

## THE BLUE FUDŌ, A PAINTING OF THE FUJIWARA PERIOD

*By Sherwood F. Moran*

This large painting of Fudō Myō-ō, owned by the temple Shōren'in, Kyōto, and popularly known as Aofudō (Blue Fudō), is a designated National Treasure, one that expresses in an outstanding way the characteristic beauty of the Fujiwara (Late Heian) period (897-1187) (figs. 1-3).

The Westerner, in looking at the main figure in this painting, with its fearsome face and glowering expression, if unacquainted with certain aspects of the iconography of Buddhist art, may be at first repelled, and wonder why 'art' must deal with such a subject. The question may even rise in his mind, What has this to do with the much-lauded charm and beauty of Fujiwara art?<sup>1</sup>

But it should always be remembered that in Buddhist art, just as has been the case with so much of the Christian art

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1. It is a mistake to assume that this problem is confined only to Westerners. Many modern Japanese themselves, with little or no background in the arts, and with scant interest in or sympathy with the hoary traditions of Buddhism and its art, have little admiration or liking for certain phases of Buddhist art, and are even repelled by it. It might also be added that some years ago, when the writer was visiting a certain American museum that possessed a goodly number of Chinese paintings of a high order, the Curator remarked to him that it had been his experience that many of the Chinese paintings seemed just as "queer" to the ordinary run of Chinese students and other visitors from China who passed through the museum as they did to the majority of Americans who tramped through the galleries.

of the West, the artist was bound by certain canons and formulas, some of them of great antiquity. These were his rules of the game, as it were. If this be recognized, the viewer of a painting such as this can settle back and look at it with discrimination. He will be interested to see exactly what the artist has been able to do with the job in hand, circumscribed as he was by fixed conventions.

Fudō means literally “not moving,” or “immovable.”<sup>2</sup> In Chinese the name is *Pu-tung-fo*; in Sanskrit, *Acala*. Fudō Myō-ō in Sanskrit is *Acalantha*. In Japan, Fudō is thought of as a form of Dainichi Nyorai (*Vairocana*).

Myō-ō is a title applied to certain gods in the esoteric sects (*mikkyō*), that is, Shingon and Tendai, especially the former. They represent the power of Buddha to conquer evil. Five of them are especially important, being known as *Godai Myō-ō* (“Five Great Myō-ō” or “Five Great Enlightened Kings”) or *Godaison*. Fudō is one of the five, being the most important. They correspond to manifestations of Śiva. They were unknown in Japanese Buddhist art until the great Kōbō Daishi (Kūkai) returned to Japan from T’ang China in 806 with the teachings of the esoteric Shingon (Chinese, *Chen-yen*) sect, a late form of Indian Tantric Buddhism (Sanskrit, *Mantrayāna*), which was considerably mixed with Hindu elements.

It should be noted that although the deity Fudō originated in India, so far as is known no representation of him from that country remains.

And it should be added that although it was in China that

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2. Interestingly enough, the Japanese word for “real estate,” *fudōsan*, is a combination of this same *fudō*, and *san*, this latter meaning “property,” “assets,” *i. e.*, “immovable property.”

the conception of the god was developed to the point of becoming the most important of the Five Great Myō-ō, very few Chinese examples of the image are known to exist. A stone Fudō in the Chicago Natural History Museum (formerly the Field Museum of Natural History) is one of the rare examples that has come to light in China.<sup>3</sup> It seems to be of the early

3. This statue was acquired for the Museum by Dr. Berthold Laufer during the Blackstone Expedition, 1908-1910. It was found in the village of Yangkia, a few miles north of Hsian. Cf. Yukio Yashiro, "Tō Sekichō Fudō Myōōzō," in *Bijutsu Kenkyū*, No. 71 (Nov. 1937) (in Japanese).

In the Tōkyō National Museum is a bronze hand bell, of the type used in Buddhist services, that was found in Korea but is considered to be a product of middle or late T'ang. Though a number of such bells of the same period have turned up in Japan and Korea (none has been discovered in China), this one of the Tōkyō National Museum is the largest, finest and most interesting. On its surface are figures in high relief (*taka-ukibori*) of the Five Myō-ō. These are rather crudely executed, but the representation of Fudō shows a number of familiar features. *illus.* Yukio Yashiro, *op. cit.* pl. V.

At Tun-huang there are figures in certain of the wall paintings that may possibly represent Fudō. Three are noted below, as illustrated in *Mission Pelliot*, "Les Grottes de Touen-Houang," Paris, 1920, as follows:

- (1) Vol. II, pl. CXXVIII. Here is shown (in Cave 72) a large central figure, seated, with nine smaller figures, seated, on either side. Of the nine on the left side, the next to the lowest figure has flames as a background, and holds a sword upright in the right hand. The left arm is bent, with the forearm swinging out to the figure's left, and the left hand is held in a very relaxed manner, both of which features, as we shall see later in this article, are typical of many representations of Fudō. As far as can be made out, this hand does not seem to be holding anything.
- (2) In the same wall painting cited above, of the nine figures on the right side, the right figure of the pair in the third row holds a sword upright in the right hand; the left forearm swings out to the side slightly, with the hand held out in a relaxed manner. The hand does not seem to be holding anything. However, there are no flames as a background to this figure.
- (3) Vol. III, pl. CXXXI. There is a large seated central figure, with seven seated figures on either side. On the left side, the outer figure of the pair next to the lowest two, holds a sword upright in the right hand; the left forearm swings out to the figure's left, and the left hand is relaxed. The hand does not seem to be holding anything. There are flames for a background.

T'ang period. Though a provincial piece of no great artistic merit, it has a number of typical features of the representation of Fudō as known in Japan.

In Manchuria, in a Lamaist temple of Ch'ao Yang, the late Japanese scholar, Ryūzō Torii, discovered a stone image of Fudō in 1933 (fig. 5), which he considered to be a product of the Liao dynasty (907-1125).<sup>4</sup> Though of later date than the stone Fudō of the Chicago museum, and decidedly a provincial product, it, too, is of real value for purposes of comparison.

Unquestionably many figures of Fudō must have been made in China. Numerous Japanese literary references tell us of the various eager and observing monks who visited T'ang China in the ninth century, bringing back with them statues and paintings, and also collections of black and white drawings, or "model books" (*fumpon*), as iconographic standards. Among such priests were eight particularly famous, referred to as *Nittō Hakka*. Outstanding among these were Kōbō Daishi, already referred to, Saichō (Dengyō Daishi), Ennin (Jikaku Daishi), and Enchin (Chishō Daishi). The latter, in particular, definitely refers to Fudō images in China. However, detailed discussion of this matter in this article would carry us too far afield.<sup>5</sup>

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4. See Ryūzō Torii, *Ryōdai no Bunka wo Saguru* (in Japanese), Tokyo, 1937, pp. 251-253. Dr. Torii points out that up to the time of his discovery of this statue, Japanese scholars, such as Seigai Ōmura, considered that there was absolutely no figure of Fudō in China, but that now the discovery of this statue must cause their opinion to be completely reversed.

5. For a detailed consideration of this whole problem of the relation of the Fudō image in Japan to China and India, see "Fudō Myō-ō no Hyōgen ni tsuite," by Ryūken Sawa, in *Kokka*, Nos. 650-652 (1941) (in Japanese; summaries in English). In this scholarly study, Sawa does seem mistaken, however, in identifying a statue in the Tourane Museum (now known as the Cham Museum), in Da-Nang, in what is now South Viet-Nam, as an

Fudō is actually a beneficent character, but this is hidden behind a terrifying exterior, a typical feature of Shingon art. His angry and ferocious countenance is directed against evil-doers. The sword he holds in his right hand, and the rope in his left, are two of his important attributes representing, respectively, the power to smite the wicked, and to control (bind) the guilty; implicit in the symbolism is the power to control the passions and worldly desires of the evil heart. The flames surrounding him represent his power to destroy evil.

Fudō is sometimes depicted, as he is in this painting, with two boy attendants, known in Japanese as Kongara Dōji and Seitaka Dōji. *Dōji* means “boy” or “youth.”<sup>6</sup>

It is not the purpose of this article to deal in any detail with the maze of Shingon theology and iconography, either in general or in connection with this Blue Fudō; rather, the painting as a work of art is the central interest of this study.

It should be mentioned, however, that the Shingon sect had a profound influence on Japanese art, particularly in the Jōgan (Early Heian) period (794-897), though this influence con-

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example of Śiva in the form of Acala (Fudō) (see *Kokka*, No. 650, p. 18). (I, myself, had formerly accepted Sawa's opinion, and referred to this statue in the Cham Museum as an example of Fudō, in my original article in *Arts Asiatiques*.) The French scholar, Jean Boisselier, in his article, “A propos de l'identification d'un ‘Acala’ Cham,” in *Arts Asiatiques*, tome IX, fasc. 1-2, 1962-1963, pp. 81-86, takes strong issue with this identification, pointing out, quite convincingly, that it cannot be considered to be a statue of Acala (Fudō). See also the article by Marie-Thérèse de Mallman, “Notes d'iconographie tantrique, III. A propos du ‘Fudō bleu’”, in the same issue of *Arts Asiatiques* as M. Boisselier's article, in which she takes the same position.

6. C. Eliot, in *Japanese Buddhism*, p. 348, states that Kongara is a youth and Seitaka is an old man. However, so far as Japanese art is concerned, this does not seem to be the case.

tinued to a considerable extent far past that period. In the Shingon doctrine, art was considered one of the most important channels of expression and instruction, even of abstract truth. Symbolic meaning rather than realistic expression was a dominant feature of this art.

In Japanese art there are three paintings of Fudō that are especially famous :

(1) The Yellow Fudō (*Kifudō*)<sup>7</sup> of Onjōji (Miidera), near Kyōto; of the Jōgan period; a “secret Buddha” (*hibutsu*); practically never shown.

(2) The Red Fudō (*Akafudō*) of Myōōin, Kōyasan, one of the most famous paintings in Japan; a “secret Buddha” ordinarily exhibited but one day a year. Formerly thought to be a Jōgan painting, it is now considered by many scholars to be later, some putting it even as late as the Kamakura period (1185-1392) (fig. 4).<sup>8</sup>

(3) The Blue Fudō.

We shall have occasion later to refer to the first two paintings.

The Blue Fudō painting is on silk, its dimensions being 205×150cm (6ft. 8½in. × 4ft. 10⅞in.).<sup>9</sup>

Let us consider the painting in detail. At the very start it

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7. Illus. *Pageant of Japanese Art*, I, p. 26.

