**剛經), the *Humane King's Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra* (仁王般若經), and the *Thousand-handed Sūtra* (千手經) at daylight. And at night, make them recite (念) the *Rite of Repentance of Gwaneŭm* (觀音**禮**懺)."[21] Along with Gwaneŭm, the other three, Earth Treasure Bodhisattva (or Kşhitigarbha Bodisattva, 地藏菩薩), Amitābha Buddha (彌陀), and

[20] "Two Eminent Sages at Mt. Nak Monastery, Guanyin, the Lovesick, Cho Shin," *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*, 3a: 309–12.

[21] "Fifty Thousand True Body at Mt. O'Dae," *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*, 3a: 348.

Śākyamuni (釋迦) were arranged at the South, West, and North.

8. "Five Sages at Woljong Monastery at Mt. O'Dae" ([五]臺山月精寺五類聖衆): A story about a monk named Hermit Shihyo (or Hermit of Sincerity and Fidelity, 信孝居士) who asked an old woman, an incarnation of Gwaneŭm, for a place to stay.[22]
9. "Monk Jajang Established Discipline" (慈藏定): A biography of the monk Jajang. He was born after his parents made a thousand Gwaneŭm icons.[23]
10. "Female Servant Ukmyun Recited the Name of Buddha and Entered the Western Paradise" (郁面婢念佛西升): A female servant, Ukmyun, flew to the West after reciting to Buddha (念佛). Here she sat on a lotus pedestal (**蓮**臺) and emanated bright light (放大光明). Another, subsequent story mentions that she was in fact the incarnation of Gwaneŭm.[24]
11. "Monk Gyunghung Meets a Sage" (憬興遇聖): A mysterious nun visited the abbot Gyunghung (憬興) while he was ill. The nun, quoting from *Avatamsaka Sūtra* (華嚴經), "A good friend heals illness" (善友, 原病), said that his illness could be cured by delighted laughter (喜笑), and she performed a ludicrous dance (俳諧舞), using eleven masks. Afterwards, the nun went to the Nam Hang monastery (南巷寺) and vanished; her cane was placed in front of the "eleven-face perfect understanding icon" (十一面圓通像). The story happened during the late seventh century.[25]

I will attempt to analyze the Gwaneŭm cult in Silla by examining the various titles

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[22] "Five Sages at Woljong Monastery at Mt. Tae," *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*, 3a: 380. According to the story, Shinhyo Gosa cut a pound of a flesh from his thigh to prepare for his mother to eat, instead of killing birds and animals. I believe "Shinhyo" is not his actual name, but a name given to represent his filial behavior.

[23] "Monk Jajang Established Discipline," *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*, 3b: 86.

[24] "Female Servant Ukmyun Recited the Name of Buddha and Entered the Western Paradise," *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*, 3c: 49–50.

[25] "Monk Gyunghung Meets a Sage," *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*, 3c: 65.

for Gwaneŭm in the above summaries from the *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*: the Great Compassionate One, the Great Mercy, the eleven-faced Gwaneŭm, thousand-handed Gwaneŭm, or just Gwaneŭm. The "Great Compassionate One" (大悲) appears in no. 3 (693 A.D.), which is eighty-eight years later than the date at which the Chinese first identified Guanyin as the Great Compassionate One.[26] For unknown reasons, the title "Great Mercy" (大慈) appears only twice throughout the whole text (both in no. 2), describing the one who gives birth to a baby and also, as the record implies, the one who breastfeeds and protects the baby from war.

The title "Thousand-handed Great Compassionate One" (千手大悲) occurs only in no. 5, which was, according to Yü Chün-Fang, very popular after the *Thousand-handed Sutra* was translated in the Tang dynasty, during which the cult of the Great Compassionate One spread widely. She also mentions, quoting Kobayashi Taichirō, that this cult practiced the recitation of the *dhāraṇī,* the creation of images, and physical mutilation as offerings to the bodhisattva.[27] Supposing the historical dates in the *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms* to be accurate, we can assume from story no. 7 that the *Thousand-handed Sutra*, which was translated in China around 650–660 A.D., had already been introduced to Silla in the early eighth century, along with *Rites of Repentance to Gwaneŭm*. Although there is no exact match with the sutra named *Rites of Repentance to Gwaneŭm*, it is possible that this sutra refers to the Chinese *Repentance Method of Invoking Guanshiyin* (請觀世音懺法), which is included in the 長安 *One Hundred Items about Guoqing* [*Temple*] (國淸百錄, 605 A.D.). Therefore, Silla Buddhists were already practicing a certain ritual to express each of their sins to Gwaneŭm, as the Tang Buddhists did. It is uncertain when the *Thousand-Handed Sutra* was imported into Silla. However, according to the *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*, Ui Sang went to Tang in the first year of Yong Hui (永徽元年, 650 A.D.) and returned in

[26] Yü Chün-Fang, *Kuan-yin*: *The Chinese Transformation of Avalokiteśvara* (New York: Columbia Press, 2001), 269.

[27] Yü Chün-Fang, *Kuan-yin*, 271–72.

the first year of Xian Heng (咸享元年, 671 A.D.).[28] Following his time in Tang, Ui Sang might have brought the *Thousand-Handed Sutra* and related rites when he returned to his country.

Though it is not recorded in the *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*, a Silla monk named Ui Sang (the same monk found in story no. 6) also mentioned a certain type of ritual practice in his work entitled *Declared Pledge for the White Lotus Temple* (白花道場發願文).[29] Here, he urges practitioners to recite the *Ten Vows* (十願), *Six Directions* (向), and the *Thousand-Handed and Thousand-Eyed Sutra* (千手千眼經) to match (同等) the Great Mercy and Great Compassionate One (大慈大悲). Furthermore, Ui Sang also asked people to "chant (誦) the *Great Compassionate One's dhāranī* (大悲呪) and to recite (念) Bodhisattva's name, to enter the state of concentration of perfect understanding (圓通三昧)."[30] Therefore, we can say that Silla Buddhists used typical rites and practices, such as reciting and chanting several sutras and dhāranīs, and confessed their sins before Gwaneŭm in order to reach awakening.

The last title of Gwaneŭm is the "Eleven-faced Gwaneŭm" found in story no. 11. The nun in this story actually did not wear an "eleven-faced" mask but "eleven masks," which does not directly indicate the Eleven-faced Gwaneŭm. However, because she

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[28] *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*, 2b: 143. According to the *Bibliography of the Eminent Monk Composed in Song* (宋高僧傳), pp. 5/22/54a–55b, Ui Sang studied under the monk Zhiyan 智儼 at Chang'an 長安 and went back to Silla to propagate the Huayan 華嚴 tradition. But the *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms* says his return was to warn Silla about the imminent Tang invasion.

[29] It is still controversial whether Ui Sang composed the *Declared Pledge for the White Lotus Temple*. While most Korean scholars believe this work was either his own or revised by later scholars, Kimura Kiyotaka (木村清孝) doubts his name was appropriately assigned to the work because of textual differences with his *Chart of the Dharma-realm of the Single Vehicle* (一乘法界圖). Chon Ok'hui, "Baekwha-Doryang Balwon-mun Yeongu" (A study of the Baekwha-Doryang Balwon-mun) **白花道場發願文의 研究**, (M.A. thesis, Dong Guk University, 2005), pp. 5–6, 106–7.

[30] Chae Won (體元), ed., "Brief Explanations of the Declared Pledge to the White Lotus Temple (白花道場發願文**略**解)," in *A Compendium of Korean Buddhism* (韓國佛教全書) (Seoul: Dong Guk University Press, 2002), 6: 573b–4a, 575a.

ended up in the "eleven-faced perfect understanding icon," and because the figure is a "she" and a "nun," it is hard to deny that the nun was the incarnation of the Eleven-faced Gwaneŭm. The story discloses an interesting view of the fact that Silla understood Gwaneŭm as a healer (i.e., the Medicine Buddha). According to the story, the function of the Eleven-faced Gwaneŭm is "to heal" by dancing. As far as we know, there are no stories up to the Tang dynasty depicting "Eleven-faced Gwaneŭm" as a healer of disease because of the existence of the Medicine Buddha (or Bhaişajyaguru, 藥師如來).

To be clear, in story no. 7 Gwaneŭm was located in the "East," and the other three, that is, Earth Treasure Bodhisattva (or Kshitigarbha Bodisattva, 地藏菩薩), Amitabha Buddha (彌陀), and Sakyamuni (釋迦) were arranged in the south, west, and north, respectively. According to Lee Giyong (箕永), there are four "Buddhas of the four directions," (四方佛) icons that belonged to Silla during seventh–eighth century, and all of them have the Medicine Buddha inscribed on their east sides instead of Gwaneŭm. Lee Giyong concluded that the people of Silla identified Gwaneŭm with the Medicine Buddha intentionally or unintentionally starting in the late seventh century.[31] Adding up the collective information, Gwaneŭm in late seventh century was called "Eleven-faced Gwaneŭm" and also "Medicine Buddha," who performed healing practices. However, why this type of Gwaneŭm performed a ludicrous dance (俳諧舞) to cure an abbot through laughter and why she wore eleven masks instead of one single eleven-faced mask are mysteries left unsolved.

The responses of Gwaneŭm depicted in the stories are almost identical to the Gwaneŭm in Chinese marvel stories. Gwaneŭm saved people from difficult situations

[31] Lee Giyong, "7, 8 Segi Silla mit Ilbon ui Bulgukto Sasang" (Buddhists' Conception in Their Lands and Mountains during the 7th and 8th Centuries in Korea and Japan) 7, 8세기 신라 및 일본의 불국토사상, *Journal of the History of Korean Religions* (韓國宗教史研究), 2(1973): 30–32. The four icons are (a) Buddhas of the four directions at the Seven Buddha heritage (**七佛庵 四方佛**), (b) Buddhas of the four directions inscribed on stone pagoda at Eastern-dong (**東部洞 四方佛** 塔身石), (c) Buddhas of the four directions at Gulbul site (**掘佛寺址 四方佛**), and (d) Buddhas of the four directions (#B), owned by the Kyongju Museum.

regardless of social status, restored sight, and gave birth to babies. As the marvel stories in *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms* show, there are more similarities than differences between Korea and China, and the only story that is quite different is one in which Gwaneŭm plays the role of the Medicine Buddha. Not only did Gwaneŭm, the Eleven-faced Gwaneŭm, take on the role of the Medicine Buddha, but she also appeared as a nun even though abbot Gyunghung (憬興) had not asked for one, which is uncommon in Chinese marvel stories.

The Gwaneŭm cult in Silla, based on the *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*, provides textual evidence that the cult was followed regardless of social status; for example, Gwaneŭm responds to a poor mother's wish to save her "merchant son," a member of a lower or the lowest social class in Silla, and responds to Ukmyun, a female attendant, by accepting her into the Western world. If we keep in mind that the various titles of Gwaneŭm transferred from China and Silla lag approximately eighty to one hundred years, and that the *Records of Manifestations of Gwaneŭm* listed marvel stories dating from 374 to 532 A.D., then we can assume the transition of the Gwaneŭm cult was extremely fast. But why and how were the people of Silla open to accepting the foreign Gwaneŭm cult from China? This easy transmission and early adoption of the Gwaneŭm cult was due to the peculiar religious status of the female already existing in Silla, and a similarity between the Gwaneŭm cult and the indigenous folk religion focused on mountain spirits, which had existed there from about 85 A.D.[32]

As Sarah Nelson noted briefly, the early religion of Silla was shamanistic and leaned politically toward female *mu*s (巫), mediators between the heavens and the secular world; they worshipped numerous goddesses.[33] In the *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*, there are three most highly honored female mountain spirits, Naerim (林), Hyol'lae (穴禮), and

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[32] Grayson, *Korea: A Religious History*, 262.

