Hārītī:

From a Demon Mother to a Protective Deity in Buddhism

—A History of an Indian Pre-Buddhist Goddess in Chinese Buddhist Art

從鬼子之母到護法部眾—中國佛教藝術中的訶利帝母形象考

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Degree of Master of Arts

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Department of History
University of Macau

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University of Macau

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DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis represents my own work, except there due acknowledgement is made, and it has not been previously included in a thesis, dissertation or report submitted to this University or to any other institution for a degree, diploma or other qualification.

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ABSTRACT

Hārītī is an Indian local goddess that was adopted by Buddhism during Śākyamuni's time. With the spread of Buddhism, she was introduced to China and gained new identity due to the backdrop of Chinese Buddhism at large. This thesis is a comprehensive study of Hārītī in Chinese Buddhist art. It divides visual representations of Hārītī in Chinese Buddhist art into three types according to the different function and nature: as subordinate figure in narrative story, as main figure, and as one member of protective deities in the assembly of Indian gods (*zhutian* 諸天 various gods). The coherence between the Buddhist texts and representations of Hārītī in Indian and China is also discussed.

This thesis devotes efforts especially on the second and third types of Hārītī's representations. The second type indicates there is an independent Hārītī cult. However, the academics lack relevant study on the development of Hārītī cult. The third type that Hārītī as one member in the assembly of the protective deities is an innovation of Chinese Buddhism and has always been ignored by scholars. These aspects of this thesis will bring a new perspective on the development of an introduced deity in a different cultural landscape.

This thesis is based on primary sources such as Buddhist texts, Chinese literature, archeological surveys, catalogs, photos of stone caves, and museum collections. Iconography contextualization and iconographic analysis play important parts in its interpretations.

Key Words: Hārītī, Visual representation, Subordinate figure, Main figure, Protective deity

Chapter One Introduction

Hārītī is an Indian local goddess that was adopted by Buddhism during Śākyamuni's time. She belongs to the class of yakṣ iṇ ī, the female counterpart of the male yakṣ a, which is a species of supernatural entity in Indian mythology. Hārītī had hundreds of children whom she loved and doted upon, but she abducted and killed the children of others. The Buddha converted her to Buddhism and decreed that she would receive food offerings from the Buddhist community everyday. After that she became a bestower and protector of children in the Buddhist pantheon.

In India, Hārītī is the object of an independent goddess cult within Buddhism. Her images were enshrined on monastic premises, and she consequently received a portion of every monastic meal by the Buddha's order. With the spread of Buddhism, Hārītī was introduced to China and gained new identity due to the backdrop of Chinese Buddhism at large. This thesis focuses on the development and evolution of the representation of the Indian goddess Hārītī in Chinese Buddhist art and provides a fuller portrait of the role that Hārītī played in China.

Literature Review

In previous studies, scholars have focused on the Hārītī cult in Indian[1] and Japan[2] rather than China. Zhao Banyan is the first scholar who studied Hārītī in

[1] Miranda Shaw, *Buddhist Goddesses of India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 110-42. Miranda provides a fuller portrait of the art and worship of Hārītī in India, along with her conversion story and religious meaning in Buddhism; Pranabananda Jash, "Iconography and Relation: A Case Study of Hārītī," in *Studies in Indian Art,* edited by Chitta Ranjan Prasad, 106-10. New Delhi: Ramanand Vidya Bhawan, 1998; Mallar Mitra, "Hārītī in Buddhist

China. [3] His work provides a vivid account of Hārītī in Chinese literature. He argues that Hārītī turned into the Child-giving Guanyin in a later time. Matsumoto Eiichi had a brief account on Hārītī's iconography in his book the *Tonkōga no kenkyū* 燉煌畫の研究 (Studies on the Paintings of Dunhuang). He mentioned several independent images of Hārītī and points out that Hārītī is one of the twenty-eight attendants of the Thousand-armed and Thousand-eyed Guanyin. [4] Taichiro Kobayashi[5] has made a chronological study on the Hārītī worship and her images in China. He divides Hārītī's development in China in three phases: Pre-Tang, Tang, and Song Dynasties. However, he only discussed one type—as the main figure—of Hārītī's representations. Li Ling [6] observed the different nature of Hārītī's representations found in Xinjiang Province. He also compared them with the Indian images, but he did not make further and systematic study on different types of Hārītī's representations.