8. For example Toyomune Minamoto, a few years after the publication of his book, *Nihon Bijutsushi Zuroku* (translated by Henderson as “*Illustrated History of Japanese Art*”), in which this Akafudō is stated to be of the Jōgan period, remarked to the writer that since the publication of the book, he had come to believe the painting to be much later, in fact, to be as late as the end of the Kamakura period. This is one of the extremer views.

9. Measurements by the author.

should be said that no adequate study, or even reasonably true impression of the painting can be had simply by viewing it as ordinarily exhibited, that is, behind glass, or in any but a bright light. This is due partly to the bad condition of the painting, but also to the dark tone of the blue of the Fudō, particularly the face. Furthermore, the detailed designs on the garments of the three figures, all in refined Fujiwara taste, would be largely unnoticed without a close-up inspection in a good light.<sup>10</sup> It is also true that this is a painting that is difficult to photograph satisfactorily, even under the most favorable conditions of light.

There is considerable gold in the painting, as we shall see, but all of it is *kindei*, *i. e.*, gold that is painted on, rather than *kirikane*, finely cut gold leaf. This is rather exceptional in Fujiwara art, both in sculpture and in painting, where gold decoration was usually cut gold, and of exquisite workmanship. The Fujiwara charm of this Blue Fudō painting, however, is due primarily to its color and to the delightful patterns on the costumes.

### Background

The background is a rich, dark brown. In the middle area, right across from side to side, it is almost a golden brown; in the upper and lower sections, from side to side, it is much darker.

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10. The detailed description of this painting contained in this article is based not only on a number of lengthy studies of the painting when on ordinary exhibition at museums, but in addition, a special viewing of it all morning in the bright sunlight of the photograph room of the Kyōto National Museum; and on another occasion an all-day special viewing of it in the photograph room of the Nara National Museum. As a result of these two latter viewings, some of the opinions and results noted in former viewings were changed, modified and added to.

## General impression

It is a picture of flames! They are the first thing that strikes the eye, a brilliant display of orange and red. The blue of the body of Fudō, and the green of the pedestal are a very poor second and third. Even in a bright light, the blue of the figure of Fudō does not enter the eye at all at first, but later the blue of the arms and upper body shows up quite beautifully, but the face is hardly visible.

## The flames

The flames are a bright orange, a rich, blood red, and a golden brown, shading off in a few places into a darker brown. There is also a certain amount of white. This white shows up much more brightly in a photograph than in the painting itself. Some of the flame shapes are simply *sumi* (India ink) to represent smoke; and even the orange and red areas have *sumi* in flame shapes painted under them to indicate smoke.

The flames are not outlined at all, being just masses of color. In a very bright light they seem all the more full of life and motion. We can almost imagine they have heat. Though of a far different technique and tradition, there is an almost El Greco agitation about them.<sup>11</sup> While naturalistic to a marked degree, they have an eerie quality. In certain areas these flames whirl like pin wheels, taking a form almost like the Buddhist Wheel of the Law design. There are also seven places where

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11. It would of course be absurd to dwell unduly on this slight similarity. For whereas, in this painting of Fudō, it is the flames alone, *as flames*, that are depicted in the particular way described, the rest of the painting being rendered in an entirely different manner, El Greco utilizes his method to give a quivering, swirling, flame-like quality to all his forms without exception, in order to achieve a certain emotional effect.





Fig. 1. Aofudō (Blue Fudō)  
Shōren'in, Fujiwara Period



Fig. 2. Aofudō (Blue Fudō) Detail



Fig. 3. Aofudō (Blue Fudō) Detail



Fig. 4. Akafudō (Red Fudō)  
Myōōin, Kōyasan, Late Fujiwara Period ( ? )

the flames seem almost to have two eyes. In two such cases, on either side of the pedestal, the flame seems to peep out viciously like an inquisitive demon.

Flames in Japanese art, as a background for Buddhist figures, are of course a feature taken over from Chinese art. The practice did not have its origin in India, being purely Chinese. A number of Chinese Buddhist bronze statues as early as the fifth century,<sup>12</sup> and a great deal of the fifth century sculpture of Yün-kang, show already highly developed flame patterns. In fact, in pre-Buddhist art, we see dynamic, darting flame-like patterns as early as the first century A.D., *e. g.*, the fragments of a decorated lacquer box from Shansi.<sup>13</sup> There is somewhat the same thing on fragments of another lacquered box from Loyang.<sup>14</sup>

From the Asuka period on, flames have been a very common motif in Japanese art. The numerous examples to be seen in the nimbuses and mandorlas of Buddhist sculptural figures are too well-known to need special comment.<sup>15</sup> However, for purposes of comparison, it seems pertinent to make mention here of some of the more outstanding paintings of esoteric Buddhist art in which flames are a prominent feature of the background.

Strangely enough, in the oldest painting of Fudō as a solitary figure, the Yellow Fudō of Onjōji, which has already been referred to, there is no flame background at all, merely a slight

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12. See Sirén, *Chinese Sculpture*, II, pls. 16-A and C, and 147-A.

13. Illus. Sickman and Soper, *Art and Architecture of China*, pl. 25.

14. Illus. *University Prints*, Newton, Mass., 1938, pl. 0130.

15. For a study of the flames of certain special halos, cf. Moran, "The Statue of Miroku Bosatsu of Chūgūji," in *Artibus Asiae*, XXI, 3/4, pp. 193 (bottom) and 194, and pls. II, III and IV.

edging of flames around the nimbus.<sup>16</sup>

In the Red Fudō (fig. 4), already mentioned, the flames are not nearly so important a part of the painting as they are in the Blue Fudō. For one thing, the flames of the former act as a background only from the waist of the figure upward, whereas those of the Blue Fudō extend from far above the head down to the very base of the pedestal. As a result, these flames give the impression of overwhelming everything else in the picture; the flames in the Red Fudō have a more modest place in the total design. Then, too, the Blue Fudō painting is considerably larger than the Red Fudō, which adds to the magnificent effect of the flames of the former painting. (The Red Fudō is 164.8×95.8cm [5ft. 11in. × 3ft. 1½in.]).<sup>17</sup>

But it is in the treatment of the flames that the most important differences may be noted. In the Red Fudō, the flames, though painted in beautiful patterns, are much more conventional. It may even be said that they are quite similar to the flames we see in *wooden* mandorlas of Buddhist sculpture (not that they are painted in a “wooden” manner, however). In fact, the flames of this Red Fudō swing out somewhat to the front over the head of the figure exactly as they often do in the case of wooden mandorlas. On the other hand, the flames

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16. As has already been stated, this painting is practically never shown. It is a “Secret Buddha” in the strictest sense of the word. The writer has never seen it. However, some time during the Heian period, an exact copy of it was made (a pedestal being added), and this copy is exhibited from time to time; in fact, it was one of the paintings in the Exhibition of Japanese Art that toured the United States in 1953. This ancient copy is itself, like the original, a designated National Treasure. It is owned by Manjuin temple, Kyōto. (Illus. *Pageant of Japanese Art*, I, p. 27.)

17. Measurements by the author.

of the Blue Fudō do not come to the front at all but are painted as though swept sideways by wind. This, together with the fact that they are much more realistic, licking, consuming flames, is what gives the Blue Fudō painting such a feeling of quivering movement, of excitement, as it were.

Another difference in the flames of these two paintings is the color, those of the Red Fudō totally lacking the brilliant orange and the white of the other painting. Those places where white now shows in the flames of the Red Fudō, which may be noted even in a photograph, are areas where the color has come off, exposing the underpainting. This gives the flames, in their present condition, a general whitish effect in some areas. However, judging from what color is left of these sadly damaged Red Fudō flames, we can say that there are really two sets of flames, different in shade and different in their method of drawing. On the one hand there are the main flames, those that act as the immediate background of the Fudō. These are, or were, a deep rich red, and a true black, this latter in some places shading into a very dark blackish brown where the *sumi* thins out over the general olive-green background of the painting. As we saw was the case with the Blue Fudō flames, there is also no outlining of these Red Fudō flames. This is the common method. However, the flames to the figure's right, painted as somewhat further away than the main flames, do have outlining — a clear black line; and these flames are an orange red, though most of this color has come off.<sup>18</sup>

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18. The writer was afforded special privileges for the study of this Red Fudō painting by the authorities of Myōōin, Kōyasan. He was able to study it close up, in detail, for a long period of time.

The three exceptionally large paintings, of an original set of five, known as Godairiki Bosatsu,<sup>19</sup> kept in the Reihōkan, Kōyasan, and owned by a group of temples, are typical esoteric Shingon paintings of the "furious" type.<sup>20</sup> They are considered to be of the Jōgan period. Each has flames that act as a background for the entire figure. These flames, while conventional and patternized, are full of life and fire. They consist of bands of light red with a yellowish tinge, alternating with bands of rich buff, though this latter color has now largely disappeared. The flames of these three paintings are by no means exactly alike; however, the flames of two of them are alike in that they have decided eddies. None of the flames in the three paintings has any outlining.

A Fudō painting of Jimokuji temple in Aichi prefecture, of the Fujiwara period, should be mentioned, being of special interest on account of its realistic flames, which act as a background for the entire figure of Fudō.<sup>21</sup>

Two sets of five paintings each, that are notable for their flames, are the Godaison of the Kyōto temples of Daigoji and Tōji (Kyōōgokokuji) respectively. They are late Fujiwara. All five of each set are what may be termed *gorgeously furious*. In the Daigoji set,<sup>22</sup> the flames take up almost the entire background of each painting and form the outstanding color im-

19. Two of the five were destroyed in a fire at Kōyasan in 1888.

20. All three are illus. *Pageant of Japanese Art*, I, p. 27; one is illus. Paine and Soper, *Art and Architecture of Japan*, pl. 33.

21. Illus. *Pageant of Japanese Art*, I, p. 28.

22. One of the five is illus. Tsuda, *Handbook of Japanese Art*, opp. p. 440; another one is illus. *Sekai Bijutsu Zenshū* (earlier series), XII, 93 (left). The Fudō is illus. in *Bukkyō Geijutsu (Ars Buddhica)*, No. 39 (June 1959), pub. Mainichi Shimbunsha, Tokyo.

pression : a predominance of rich blood red, with minor tones of darker and lighter red, and a certain amount of orange ; also tan and brown. It is these flames that first strike the eye, and to which even the furious posturings of the figures, and the considerable amount of gold decoration, are subordinate.

In the Godaison set of Tōji,<sup>23</sup> the flames, though acting as a full background for each figure, do not so nearly fill up the entire general background of the paintings as do those of the Daigoji set. Furthermore, they are far more regular in their general silhouette. The shape of the flames of all five paintings is almost exactly alike, each resembling, in a general way, the shape of a leaf. But though decidedly conventionalized, there is nothing humdrum about them. The dull red and tan of these flames, with their regular swirls, forms a pattern of great charm. When on exhibition, arranged in a row, these five paintings are a truly impressive sight.