[33] Sarah Milledge Nelson, *The Archaeology of Korea* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 245. Moon Kyunghyun, "Sillain ui Sanak Sungbae wa Sansin" (Mountain worship and mountain spirits of Silla) 新羅의 山岳崇拜와 山神, *Monograph of Scientific Council of Silla Cultural Festival* (新羅文化祭學術發表會論文集), 12–1(1991): 28–30.

Golhua (骨化), who live in mountains named after themselves; they are mainly concerned with the destiny of the kingdom, as shown in the fact that the last two mountains were important for the military defense of Silla.[34] Along with the legend of these three goddesses, there is also one of Lady Unjae (雲帝), the wife of the legendary second king Unjae (雲帝王, r. 4–23 A.D.), who became the Holy Mother (聖母) and saved Silla from drought. In addition, there is folklore concerning the Holy Mother (聖母) living at Mt. Transcendent Peach (仙桃山). After Silla unified half of the Korean peninsula, rites offered to mountain spirits spread over the country. There is one interesting story I want briefly to introduce.

During the reign of King Jinpyong (眞平王, r. 579–632 A.D.), a Buddhist nun named Jihye (智慧) was living at the Anhung monastery (安興寺), a building that she wished to repair but was unable to. One night she dreamed of the Spiritual Mother (神母) of the Peach Mountain, who said that she had been moved by the nun's sincerity and would offer 10 *gen* (斤) of gold. And when nun Jihye woke up, she found 150 *yang* (量) of gold under the seated image of the Spiritual Mother.

Although "Spiritual Mother" did not mention the name or any related titles of Gwaneŭm, this story implies that Silla's folk religion readily adopted Buddhism. This hypothesis is merely speculative, but it may be that, because both the mountain spirits and Gwaneŭm were "female" in gender and both functioned as the deity whom people asked for salvation, there was no conflict between the two religious systems. Furthermore, it is possible that the widely and deeply spread folk religion of mountain spirits made it easy for the foreign Gwaneŭm cult to settle in the Silla culture.[35]

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[34] James Huntley Grayson, "Female Mountain Spirits in Korea: A Neglected Tradition," *Asian Folklore Studies*, 55 (1) (1996): 123.

[35] In Korea currently, folk religion as performed by certain mediators (*mu*, 誣) frequently uses Buddhist icons along with supernatural deities such as mountain spirits. For research about the relationship among mountain spirits, mediators, and Buddhism in Korea, see Laurel Kendall, *Shamans*, *Housewives*, *and Other Restless Spirits* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985). From a somewhat different point of view, we note that many Korean Buddhist temples also have a "mountain spirit pavilion (山神閣)" and

Conclusions and Other Issues

We have seen how and when the Gwaneŭm cult was adopted and understood in each of the three kingdoms, based mostly on written sources. My original intention was to discover how the cult was understood differently in China and Korea, but I found that in fact there is no significant difference between the two. The only difference I found was in one marvel story (no. 11) belonging to Silla, where Gwaneŭm did not "respond" to any recitation or invocation but merely "appeared" in order to cure an abbot's illness by wearing eleven masks. Otherwise, much of the content is similar to such stories in China. Methods of invocation and Gwaneŭm's responses and titles, and even the outlines of the marvel stories are similar to or almost identical to those of China. Indeed, it would be hasty to conclude that there was nothing creative or original in Korean Buddhist culture, for this paper, focused only on the Gwaneŭm cult and the Three Kingdoms period, considered possibly too early an historical stage for the Koreans to have developed their own thoughts on Buddhism.

Contrary to my expectations of finding a divergence between the two cultures, I found something equally interesting. First, we have to acknowledge the rapid cultural transmission. As mentioned above, the Gwaneŭm titles recorded in Silla and China are separated by only eighty to one hundred years. Considering that many Silla monks stayed in China for from two to thirty years, allowing time for the Gwaneŭm cult to fully mature, this gap is remarkably short. In addition, there were no communication systems other than traveling by foot and by ship; therefore research about commerce and diplomatic envoys would be helpful. This could shed light on the exact routes along which the

"three spirit pavilion (三神閣)" as their subsidiary pavilions, which demonstrates a conscious attempt made by the foreign religion, Buddhism, to absorb and harmonize with the folk religion, without changing its original features. See James Huntley Grayson, "The Accommodation of Korean Folk Religion to the Religious Forms of Buddhism: An Example of Reverse Syncretism," *Asian Folklore Studies*, 51 (2) (1992): 203–4.

cultural transmission was made, what goods were imported and exported, and how long they took to travel from one country to another. Second, maintaining an objective view on textual evidence is problematic. I already "warned" that this paper is based mostly on texts that were not written during the Three Kingdoms period; some were written in the thirteenth century, and some were written earlier but in China. Consequently, the stories about Gwaneŭm might be colored by other dynasties and people living in different times. Remarkably, only a few scholars have raised this question, and still fewer in Korean scholarship. This oversight does not indicate a lack of rigor in research methodology but an issue that relates to "nationality." It seems the eagerness to find and establish a cultural heritage might have blinded some scholars and driven them to claim that Korean Buddhist culture is as highly developed as that of China; or they may have wished to reach rash conclusions, based on one or two icons and records, that the Gwaneŭm cult was popular in the three kingdoms, especially in the cases of Koguryo and Paekche.

This paper provides the first step to eliminating misunderstanding and misjudgment about the establishment of the Gwaneŭm cult during the Three Kingdoms period. To understand the Korean Gwaneŭm cult, one must also look at materials after Goryo (高麗), the period in which Korean Buddhism blossomed.

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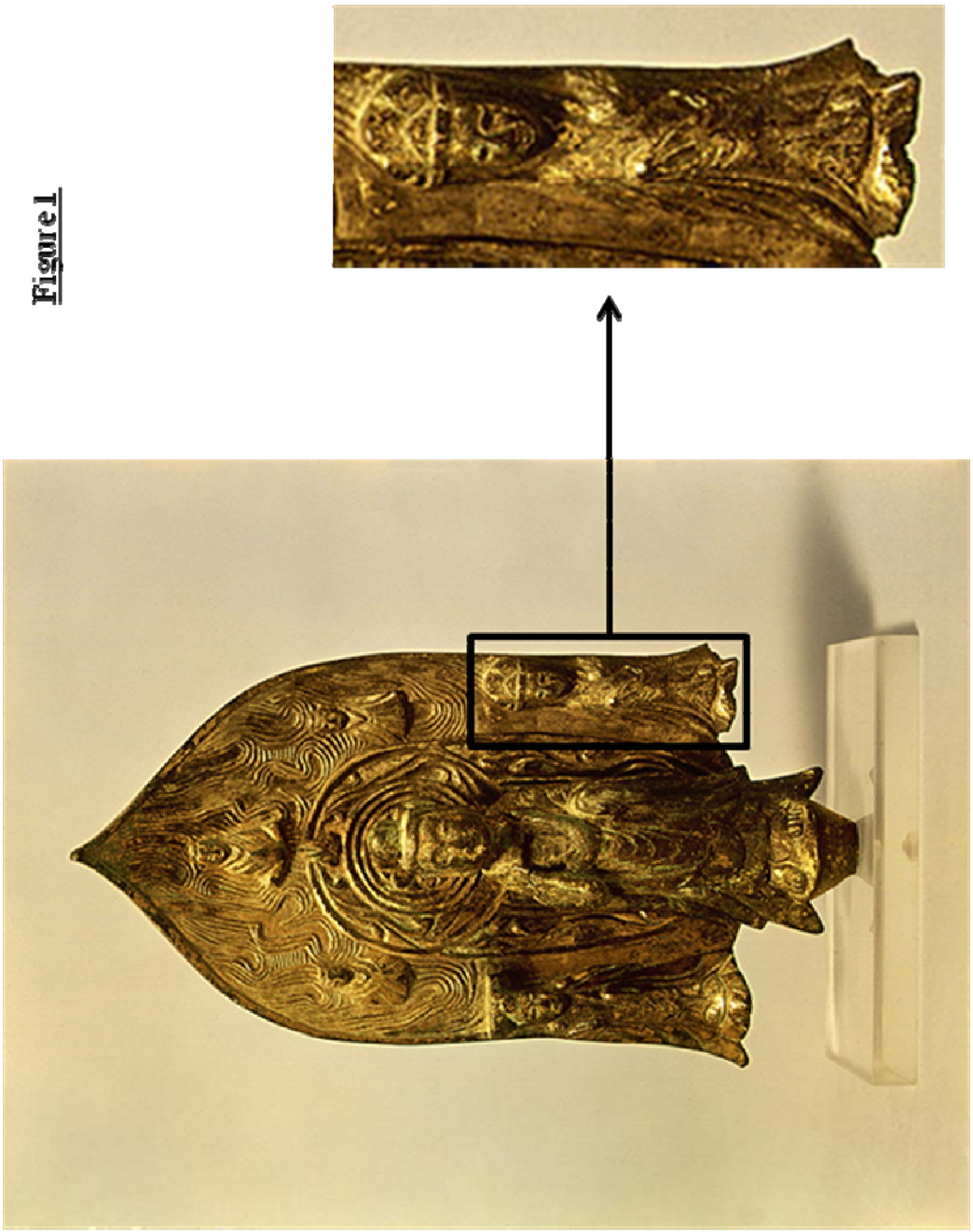
Figure 1



Gilt-Bronze Three Triad with an inscription made in year Shin 'myao (金銅辛卯銘三尊佛, National Treasure no. 5)

Blue Crystal Bottle & Gold Box

Five Story Pagoda
Jaesok monastery

Figure 2-1

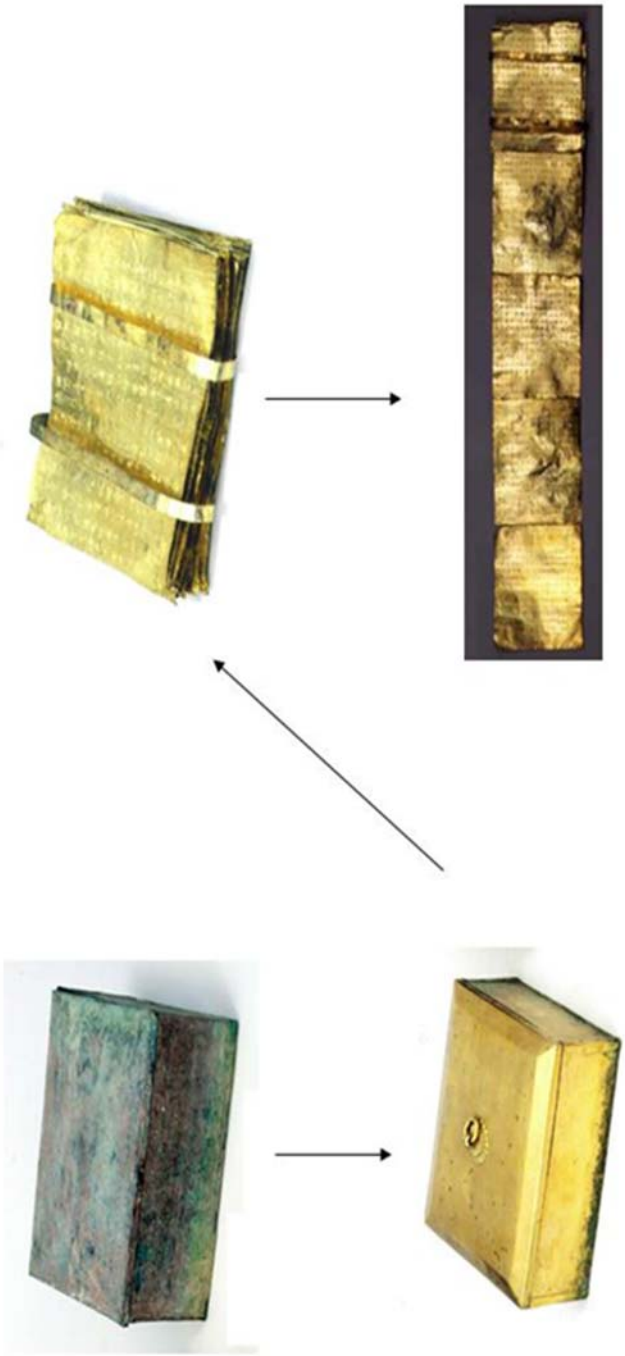


Figure 2-2

Diamond Sutra (金剛經) inscribed on a gold sheet. Discovered in the Five Story Pagoda at Jaesok monastery.