Monasteries," in *Historical Archaeology of India: A Dialogue between Archaeologists and Historians*, edited by Amita Ray and Samir Mukherjee, 321-25. New Delhi: Books and Books, 1990; Richard S Cohen, "Naga, Yaksini, Buddha: Local Deities and Local Buddhism at Ajanta," *History of Religions* 37, no.4 (May 1998): 360-400 and figs 1-10.

[2] Miyazaki Eishū 宮崎英修 ed, *Kishi bojin shinkō* 鬼子母神信仰(The Hārītī Cult)Tōkyō : Yūzankaku,1985. It discussed the origin and evolution of the Hārītī cult, especially the development in Japanese Tiantai School and Nichiren Buddhism.

[3] Zhao Bangyan 趙邦彥, "Jiuzimu kao" 九子母考 (A Study on *Jiuzimu*), *Lishiyuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 歷史語言研究所集刊 vol.2 no. 3 (1931): 261-274.

[4] Matsumoto Eiichi 松本榮一, *Tonkōga no kenkyū* 燉煌畫の研究 (Studies on the Paintings of Dunhuang). 2 vols. Kyōto: Hastubaijo bunkyūdō shoten, 1937.

[5] Taichiro Kobayashi 小林太市郎, "支那に於ける訶利帝" Shina ni okeru karitei (The Karitei Worship and Her Images in China), *しなぶつきようしがく Shina bukkyo shigaku*（支那佛教史學 The Journal of the History of Chinese Buddhism) v.2 n.3 (1938): 1-48 and figs1-12.

[6] Li Ling, "Yi Guizimu tuxiang de liubian kan fojiao de dongchuan—yi Qiuci diqu wei zhongxin" 以鬼子母圖像的流變看佛教的東傳—以龜茲地區為中心 (To Review the Easternward Spread of Buddhism by Evolution of Hārītī's Iconography—Use Kucha as the centre Area), *Mei Yuan* 美苑 4 (2008): 87-91.

Sources and Methodology

This research is based largely on primary textual sources and visual representations. I have consulted a wide range of Buddhist texts related to Hārītī as well as Chinese literature. Visual representations are central to my analyses and consist of primary documents, which include the archeological surveys, catalogs and photos of stone caves, and museum collections. Iconography contextualization played a central part in my interpretations, which means the position and arrangement of the images in space are used to analyze their function and nature in religious practice. Visual analysis is the other method I used in my thesis. Traits such as hairstyle, clothing, jewelry, hand gestures and handheld object helped to communicate the development and evolution of the goddess. I also consulted many related secondary sources.

Expected Contribution

This thesis focuses on the development and evolution of the representation of Hārītī in Chinese Buddhist art and provides a fuller portrait of the role that Hārītī played in China. In order to explain how Hārītī is worshiped in India and to what extent her iconography and function are coherent with Buddhist literary sources, I first reviewed the Buddhist literary sources related to Hārītī along with the extant iconographies and worship conditions of her in India. Then I divided the representations of Hārītī in Chinese Buddhist art into three types according to the different function and nature: as a subordinate figure in narrative story, as a main figure, and as one member of protective deities in the assembly of Indian gods (*zhutian* 諸天 various gods). I present a comprehensive overview of the three types

of Hārītī representations, including the date of her emergence in visual and literary sources and her iconographic evolution and range of functions, as well as original and evolving ideas of her nature and religious roles.

This thesis notices the different nature of the visual representations of Hārītī in Chinese Buddhist art from the different position and arrangement of the image in space to explain its function and nature in religious practice. Consequently, this reserach provides a comprehensive perspective on the identity of Hārītī in Chinese Buddhist art.