But it is not only in esoteric Buddhist art that flames are often prominent and afford an interesting study in themselves. It is obvious that such painting of flames in Buddhist pictures from the Jōgan period on was a valuable preparation technically for the representation of flames in other types of painting. In some of the *makimono*, for example, so expressive of the zest for life and a racy realism, the vivid *genre* scenes of conflagrations, of punishments in hell (if that may be termed *genre*!) and the like, often have flames so lively and spectacular as to

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23. All five are illus. *Pageant of Japanese Art*, I, pp. 28-29, fig. 25. For a better illus. of one of them, see *Sekai Bijutsu Zenshū* (earlier series), XII, 93 (right).

deserve special mention. One naturally recalls the hell scenes in the Kitano Tenjin Engi rolls of the Kamakura period (the Jōkyū series owned by Kitano Jinja, Kyōto).<sup>24</sup> In these the flames are different from any so far described: long, curving, fork-like flames, bright orange and bright red, the pointed parts being red, and giving the effect at times of reaching out and pursuing their victims. They seem bent on striking terror. Just to *look* at them is exciting! They match in spirit the hustling and fiendishly zealous demons. We see such flames in the first part of Roll VIII, but it is in Roll VII that the artist really outdoes himself. Soon after the start of the roll the trouble begins. The gate of hell is depicted with one of the kings of hell and three of his terror-inspiring demons outside waiting for their victims to appear. In fact, three such have just been brought up. But the interesting thing to us in this present study is that the ferocious flames in the neighborhood of the gate are not confined to the area of hell proper but are shown as rushing out from the gate to "welcome" the terrified sinners. It is almost as though we can hear the flames cry out, "Let us get at them!" At the end of this Roll VII the flames are shown as clustered together, almost resembling a large tree, not a "tree of life," but truly a tree of death, as they engulf their unfortunate victims.

A still different type of flame effect is that given in the representation of the burning of the Ōten gate in the first roll of the three-set series of Ban Dainagon (Tomo-no-Dai-

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24. There are complete photographic reproductions of all nine rolls pub. by Ōtsuga Kōgeisha, Tokyo, 1923. A detail of Roll VII is given in Fenollosa, *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*, I, illus. opp. p. 182.



nagon).<sup>25</sup> In this roll, a product of the late Fujiwara period or early Kamakura, the intensity of the heat of the red and orange flames is further brought out by contrast with the huge, billowing black clouds of smoke, a feature that has not been prominent in the other paintings of flames we have considered so far. An additional feature is the representation by small daubs of red of sparks among the clouds of black smoke.

Another famous painting containing a scene of a conflagration is that in one of the three Heiji Monogatari rolls, the Burning of the Sanjō Palace, owned by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.<sup>26</sup> In this masterpiece of the Kamakura period, the flames are exactly in the central part of this long roll of violent attack and intense excitement, and are painted to match that spirit. In the right section of the flame area the flames writhe ominously, in some places almost resembling billowing waves. Curves abound. At the left we see something quite different. Here are painted forked flames; explosions seem to be taking place. The tempo is quickening. In this roll, too, we have clouds of smoke, though they are not so much a feature as they are in the Ban Dainagon roll. The flame areas are red, with some white and gray, but no real orange. Here and there are many little dots and drops of red among the flames to represent sparks; also black dots, seemingly to re-

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25. There are complete photographic reproductions of all three rolls, actual size, pub. by Yamatoe Dōkōkai, Tokyo. For inadequate illus. of part of the flame section, see catalogue of *Exhibition of Japanese Painting and Sculpture*, pub. Washington, D. C., 1953, p. 64; also, *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, vol. IX, no. 8 (April 1953); and Toda, *Japanese Scroll Painting*, Chicago, 1935, pl. XI.

26. Illus. complete, in *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, Boston, No. 139 (Oct. 1925).

present cinders.

We must now turn back from the preceding rather lengthy consideration of flames in Japanese painting and continue our detailed study of the Blue Fudō painting.

### **Main Figure**

#### **Color of body**

Where the skin shows, that is, face, chest, arms, hands, and one foot, it is a blue that is practically a peacock blue, except that in certain areas of the face it is brown. It is of course this blue that gives the name to the painting. In a bright light these blue areas shine out as a rich blue, being much more a part of the color design of the painting than would appear to be the case in a poorer light. But even so, this blue is very minor to the color of the flames. The blue has come off in various places.

#### **Hair**

The hair can hardly be seen at all except in a very bright light, but under proper conditions it can easily be made out, even to details. It is reddish brown and very curly. In fact, it consists mostly of little swirls, like eddies in water. From the left side of the head the hair comes far down on to the chest as a heavy strand twisted and tied in the middle section with a decorative, floral-like band. A strand of hair coming down in front of the left shoulder is a detail very common in representations of Fudō. We may note such a feature in the stone Fudō from China,<sup>27</sup> as well as in the two oldest sculptural

27. We see the same thing in the T'ang hand bell of Tokyo National Museum.  
Cf. footnote 3.

examples of Fudō in Japan, both in the Tōji, Kyōto, one in the Mieidō, and the other in the Kōdō.<sup>28</sup> Both of these Tōji figures seem unquestionably to be products of the middle of the ninth century, that is, not long after Kōbō Daishi returned from China and took up his residence at Tōji. For centuries the Mieidō figure has been revered as the traditional tutelary icon of the founder of the Shingon sect in Japan. We see such a strand of hair also in the case of the Red Fudō, as well as in the great majority of other examples.<sup>29</sup> But it should be noted that the oldest *painting* of Fudō in Japan, the Yellow Fudō, has no such strand; nor does the much later statue of Fudō of Shin'yakushiji;<sup>30</sup> neither does our Manchurian example of the Liao dynasty (fig. 5). Whether

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28. The Fudō in the Kōdō is illus. in *Pageant of Japanese Art*, III, pl. 31 and p. 81. The Fudō in the Mieidō is a "Secret Buddha" that had seldom been seen before 1954. In that year, at the time of repairs to the building in which it was enshrined, certain scholars and specialists were allowed to view it. The next year it was officially designated a National Treasure. See "Kyōgokokuji Saiin Fudō Myōōzō," by Shōzaburō Maruo, in *Bijutsu Kenkyū*, No. 183 (Sept. 1955) (in Japanese; summary in English).

29. Cf., for example, in sculpture, the Fudō, Shōchiin, Kōyasan (illus. Tsuda, *op. cit.*, fig. 55); the Fudō, Hanshūin (illus. *Exhibition of Japanese Art*, pub. Tokyo Natl. Museum, 1956, no. 98); and the Fudōji, Kyōto (illus. catalogue *Heian Jidai Bijutsu*, pub. Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 1957, fig. 259), though in this example the strand is rather short, coming down only to the shoulder. In painting, the Fudō of the Godaison set, Tōji (illus. *Pageant of Japanese Art*, I, p. 28, central figure at bottom); the Fudō of the Godaison set of Daigoji (illus. *Bukkyō Geijutsu*; see footnote 22); the so-called "Hashiri Fudō" (Running Fudō), privately owned in Japan (illus. *Pageant of Japanese Art*, I, p. 28, fig. 23); Fudō, Jimokuji; the Fudō in the so-called "Kumano Mandara" of Ryūsen'in, Kōyasan, discovered in 1957 (illus. *Bukkyō Geijutsu*, Dec. 1957); and seemingly the drawing by Shinkai, owned by Daigoji (illus. *Pageant of Japanese Art*, I, pl. 30).

30. Illus. *Catalogue of the Art Treasures of Ten Great Temples of Nara*, vol. on Shin'yakushiji, pl. 57.

these last three represent a different tradition, or whether the lack of such a strand is due merely to the fancy of the artist seems impossible to determine. Of the statues and paintings of this deity with which the writer is acquainted that do have this strand, in all but the Blue Fudō the strand is simple, even austere. In the Blue Fudō the effect is quite different. Here there is what seems to our modern eyes a delightfully feminine touch to this beautiful, curving strand, not at all in keeping with the ferocious expression of the face. The same may be said of the hair on the head. All this is quite in contrast, for example, to the severe treatment of the hair in the case of the first four examples cited above, where it is swept straight back from the forehead. But here again we find that the Yellow Fudō painting is different from other ancient representations: instead of this excessively plain treatment there is a profusion of ringlets, a practice followed in certain later representations of Fudō.<sup>31</sup>

At the very top of the head of the Blue Fudō the hair is tied up with a cord into seven little symmetrical loops, somewhat like a rosette. Each loop consists of a number of layers. This is by no means an exceptional feature, though it does not occur in the earliest examples of Fudō. We see it in a drawing of Fudō by the priest-painter, Genchō, of the early Fujiwara period, to which we shall refer later; it also occurs in the drawing of Fudō by Shinkai, and in the painting, "Hashiri Fudō," both these latter two of the Kamakura period, and both already referred to.<sup>32</sup>

31. *E. g.*, in sculpture, Fudō, Shin'yakushiji, and Fudō, Bujōji; in painting, "Hashiri Fudō," and the drawing by Shinkai, all previously referred to.

32. See footnote 29.

The many fine lines indicating the hair are drawn in black (*sumi*), but this is underpainting, for originally over the black lines were painted gold lines. Careful scrutiny will reveal remnants of gold here and there. This was a very common technique. We see the same thing, for example, in the case of the Red Fudō and the "Hashiri Fudō." In both these cases, too, the gold seems to be *kindei* rather than *kirikane*. However, in the series of eight statues known as Hachibushū, of Kōfukuji, Nara, of the Tempyō (Late Nara) period (710-794), the hair is indicated in the same way but with very narrow strips of cut gold.

In that area of the hair over the forehead is a decoration of conventional flowers. These are brown. Some form of floral decoration on the head was customary in the case of a Fudō, but was not an invariable feature. A lotus flower on top of the head seems to be one of the oldest forms.<sup>33</sup>

### Face

The face has of course the typical angry expression of a Fudō, scowling horribly. He has an aquiline nose and heavy protruding brows. The eyes are bulging, though the left eye is slightly closed, giving the face an even more sinister expression. So far as bulging eyes are concerned, this seems to be an invariable feature in representations of Fudō in Japan, both in painting and in sculpture, but in the majority of cases, in fact, in the oldest representations of the figure in Japan, both eyes are wide open. One has but to note the Yellow

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33. Cf. also the ancient Fudō, in Kōdō, Tōji, already mentioned, which originally had such a lotus decoration on the head.