Figure 2-3

Buddha icon

jade necklaces

(Both discovered in the Five Story Pagoda at Jaesok monastery)

Figure 3

Buddha relief carved at Mt. Baek Hua (White Flower or White Lotus) of Tae'an (泰安磨崖佛)

"The Cult of the Bodhisattva Guanyin in Early China and Korea"
Sino-Platonic Papers, 182 (September, 2008)

The Influence of the Cult of the Bodhisattva Guanyin on Tenth-Century Chinese Monasteries

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In China few Buddhist deities have risen to so high a level of popularity, among all social classes, as the famed Bodhisattva of Compassion, Guanyin 觀音.[1] The "cult of Guanyin" probably began during the Six Dynasties period (third through sixth centuries) in China, aided largely by Buddhist scriptures and miracle tales—stories of pious devotees who were rescued from trouble after they called upon Guanyin for help.[2] The widespread fashioning of Guanyin statues during this time further promoted the cult, and soon, halls dedicated to Guanyin were erected to enshrine these images. The dedicated Guanyin halls in monasteries were a major means, alongside literature and artistic representations, of both exhibiting and propagating devotion to Guanyin in ancient China.

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[1] In Mandarin Guanyin is also called Guanshiyin Pusa (Bodhisattva) 觀世音菩薩, Guangshiyin Pusa 光世音菩薩, Guanzizai Pusa 觀自在菩薩, Guanshizizai Pusa 觀世自在菩薩, Xianyinsheng Pusa 現音聲菩薩, Kuiyin Pusa 闚音菩薩, Guanyin Pusa 觀音菩薩, Lianhuashou Pusa 連華手菩薩, and Yuantong Dashi 圓通大士 (See Xingyundashi, Ciyi and Cizhuang, *Fo Guang Da Ci Dian* (Taiwan Gaoxiong: Fo guang chu ban she: Fa xing zhe Fo guang d zang jing bian xiu wei yuan hui, 1989), 7.6953–54). In addition, Guanyin is known in China as Dabei 大悲, "Great Compassionate," because of his/her reputation as the bodhisattva able to rescue beings in need, and White-robed Guanyin 白衣觀音, Fish-basket Guanyin 魚籃觀音, Thousand-armed Guanyin 千手觀音, etc., according to his/her various manifestations. He/she is known as Avalokitesvara or Aryavalokitevsara in Sanskrit.

[2] In Mandarin these miracle tales are known as *linggan* 靈感, "efficacious response," *lingying* 靈應, "efficacious response," or *yingyan* 應驗, "evidential manifestation" Chün-fang Yü, *Kuanyin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokitesvara* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 153.

In this paper I examine the ways in which the cult of Guanyin affected the design of some tenth-century monasteries in northeastern and southeastern China.[3] Within individual monasteries, the size, structure, and position of the dedicated halls reveals how important a particular deity was to a monastery. As there is no monastery layout that was standard for any given time period, geographic region, or sectarian affiliation in China, it is important to look at other motivating factors—such as legends of deities performing miracles at the site or local political patronage—behind the way in which the halls were constructed and positioned. In focusing narrowly on the histories of several tenth-century monasteries, I hope ultimately to show how devotion to a particular deity, such as Guanyin, has greatly impacted choices in monastery design and the structure of buildings.

General Buddhist Monastery Layouts

In *Chinese Buddhist Monasteries: Their Plan and Its Function as a Setting for Buddhist Monastic Life*, Johannes Prip-Møller writes that most Chinese monasteries follow the same basic pattern, mirroring that of a Chinese imperial palace, in which the most important buildings are arranged along a central north-south axis, facing south. Of these buildings, the main hall is generally located immediately behind the main gate, with rank decreasing the further towards the rear the hall is situated. Plans that diverge from this standard are common and can be attributed to a number of factors, including

[3] Studying monastery plans earlier than the tenth century for this purpose is difficult because there are only four extant buildings dating from before the tenth century in China, none of which is dedicated to the bodhisattva Guanyin (these are: the Main Hall at Nanchansi 南禪寺, Wutai, Shanxi, 782; Five Dragons Temple 五龍廟, Ruicheng, Shanxi, 831; the Main Hall at Tiantai'an 天台庵, Pingshun, Shanxi, Tang; and the East Hall at Foguangsi 佛光寺, Taihuai, Shanxi, 847). Without actual buildings, one is reliant on the painted architectural representations in the Pure Land paintings at the Mogao Caves in Dunhuang, descriptions of monasteries in written records, or excavated materials for information. While monasteries with structures dating earlier than the tenth century are too scarce to yield any useful information about early Guanyin halls, monasteries with extant timber buildings dating much later than the tenth century, especially those from the Ming and Qing dynasties, are far too numerous to be included in a brief study such as this one.

sectarian affiliation or the abbots' decisions to erect new structures to "suit their own ideas."[4] Furthermore, the important images housed inside the structure will often determine its rank and position.

Prip-Møller's study examines the layouts of monasteries only as they stood when he visited them in the early twentieth century, thereby neglecting the dates of construction and the histories of the monasteries. Historical background, largely overlooked by Prip-Møller, is important because the ground plans of monasteries continuously expanded or shrank over time, following political and economic changes in their surroundings.[5] A monastery that was partially destroyed in the war of one dynasty, for instance, could easily be rebuilt on a grander scale under the imperial patronage of the next. Even additive construction of a single building—such as increasing the plan from a three-by-four-bays plan to a four-by-five-bays plan—was common.[6] Thus when attempting to locate the reasoning behind why people a thousand years ago enshrined a certain deity in a particular hall or where this hall was positioned along the monastery's axis, it is necessary to examine the architectural history of the monasteries.

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[4] Johannes Prip-Møller, *Chinese Buddhist Monasteries: Their Plan and Its Function as a Setting for Buddhist Monastic Life*, Second ed. (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1967), 2.

[5] In the histories of ancient monasteries such changes are often referred to by the phrase *xingfei* **興廢**, or "prosperity and decline," a term by which the Chinese characterize all of their history. Alexander C. Soper, "Hsiang-Kuo-Ssu: An Imperial Temple of the Northern Sung," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 68 (1948), 19.

[6] The Song dynasty Daxiongbao Hall 大雄寶殿 at Hualin si 華林寺 in Fuzhou, for instance, was originally a three-by-four bay structure, but at a later date two pillars were added on each of the four sides, forming the seven-by-eight bay structure that stands today. Lin Zhao, "Putian Yuanmiao Guan Sanqingdian Diaocha Ji, 45.

Architectural historian Guo Daiheng uses ancient texts and archeology to determine five basic monastery plans of the tenth through thirteenth centuries:[7] plans in which the pagoda is the central focus, with the Buddha hall behind it 以塔爲主體的寺院; plans in which a multi-storied *ge*[8] is the central focus, with a lecture hall behind it 以高閣爲主體, 高閣在前, 法堂在後; plans with the Buddha hall in front and the multi-storied *ge* in back 前佛殿, 後高閣; plans with the a single-story Buddha hall as the focus, with a pair of multi-storied *ge* in front and in back 以佛殿爲主體, 殿前後置雙閣; and plans that follow the seven-hall *qielan* system 七堂伽藍式.[9] Throughout this paper I employ Guo Daiheng's types to show in what ways, to some extent, there is consistency in the ground plans of monasteries that have halls named after, or that enshrine, an image

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[7] Guo Daiheng, "Diliu Zhang: Zongjiao Jianzhu," in *Zhongguo Gudai Jianzhu Shi* (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2001).

[8] In Chinese architectural terminology, multi-storied structures that are not pagodas are called *ge* **閣** (usually translated as "pavilion"), or *louge* **樓閣**. In modern Chinese, the term *lou* **樓**, which refers to a tall building, merged with the older term *ge* to form the term *louge*. *Louge* is now used interchangeably with *ge* to refer to multi-storied structures. See Nancy Steinhardt, *Liao Architecture* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), 42. A *diantang* 殿堂, or *dian* 殿 and *tingtang* **廳**堂, or *tang* 堂, in contrast to a *ge*, is a single-storied structure usually translated as a "hall." In this essay, when I refer to "Guanyin halls," I do not imply that these halls are all single-story structures. Instead, the term indicates a building that enshrines an image of Guanyin as its principal deity. Throughout the paper I will specify whether or not I am speaking of a single- or multi-storied structure.

[9] The term *qielan* 伽藍 is a part of a transcription of the Sanskrit word *samgharama* **僧**伽藍**摩**. It refers to the "gardens where monks live," or, in other words, a monastery. In later generations, *qielan* came to mean a monastery containing seven different buildings and was called *qitang qielan* **七堂**伽藍. The names of these seven halls and their arrangement differ according to time period or religious sect—for instance, the Tang dynasty *qielan* layout differs from that of the Song dynasty. This term is now used mostly in association with Chan monasteries of the Song dynasty. The seven buildings in the Song dynasty Chan monasteries are a Buddha hall (*fodian* **佛殿**), a Dharma hall (*fatang* **法堂**), a monks' hall (*sengtang* **僧堂**), a storage room, a main gate (*shanmen* **山門**), a western lavatory, and a bathroom. Xingyundashi, *Fo Guang Da Ci Dian*, 2.2769.

of the bodhisattva Guanyin; most of the halls discussed in this paper fall under the second or third plan type.

Early Literary and Artistic Evidence for the Construction of Guanyin Halls

Literary and pictorial evidence suggests that miracle-performing Guanyin statues often were often enshrined in important halls once their efficacy in helping devotees was manifest. Select episodes from the Guanyin Miracle Tales (*Guanshiyin yingyan ji* 觀世音應驗記), written in the fourth through sixth centuries, illustrate this tendency. I have translated one of these stories, entitled "Monk Shisenghong 釋僧洪道人," recorded by Lu Gao 陸杲 in 501, below.[10] Particularly noteworthy is the last line in which the author tells us that the miraculous image was placed in a monastery to be worshipped, presumably publicly.

> The monk Shisenghong, who lived in the capital at Waguan Monastery, was putting the finishing touches on a six-*zhang* bronze image of Guanyin. It so happens that during that time, in the twelfth year of the Yixi reign period of the Jin dynasty (416), it was prohibited to cast bronze. Before Senghong had even opened the mold of his image, he was arrested by officials and detained in prison. He was thereupon pronounced disloyal and was sentenced to death. While he was in prison, Senghong recited the Guanyin Sutra. On the day that he had been reciting it for a month, he dreamt that the bronze image he had been making came to the prison. It rubbed Senghong's head with its hand and asked, "Are you frightened?" Shisenghong told it everything, and then the image responded, "You have nothing to worry about." Roughly a square inch of space on the image's chest appeared as if it were red and molten.
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> Later, Senghong was taken out of the city to be executed. On the day of the execution, a government official was supposed to come to

[10] Lu Gao 陸杲, style name Ming Lu 明露, lived in the period of the Northern and Southern Dynasties (420 – 589). He was a Buddhist who recorded a total of sixty-eight Guanyin miracle tales. His biography survives in the Nanshi 南史陸杲傳. See Dong Zhiqiao, *Guanshiyin Yingyanji San Zhong Shizhu* (Nanjing: Jiangji guji chubanshe, 2002), 61.