Moreover, this thesis divides Hārītī's visual representations in Chinese Buddhist art into three types according to their different nature and function. It also scrutinizes their later development in Chinese Buddhist art one by one, which brings a new perspective to the development of an introduced deity in a different cultural landscape. The analysis deepens our understanding of Chinese Buddhism and Chinese Buddhist art.

Furthermore, the example of Hārītī in China shows the complexity and richness of religion. Hārītī is a deity that crossed the barrier between Indian and China. She stands amid Buddhism and Non-Buddhism in China. She appears in Buddhist scriptures and maintains the orthodoxy in Buddhism, however, for many people she serves a functional purpose. For the laypersons in China, Hārītī is comparable to the folk deities, and they worship her only because she meets their demands and hope for more immediate benefits of progeny, prosperity, good health, and success in worldly undertakings.

This thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter one is an overall introduction. The literature review, source and methodology, expected contribution, and general content of each chapters of this study are introduced.

Chapter two reviews the Buddhist literary sources of Hārītī along with her iconographies and cult in India. The following questions are posed: What is the function of Hārītī according to Buddhist texts? What is the overall feature of the texts? How is Hārītī represented in visual representation and why? This chapter will explain how Hārītī is worshiped in India and to what extent her iconography and function are coherent with Buddhist literary sources. It is important to understand the Hārītī cult and iconographies when studying her development in China.

Chapter three exams the earliest type of extant representations of Hārītī as subordinate figure in narrative story, namely in Kizil Caves and Yungang Cave 9. In these narrative depictions, the central theme is the telling of a story in Śākyamuni's life. Hārītī is not the main figure, or cult figure that is meant to receive independent worship. This chapter is intended to discuss the first type of Hārītī's visual representation in China, in order to get the idea of the depiction and Hārītī's role in these narrative stories.

Chapter four discusses the independent visual representation of Hārītī in China. In visual representations, sometimes, Hārītī was depicted as the main figure. In this type of image, Hārītī is meant to receive independent worship. This type of Hārītī's image includes both paintings and stone sculptures. This chapter will review the extant visual representations in order to describe their artistic characteristic first. Next the relationship between these visual representations and Buddhist texts and the cult of Hārītī will be discussed. Moreover, due to the lack of relevant studies on the

later development of the Hārītī cult, this work provides some evidence towards the clarification of this issue.

Chapter five studies the third type of Hārītī's representation that exists in Chinese Buddhist art, as one member of protective deities of the assembly of Indian gods. In Buddhist art, there are representations of Indian gods as attendants of Buddha's teaching scene. In Chinese Buddhism, these Indian gods were systematically grouped as *zhutian* (諸天 various gods) or *tian* (天 god). The number of members in the group of these gods changed in different dynasties; there were sixteen *zhutian*, twenty *zhutian*, and twenty-four *zhutian*. When the cult of Thousand-handed and Thousand-eyed Guanyin emerged, based on the Buddhist texts dedicated to him, these Indian gods were also grouped as his twenty-eight attendants. As an early Indian god that absorbed in Buddhism in Mahāyāna Buddhist texts, Hārītī was a fixed member in all these groups. In this chapter, I will review the development of the assembly of Indian gods in Chinese Buddhism, and the representation of Hārītī, including her attributes and her role in the assembly.

Chapter six is the conclusion. This chapter analyses and compares the function and nature of the three types of visual representation of Hārītī in Chinese Buddhist art, and also investigates the difference of the Hārītī cult between China and India. It provides an overall and comprehensive perspective on the development of Hārītī in China.

Chapter Two Literary Sources and Hārītī in India

This chapter reviews the Buddhist literary sources of Hārītī along with her iconographies and cult in India. The following questions are examined: What is the function of Hārītī according to Buddhist texts? What is the overall feature of the texts? How is Hārītī represented in visual representations and why? This chapter will explain how Hārītī is worshiped in India and to what extent her iconography and function are coherent with Buddhist literary sources. It is important to understand the Hārītī cult and iconographies when studying her development in China.