Fudō in painting, and in sculpture, the two ancient Tōji examples, that in the Mieidō and that in the Kōdō, already mentioned, to say nothing of the T'ang example. It is true that the depiction of the left eyelid as drooping does occur in a number of cases in addition to the Blue Fudō,<sup>34</sup> but this seems to have no special iconographical significance other than being a means of enhancing the threatening expression.<sup>35</sup>

The pupils of the eyes are black; the iris is brown, with a border of blue which seems to be possibly repainting (*hoshoku*). The whites of the eyes are white. There is considerable red (*aka*) on either side of the whites of the eyeball of each eye.

The jaw is grimly set, with the mouth tightly closed, the lower lip extending up over the upper lip, and the mouth drooping decidedly at either end. The lips themselves show only in two small areas, one at the extreme left side, and a very slight area at the right side. Both of these areas are bright red. There are two prominent, sharp white tusks, one going up from the lower jaw on the right side, and one going down from the upper jaw on the left side. In addition, there is part of a white tooth visible next to the left tusk, away from the left side of the mouth. Such tusks are of course part of the means used to aid in the creation of a terror-inspiring figure, but they are not invariably arranged in the same way.

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34. *E. g.*, the drawing by Shinkai; in sculpture, Fudō, Bujōji; and Fudō, Shin'yakushiji.

35. However, a statement by Kōbō Daishi should be noted: "Achala [Fudō] the God of Fire, with his left eye closed and his right wide open." (Translated from *Kōbō Daishi Zenshū* in *Sources of the Japanese Tradition*, by Tsunoda, de Bary and Keene, Columbia University Press, N. Y., 1958, p. 153.)

In some cases, both tusks extend down from the upper jaw ; in some, both extend up from the lower jaw. The arrangement seems to have depended upon the fancy of the artist.<sup>36</sup>

It has already been mentioned that certain areas of the face are not blue like the rest of the exposed skin, but are brown. These brown surfaces are possibly places where the blue paint has come off, but this does not really seem to be the case.

It will be noted that the head of the Blue Fudō is turned slightly to the right. Though seemingly of no iconographical significance, this is a common form in the representation of Fudō, based on a very hoary tradition. We see it not only in the two ancient statues of Fudō of Tōji (though it is true that in the Mieidō example the head is turned only very slightly,) but also in the painting of Fudō in the Godaison series of Tōji, already referred to. This set of paintings is traditionally considered to have been copied from Chinese models in the twelfth century to replace an original set that had been destroyed by fire. Furthermore, in the representation of Fudō in ancient drawings and mandalas in Japan, all presumably based on Chinese models, the head is invariably turned slightly

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36. For the record it might be mentioned that among those representations of Fudō that have already been referred to in this article, three have the same arrangement of tusks as in the case of the Blue Fudō, *i. e.*, the Red Fudō, the Fudō drawing by Shinkai, and the Shin'yakushiji Fudō ; while in the case of the T'ang Fudō the arrangement is the same but reversed, that is, the tusk on the right side goes down from the upper jaw while the one on the left goes up from the lower jaw. The two Fudō statues of the Mieidō, Tōji, and the Kōdo, Tōji, and the Fudō statues of Hanshūin and Shōchiin, Kōyasan, have both tusks going downward from the upper jaw. The tusks of the Yellow Fudō painting both go upward, seemingly from the upper jaw.

to the right.<sup>37</sup>

On the other hand, there are a considerable number of representations of Fudō in which the head is not turned at all,



Fig. 5 Fudō. Stone. Ch'ao Yang (Manchuria)  
Liao Dynasty

37. The head is turned slightly to the right in the T'ang hand bell of Tokyo National Museum. Cf. footnote 3. Among later examples in which we see the same thing should be mentioned the Red Fudō, the Fudō of the Godai-son set of Daigoji, the Fudō of Jimokuji, the "Hashiri Fudō," the Fudō in the so-called "Kumano Mandara" (already mentioned in footnote 29), and the drawing by Shinkai.



notably the oldest representation that can be cited, the T'ang Fudō as well as the Yellow Fudō. The Manchurian Fudō (fig. 5) is also of this group. There seem to have been two traditions. It may well be that the older of these traditions is that illustrated in the T'ang figure. But it should be pointed out that it does not follow that simply because the head faces directly to the front the statue is thereby to be considered more ancient, for there are a number of examples of such statues in Japan that are later than the three examples of sculpture of the other tradition cited in the preceding paragraph.<sup>38</sup>

It may be conjectured that the origin of the Fudō figure with the head turned slightly sideways, was the desire for a visually satisfying design or balance in the mandalas, with their numerous columns and rows of deities. In many cases, the figures on the right side face slightly toward the center and *vice versa*. Later, this posture came to be followed in statues, even though independent units in themselves.<sup>39</sup>

The seated position of the Blue Fudō, with the legs drawn up and feet in lap (known in Japanese as *kekka*), is the more common form for a Fudō. It is in keeping with the conception of this god as immovable, adamant against the power of evil and its temptations. But it is by no means the only form. Here

38. *E. g.*, Fudō, Bujōji; Fudō, Shōchiin, Kōyasan; Fudō, Hanshūin; and Fudō, Shin'yakushiji.

39. Yukio Yashiro, *op. cit.*, p. 453, makes an interesting suggestion as to why some later representations of Fudō reverted to the early form illustrated in the T'ang Fudō: it came to be felt that when the Fudō was the central object of worship (*honzon to shite no Fudō*) it seemed more intimate and more religiously satisfying to represent the god as facing in the direction of the worshipper rather than off to the right.

again there are two traditions, the other form depicting Fudō as standing, the oldest example being the Yellow Fudō.<sup>40</sup> It should also be noted that the Red Fudō (fig. 4) is neither seated in the *kekka* position nor standing; he is seated with but one leg extending down, the other one being bent horizontally at the knee (a position known in Japanese as *hanka*). This is exceptional so far as a representation of Fudō is concerned.

*Costume.* — The costume of the central figure of this Blue Fudō group consists of four garments:

1) The skirt-like garment covering the figure from the waist down, showing chiefly at the knees and a narrow section at the waist. It is known in Japanese as *koshigoromo*, or in more technical language, *mo*.

2) Long narrow belt, known in Japanese as *sanada*. It can be seen hanging down from the pedestal on the figure's left side.

3) The garment extending across the lap, a kind of wide band going around the skirt-like garment.

4) The garment going down across the body diagonally from the left shoulder. This is known as *chōka*.

*Garment 1.* This garment is a rich reddish brown, with a cream-colored border. The border is the light area showing in the photograph as a narrow strip at the right ankle, extending down to a horizontal area below the legs and resting on the pedestal. This border is in very bad condition.

The reddish brown area has an overall continuous swastika

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40. Cf. also the Fudō, Bujōji; the Fudō, Shin'yakushiji; the "Hashiri Fudō"; the so-called "Namikiri Fudō", Nan'in, Kōyasan, illus. *Sekai Bijutsu Zenshū*, Supplementary Series (*Bekkan*), V, pl. 19; and the drawing by Shinkai. Cf. also the drawings of three Fudō from "Model books" (*fumpon*) (illus. *Kokka*, No. 477); all three are standing.

design, known in Japanese as *manji-tsunagi* (Fig. 6-A, upper section). The swastika design is of course of great antiquity, examples having been found throughout most of the ancient world. The design seems to have come to China and Japan along with Buddhism. As a continuous pattern, it is a motif used many times in Japanese art in the Fujiwara period, in which cases the swastika is the rounded form resembling two S curves crossing.<sup>41</sup>

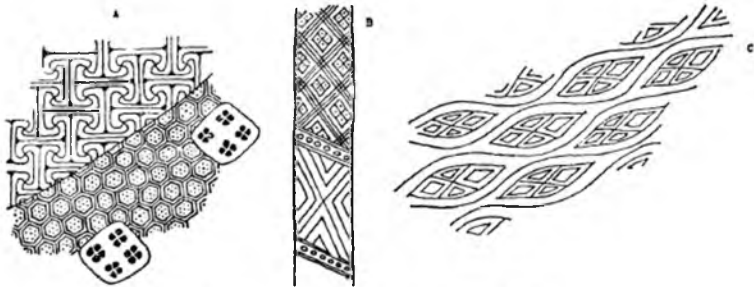


Fig. 6 Designs on costume of Fudō

In this Blue Fudō painting the lines of this swastika design are in black. However, those lines in the reddish brown area of this Garment 1 that indicate folds, are heavy lines painted in gold, over black lines. They may be noted especially at the knees.

Along the top edge of this garment where it shows at the waist, there is a narrow band to represent a belt, with stones

41. Cf., for example, the following four paintings: *Death of Buddha*, Kōyasan (on Buddha's *kesa*); *Resurrection of Buddha*, Chōhōji (on *kesa* thrown over table); *Amida and Twenty-five Bosatsu Raigōzu*, Kōyasan (Amida's *kesa*); *Amida Sanzon Raigōzu*, Hokkeji (smaller figure of left panel). In sculpture, cf. *Fugen Bosatsu*, Ōkura Museum, Tokyo (on the underskirt).

or jewels that are fastened to the belt by crossed threads over each stone.

The cream-colored border of this Garment 1 has a tortoise-shell (*kikkō*) design in black (Fig. 6-A, lower section). On this design are interspersed a number of identical groups of four little conventional flowers. Each of these flowers is green and blue, the two opposite petals of each being of the same color. The *kikkō* design is a common motif in Japanese art, consisting of a series of contiguous hexagons. It has a number of variations, sometimes having but a single line to form each hexagon rather than two, as in this Blue Fudō example, sometimes varying the design inside the hexagon, and at times having no design inside at all.<sup>42</sup>

*Garment 2.* What is visible of this belt consists of two ribbons, which can be seen at the left knee, continuing down over the left side of the pedestal. Above the pedestal these two ribbons show their front side, the nearer one being blue and white, the further one light tan. Below the pedestal their reverse sides are shown. Each of these reverse sides consists

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42. E. g., in Roll I of *Kitano Tenjin Engi* (Jōkyū series) the costume of one of the men seated by the gate at the beginning of the roll, has a *kikkō* design in which the decoration of the interior of each hexagon consists of radiating lines with a dot in the center.