> supervise the punishment. When the official was about to set off, he called over an ox to be harnessed to his cart; however, the ox was determined not to enter the harness. When it finally did enter the harness, the ox immediately took off running, and the cart thereupon broke into pieces.
>
> Night came and the official still had not come to carry out [the execution]. Because the next day [he still hadn't come], a presiding judge returned from Peng City and said, "If you still have not executed Senghong, he can be pardoned." Senghong thereupon left and [returned to the monastery]. He broke open the mold and looked at the image. As expected, its chest was just like it was in his dream. This image is now in Waguan Monastery, and it is frequently worshiped."[11]

A later story tells of the establishment of the first temple at the island Guanyin pilgrimage site, Putuoshan, during the Liang period of the Five Dynasties (tenth century). In this tale, while the great Japanese Buddhist master, Engaku, was returning from China to Japan with a bronze image of Guanyin, his boat got stuck at the island and he could not continue. Engaku took this as a sign that Guanyin did not want to leave, so he began to build the first temple at Putuoshan and named it, "The Hall of Guanyin Who Was Not Willing to Leave (*buken qu guanyin tang* 不肯去觀音堂)."[12]

These two stories reveal that devotional Guanyin halls were meant not only to provide a space for many people to come worship the bodhisattva, but also to protect and give permanent residence to the statue inside. Enshrining miraculous statues within a

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[11] "道人釋僧洪者，住都下瓦官寺.作丈六銅像，始得作畢。於時晉義熙十二年，詁大禁鑄銅.僧洪未得開模見像，便爲官所收，詁繫在相府，詁判奸罪，應入死．僧洪便誦念, 觀世音經, 得一月日，忽夢見其所作像來至獄中，以手摩其頭，詁問: "汝怖不" 僧洪見以事答. 像曰: "無所憂也." 夢中見像胸前方一尺許，詁銅色燋沸。後遂至出市見殺.爾日，詁府參應監刑.初喚駕車，詁而牛絕不肯入，詁既入便奔，車即粉碎，詁遂至暝無監.更復日，因有判從彭城還，詁道: "若未殺僧洪者，詁可原." 既出，詁破模看像，詁果胸前如夢.此像今在瓦官寺，詁數禮拜也," Ibid., 107.

[12] Originally from *Putuoshan zhi* 普陀山志: "當五代朱梁之時, 有慧鍔大師, 由五台奉請觀音銅像, 欲歸東京, 至此, 舟膠不動, 始行開山.' 日僧慧鍔, 於此建築 '不肯去觀音堂.'" Zhang Mantao, "Zhonguo Fojiao Si Ta Shizhi," in *Xiandai Fojiao Xueshu Gongkan* (dahua wenhua chubanshe, 1980), 349.

Buddhist hall must have been a significant catalyst in spreading the cult of Guanyin by serving as a kind of advertisement to attract devotees to the monastery. In *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*, Susan Naquin and Chün-Fang Yü write, "Some images were understood to have been miraculously produced, self-manifested, or created by the deity; others were capable of miracles. Shrines built to house them became temples and, if miracles occurred, pilgrim sites."[13] Once housed in monastery halls, Guanyin statues were given a public and ostensibly permanent place to which great numbers of people could flock for worship.

The early popularity of bodhisattvas in general, and perhaps Guanyin in particular, is also noticeable in Tang through Song dynasty paintings of Pure Land paradises on the walls of the Mogao caves at Dunhuang. Numerous depictions of monastic complexes in the Mogao murals reveal that during this time, multi-storied wooden structures came to occupy an important position along the central axis of Buddhist monasteries.[14] Unlike Buddhas, which are usually seated sculptures, bodhisattva sculptures almost always stand. Therefore halls that enshrine bodhisattvas are often multi-storied structures, allowing space for the great bodhisattva images to stand tall, while halls that enshrine seated Buddhas are predominantly single-storied.[15] Although no inscriptions exist to prove that the *ge* painted in the Dunhuang murals were intended to be specifically dedicated to Guanyin, considering that, beginning in the tenth century, we have several original structures to verify the popularity of enshrining Guanyin statues in multi-storied pavilions, it is quite possible that many of those represented in the Dunhuang murals indeed point to a pre-tenth century trend of building devotional Guanyin halls.

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[13] Susan Naquin and Chün-fang Yü, *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992), 16.

[14] Fu Xinian, "Zhongguo Zaoqi Fojiao Jianzhu Buju Yanbian Ji Dian Nei Xiangshe De Buzhi," in *Fu Xinian Jianzhu Shi Lunwen Ji*, ed. Fu Xinian (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1998).

[15] Ibid., 144

Tenth-Century Monasteries with Guanyin Halls in the North

The earliest extant and architecturally significant Guanyin hall in China, known simply as Guanyin Pavilion (Guanyin *ge*), survives at Dule Monastery (Dulesi) 獨樂寺觀音閣 in Jizhou, Hebei province. The Guanyin *ge* was built in 984 in connection with the Liao dynasty rulers (Khitan or Qidan 契丹) who controlled northeastern China from 907 to 1125 and worshiped Guanyin as their patron family deity. The story of the connection between the Liao royal house and Guanyin is told in the Liao dynastic history, the *Liaoshi*. As the *Liaoshi* records, when the second Liao emperor, Taizong (r. 926–947), was entering Youzhou (present-day Beijing) from Luzhou, he stopped to worship at a Guanyin pavilion. Recognizing the image enshrined there as the same one he had dreamt about, he pointed to the image saying, "I dreamt that a numinous being escorted Shi Lang to become emperor; this is it." He then brought it to Mount Muyue (today in the area around the Laoqia River and the Lamulun River in the west of Inner Mongolia) and built a monastery to enshrine the statue of the bodhisattva Guanyin as his family deity. [16]

Under the auspices of the Liao imperial house, many major Buddhist monasteries were erected or expanded throughout Liao territory. Of the nine large-scale Liao dynasty monasteries that maintained at least one structure from the Liao period at the beginning of the twentieth century, four contained Guanyin halls that either still stand or have sufficient historical documentation to verify their former existence.[17] Although we do not know when the Guanyin pavilion of Dulesi was originally founded, the earliest record of the monastery survives in the inscription of a now lost stele dated to 986 known as the

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[16] "太宗援石晉主中國自潞州入幽州幸大悲閣指此像曰我夢神人送石郎為中國帝即此也因移木葉山建廟春秋告記尊為家神." Guo, "Diliu Zhang: Zongjiao Jianzhu." 264, n. 11. Su Bai points out that Mount Muyue was the ancestral birthplace of the Khitan Liao (See Su Bai, "Dule Si Guanyin Ge Yu Jizhou Yutian Han Jia," *Wenwu* 7 (1985), 46).

[17] These are Dulesi 獨樂寺 in Jixian, Hebei; Fengguosi 奉國寺 in Yixiang, Liaoning; Guangjisi 廣濟寺 in Baodi, Hebei; and Kaiyuansi 開元寺 in Yixan, Hebei.

Liu Cheng Stele 劉成碑 after Liu Cheng, who composed the inscription.[18] The inscription reads:

> Shangfu Prince Qin invited the great monk Tanzhen to go to Dulesi and restore the Guanyin pavilion. In the tenth month of winter in the second year of the Tong He reign (984) [the pavilion] was rebuilt. Two stories top to bottom,[19] five bays east to west, and eight *jia* south to north,[20] forming one large pavilion. He also remolded the eleven-headed Guanyin Bodhisattva [statue].[21]

From this inscription we know that the tenth century reconstruction was carried out under the orders of "Prince of Qin" (with the honorific title Shangfu).[22] Contrary to what would be expected from his title, the Prince of Qin does not refer to a member of the Liao imperial family, but is actually another name for Han Kuangsi 韓匡嗣, a Chinese official of the Han family, one of the most powerful non-imperial families in

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[18] Because of the inscription, we know that Liu Cheng was a member of the Hanlin academy, although he is given no biography in the dynastic histories. Liang Sicheng, "Jixian Dulesi Guanyin Ge Shanmenkao," *Zhonguo yingzao xueshi huikan* 3, no. 2 (1932), 16, and Steinhardt, *Liao Architecture*, 34.

[19] Although there are only two stories reported here, the Guanyin *ge* is actually a three-story structure. The discrepancy lies in a hidden level called a mezzanine story (*pingzuo* 平坐) that is not easily noticed from the outside.

[20] *Jia* 架 is defined as the horizontal length between two purlins when they are projected on a two-dimensional plane. The length is equal to that of two rafters. It was used as a unit to measure the transverse dimensions of a building in Song carpentry design. Qinghua Guo, *Visual Dictionary of Chinese Architecture* (Victoria: Mulgrave Publishing, 2002), 45.

[21] "故尙父秦王請談真大師入獨樂寺，詁修觀音閣。以統和二年冬十月再建，詁上下兩級，詁東西五間，詁南北八架，詁大閣一所。重塑十一面觀音菩薩." This inscription is printed in its entirety in Yang Jialuo, ed, *Quan Liaowen* (Zhonghua quanshu canyao, 1972), 5.101.

[22] Steinhardt, *Liao Architecture*, 34.

Liao history.[23] The connection between the Han family and Liao dynasty royalty began at the end of the Tang dynasty when the first Liao emperor, Taizu Yelü Abaoji 遼太祖耶律阿保機, invaded the north of Ji county 薊北, the hometown of Han Kuangsi and the Han clan in Yutian 玉田. During this time, Han Kuangsi's father, Han Zhigu 韓知古, was captured by the older brother of the Empress Yingtian 應天皇后 (also called Chunqin 淳欽皇后), Taizu's wife.

In the year 907, Han Zhigu and his son Han Kuangsi both became private attendants to the empress, and at this time they also became acquainted with Emperor Taizu.[24] Su Bai writes that Empress Yingtian looked upon Hang Kuangsi as if he were her son.[25] Early in his life, Han Kuangsi also won the favor of Emperor Taizu and later was entrusted with caring for the Taizu's ancestral temple 太祖廟 under Emperor Muzong 穆宗. The close relationship between the Liao imperial household and Han Kuangsi's descendants can be traced all the way up to the Jin dynasty (1115–1234).

After the Liao captured Han Zhigu, he and his descendants scattered and later built their tombs in various areas away from their hometown of Jizhou, indicating that most of them never returned there, perhaps because it was a politically disputed area for such a long time. However, in the Taizong reign, in the year 935, the Han clan's native hometown of Jizhou finally officially became part of Liao territory. Art historian Su Bai believes that Han Kuangsi's main purpose for restoring Dulesi in Jizhou, therefore, was that he wanted to establish it as a family temple (*jiasi* 家寺) in his hometown. Because Han Kuangsi died in the year 982, he must have ordered Tanzhen to build Dulesi sometime before this year.[26] The construction of Guanyin *ge* was probably carried out under his sons and daughters, who had at that time already reached influential social

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[23] Ibid.

[24] Su, "Dule Si Guanyin Ge Yu Jizhou Yutian Han Jia," 42.

[25] "皇后視之猶子," Ibid., 43.