2.1 Buddhist Literary Sources

Buddhist literary sources that contain the story of Hārītī were translated into Chinese during different periods. Here, I will try to analyze Buddhist texts in the Chinese canon in order to find out how the story and function of Hārītī is described in Buddhist literature, and what the inherent relationship among these texts is.

There are five versions of Hārītī's account in Chinese Buddhist texts: *Fo shuo Guizimu jing (Hārītī Sūtra* 佛說鬼子母經*), Zabaozang jing (*雜寶藏經 *Samyuktaratnapitaka-sūtra), Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya (Genben shuo yiqie youbu Pinaiye zashi* 根本說一切有部毗奈耶雜事, *Da yaochanu huanximu bing aizi chengjiufa* 大藥叉女歡喜母並愛子成就法 and *Helidimu zhenyan jing* 訶利帝母真言經. Some of the texts focus on her conversion story while others on the ritual

practice. These textual accounts are significant since they legitamize the Hārītī cult in the Buddhist community.

2.1.1 *Fo shuo Guizimu jing (Hārītī Sūtra 佛說鬼子母經)*

The *Fo shuo Guizimu jing* is the earliest account of Hārītī that appears only in Chinese. The *sūtra* was translated by an anonous writer.[7] The date of this *sūtra* is likely the late third or early fourth century since the text mentions it is a Western Jin (265-316 C.E.) edition. [8]

Hārītī is called the "Mother of Demons" (*Guizimu* 鬼子母) in this account. It starts with describing Hārītī as the evil mother, stealing and devouring infants in the Dadou kingdom 大兜國. The families who lost their infants did not know who did this and cried for their loss on the street. Ānanda, disciple of Buddha, saw this and asked them what happened. He then conveyed their misfortune to Śākyamuni. Buddha revealed the cause of their plight to be Hārītī, a mother of one thousand children. He imparted that five hundred of her offspring resided in the sky, and five hundred lived on the earth. Each was a powerful demon king with an extensive retinue that terrorized the inhabitants of those regions.

The Buddha instructed his disciples to enter Hārītī's residence when she was away in order to gather her children and bring them to the monastery. When Hārītī returned and found her children missing, she forgot about the children of others and went in search of her own, scouring heaven and earth. After ten days she returned home, crazed by her loss, ranting and weeping, unable to eat or drink. Buddha summoned her and helped Hārītī see the error of her ways, asking her,

[7] Miranda Shaw, *Buddhist Goddesses of India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 113.
[8] T. 21 290c2.

"Seeing that you are capable of loving your children, how can you rob the children of others every day? They love their children just as you do." Hārītī recognized the evil she had committed and promised to follow Buddha. She took the five lay precepts, and Buddha restored her children.

Hārītī repented from the bottom of her heart. She expressed her desire to live near Buddha and have her children join her, follow his teachings, and serve the beings who live on and above the earth. Śākyamuni praised her aspirations and promised that in the future, she would live near a Buddhist monastery and her commitments would be fulfilled. He demanded that Hārītī should grant progeny to the childless, and he also assigned specific benefactions to four of her children. [9]

This version reveals that the function of Hārītī is to grant progeny to the childless, and positions her as living near a Buddhist monastery. It also mentions the number of her children is one thousand, with each possessing destructive powers, which magnifies the importance of Hārītī. However, the motives behind Hārītī's predations, and hwo she and her offspring to live on with after ceasing devouring infants is not mentioned in this account.