On the costume of the statue of Jizō of Tōdaiji, by Kaikei, the border and crossbands of the *kesa* have the *kikkō* design with double-line hexagons and a very simple conventional floral pattern inside. In addition, on the main costume, worn under the *kesa*, there is also a *kikkō* design on its border, which shows at the bottom. This has only single-line hexagons with no design at all inside of them. Both this Jizō and the *Kitano Tenjin Engi* example are of the Kamakura period. See also Studies on the Picture Scrolls, 'Murasaki-shikibu Nikki' or 'Diary of Lady Murasaki-shikibu', by Tokuzō Masaki, in *Bijutsu Kenkyū*, No. 23 (Nov. 1933): on page of drawings, for *kikkō* design see Nos. 24, 25, 33 and 34.

of a number of different areas of color with a design in each area. In Fig. 6-B two such areas are shown. The lower one consists of a series of half-diamond shapes in *ungensaishiki* (stratified intermingling color scheme), a method of coloring very popular in Japanese art, particularly in the Tempyō and Fujiwara periods. In this particular case the *ungensaishiki* is that known as *aka-ungen* (red *ungen*), that is, red, pink and light pink.

The upper area shown in Fig. 6-B is blue. The design in this section is a motif the basic element of which is by no means uncommon in Japanese art: rows of regularly spaced lozenge or diamond shapes, each one divided up into four similarly shaped forms. In our present example, these major lozenge shapes are separated one from the other by triple parallel lines. Sometimes, as we shall see below, the lozenge forms are separated by single lines. On occasion, there are no lines at all between the lozenge shapes.<sup>43</sup>

Each of the two ribbons has a bell at its end.

*Garment 3.* This band of cloth going across the lap is a beautiful light green. The green is in very bad condition. This garment is tied in a large bow at the middle of the lap, and the ribbons from it, of the same color, come down inside

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43. E. g., there are no separating lines between the lozenge forms on the apronlike garment (*mae-dare*) of the Tempyō painting of Kichijōten, Yaku-shiji (illus. *Pageant of Japanese Art*, I, pl. 4). Likewise, in a section of one of the rolls of *Murasaki Shikibu Nikki Emaki*, early Kamakura period (illus. *ibid.*, pl. 34), one lady has a garment with no lines at all between the major lozenge forms; however, the lady facing her has triple lines between these forms.

See also Tokuzō Masaki, *op. cit.* (in footnote 1, same page), fig. 12 (lower section), Nos. 1-3, 5, 9-13, 18-21.

of each knee and extend down and out directly below each knee. The reverse side also partly shows. It is white.

*Garment 4.* This diagonal garment coming down from the left shoulder is a bright orange. The heavy lines representing folds are brown. On this orange surface is a fine-line pattern in black, very small in scale, known in Japanese as *tachiwaki*, the basic structure of which is a number of wavy lines running in the same direction and alternately curving towards and away from each other (Fig. 6-C). This is a very common pattern in the Fujiwara period, both in painting and in sculpture. But it had a number of variations. In this Blue Fudō version, the wavy lines are single, but double wavy lines were more common.<sup>44</sup> A still greater variation in the *tachiwaki* pattern is to be found in the design that fills in the empty space where the lines separate. In some cases the space is left empty, in others there is a simple design; then again, the space is filled up with a rather elaborate design.<sup>45</sup> The reverse side of garment 4 is

44. In the case of the statue of Fugen Bosatsu, Ōkura Museum, Tokyo, there are two places that have this *tachiwaki* design, one having single lines and one having double. (See Moran, *The Kirikane Decoration of the Statue of Fugen Bosatsu, Ōkura Museum, in Oriental Art*, vol. VI, n° 4 [1960].)

The statue of Kichijōten, Kondō, Hōryūji, has double lines, as do the following three paintings: *Amida and Twenty-five Bosatsu Raigōzu*, Kōyasan; *Resurrection of Buddha*, Chōhōji; *Death of Buddha*, Kōyasan.

45. *E. g.*, in the *Death of Buddha*, Kōyasan, the spaces between the lines are left empty; in the *Amida and Twenty-five Bosatsu Raigōzu*, Kōyasan, and the *Resurrection of Buddha*, Chōhōji, there are four dots in each space; in one of the *tachiwaki* designs of the statue of Fugen Bosatsu, Ōkura Museum, each space has four diamond shapes. (See Moran, *op. cit.* fig. 3-K.) In the statue of Kichijōten, Kondō, Hōryūji, there are also four diamond shapes, but here they are in a framework exactly like the *tachiwaki* design we see in the Blue Fudō painting. But in the Fugen Bosatsu statue, Ōkura Museum, already mentioned, there is a second *tachiwaki* design which is much more elaborate than any of the others that have been described (illus. Moran, *op. cit.* fig. 1-B).

cream white, and shows as a band going across the orange area of the cloth at the left shoulder, and extending down back of the left arm and out past the left knee to the lowest part of the rope held in the hand.

*Jewelry of the main figure.* — This jewelry consists of wristlets, upper arm bands, and very elaborate body jewelry. None of it is gold in color, but is brown, outlined in black. The only other color is that of the many beads which are gaily colored, being red, green, blue or white. The red seems to have been retouched.

The wristlets are fairly elaborate, with beads around the edge. The upper arm bands are in general like the wristbands, also having beads around the edge. But in addition, on the outer side of each upper arm there is a large and elaborate rosette decoration tied around the arm with two cords. These cords pierce the center of each rosette on the outside as two loops, and from the back of the arm the ends hang down as far as the thighs, each ending in a tassel, with a little round bell (*suzu*) at the end, giving a delightfully decorative effect quite in contrast to the expression on the face of Fudō.<sup>46</sup> Of course, wristlets and also decorative upper arm bands were common in Japanese art from the Asuka period on; we find them in Chinese art and in the art of India, where this feature originated. We should expect such decorative elements in those cases in Japanese art where the more placid types of Bodhisattvas, devas and the like are depicted, but the interesting thing

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46. We see practically the same arrangement, for example, in the case of most of the Bosatsu whose arms show, in the painting, *Amida and Twenty-five Bosatsu Raigōzu*, Kōyasan. This is particularly well-shown in Minamoto, *Illustrated History of Japanese Art*, pl. 75.

to us in our present study is that this feature was often retained, and in a highly developed form, too, even when representing the most terrifying type of gods. This was true not only in the Fujiwara period, when elaborate decoration was the common method of treatment, but in some cases even in the Jōgan period, with its frightening representations of esoteric Buddhism.<sup>47</sup>

The body jewelry consists of elaborate loops of floral designs, with floral and bead pendants, and now and then small bells. There is a necklace, and also a large loop swinging around each knee, from which bead pendants reach halfway down either side of the pedestal. In addition, there is a large, elaborate rosette-like decoration at the stomach, suspended by a bead chain coming down at either side. Here again, these decorative features are in strange contrast to the threatening expression of the face with its two canine teeth, but to the artist involved, and to the devout worshipper, there was fundamentally no real contradiction.

*Sword held in right hand.* — A straight sword such as this is known in Japanese as *ken*; when held by a Fudō it is called *hōken*, that is, a Treasure Sword, or Sacred Sword. In this painting it is held upright, which is almost invariably the case when Fudō is depicted.<sup>48</sup>

The handle is of a special type, one that is usual in re-

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47. *E. g.*, the very large representation of Kongōku Bosatsu, the central one of a group of three paintings, of an original set of five, known as Godairiki of Kōyasan, already referred to. This painting may be said to be the most terror-inspiring of Japanese esoteric Buddhism. It has upper arm bands strikingly similar to those of the Blue Fudō. These do not show up in the illustration in *Pageant of Japanese Art*; for a somewhat better illustration see *Sekai Bijutsu Zenshū*, X, pl. 84.

48. However, in the drawing by Shinkai the sword points downward.



presentations of Fudō, though not confined exclusively to that deity. It is known as the triple *vajra* form, for at the end are three prongs; also at the blade edge of the handle are three prongs (the blade itself representing the third prong).<sup>49</sup> The Sanskrit word *vajra*, meaning "thunderbolt," was taken over by Buddhism from Hindu mythology, where it referred to Indra's thunderbolt. This was ordinarily represented by a short, double trident, that is, a trident form at either end, and was held in the hand. A *vajrapāṇi* is a thunderbolt bearer.

In Japanese, the term for *vajra* is *kongō*, which means also "diamond" (*i. e.*, that which is indestructable). In the esoteric sects in Japan, the small hand *vajra* is still in use in Buddhist services. Sometimes it has only one prong at either end, in that case being known as a *dokko*; if three-pronged it is a *sanko*; if five-pronged, a *goko*. *Kongōsho*, meaning literally "thunderbolt-club," is the large club-like object held, for example, by a *Shūkongōshin*,<sup>50</sup> or by Gate Guardians (*Ni-Ō*).<sup>51</sup> In these the *vajra* club has only one point at each end. Buddhist ceremonial hand bells often have *vajra* handles, being known in Japanese as *kongōrei*.<sup>52</sup> Both these and the hand *vajra*

49. Our Chinese example of Fudō actually has three prongs at the blade side of the handle in addition to the blade itself. Whether or not this was the original *vajra* handle form cannot, of course, now be determined. In the case of the T'ang hand bell of the Tokyo National Museum, the casting is too rough to be positive, but there seem to be three prongs at the end of the handle and also three prongs at the blade edge of the handle, not counting the blade itself.

50. *E. g.*, the *Shūkongōshin* in Hokkedō, Tōdaiji.

51. *E. g.*, the *Ni-Ō* in Nandaimon, Tōdaiji.

52. The hand bell mentioned in Footnote 3, p. 245, is a *kongōrei*. It has a five-pronged handle, such a type being known as *gokorei*, that is, a bell with a *goko* handle. See illus. of another *gokorei* in Tsuda, *op. cit.*, fig. 57.

are common features of Buddhist art.<sup>53</sup>

A dragon entwines itself around the sword, its claws graping the blade. It is somewhat difficult to make out the details of the dragon even with a close study of the original. However, it can be seen that it has scales and a pair of wings. Its body is brown and its fin-like parts are bright red. It has a decorative feature by no means uncommon in the case of dragons and phoenixes : a Sacred Jewel (*Hōshu*) edged with flames, attached to the neck with a band. We see such a thing, for example, on the dragon in the Red Fudō painting, and on the neck of each of the two bronze phoenixes on the roof of the Hōōdō, Uji.

When Fudō is shown holding a sword around which a dragon is coiled, the representation is known as a Kurikara (Sanskrit, *Kṛkara*) Fudō, the sword and the dragon themselves also standing for Fudō and his power to conquer evil. In this Blue Fudō painting there are thus actually two representations of Fudō. Judging from existing examples, the sword without the dragon was by far the more common form.