[26] Ibid., 43.

positions. Their high social status in connection with the Liao imperial family must have allowed for the grand scale and technological sophistication of the Guanyin pavilion; such a lofty building could usually only be constructed under imperial sponsorship.

The sixteen-meter bronze image of Eleven-headed Guanyin inside Guanyin *ge*—which, according to the Liu Cheng stele, was recast under the instruction of Han Kuangsi—stands in a "well" 井, an open space extending from the ground floor to the ceiling, providing space for the exceptionally tall statue. The statue's head faces a window carved into the third story. When open, this window allows the statue to gaze outward, extending its blessings across the land. This feature was not unique to the Guanyin pavilion at Dulesi and in fact may even have been a common trait of Guanyin halls during the Song and Liao periods. According to the *Xijin zhi*《析津志》, for instance, in the Liao dynasty Youzhou 幽州 (Beijing) the well-known monastery, Minzhong 憫忠寺 (now Fayuan Monastery), had a three-story Guanyin *ge* that enshrined a great image of the White-robed Guanyin, which was over twenty meters tall. As at Dulesi, the third story was opposite Guanyin's head.[27] In addition to Dulesi and Minzhongsi, the Northern Song Dabei *ge* of Longxing Monastery 龍興寺 in Zhengding 政定 county (discussed below) also houses a twenty-meter tall, twelve-armed bronze standing image of Guanyin that stands in a well with the head of Guanyin facing the upper floor.[28] From these important examples we can surmise that multi-storied halls enshrining impressively large standing images of Guanyin, in which the statues face an upper story—often with an open window for the statue to look out—had become something of an architectural tendency in north China during the Liao and Song periods.[29]

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[27] "在舊城之南，詁有乚傑閣奉白衣觀音大像，高二十餘丈. 閣三層始見其首." Fu, "Zhongguo Zaoqi Fojiao Jianzhu Buju Yanbian Ji Dian Nei Xiangshe De Buzhi," 146.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid. Fu Xinian writes that the trait of building the upper floor opposite the head of the Guanyin statue extended all the way to the Qing dynasty and can be seen in the Dacheng *ge* of Puning Monastery in

Today Guanyin *ge* at Dulesi is situated along the central axis behind the main gate (also a Liao dynasty structure, though not important for this discussion)—the most prominent position in the monastery plan (Fig. 1). This placement most likely originally followed the second plan type outlined by Guo Daiheng, in which the *ge* is the main focus and the Buddha hall stands behind it, though today no Buddha hall survives to corroborate this assumption, and the absence of historical records makes it impossible to know the exact Liao dynasty design. Nonetheless, based on the extreme technical complexity of this building compared to most other structures dating from the Liao, Song, or Jin periods, the Guanyin *ge* was probably the focal point of Dulesi at least from the Liao dynasty onwards, and it was likely one of the most important buildings in all of Liao territory.

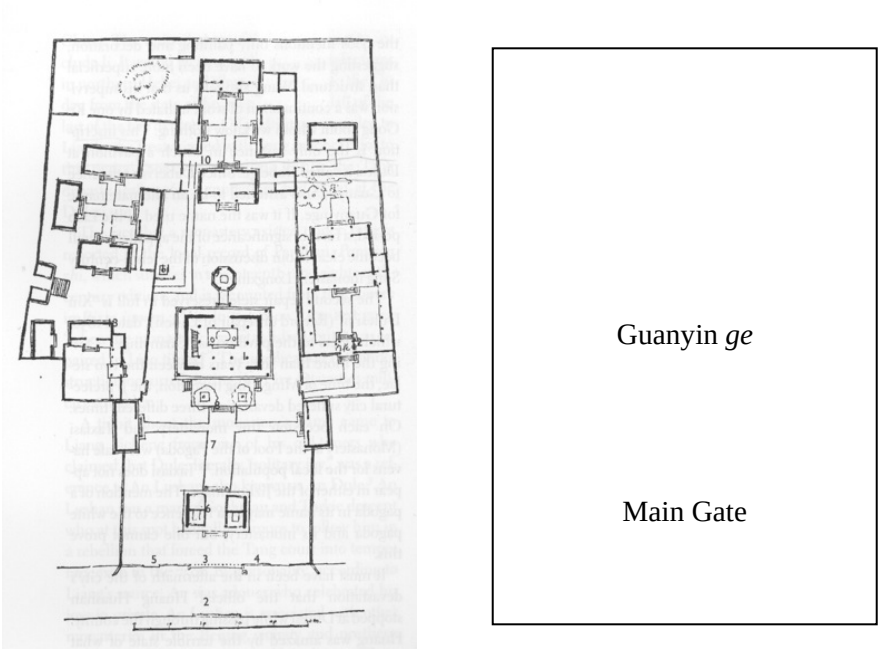

Fig. 1. Current Plan of Dulesi, showing Guanyin *ge* at the most prominent position at the front of the axis [After Steinhardt, *Liao Architecture*, 36].

If, as Su Bai suggests, this monastery were meant to be the family temple of the

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Chengde city, which was built in the Qing dynasty during the twentieth year of the Qianlong reign period (1755). Nancy Steinhardt also mentions a twentieth-century Guanyin *ge* at Guanghuasi in Fuzhou that has an upper-story open window facing a standing image of Guanyin. However, this pavilion is not located along the central axis as it is at Dulesi and Longxingsi. Steinhardt, *Liao Architecture*, 415, n. 24.

Han clan at the request of Han Kuangsi, why did Han Kuangsi specifically choose to restore this particular monastery? What was the monastery plan look like before Han restored it and who was its original sponsor?

In order to approach an answer to this question, it is necessary to once more examine what importance Guanyin held for the Liao imperial household. As explained above, the Liao dynastic history records that Liao Emperor Taizong—the second son of the Emperor Taizu and Empress Yingtian, through whom Han Zhigu and Han Kuangsi began their close connection with the Liao imperial family—worshiped a Guanyin image at a Guanyin pavilion (*Dabei ge* 大悲閣) and then brought the image back to his ancestors' native land of Muyue in Inner Mongolia to be enshrined in a family temple as his patron family deity.

An earlier classical source, the *Qidan guozhi*《契丹國志》(1247?), by Ye Longli 葉隆禮, records a slightly different version of this story.[30] In this version, Qidan Emperor Taizong dreamed he saw a beautiful deity descend from heaven in a white robe with a gold belt. Twelve strange beasts were following the deity and among them a black rabbit came to Taizong's chest. The deity told Taizong "When Shi Lang [Shi Jingtang 石敬瑭, the founder of the Later Jin (936–947) dynasty] sends a messenger to call upon you, you must go." When Taizong awoke, he immediately told his mother, Empress Yingtian, about the dream, but she did not think much of it. When Taizong again dreamed of the same deity, wearing the same clothes, and saying the same message, however, the Empress advised that he consult a diviner, which he did. The diviner told Taizong that his

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[30] "契丹太宗賞晝寢夢一神人花冠美姿容輜 甚盛忽自天而下衣白衣佩金帶執骨朶有異獸十二隨其後內一黑色兔入太宗懷而失之神人語太宗曰石郎使人喚汝汝須去覺告太后忽之不以爲異後復夢即前神人也衣冠儀貌宛然如故曰石郎已使人來喚汝既覺而驚復以告太后太后曰可命之乃召巫筮言太祖從西樓來言中國將立天王要爾爲助爾須去未浹旬瑭反於河東爲張敬達所敗亟遣趙瑩持表重敗許割燕雲求兵爲援帝曰我非爲石郎興師乃奉天帝敕使也率兵十萬直抵太宗唐師遂衄立石敬瑭爲晉帝後至幽州城中見大悲菩薩佛相敬告太后曰此即向來夢中神人冠冕如故但服色不同耳因立祠木藥山名菩薩堂." Ye Longli, *Qidan Guozhi*, vol. 383, Reprinted in Siku Quanshu Shibu (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 383.675.

father, Taizu, on his return from the West Tower, said, "China is about to establish a heavenly king; you must go to help him." Taizong thereupon supported Shi Jingtang's fight against the Later Tang dynasty (923–936). Sometime later, Taizong went to Youzhou (modern-day Beijing) and recognized an image of Guanyin there as the same one that he saw in his dream. The crown was exactly as before; only the color of the statue's garment was different. He thereupon established a *ci* 祠 (shrine) at Mount Muyue dedicated to Guanyin and called it the Bodhisattva Hall **菩薩堂**.[31] This account differs from the one in the *Liaoshi* in that, here, we do not know whether or not Taizong took the image back with him to Mount Muyue, or if he designated it specifically as his family deity 詁尊爲家神.

Considering the importance of this story, suggested by its record in the two most important ancient histories of the Liao dynasty, it seems entirely plausible that the Han family would have known about this event and about the hall subsequently erected by Taizong to enshrine the Guanyin image. However, it is impossible to be sure whether the architecture of Taizong's temple actually inspired that of the Han family temple at Dulesi. If Taizong indeed brought the Guanyin statue back with him to Mount Muyue, we can guess that it was not anywhere near the scale of the bronze eleven-headed Guanyin enshrined at Dulesi, and thus Taizong's temple may not have been a multi-storied structure like the Guanyin *ge*. There is also the problem of the disparity between the white-robed manifestation of Guanyin in Taizong's dream and the eleven-headed manifestation in Dulesi. Despite unresolved questions, it seems logical to conclude that, due to the fact that the bodhisattva Guanyin was the primary Buddhist icon worshiped by the Liao imperial household, with whom the Han clan was very closely associated, it was probably natural for Han Kuangsi to choose to designate a towering structure that enshrined a Guanyin image as his own family temple in order to prominently display his connections with the Liao imperial house.

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[31] This is notably not a *ge* in either account. The *Liaoshi* records a *miao* 廟 and the *Qidan guozhi*, a *tang* 堂 and a *ci* 祠, none of which is definitely a multi-storied structure.

Another Liao monastery dating just to just thirty-six years after the Han family reconstructed the Guanyin *ge* also employed the frontal *ge*, rear Buddha hall design: the Liao dynasty Fengguosi 奉國寺, built in the ninth year of the Kai Tai 開泰 reign (1020) and located in the northeast corner of Yi county 義縣 in Liaoning province (Fig. 2). From a Jin dynasty stele inscription[32] we know that at least by the early twelfth century, Fengguo monastery boasted a huge ground plan. In the Yuan dynasty, another inscription lists the structures in the monastery: a Seven Buddha hall with nine bays, a rear lecture hall, a central Guanyin *ge*, a Sancheng hall at the east, a Mituo *ge* at the west, a main gate with five bays, a refectory, monks' quarters, etc.[33] The Guanyin *ge* was positioned immediately after the main gate and before the Seven Buddha hall along the central axis.[34] Despite undergoing many turbulent periods of warfare and natural disasters, in the over three hundred years since the monastery was founded in 1020 until this inscription was recorded in 1355, Fengguo Monastery still maintained its Liao dynasty plan.[35]

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[32]大元國大寧路義州重修大奉國寺碑. Du Xianzhou, "Yingxian Fenguosi Daxiongdian Diaocha Baogao," *Wenwu* 2 (1961), 5.

[33] [元至正十五年 1355] 大奉國寺庄田記, "義州大奉國寺七佛殿九間, 後法堂九間, 正觀音閣, 東三乘閣, 西密陀閣, 四寶聲堂一白二十間, 伽竺堂坐, 前三門五間," Ibid., 6.

[34] Guo, "Diliu Zhang: Zongjiao Jianzhu," 256.

[35] "(公元 1020 – 1355 年) 三百多年中, 其間雖經幾次戰亂和翻修, 但並無巨大的變動, 基本上還保持著遼代建築的原貌."Du, "Yingxian Fenguosi Daxiongdian Diaocha Baogao," 6.