2.1.2 *Zabaozang jing* (雜寶藏經 Samyuktaratnapitaka-sūtra*): Guizimu shizi yuan* (鬼子母失子緣 Avadāna Tale of How Hārītī Lost Her Children)

The *Zabaozang jing* is a miscellaneous collection of previous life stories: *Jātaka* tales (stories concerning to the previous births of Buddha), and *Avadāna* tales (moral stories about the previous lives of various saints) of Buddha, his disciples,

[9] Shaw, *Buddhist Goddesses of India*, 113-4; T. 21 290c1-291c3.

and other related people.[10] It was translated into Chinese by Kiñkara, Tanyao and others in 472 A.D.[11] Since the Sanskrit version of the *Zabaozang jing* was lost and no scholar knows the original version of it is, Liang Liling argues that the Sanskrit title of this text was translated from Chinese.[12] She also believes that it was possibly compiled in China as a mixture of other Buddhist literature stories in order to spread the religion.[13] The *Zabaozang jing* was widespread in the Northwest frontier; it received its popularity in the early Tang Dynasty.[14]

The *Zabaozang jing* includes one hundred and twenty one stories with the major aim being the edification of lay audiences to respect and believe in the Buddhist Dharma. It also encourages audiences to make more merit and accumulate merit to achieve positive results by telling different kárma stories. The stories avoid complex doctrinal matters and instead depict the ways in which good deeds motivated by love and devotion are rewarded, and bad deeds performed out of ill-will and hatred are punished. This is an indication of early Buddhism.

The *Avadāna Tale of How Hārītī Lost Her Children* is the one hundred and sixth story. It begins with Hārītī, still called "Mother of Demons" (*Guizimu* 鬼子母), devouring infants. The families who lost their infants appealed to Śākyamuni. Buddha then concealed her youngest son, Priyaṇ kara, under his alms bowl. Hārītī searched far and wide for her missing child for seven days but failed. Then she heard Buddha had all the wisdom so she went to see Buddha and asked him where her child was. Buddha answered, "You are worried and sad for losing only one out of ten

[10] Liang Liling, *Zabaozang jing jiqi gushi yanjiu* 雜寶藏經及其故事研究 (A Study of *Samyuktaratnapitaka-sūtra* and Its Story) (Dharma Drum Publishing Corp. 1998), 7.
[11] Hajime Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism: A Survey with Bibliographical Notes* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1987), 139; Liang Liling, *Zabaozang jing jiqi gushi yanjiu*, 7.
[12] Liang Liling, *Zabaozang jing jiqi gushi yanjiu*, 40.
[13] Ibid., 44.
[14] Ibid.

thousand children, but you eat children of those who only had one or two." Hārītī replied that if she can get Priyaṇ kara back she would never kill another child. Then Buddha showed her where Priyaṇ kara was; however, she could not move the bowl with all her power. She appealed to Buddha and got the answer of take the three surrenders (surrender to Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sagha) and five lay precepts. Hārītī did that at once and got her child back. Buddha instructed her to obey Buddhist disciplines, and informed her previous life. Originally she was the ninth daughter of a King in Kaśyapa Buddha's time, and transformed into a yakṣ iṇ ī because she didn't follow Buddhist precepts.

This story also explains that her husband is Pāñcika, a powerful yakṣ a general. The number of Hārītī's children is ten thousand in this version, and all of them possessed the power of Hercules, among which the youngest was called Priyaṇ kara. The food subsistence and responsibility of Hārītī and her children are not mentioned in this story. As one of the collection stories that express the thought of Hīnayāna Buddhism, the main aim of Hārītī's story is to explain the kárma of her predations was disobeying precepts in her former life, in order to serve as a good example of telling believers the importance to obey Buddhist disciplines.