An especially interesting example of the representation of the Kurikara Fudō is that on the cover of a lacquer sūtra box, of the Fujiwara period, belonging to Taimaji, classified as a National Treasure.<sup>54</sup> Here we find no image of Fudō but simply

53. For an illustration of each of the three kinds of hand *vajra*, cf. the following: the *dokko* form, Paine and Soper, *Art and Architecture of Japan*, pl. 33 (right hand); the *sanko* form, Tsuda, *op. cit.*, pl. 9, opposite p. 440 (highest of the right hands); the *goko* form, *Pageant of Japanese Art*, III, fig. 43, p. 35 (right hand).

54. Illus. *Pageant of Japanese Art*, V, p. 42, fig. 69.

Another striking example of the Kurikara Fudō is a painting by Eiga Takuma (late 14th century) privately owned in Japan (Illus. *Kokka*, No. 397,

an upright sword, resting on a lotus, with a dragon coiled around it, and two *dōji*, one on either side. One of the *dōji* has his palms pressed together as he looks up at the dragon in a worshipful attitude.

It is hardly necessary to mention that the Japanese took over the dragon from the Chinese, though it never held the important place in Japanese thought as a metaphysical symbol, or in Japanese art as a motif as it did in China. It is interesting to note that whereas in the Middle East and Europe the dragon and the serpent were, in general, of malevolent significance,<sup>55</sup> in China, from earliest times, the dragon was an extremely important symbol of beneficence, the giving of rain, in the popular mind, being one of its most important attributes. But in a more general sense it had a deep spiritual meaning. To the Chinese the dragon represented the ultimate cosmic force, with all its mystery; it was the incarnation of the *Tao*, "the Way"; it was pure *yang*, the positive principle of life. In keeping with this conception, it became the symbol of imperial power, as a result becoming one of the most important motifs

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June 1923). In this, in addition to the representation of Fudō and the two *dōji*, off in the air at Fudō's right is a sword nearly as tall as Fudō, with a *sanko* at either end of the handle. Up in the air above the sword is a dragon; below the figure of Fudō, in the waves, is another dragon offering up to Fudō on a tray or dish what seems to be fruit.

55. The ancient myths of the Middle East, regarding the dragon as symbolic of the principle of evil, influenced the Hebrew conception, as shown in Genesis (Chap. 3), which was carried over into Christianity, with its doctrine of the origin of sin and death. Christian tradition also took over the dragon legends of the Middle East in the form of the victory over the dragon by St. Michael (Revelation, Chap. 12) and by St. George. In the ancient folk tales of pre-Christian northern Europe, too, the dragon, as a sinister and terrifying monster, appears repeatedly, as in the epic of Beowulf, and in such tales as those of Tristram (Tristan), Siegfried (Sigurd) and other heroes.

in Chinese art.<sup>56</sup>

*Rope held in the left hand.* — The rope is a bright, light green, about the same shade as the garment that goes across the lap; it has a white line down the middle. The green has come off a considerable part of the rope.

At one end of the rope is a one-prong *vajra* (*dokko*) and at the other end a three-prong *vajra* (*sanko*). We see the same thing in the Fudō of the Godaison group of Daigoji. However, there seems to be no fixed rule as to what should be at the ends of the rope. The Red Fudō has nothing at either end.

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56. See Lodge, "Ch'en Jung's Picture of the Nine Dragons," in *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, Boston, vol. XV (Dec. 1917), pp. 67-73. Cf. also Hsien-chi Tseng, "A Study of the Nine Dragon Scroll," in *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America*, XI, 1957, especially pp. 20-22.

The conception of the dragon in the ancient world was very widespread and seems to have reached China from the Middle East. Apparently based on the lizard and the serpent, its form is strikingly similar to some of the fossil remains of large prehistoric reptiles that have come to light. Though there seems to be no connection, so far as is known, between the development of the dragon form in the Middle East and knowledge of such fossil remains, in China, the development may well have been influenced by known fossil remains in Shansi. See Hsien-chi Tseng, *op. cit.*, footnote 91.

The influence upon ancient myths and superstitions regarding the snake and dragon-like forms of China and Japan by somewhat similar conceptions in ancient India should be mentioned in passing. "The Indian serpent-shaped Nāga was identified in China with the four-legged Chinese dragon, because both were divine inhabitants of seas and rivers and givers of rain. It is no wonder that the Japanese, in this blending of Chinese and Indian ideas, recognized their own serpent or dragon-shaped gods of rivers and mountains, to whom they used to pray in times of drought." (Introduction, *The Dragon in China and Japan*, M. W. DeVisser, Amsterdam, Johannes Müller, 1913.) Detailed discussion of this matter would take us far beyond the scope of our present study.

We do not find any example of the fully developed dragon form in Chinese art until the late Chou Dynasty (c. 6th to 3rd cent. B. C.). An outstanding example of this period is the bronze dragon of the Stoclet Collection, Brussels; illus. Sickman and Soper, *Art and Architecture of China*, pl. 7(B).

The Yellow Fudō has a *sanko* at one end and nothing at the other. In the case of the Fudō of Jimokuji there is what seems to be a small round bell at either end. In a number of cases the rope is in the form of a lasso, one end having a ring attached for the other end to slip through. This may be noted in the "Hashiri Fudō," and the drawing by Shinkai. We see it also in a number of sculptural examples, notably in the Fudō of Mieidō.<sup>57</sup>

The position of the left arm of the Blue Fudō, bent with the forearm swinging out to the figure's left, is not a mere fancy of the artist of this particular painting, but is a standard pose of ancient lineage, fairly common in representations of a seated Fudō. Unfortunately the left arm of our T'ang example is broken off,<sup>58</sup> but we see this pose in the two ancient sculptural examples of Tōji, that in the Mieidō and that in the Kōdō; and in a number of paintings.<sup>59</sup> It may also be noted in the Manchurian example (fig. 5). In contrast to all the preceding

57. Cf. also the Fudō, Shin'yakushiji; Fudō, Shōchiin, Kōyasan; Fudō, Hanshūin. However, in most sculptural examples that have this lasso form, it is a question how valuable they really are as evidence, for it would seem that in most cases the present rope is not necessarily, or even probably, the original rope. In the case of the Fudō of Mieidō, however, the "rope" is actually wood, now badly split and tied together with a string, and seems in all probability to be the original one. This would indicate that the lasso form is of a very ancient tradition. In those cases where there is the lasso form, the other end of the rope from the ring often has a *dokko*.

58. However, we can note this pose in the T'ang bell of the Tokyo National Museum, as well in the three figures in the wall paintings of Tun-huang noted in footnote 3, p. 245.

59. Cf. The Fudō of the Godaisan set of Tōji, the Fudō of the Godaisan set of Daigoji, the Fudō of Jimokuji, and the Fudō of the so-called "Kumano Mandara" of Kōyasan. However, in the case of the Hanshūin statue, the left forearm swings out to left but slightly, while in the case of the Fudō, Shōchiin, Kōyasan, it swings out not at all.

examples, the left forearm of the Red Fudō swings over in front of the body. This is unusual. This feature, together with the exceptional position of the legs, already noted, are among the reasons that cause a considerable number of scholars to consider this painting to be later than was formerly thought. It might be added, in passing, that the unusual position of both arms corresponds, in a general way, in terms of design, to the unusual position of the legs.<sup>60</sup>

An interesting feature to note in representations of Fudō is the easy, almost casual way the rope is held in many cases. While in a few instances it is gripped strongly,<sup>61</sup> in a greater number of cases the rope is held almost languidly. This does not match the fierce determination shown on the face. We see this relaxed pose, to some extent, even in such ancient statues as the Fudō of Mieidō and that of Kōdō, Tōji, as well as in the Manchurian Fudō. But it is in a painting such as our Blue Fudō example that this tendency is shown in its extreme form. Here the little finger of the left hand is held out perfectly straight, the forefinger being almost straight. The middle fingers are bent, giving the hand a very "graceful" and dainty pose. It might be termed a *sprightly casualness*. In two other paintings, also of the Fujiwara period, the Fudō of the Godaison set of Daigoji, and the Fudō of Jimokuji, the rope is held in this same manner, which would tend to indicate that this more

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60. A strange feature of this Red Fudō painting that should be noted just as a matter of interest, is that both hands seem to be *right* hands! If the reader will attempt to hold a rope or some such article in his *left* hand, as is indicated in this painting, his difficulty will soon become apparent!

61. Cf. the statue of Fudō at Shōchiin, Kōyasan, the Yellow Fudō, and the Shinkai drawing.

The Blue Fudō, a Painting of the Fujiwara Period

relaxed and “fancy” pose is possibly a later development, a typical Fujiwara interpretation. It should be added, however, that the Fudō of the Godaison set of Tōji, also a Fujiwara production, has its left hand in almost as “graceful” and dainty a pose as do these other three paintings, but this Tōji set is supposed to be a copy of a Chinese model, as has already been noted. However, even if such be the case, it does not necessarily follow that the model was slavishly followed; quite possibly Fujiwara features were embodied, causing certain modifications. On the other hand, it should be pointed out that such dainty and rather coy features were in evidence even in the Jōgan period. The reader is referred to that delightful masterpiece, the statue of Jūichimen Kannon of Hokkeji, in which the arrangement of the fingers of both hands has a striking resemblance to that of the left hand of the Blue Fudō.<sup>62</sup> As a matter of fact, similar positions of the fingers may be noted in examples dating as far back as the Tempyō period (645-781), notably the gracious Jūichimen Kannon statue of Shōrinji, and the exquisitely beautiful painting of Kichijōten of Yakushiji. But in these examples, the whole object in the creation of these particular figures was to give an effect of charm and beauty. The grim fierceness of the Blue Fudō is, as has been said, in strange contrast to the way the hand is held.

*The pedestal.* — The pedestal is of stone (*iwaza*) of a rather complicated grotto-like form. It is brown tinged all over with green. Fudō is often represented as seated, or standing on a solid rock (*banjakuza*), as we see him, for example, in the Red Fudō, in the ancient copy of the Yellow Fudō, and in the

62. Illus. *Pageant of Japanese Art*, III, pl. 28.

drawing by Shinkai. In the type of pedestal for the Fudō figure in the Jimokuji painting, and the Fudō of the Godaison set of Tōji, the grotto form is represented conventionally by a mass of irregular blocks of wood. We see the same thing, but in a simplified form, in the pedestals of the two statues of Fudō of Miedō and Kōdō, Tōji. But in the T'ang Fudō a lotus flower forms the pedestal (*rengeza*), as it does in the Manchurian Fudō. According to most ancient literary sources the pedestal of a Fudō is described as of stone, but there are some references to a lotus pedestal.<sup>63</sup> It is not unreasonable to surmise that the lotus pedestal of this T'ang Fudō originally rested, in turn, on a stone pedestal. As an actual fact, we see such a double pedestal in the case of the Fudō of the "Kumano Mandara" of Ryūsen'in, Kōyasan; and also, the sword of the Kurikara Fudō of Taimaji already referred to, has such a double pedestal.