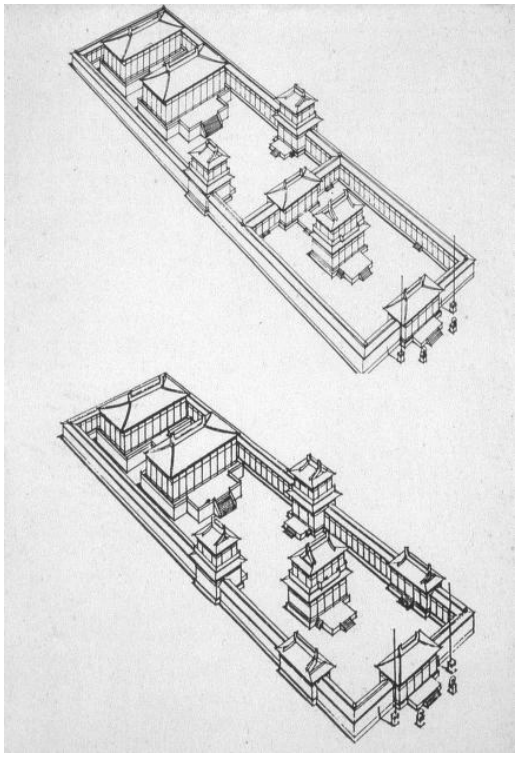

Fig. 2. Two possible reconstructions for the original plan of Fengguosi, both with the Guanyin *ge* at the front of the central axis [After Steinhardt, *Liao Architecture*, 97].

The plan of Fengguosi has been combined with textual evidence to recreate the plan of a nearby Liao dynasty monastery in Jin county 錦州/縣 called Guangjisi 廣濟寺, of which there now survives only an octagonal brick pagoda (Fig. 3).[36] This design also places the Guanyin hall directly behind the main gate along the central axis. Behind the Guanyin hall stands the octagonal brick pagoda, instead of a Buddha hall as at Dulesi and Fengguosi. Although the original Guanyin hall no longer exists, considering its other similarities with the plans of Dulesi and Fengguosi, the structure may have also been multi-storied and may have housed a standing image of Guanyin. The name of this monastery, "Guangji," might additionally support an affiliation with the famed bodhisattva. The word *ji* 濟, meaning to aid, relieve, to be of help, or to benefit, is often

[36] "One is inclined to justify a Liao date for the undated temple complex due to the isolation of Guanyin as the devotional deity in its own hall and to a central, prominent high building." Steinhardt, *Liao Architecture*, 98.

used in miracle stories to convey the idea of Guanyin rescuing someone from trouble. Thus, when combined with the word *guang*, the title may loosely mean, "The Monastery of Broad Benefit," indicating the efficacy of Guanyin, the Bodhisattva of Compassion, to help those who worship at this monastery.

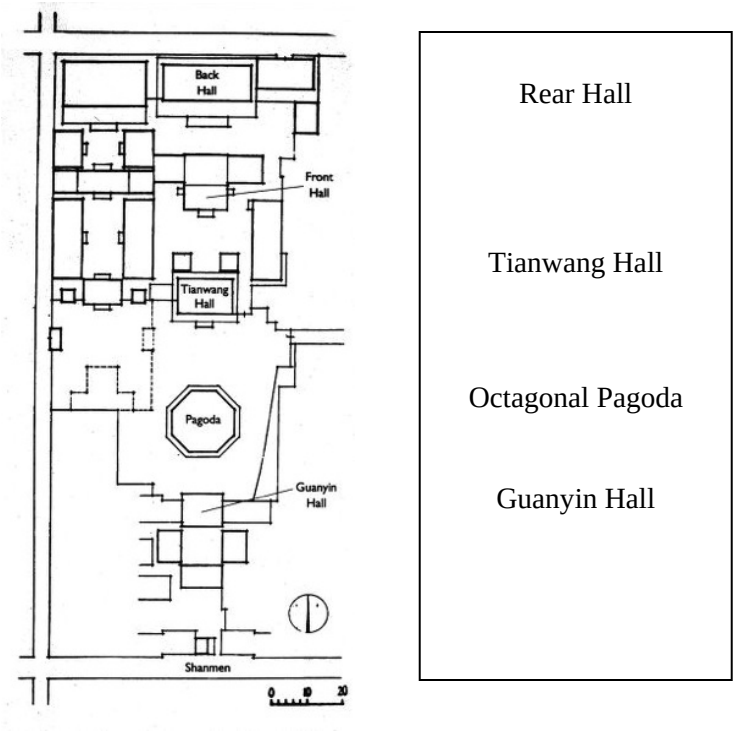

Fig. 3. Reconstruction of Guangjisi, showing Guanyin Hall at the front of the central axis [After Steinhardt, *Liao Architecture*, 98].

The monastic designs of Dulesi, Fengguosi, and Guangjisi, which all situate the *ge* in an important position along the main axis, clearly had a close relationship with the Liao dynasty imperial house. Regarding this particular monastic design, Nancy Steinhardt writes, "Forty years after Dulesi was built, its plan had become standard, the role of Guanyin as a guardian deity had intensified, and from a high vantage point the bodhisattva's gaze could symbolically extend Liao power from one locale to another."[37] The imposing, multi-storied structure in a prominent position at the front of the central axis seen at Dulesi—which had presumably also existed at Fengguosi and Guangjisi—

[37] Ibid., 99.

would have been visible from miles outside the monastery walls. In housing the bodhisattva Guanyin, these buildings embodied the glory of their Liao dynasty patrons while spreading Guanyin's protection throughout Liao territory.

The Northern Song dynasty Longxingsi of Zhengding county, Hebei province, was mentioned above in reference to its multi-storied building with a top story opposite the head of a twenty-meter tall, twelve-armed bronze standing statue of Guanyin. The towering three-story *ge*[38] and the giant Thousand-armed Guanyin statue inside were both commissioned in the year 971 by the first Song emperor Taizu, Zhao Kuangyin 太祖趙匡胤 (r. 960–975), only thirteen years before the Guanyin *ge* at Dulesi was restored under the patronage of the Han family. Liang Sicheng writes that the emperor ordered the Guanyin image to be cast and a pavilion to be built for it inside the city after the Liao Khitan had destroyed a similar Guanyin image to the west of the city at Dabei Monastery.[39] A Song dynasty stele that survives in the monastery records the event of commissioning this image: "In the second year of the Kaibao reign of Emperor Taizu visited Zhengding. He declared that at Longxingsi another gilded bronze image should be cast and a Dabei pavilion be erected."[40] The *ge* at Longxingsi is called Dabeige (also called Foxiangge), which is an alternate name for Guanyin, meaning "Great Compassionate." The adoption of this name for Guanyin probably indicates its association with the previously destroyed Dabei Monastery to the west of Zhengding, in whose memory it was built.

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[38] The structure that stands today is not the original. It was rebuilt after being destroyed in the twentieth century.

[39] "宋太祖因城西大北寺大銅像被毀於契丹所以在城內另鑄大銅觀音像於龍興寺建大悲閣." Liang Sicheng, "Zhengdian Diaocha Jilüe," *Zhonguog yingzao xueshi huikan* 4, no. 2 (1933)," 14. It is unclear where Liang gets this information.

[40] Originally from 真定府龍興寺金銅菩薩並蓋大北閣寶閣序: . . 太祖皇帝至開寶二年 . . . . 至閏五月內, 大駕巡境按邊至真定府 . . . . 宣 下, 于龍興寺內 . . . ., 別鑄金銅像蓋大悲閣. . . . ." Cheng Jizhong and Hebei Zhengding wenwu baoguansuo, "Zhengding Longxing Si," *Wenwu* 1 (1979), 94, n. 2.

Dabei *ge* is positioned at the rear of the monastery, following the third plan type outlined by Guo Daiheng, in which the Buddha hall is in front and the *ge* behind (Fig. 4). During the Song dynasty at least five major buildings are believed to have stood in the monastery: a main gate, the Hall to the Sixth Patriarch (*Dajue liushi dian*大覺六師殿), a Moni Hall (*Moni dian* 摩尼殿), the Dabei *ge* 大悲閣 along the central axis, and in the front and to the sides of the Dabei *ge* a revolving sutra hall and the Cishi *ge* 慈氏閣.[41] In addition to these structures, originally two other multi-storied book repositories linked up with Dabeige at its east and west sides, thereby tempering the extreme verticality of three-story Dabeige and creating a massive architectural cluster.[42]

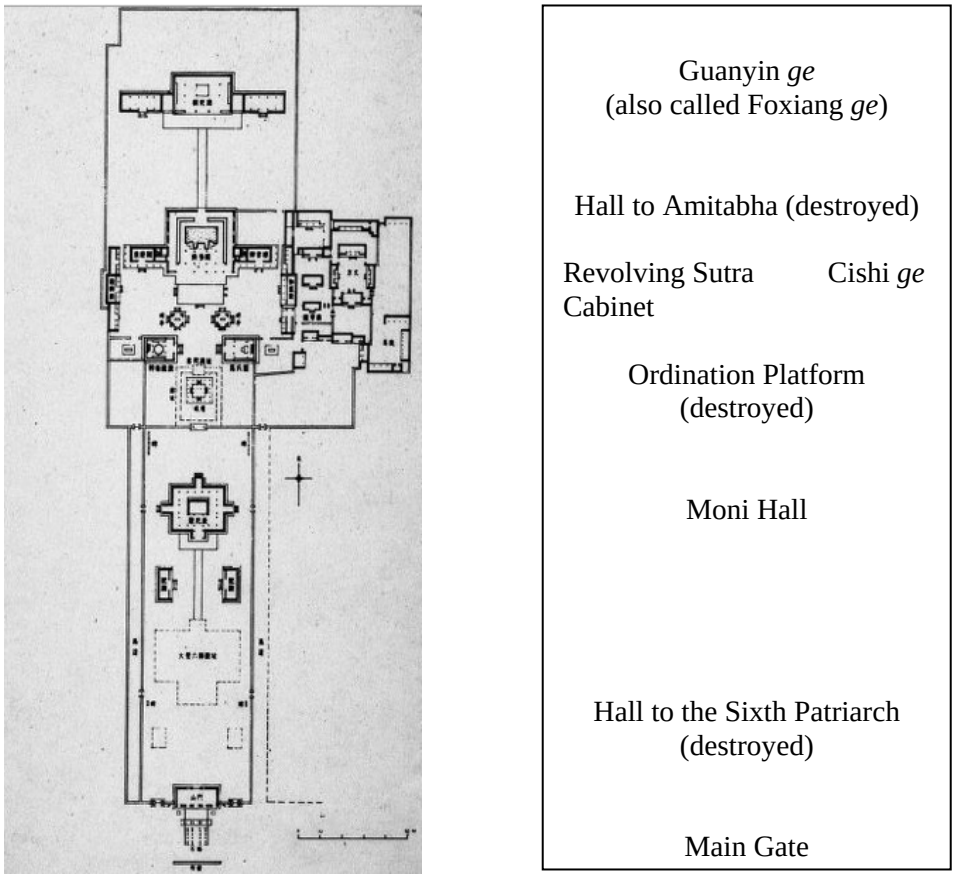

Fig. 4. Longxingsi plan showing Guanyin *ge* at rear of axis [After Steinhardt, *Liao Architecture*, 193].

[41] Guo, "Diliu Zhang: Zongjiao Jianzhu," 257.