2.1.3 *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya (Genben shuo yiqie youbu Pinaiye zashi* 根本說一切有部毗奈耶雜事 **hereafter *MSV*)**

The *MSV* is a massive collection of monastic rules of Hīnayāna School, Sarvāstivāda. The text exists in Tibetan and Chinese translations, and partially in

Sanskrit. [15] According to Miranda Shaw's summary, the compilation of this Vinaya dates to the fourth or fifth century, although portions of the work are earlier. The Chinese translation dates from the eighth century. [16]

The *MSV* offers what is apparently the most detailed account of the transformation of Hārītī. At the beginning, the yakṣ iṇ ī Hārītī—known at that time as Abhirati, "Joyful Girl"(Huanxi歡喜)—was the daughter of Sāta, the patron yakṣ a of Rājagṛ ha. Abhirati's father arranged a marriage for her when she was young. When the father died, his duties were passed to his son and daughter, but Abhirati could not follow in her father's footsteps because she had made a vow in a former life to prey on the children of Rājagṛ ha. Then her brother, Sātagiri quickly arranged for her marriage to Pāñcika, son of the patron yakṣ a of Gāndhāra. However, after she gave birth to five hundred offspring, the force of her vow could no longer be denied. Impelled to action by her baneful pledge, the yakṣ iṇ ī descended on Rājagṛ ha with her children and terrorized the populace by abducting and consuming children.

When townspeople found out it was Abhirati preying on the city, they responded that such a malicious yakṣ iṇ ī did not deserve the name "Joyful Girl" and dubbed her Hārītī, "Thief", because she was stealing their children. Similar to other stories, the victims turned to Śākyamuni Buddha for protection. Śākyamuni concealed the yakṣ iṇ ī's youngest son, Priyaṇ kara, under his alms bowl and magically rendered the boy invisible. When Hārītī came to ask for her child, just as in the narrative related above, Buddha converted her by urging her to recognize that

[15] Satoshi Hiraoka, "The Relation between the Divyavadana and the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya" *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 26, no.5 (1998): 419.

[16] Shaw, *Buddhist Goddesses of India*, 468.

if the loss of one child among five hundred left her so heartbroken, how much greater must be the suffering of those whose only child she had taken.

Buddha promised that Hārītī and her offspring would be fed in all his monasteries. He pledged that wherever his disciples sat down for a meal, a plate for Hārītī would be included at the end of the row, she and her children would be invoked, and sufficient food would be provided they would never hunger. Śākyamuni then pronounced that Hārītī and her offspring should protect the monks and nuns and vigilantly guard his monasteries day and night, granting them peace and security as long as his community exists.

This version gives another explaination of what karmic conditions had led Hārītī to prey on children. In a former life Hārītī had been a herdswoman in Rājagṛ ha. She went to the marketplace to sell buttermilk on a festival day and encountered five hundred people on the way to the celebration. Although she was pregnant at the time, she couldn't resist their invitation to join them. She danced to the point of exhaustion and suffered a miscarriage; the five hundred people left her and went on to the celebration place, which caused her to become deranged. She proceeded on her way and traded her buttermilk for five hundred mangos. Then she encountered a Pratyeka Buddha (solitary Buddha). Impressed by his saintly demeanor, she bowed before him and offered him the five hundred mangos. Then she made a pledge, by the merit of her offering, to seek revenge for her miscarriage by devouring the children of the citizens of Rājagṛ ha. Thus it came to pass, in fulfillment of her vow, that she was reborn in Rājagṛ ha as a yakṣ iṇ ī, and had the power to suck vitality from humans and consume children.[17]

[17] Shaw, *Buddhist Goddesses of India*, 111-3; T. 24 360c29-363b7.

This version explains how she got the name “Hārītī”, why her husband is Pāñcika, and why she devoured children. The responsibility of Hārītī in this version is to guard Buddhist monasteries day and night, granting peace and security of the Buddhist community. This story also shows how Hārītī and her offspring would be fed in all Buddhist monasteries. Since the *MSV* is a massive collection of monastic rules, therefore, it became an official rule in Buddhist community in the fourth or fifth century.

2.1.4 *Da yaochanu huanximu bing aizi chengjiufa* 大藥叉女歡喜母並愛子成就法 and *Helidimu zhenyan jing* 訶利帝母真言經

The *Da yaochanu huanximu bing aizi chengjiufa* and *Helidimu zhenyan jing* were translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra (705-774 C.E.) in 746-771 C.E. during the Tang Dynasty. The date or presence of the Sanskrit originals was not clear.