#### THE TWO BOY ATTENDANTS

Though a figure of Fudō is by no means invariably accompanied by two *dōji*, in a considerable number of cases it is, particularly in painting. One reason for the relative scarcity of *dōji* in sculptural representations may possibly be that, in at least some cases, there were originally *dōji* but they have become lost. Then, too, it was simpler to include two such figures in a painting than it would be to create three distinct pieces of sculpture.<sup>64</sup>

63. For an interesting and rather detailed discussion of this matter, see Yukio Yashiro, *op. cit.*, p. 455.

64. However, Kongōbuji, Kōyasan, possesses a famous group of *eight* sculptural figures, attendants of Fudō, known as *Hachidaidōji* (literally, "Eight Great *Dōji*"). This is, of course, exceptional.



The two *dōji* in this Blue Fudō painting are in the customary position at the lower right and left of the Fudō, forming a group as regular as some of the conventional Madonna paintings of the Italian Renaissance. In contrast, the position of the *dōji* in the Red Fudō, both being on one side, is an innovation.<sup>65</sup> This irregularity is another reason that causes many scholars to doubt that this painting is as early as the Jōgan period. Incidentally, it will be noticed how the right leg, extending down, serves to balance the two *dōji* on the other side.

The *dōji* of a Fudō group are, in almost all cases, depicted as standing.<sup>66</sup>

#### SEITAKA

The *dōji* at the Blue Fudō's left is Seitaka. He is looking up at Fudō with his palms pressed together in a worshipful attitude. This is, in general, a fairly common attitude on the part of Seitaka in a Fudō group. In fact, Seitaka is usually depicted as a mild and sweet-faced individual in contrast, as we shall see, to his partner, Kongara. In this Blue Fudō painting, Seitaka's left forearm, pressed against his body, secures the long stem of a lotus flower, a flower often associated with Seitaka. It is pink, though a great deal of the pink has come off. Its lines are red; its center is a bright green. This flower, together with its bud and leaves, is a very minor but very

65. In a Miroku Raigōzu painting ("Appearance of Maitreya to the Faithful"), illustrated in *Bijutsu Kenkyū*, No. 5 (May 1933, fig. 1 and 3, pp. 155 and 157), there is a figure of Fudō off at a little distance from Miroku. With him are two *dōji*, but both of them are on Fudō's left, somewhat below him.

66. A late Kamakura painting of Fudō, owned by the Nezu Art Museum, Tokyo, has two *dōji*, both of whom are *sitting*. (Illus. *Kokka*, No. 638, Nov. 1944.)

charming feature of the painting.

The cord encircling the right forearm is a rather lightish but rich green, at either end of which is a *dokko*. Incidentally, it is interesting to note, in esoteric Buddhist paintings, how often the *vajra* symbol is in evidence, and in what form.<sup>67</sup>

The skin of Seitaka is pinkish red. What hair he has is brown. But he is not bald, the top of his head being shaved, which area is red. The hair spirals up in conventional curls. His eyes are bright blue, though the pupils have been obliterated. The lips are bright red, the teeth are very white.

*The costume of Seitaka.* — There are three garments :

1) A skirt (*koshigoromo* or *mo*), the main body of which is a dark, rather rich red, with a very broad olive green border at the bottom. This border has an over-all pattern consisting of two motifs: *a*) Fairly large conventional flowers of four petals, the upper and lower petals being red, and those at right and left blue (fig. 7-A). This is the same conventional flower design already noted on the skirt of Fudō (fig. 6-A), though there the colors are green and blue. *b*) Scattered in between this design are small designs of seven dots each.

2) The garment coming down from the left shoulder and swinging across the body just above the knees in a broad U-shape; it may also be seen hanging down from the shoulder, at the back. The parts that show dark in the photograph are the outer surface of the garment, and are a bright, deep bluish green; the parts that show white, that is, at the shoulder and

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67. In the Fudō painting of the Godaison set, Daigoji, Seitaka is holding a *dokko* in both hands, pressed under the two thumbs. In a Fudō painting privately owned in Japan, Seitaka is holding a lotus in the left hand and a *dokko* in the right (illus. *Kokka*, No. 531, Feb. 1935, pl. V).

down the back, are the reverse side, and are, in reality, white, though these surfaces are badly damaged.

All those lines of garments (1) and (2) that indicate folds on the outer side, are in gold that is painted on (*kindei*), but on the reverse side such lines are in *sumi*.

3) Belt. This may be seen not only at the waist, but also in two decorative ends hanging as far down as the ankles, at the figure's left. Of these two ends, the one at the right has a design as shown in fig. 7-B. The main portion of the belt is blue, white and green, in sections, marked *a*, *b* and *c* respectively, in fig. 8. The symbol, x, indicates garment (2), already discussed. The white sections have been repainted, and at that time it appears that a mistake must have been made in the area marked *y* in fig. 8, for, as painted at present, the arrangement of the belt does not seem to make sense.

*The jewelry of Seitaka.* — We see jewelry at the right shoulder, the chest, the upper arms, the wrists and the ankles. It is very elaborate, the first three places mentioned having highly decorative floral designs. None of the jewelry is gold but is of a dark brown color. Beads are suspended or attached; these are in most cases bright blue though some are bright red.

*The pedestal of Seitaka.* — The pedestal, a dull green, is stone, and though much simpler and smaller than that of Fudō, is of similar irregular block-like slabs of stone.

#### KONGARA

This is the *dōji* at the Blue Fudō's right. His skin is a violent brick red. In fact, some shade of red seems ordinarily

to be the color of the skin of a *dōji* accompanying a Fudō.<sup>68</sup> His hair is reddish brown and has eddies of curls. The eyes are so defaced that it is impossible to tell what their color was originally, only some of the white of each eye being left.

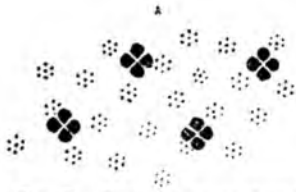


Fig. 7.—Designs on costume of Seitaka



Fig. 8.—Belt of Seitaka

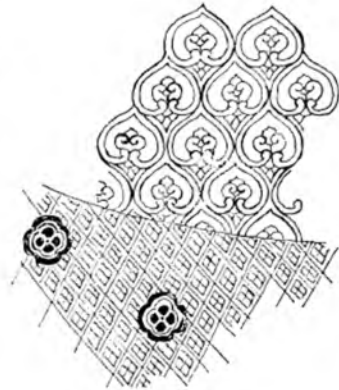


Fig. 9.—Designs on costume of Kongara

It will be noticed that his face is quite different from that of his companion *dōji*, being very grim, even truculent, with the mouth going down at each end. He has a very pug nose, with both nostrils showing.

On his head is a conventional flower decoration, now a dull, dark brown, and tied under the chin with a cord, ending in tassels, giving an effect, to our modern eyes, rather absurdly

68. *E. g.*, in addition to the brick red and the pinkish red of the two *dōji* of the Blue Fudō, it should be mentioned that the *dōji* of the "Hashiri Fudō" are a rich blood red tending toward brick red, and a somewhat orange red, respectively, while the *dōji* of the Red Fudō are both a rather light reddish brown. It should be added, however, that in the case of the Red Fudō, there has been so much repainting throughout that it is difficult to judge exactly what the original color was.

out of place considering the expression on his face. Instead of a garment going diagonally down from the left shoulder across the body, as is the case with his companion *dōji* and with Fudō, there is a chain or band of flowers following this course.

*The costume of Kongara.* — As with Seitaka, there are three garments :

1) A cape-like garment over the shoulders, which is a bright green.

2) A skirt (*koshigoromo* or *mo*), which is a dark, dull red, with a broad, light yellow border at the bottom. The red area is decorated with an over-all design in black lines (fig. 9, upper half). The light yellow border has an over-all small lozenge design in green lines, and here and there scattered over it are rosette patterns, in the center of each of which is a four-petal floral design such as we saw on the skirt of Fudō, as well as on the skirt of the other *dōji*. These four petals, as well as the line surrounding them, are red, but the outer broad band of each rosette is green (fig. 9, lower half).

3) Sash. This a rather elaborate and beautiful affair. It is tied with a large, heavy bow at the waist on his left side, and droops down on to the thigh on his right side. Its outer surface is bright blue ; the reverse side is white.

In the case of both the sash and the skirt, the lines on the outer side, indicating folds, are painted in gold over black lines, just as we saw was the case with the skirt (Garment 1) of the Fudō figure. The lines indicating folds on the inner side are simply *sumi*.

*The jewelry of Kongara.* — The jewelry consists of wristlets and anklets, which are a dull brown. The anklets have blue

beads. Instead of jewelry bands on the upper arms like Seitaka, Kongara has simple cloth bands, each tied in a bow.

Kongara carries a roughly cut club or stick in his right hand, which is brown. A club is a common attribute of this *dōji*. In this particular case he carries a *sanko* in his left hand. As is usual in a representation of Kongara, he is facing more or less toward the front, assuming an attitude of protection of Fudō and at the same time a threatening attitude toward evildoers.<sup>69</sup>

Mention has already been made of the irregularity in the placing of the two *dōji* in the Red Fudō painting. But in addition to their position, it should be noted that these *dōji* by

69. For the record, a brief description of certain features of several other representations of Kongara is given herewith:

In the Fudō painting of the Godaison set of Daigoji, the Kongara is facing front, with a club in his right hand and a *sanko* gripped very strongly in his left hand.

In a Fudō painting illustrated in *Kokka*, No. 531 (already referred to in footnote 67, p. 282) Kongara is, as usual, facing towards the front; he has a club in his right hand and nothing in his left. However, a difference in the usual representation is that he does not appear at all truculent but is looking upward in a seemingly reverential manner.

In the Fudō sculpture group of Shin'yakushiji the Kongara is facing directly forward; he has a very sour-looking face. His right arm is broken off at the elbow.

In the Fudō sculpture group of Bujōji, Kongara and Seitaka, too, are somewhat different from the ordinary representations: Kongara is facing front with a very truculent expression, but is not holding anything. He has his arms in a very belligerent position, the right arm down at the side but the left arm bent and swung in front of his body as though ready to strike somebody; and Seitaka, instead of having his palms pressed together while looking up adoringly at Fudō, holds a very short club in his right hand as he looks over in the general direction of Kongara, as though to give him moral support.