[42] "[大悲閣] 原有東西兩側的御書樓, 集定閣相連, 形成一組气勢壯觀的群閣, 詁 1944 年重修時, 詁拆毀了兩側的御書樓和集慶閣, 大悲閣也較前縮小了三分之一," Cheng, "Zhengding Longxing Si," 93.

The construction of the magnificent Guanyin *ge* by the Han family at Dulesi a mere thirteen years after the towering Dabeige at Longxingsi was built may have, in fact, played a large role in the regional politics between the Liao and Song of that time. Considering their geographic proximity, both in modern-day Hebei province, an association between the two monasteries seems reasonable:

> It has been suggested that knowledge of the bronze image of the bodhisattva in the Longxingsi pavilion was an impetus for the construction (or reconstruction in 984) of the Guanyin Pavilion at Dulesi. The relationship is logical. Assuming the Dulesi builders were aware of Longxingsi, even though the image in Guanyinge was not quite as tall as the Northern Song statue, the later construction of the Liao pavilion around its image signified a competitive relationship between Liao and Song, one in which religious sculpture and architecture were symbolic expressions of the power struggle.[43]

By positioning the multi-storied Guanyinge in a prominent, isolated location at the front of the central axis at Dulesi—instead of at the rear, flanked by two other multi-storied towers as at Longxingsi—the Han family, in association with the Liao Khitan, were perhaps symbolically projecting their political dominance over the Song through the impressive statue of Guanyin and its worship hall, as well as further connecting themselves with the Liao imperial house through the association with Guanyin.

Tenth-Century Monasteries with Guanyin Halls in the South

As witnessed by the Liao dynasty patronage of Guanyin halls in the north, the great rise in the worship of Guanyin during the tenth century can be viewed, to a large extent, as a product of the political support of Buddhism by the Liao rulers. Similarly, the particularly ardent devotion to Buddhism by the rulers of the southern coastal kingdom, Wuyue (907 to 978), during the same time is considered to have been crucial in fostering the Guanyin cult in the south. The kingdom of Wuyue controlled what is now the Zhejiang/Jiangsu area during the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period. Several

[43] Steinhardt, *Liao Architecture*, 195.

generations of Wuyue rulers belonging to the Qian lineage, beginning with Qian Liu 錢鏐 (King Wusu 武肅王), the first king of the Wuyue dynasty, were devout Buddhists who established numerous monasteries throughout their domain. During the Wuyue period China's southeastern coast remained relatively peaceful, especially in contrast to the war-ridden northern territories of the same period. This peace, combined with a growing economy and a religiously supportive environment allowed for Buddhism to thrive greatly in the southeast.

The connection between the Qian family and the spreading of the Guanyin cult is largely a result of two major factors. The first began with a dream. In a story recorded in the gazetteer of the Upper Tianzhu Monastery (*Hangzhou Shang Tianzhu zhi* 杭州上天竺志), in the early tenth century, Qian Liu, before he was king of Wuyue, dreamed of a woman in white who told him that she would protect him and his descendants if he was compassionate and did not kill others. She indicated that he could find her on Mount Tianzhu in Hangzhou twenty years later. When he became king, Qian Liu again dreamed of the woman clad in white. This time she asked him for a place to stay and, in return, she offered to be the patron deity of his kingdom. When he later went in search of the monastery of his dream on Mount Tianzhu, Qian Liu found that there was only one monastery that enshrined an image of the White Robed manifestation of Guanyin. He therefore gave his patronage to that monastery and established it under the name Tianzhu Kanjing Yuan 天竺看經院 (Cloister for the Reading Scriptures at Tianzhu). This was the former name for what is now called the Upper Tianzhu Monastery, one of the two most important pilgrimage centers for the worship of Guanyin in China.[44]

The second major factor in the particularly fervent worship of Guanyin in southeastern China was the revival of Tiantai Buddhism at the end of the tenth century. The Tiantai sect concentrates on the teachings outlined in the Lotus Sutra, in which

[44] This account is paraphrased from Chun-fang Yu's description. See Yü, *Kuanyin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokitesvara*, 182. It is originally from *Hangzhou Shang Tianzhusi zhi* 杭州上天竺寺志 (Gazetteer of Upper Tianzhu Monastery of Hangzhou), compiled by Shi Guangbin 釋廣賓 in the Ming dynasty.

Guanyin played a central role as the Savior from Perils.[45] King Zhongyi 忠懿王 (Qian Chu 錢俶, 928–998), one of the most locally influential and religiously devout of the Qian rulers, is credited with reestablishing Tiantai Buddhism in the Wuyue region. As the story goes, around fifty years after the fall of the Tang dynasty, Qian Chu heard that doctrinal writings, particularly commentaries on the Lotus Sutra, by the founder of the Tiantai sect in China, Zhiyi 智顗, had been lost largely during the Hui Chang Buddhist persecution in 845. He was so deeply saddened over this news that he sent an envoy to Korea to recover the writings. The historical record, *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀,[46] describes the event: one day King Zhongyi sat down in his grand lecture hall to receive a teaching on Zhiyi's writings from the Fifteenth Patriarch of Tiantai Buddhism, Louqi Xiji.[47] Upon hearing that the Tiantai texts were incomplete, King Zhongyi "felt saddened and sent envoys carrying precious jewels to Korea and Japan to obtain the lost texts. As a result of this [mission], the teachings and texts of the [Tiantai] School once again enjoyed complete prosperity."[48]

Following the recovery of the scriptures, Tiantai Buddhism began to expand—marked by the rapid erection of monasteries and accumulation of monks and lay devotees—throughout the Wuyue region. The great extent to which the Qian rulers sponsored the building of monasteries during this time is recorded in the *Guiji Gazetteer* 会稽志: "Since the Five Dynasties period the [number of] monasteries has greatly flourished. The [great number of] monasteries and monks in the Jiangnan regions of

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[45] Angela Falco Howard, "Royal Patronage of Buddhist Art in Tenth Century Wu Yueh," *Bulletin-Ostasiatiska museet* 57 (1995), 13.

[46] *Fozu Tongji* 佛祖統級 (A General Chronicle on the Buddha and the Patriarchs) was compiled by Zhipan in 1269. David W. Chappell, ed., *T'ien-T'ai Buddhism: An Outline of the Fourfold Teachings, Recorded by Korean Buddhist Monk, Chegwan, Transl. By the Buddhist Translation Seminar of Hawaii* (Tokyo: Daiichi-Shobo, 1983), 18.

[47] Ibid., 26.

[48] Ibid.

Wuyue, Min, and Chu, cannot be successfully proven.[49] Today our group has gone to investigate this situation in the prefectures. The various temples and *e*[50] that have been established since the Liang [dynasty] Kaiping [emperor][51] were all [established] during the Qian clan reign."[52] Even though Guanyin was an important part of the Tiantai sect, and even though it was under the aegis of the Qian rulers—who worshiped Guanyin as their patron deity—that Tiantai monasteries spread the Guanyin cult throughout the southeast, not every Tiantai monastery necessarily had an independent hall dedicated to Guanyin. Conversely, not all monasteries with Guanyin halls belonged to the Tiantai sect.

The flexibility in allowing monasteries of various Buddhist sects to house Guanyin halls is reflected in the ground plans of three early-thirteenth-century monasteries that were preserved at Tofukuji in Japan.[53] They are Tiantong Monastery 天童寺 outside modern Ningbo (Fig. 5), Lingyin Monastery 靈隱寺 outside Hangzhou, and Wannian Monastery 万年寺 on Mount Tiantai in Zhejiang province (Fig. 6). While both Tiantongsi and Lingyinsi are associated with the Chan sect, Wanniansi is a Tiantai

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[49] Wuyue, Min, and Chu are, respectively, modern Jiangsu and Zhejiang, Fujian, and Hunan.

[50] *E* 額 are official monastery name plaques that were usually displayed over the main gates of the monastery. The bestowal of such plaques by the government was the mechanism by which monasteries were controlled through official sanction.

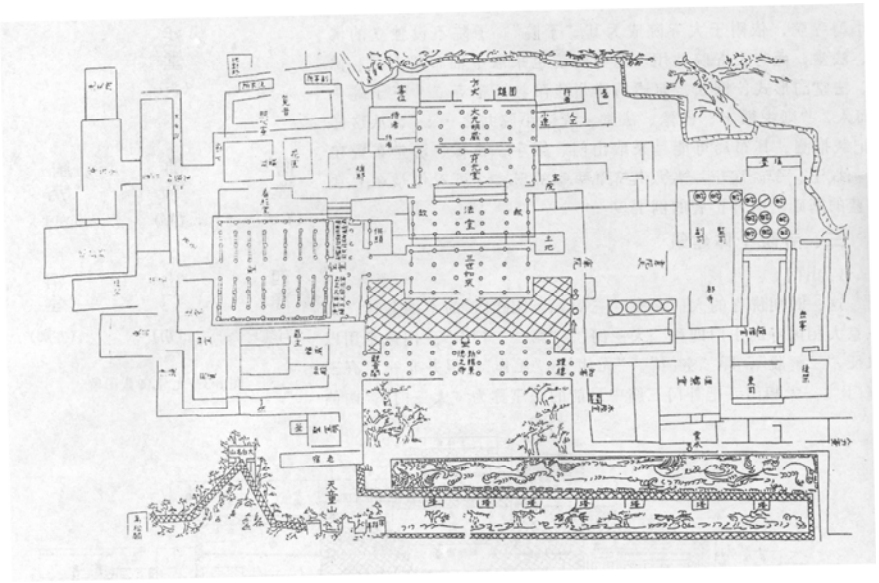
[51] Reigned 907–910.

[52] "五代以來寺院特盛江南吳越閩楚建寺度僧不可勝計今以□稽一郡攷之凡梁開平以後稱造某寺賜某額皆錢氏割據時為之." et al. Shisu, *Guiji Zhi*, Reprinted in Siku Quanshu Shibu (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), Vol. 7.

[53] These ground plans are published in Zhang Shiqing, *Wushan Shicha Yu Nansong Jiangsu Chansi* (Nanjing: Dongnan daxue chubanshe, 1999), 38–46.

monastery. Nonetheless, their ground plans are essentially the same.[54] Arranged from south to north along the central axis of each of these monasteries is a main gate 山門, a Buddha hall 佛殿, a dharma hall 法堂, and either one or two abbots' halls 方丈. However, in examining the ways in which the monasteries exhibit their devotion to the bodhisattva Guanyin, subtle distinctions in their planning become evident.

[54] T. Griffith Foulk, "Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice in Sung Ch'an Buddhism," in *Religion and Society in T'ang and Sung China*, ed. Patrica Buckley Ebrey and Peter Gregory (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), 167.



	Abbots' Hall	
	Great Bright Light Hall	
	Quiet Light Hall	
Ancestral Hall	Dharma Hall	Small Hall for Local God
Monks' Hall	Main Hall	Storage
Guanyin *ge*	Main Gate	Clock Tower

Fig. 5. Song Dynasty Ground Plan of Tiantong Monastery. The Guanyin pavilion is at the left of the central axis opposite the main gate and the clock tower [After Zhang Shiqing, *Wushan Shicha Yu Nansong Jiangsu Chansi* (Nanjing: Dongnan daxue chubanshe, 1999), 38–46].

The ground plan of Tiantongsi shows a Guanyin *ge* at the front of the west north-south axis, on an east-west axis with the main gate and multi-storied clock tower. The odd placement of this pavilion on the western axis at the front of the monastery plan, instead of along the central axis with the most important buildings, suggests that the hall was designated as a Guanyin pavilion in a kind of make-shift fashion after the original

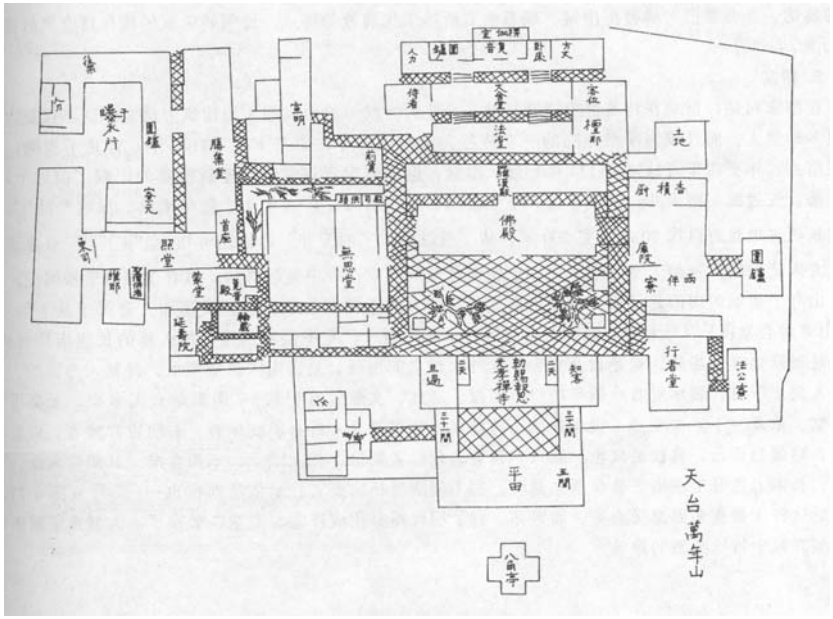
monastery plan was already in place; perhaps another structure was converted to a Guanyin hall during the tenth century in order to accommodate the fast-growing cult of Guanyin and the number of pilgrims coming to worship the bodhisattva. In support of this assumption, Daniel Stevenson notes that independent halls not originally part of the monastic design were often constructed in and around monasteries to serve as centers to promote popular Buddhist cults to the laity.[55] Other seemingly atypical dedications of buildings in the Song-dynasty Tiantongsi plan, such as the small hall for a local deity (*tudi tang* 土地堂), also substantiate the notion that these halls were later additions to the monastery plans intended for the local laity, not the monastic community.

At Wanniansi the Guanyin hall is located at the rear of the central axis pushed together with the Lengqie (?) room 楞伽室 and the abbot's hall 方丈. Again, in looking at the ground plan alone we do not know what purpose this building served, but like the hall at Tiantongsi it was probably used for the exclusive worship of the bodhisattva Guanyin. Finally, at Lingyinsi Guanyin may not have been venerated in a hall, but rather, in two nine-storied, octagonal pagodas erected in 960 that still stand in front of the main hall. Carved on the lowest stories of these pagodas are exquisite standing images of Guanyin.[56] The general consistency of the buildings along the main axis of these ground plans suggests a formula for monastery planning at that time and in that regcategorized by Guo Daiheng as the fifth, or *qielan*, plan type, mostly associated with Chan monasteries of the Southern Song that are located in the Jiangnan region. However, the adaptability in reassigning certain halls to certain deities is clearly evidenced in the layout of the monasteries above, suggesting that at these monasteries Guanyin halls were later

[55] Daniel B. Stevenson, "Protocols of Power: Tz'u-Yun Tsun-Shi (964–1032) and T'ien-T'ai Lay Buddhist Ritual in the Song," in *Buddhism in the Sung*, ed. Jr. Peter N. Gregory and Daniel A. Getz (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), 390–91. Stevenson writes that these halls were meant as public monastic institutions and as such were often funded and administered by lay patrons. Public worship halls for Guanyin "sprouted up" throughout the southeast during the Southern Song dynasty, and many were "doubtlessly inspired by similar halls at major cultic centers such as the Upper Tianzhu Monastery in Hangzhou."

[56] Howard, "Royal Patronage of Buddhist Art in Tenth Century Wu Yueh," 13.

modifications of the original monastery plan, which accompanied the fast growing cult of Guanyin beginning in the tenth century.



Abbots' Hall and Guanyin Hall

Dashe 大舍 Hall

Lecture Hall

Luohan Hall

Monks' Hall Buddha Hall Storage

Main Gate

Fig. 6. Song dynasty ground plan for Wannian Monastery showing a hall dedicated to Guanyin at the very rear of the central axis [Zhang Shiqing, *Wushan Shicha Yu Nansong Jiangsu Chansi* (Nanjing: Dongnan daxue chubanshe, 1999), 38–46].

As mentioned previously, the Upper Tianzhu monastery in the Wuyue capital of Hangzhou was one of the two most important pilgrimage centers for the bodhisattva,

likely attracting many thousands of pilgrims every year on account of its famed numinously potent statue of Guanyin.[57] In order for such a great number of people to come to worship the bodhisattva, the monastery must originally have had an independent hall dedicated exclusively to a Guanyin image. Unfortunately, neither structures dating from the tenth century nor written records corroborate this plan. To my knowledge, the earliest plan of the Upper Tianzhu monastery survives in a woodblock print in its gazetteer, dating from 1888 (Fig. 7). In this image we can plainly see a two-storied structure at the front of the monastery plan designated as a Guanyin hall. Again, although there is no way of knowing if this accurately reflects the tenth-century design, textual accounts about the importance of the statue of Guanyin to this monastery, and the great number of pilgrims that came to Upper Tianzhu monastery to worship this statue seem to support the existence of at least one Guanyin hall somewhere in the monastery design, probably in the most prominent position at the front of the central axis.

Fig. 7. Plan of Tianzhu Monastery showing the Guanyin Pavilion at the front of the central axis, behind the Main Gate (originally from 1888 gazetteer) [After Gregory, *Buddhism in the Sung*, 306].

[57] Chün-fang Yü writes that no origin story of this statue survives in the Tianzhu Monastery gazetteer. See Yü, *Kuanyin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokitesvara*, 361.

Assuming that the story of Qian Liu dreaming of a woman in white appearing before him and his subsequent patronage of the Tianzhu monastery is not entirely apocryphal, the origin of the association of this monastery with Guanyin began here. From this point on, a great number of miraculous stories of the bodhisattva attest to the alleged power of Tianzhu Monastery as a holy site and of Guanyin as a miracle-performing deity. In 939, for instance, not long after Qian Liu gave his patronage to Tianzhusi, the monastery was again revived under the monk Daoyi. As recorded in the Tianzhu gazetteer, Daoyi once found a piece of wood in a stream from which shone a bright light. When he took it to be carved into a statue of Guanyin, the craftsman cut into the wood and suddenly discovered that there was already an image of the bodhisattva inside.[58]

In another instance, when Zhang Quhua 張去華, who was the prefect of Hangzhou from 997 to 999, learned about the miraculous statue of Guanyin housed in the Upper Tianzhu monastery, he decided to pray to Guanyin in the hope of curing a persistent five-month-long drought in Hangzhou. He personally accompanied the image of Guanyin to the Fantian monastery and prayed for rain. In the end, his prayers were answered. Thereupon praying to the bodhisattva was instituted as a mandatory government ritual for preventing natural disasters. This miracle led the city government to significantly expand the Upper Tianzhu monastery plan.[59]

Monastery founding stories similar to that of Qian Liu's dream are recorded in other monastery histories in the Wuyue capital of Hangzhou during the tenth century. For instance, as Chün-fang Yü notes, three tenth-century temples were later restored or enlarged from an *an* 庵 (shrine) to a *yuan* 院 (monastery) as a result of their association with miraculous images of Guanyin, specifically the White-robed manifestation:

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[58] Ibid., 182–84.

[59] Chi-chiang Huang, "Elite and Clergy in Northern Song Hangzhou: A Convergence of Interest," in *Buddhism in the Sung*, ed. Jr. Peter N. Gregory and Daniel A. Getz (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), 305.

1. Guanyin Fazhi Yuan was first built in the Tianfu era (936–947). It was burned down during the Chinyan era (1127–1130). But when a monk saw a divine light one night and found an image of the White-robed Guanyin among the rubble, the temple was restored.

2. Baoyan Yuan was first built in 967 when a resident of the province gave his house as its site. In the Zhenghe era (1111–1117) the abbot dreamt of a heavenly being wearing white clothing and he gave the temple over to Guanyin worship exclusively, intuitively taking the white-clad person to be the White-robed Guanyin.

3. Jiuxiang Yuan was built in 1187 as a result of the monk Mingzi's dream of Guanyin in white."[60]

Finally, as discussed above, statues of Guanyin were known to attract devotees to monasteries after being enshrined in public halls. In many cases, abbots of monasteries would deliberately commission statues to be housed in their monasteries in order to increase the lay Buddhist community, and to propagate faith. For example, the Southern Song dynasty monk, Ciyun Zunshi 慈雲遵式 (964–1032), who was a fervent, almost evangelical supporter of Tiantai Buddhism, ordered the creation of a Guanyin statue in the year 999 and requested that it be enshrined at Baoyun Monastery 寶雲寺 in Ningbo. This image was specifically commissioned by Zunshi in order to "promote the bodhisattva [Guanyin's] beneficent influence among the populace." [61] Zunshi had expressed concern that most of the Tiantai teachings were directed towards the monastic community and were little known among the lay community. The Baoyun Guanyin statue

[60] Yü, *Kuanyin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokitesvara*, 254.

[61] Stevenson, "Protocols of Power: Tz'u-Yun Tsun-Shi (964–1032) and T'ien-T'ai Lay Buddhist Ritual in the Song," 345.

was therefore seen as a way to circulate Tiantai belief in Guanyin among the laity by virtue of being an easily accessible symbol of divinity for worship.

Conclusion

By examining the placement of the Guanyin hall within major, large-scale monasteries of the tenth century in China, several fundamental reasons for enshrining Guanyin within an independent hall in the monastery plan have come to the forefront. First, miracle stories of Guanyin being enshrined within a hall after rescuing somebody from a perilous situation reveal that such statues were recognized as having qualities of compassion and protection that could aid people who worshiped them. A monastery provided such statues with a permanent and, moreover, public place to worship. Second, in the examples of the tenth-century Liao monasteries Dulesi, Fengguosi, and Guangjisi, the prominent position of a multi-storied structure enshrining Guanyin at the front of the central axis may have been employed to symbolically project Liao political power outside the monastery walls. At Dulesi, housing a Guanyin statue in the magnificent pavilion may, similarly, have been a deliberate decision on the part of Han Kuangsi to honor and showcase his close connection with the Liao imperial family, who worshipped Guanyin as their patron family deity. Emperor Taizong apparently constructed a Guanyin hall in his native homeland for private use by himself and his family after recognizing that the powerful bodhisattva had provided him information about an important military strategy.

In the south—under the guidance of those unlimited supporters of Buddhism, the Qian kings of Wuyue—Buddhism, and along with it the cult of Guanyin, was able to spread throughout both the monastic and lay communities. Stories of numinous statues were often the impetus for establishing or expanding monasteries, as we have seen in several examples including that of the Upper Tianzhu monastery. By the same token, abbots such as Zunshi often commissioned statues to be housed in their monasteries in order to spread Buddhist worship outside of the monastic clergy and into the laity. This gesture reveals the well-known potential for Guanyin statues and halls to advertise a monastery by attracting pilgrims and possible donors to worship, further spreading the

cult of Guanyin. Finally, as we have seen in the Southern Song monastery plans of Tiantongsi, Lingyinsi, and Wanniansi, halls dedicated to Guanyin were often built in seemingly unusual positions within the monastic layout, such as on the western axis at the front of the monastery. These halls probably were converted to Guanyin worship spaces to accommodate the ever-growing demands of the cult of Guanyin.

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