Of the three drawings of Fudō in a "model book" mentioned in footnote 40, p. 266, one shows Fudō with two *dōji*. The unusual thing to note is that not only Kongara carries a club, but Seitaka as well. The rope Seitaka holds has a *dokko* at one end and a *sanko* at the other.

no means resemble the conventional attendants of a Fudō. It is true that Kongara (the one in front) has a club, but the boy himself is one of the most charming youths in Japanese art; and even his club is nicely finished and furnished with a cord. Though the *dōji* in the rear has tusks, they seem incongruous. In fact, these two boys, with their sweet expressions and beautiful jet black hair, have more charm than even the photograph indicates.

But the most irregular of all Fudō paintings is one which has been mentioned repeatedly in this article, — the so called “Hashiri Fudō” (Running Fudō). Here we have, it is true, Kongara with his club or stick on Fudō’s right. But Seitaka has, of all things, a bow and arrow, with the arrow in place ready to shoot! And the two little fellows are running along at a great clip. But true to form, even while running, Seitaka is looking up at Fudō. (Incidentally, Fudō, the *Immovable One*, is also running with them, but flat-footedly, like an elderly gentleman!) This painting of the Kamakura period is considered to be a representation of Fudō and his two *dōji* rushing off to repel the Mongol invasion (*genkō taiji*) of the thirteenth century. The painting itself is considered to have been used as an object of worship to pray to for the salvation of Japan against this invasion.

*The pedestal of Kongara.* — The pedestal is dull green, just like the pedestal of Seitaka, being stone of the same type. It should be pointed out that all the lines of this Blue Fudō painting, except those already noted, are black.

### CONDITION OF THE PAINTING

Viewed close up, without the glass of a museum showcase intervening, this painting is seen to be in surprisingly far worse shape than a casual viewing would indicate. It is not only seriously damaged, but there is considerable retouching, particularly where the silk has come off entirely, or where new silk has been added to take the place of silk that has come off. But even so, the fundamental beauty of the painting is not destroyed.

There are three disfiguring lines all the way up and down the painting, which are of course the places where the separate pieces of silk come together; they show plainly even in a photograph. Also there is a general light sweepy smear right across the top of the painting, and another more serious one, also horizontal, extending from the right edge, on a line a little above the head, as far as the first of the above-mentioned lines showing where the silk comes together.

*Places where there is no silk*, that is, where only the paper backing shows, on the figure of Fudō :

On the diagonal sash, just below the left shoulder.

Central part of chest on a line with the left biceps; this is a fairly large, round area. Here the paper is painted a dirty, grayish blue.

On the right side of the chest, in the area of the vertical seam of the silk, there is almost no silk left.

Many small places on the chest have no silk at all; the paper here is painted blue.

Places on left side of body, below diagonal sash.



The Blue Fudō, a Painting of the Fujiwara Period

Places on both left and right forearms.

*Places where the surface is patched with silk*, on figure of Fudō (a silk patch is known in Japanese as *hoken*):

There are many such places, and where this is the case there is retouching (Japanese, *hohitsu*, *hoshoku*, or *kōho*). For example :

Base of palm of left hand ; many places on left and right forearms.

All over chest there are many little patches.



Fig. 10. Fudō. Painting by Hanabusa Itchō. Ōkura Museum, Tokyo

Left side of body below diagonal sash.

In addition to the retouching on the patches mentioned above, there is also other retouching. For example, the diagonal sash seems to have had its orange retouched at the shoulder. Then there is certainly some retouching of the flames. However, the white areas of the flames evidently have not been retouched, and seemingly neither have the red areas except where the silk has been injured. But there has certainly been some retouching of the orange areas. In fact, it is not unreasonable to assume that possibly all the orange areas have been repainted. This color is not nearly so well done as the red, and considerable areas of it have come off. The red is a part of the silk, as it were; the orange gives the impression of being over the silk, so to speak. But it seems fair to assume that even though there has been considerable repainting, orange was the original color, for it fits so well into the general color scheme.

#### TO WHOM SHOULD THIS PAINTING BE ATTRIBUTED ?

This painting was formerly thought by many to be by Genchō, of Gangōji temple, a priest-painter of the early Fujiwara period. There were two reasons for this view. First, the Blue Fudō resembles so closely, in some respects, a set of drawings of Fudō and two *dōji* by Genchō, that one is inclined to think that there must be some connection.<sup>70</sup> For example, the face of Fudō in the painting strikingly resembles that in the drawing; and the hair on the head of Fudō, its floral decoration, and particularly the seven little symmetrical loops of hair, are almost

70. These drawings are now owned by Daigoji temple, Kyōto. Illus. *Sekai Bijutsu Zenshū*, Supplementary Series (*Bekkan*), vol. 6, pl. 123.

identical with these features in the drawing. It should be added, however, that in the drawing, both of Fudō's eyes are wide open. Certain characteristics and expression of the face of Kongara Dōji in the drawing resemble to a considerable extent those of the corresponding *dōji* of the painting; and the expression on the face of Seitaka Dōji in the drawing is somewhat like that of his counterpart in the painting.

A second reason that may be advanced for considering the Blue Fudō painting to be by Genchō is that the two *dōji* in this painting have much in common, stylistically, with the twelve panels in relief (*itabori*) representing the Jūni Shinshō (Twelve Guardian Generals) of Kōfukuji. These unique panels, designated as National Treasures, were formerly at Gangōji, and an old tradition states they were based on drawings by Genchō.<sup>71</sup> There is a certain element of humor in these carved figures, and in the *dōji* at Fudō's right (Kongara). In addition, there is considerable general similarity in the pose of this Kongara and two of the figures in the Jūni Shinshō series.

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71. This seems to be confirmed by an ancient record, the *Shichidaiji Junreishiki* (*Record of My Pilgrimage to Seven Great Temples of Nara*), written in 1140 by Ōe no Chikamichi in which he states that he saw these twelve relief figures in Gangōji temple, and that they are traditionally considered to be by Genchō. He uses the character *gen* 原 "plain" rather than *gen* 玄 "dark", but it is reasonable to assume that he is referring to the same priest-painter. His complete statement, in Japanese, is: 半出彫刻十二神将高三尺許件神将有仏後厨子内口伝云以原朝之絵様造立云云不可思議也。

This quotation may be found in a unique manuscript copy, dating from the mid-Kamakura period, which was published in 1936 as a collotype facsimile. The manuscript is in the custody of Hōryūji and the facsimile is the fourth of the series called *Ikaruga Sōkan*, Tokyo, Ikaruga Sōkan Kai, 1934-1936.

The quotation may also be found in the magazine, *Kenchiku-shi*, vol. 5, No. 6, p. 59, published 1943.

These two are illustrated in *Pageant of Japanese Art*, III, pl. 35 (left), and fig. 35 (left) on p. 84.<sup>72</sup> The former of these two illustrations, in particular, is of special interest in connection with this problem of attribution.

However, in spite of all these considerations, this painting seems to have been produced later in the Fujiwara period than the time of Genchō. For one thing, its highly developed decorative features, particularly the patterns on the garments, are too typical of what we know to be late Fujiwara painting.<sup>73</sup>

Though somewhat beyond the scope of this article, there is one more example of Fudō the writer wishes to mention, one that is much later in date, and far different in conception and execution than any of the others so far considered. This is the delightful painting by the early Tokugawa artist, Hanabusa Itchō (1652-1724) (fig. 10). A genre treatment of an esoteric subject, it is one of thirty-six album paintings (*zatsugachō*) in color, on paper, owned by the Ōkura Museum, Tokyo. In this painting, two boys are looking up at a statue of Fudō placed in the *tokonoma* of a Japanese home. The boys are charming little fellows of the *samurai* class, dressed in rich colors, in *hakama* and white *tabi*, with their hair down their backs. Each has a sword at the belt. The smaller boy is starting to take a swing at the Fudō with what seems to be a long stick shaped

72. The entire set of twelve panels is illustrated in *Catalogue of Art Treasures of Ten Great Temples of Nara*, the Kōfukuji series, I, pl. 95-115.

73. Toyomune Minamoto, in *Nihon Bijutsushi Zuroku*, 2nd ed., Kyoto, 1940 (in Japanese), p. 53, though not maintaining that this Blue Fudō is by Genchō, nevertheless considers it to be a product of his time, stating that while it has certain strong Fujiwara features, it has not thrown off certain unmistakable Jōgan characteristics.

The Blue Fudō, a Painting of the Fujiwara Period

like a sword; the older boy is restraining him. However, the boys seem to be looking at the Fudō more in surprise than in fear. As for the Fudō, though he is holding the customary attributes, a sword and a rope, he does not seem particularly fierce looking, at least by no means to the extent shown in traditional representations. In fact, he looks down at the boys with what seems to be a certain amount of interest as well as surprise. Unlike the conventional Fudō, glaring off into the distance, he is very conscious of the two little visitors.

This Tokugawa painting, though not what may be called a "religious" picture, by its unconventional treatment and light touch of humor, gives a charming twist to an ancient and austere subject.

**Kanji Glossary**

- A aka ungen 赤經綯
- B banjakuza 磐石座
- C Ch'ao Yang 朝陽
- D Dainichi Nyorai 大日如来  
dokko 独鈷
- F Fudō Myō-ō 不動明王  
Fugen Bosatsu 普賢菩薩  
fumpon 粉本
- G Genchō 原朝  
Genchō 玄朝  
Genkō taiji 元寇退治  
Godai Myō-ō 五大明王  
Godairiki Bosatsu 五大力菩薩  
Godaison 五大尊  
goko 五鈷  
gokorei 五鈷鈴
- H hanka 半跏  
Hashiri Fudō 走り不動  
hibutsu 秘仏  
hohitsu 補筆  
hoken 補絹  
hoshoku 補色  
hōshu 宝珠
- I itabori 板彫  
iwaza 岩座
- J Jūichimen Kannon 十一面觀音  
Jūni Shinshō 十二神將
- K kekka 結跏  
kikkō 龜甲  
kindei 金泥  
kirikane 切金  
kōho 後補  
Kongara Dōji 矜羯羅童子  
kongō 金剛  
kongō-rei 金剛鈴  
kongō-shō 金剛杵  
koshigoromo 腰衣  
Kurikara Fudō 俱利迦羅不動
- M maedare 前垂  
manji tsunagi 卍繫  
mikkyō 密教
- N Nittō hakka 入唐八家
- O Ōe no Chikamichi 大江親通
- R renga 蓮華座
- S sanada 真田  
sanko 三鈷  
Seitaka Dōji 制吒迦童子  
Shukongoshin 執金剛神  
suzu 鈴
- T tachiwaki 立涌  
taka-ukibori 高浮彫
- U ungen saishiki 經綯彩色
- Z zatsuga-chō 雜画帳