In the account in *Da yaochanu huanximu bing aizi chengjiufa*, the Chinese name of Hārītī is no longer rendered as “Mother of Demons” (*Guizimu* 鬼子母) but is instead “Joyful Mother” (Huanximu 歡喜母). It omits Hārītī’s predation and simplifies the process of Hārītī conversion. It starts with Hārītī, the patron yakṣ iṇ ī of a kingdom who had five thousand subordinates and five hundred children, paying a visit to Buddha. Buddha asked Hārītī to accept him as her spiritual guide and instructed Hārītī to resist violent and evil, protect all sentient beings, and grant all newborn children in Rājagṛ ha and Jambudvipa fearless. Hārītī agreed to follow his teachings and promised she would protect all newborn children from the attack of

evil spirits just as Buddha mentioned. Hārītī raises her concern over food, just as mentioned before, but Buddha promised her his disciples would offer food to them.

This text sheds light upon new features of Hārītī. After the conversion, she asked Buddha to permit her to say out her Dhāraṇī that could remove all disasters and terror. The Dhāraṇī was about eighty-seven Chinese characters long. After finishing the Dhāraṇī, Hārītī confirmed again that her Dhāraṇī was very powerful and could satisfy all wishes. Buddha was satisfied with her Dhāraṇī and asked her to protect his disciples, granting them peace and security. Hārītī also explained how to practice her Dhāraṇī, including the method of painting her image and different rituals for different wills.

According to Hārītī's depiction, the image should be painted on white silk. She should be painted as a very beautiful heavenly goddess wearing precious cloth in white and red color, ornamented with earrings, a coronet, bracelets and other adornments. She should be seated on a dais with the right leg pending down. On each side of the dais and her knees, two children should be placed. The one named Priyaṇkara should be rested in her left arm. Therefore, nine children should be depicted with her. Her right hand should be placed near the breast and held an auspicious fruit. Moreover, on each side of her, maids and attendants holding white whisk or other Buddhist staff should be depicted.

The text provides the method of how to call Hārītī and what kinds of prayers she could fulfill. There are mainly two types of wishes. One is to obtain good fortune: such as achieving success, acquiring the admiration of somebody, being respected and loved by a woman, or winning a debate. The other type of prayer she could fulfill is to solve problems such as finding a hidden person, geting borrowed

money back, coping with uncertain things (evil spirit, court case, dystocia, injustice) and becoming easier to marry.[18]

The *Helidimu zhenyan jing* focuses even more on the Dhāraṇī of Hārītī. It starts directly with Hārītī asking Buddha's permission to say out her Dhāraṇī. The Dhāraṇī could fulfill all wishes and bring happy and peace to all good men and women on Jambudvipa. It was about twelve Chinese characters long.

Different from the former one, the main power of Hārītī described in this text is to grant progeny to the childless. There was concrete instruction to those who could not bear children or miscarriage for no reason. According to the instruction, one should paint an image of Hārītī and practice the ritual and Dhāraṇī in front of the image. Hārītī should be painted on a white silk as a heavenly goddess in a golden color and be wearing a precious cloth, ornamented with jewels and other adornments. She should be seated on a dais with the both legs pending down, two of the children were standing on each side of the dais and two were sitting on her knees and one child in her left arm. Her right hand should hold an auspicious fruit. Five children should be depicted with her in this version, and her maids and attendants are not mentioned.

However, the conversion story of Hārītī was mentioned in the texts. While it explained the other wishes she could fulfill, like being respected and loved by others, getting new clothes, wanting a long life, and solving troubles other people brought. It is said that one has to make offerings to Buddha and other Bodhisattvas such as Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra first in order to fulfill their wishes. Hārītī explained the reason of doing that was she used to be a yakṣiṇī and Buddha

[18] T. 21 286a1-288b16.

instructed her to take refugee under the three treasures of Buddhism and five lay percepts.[19]

2.1.5 Interpretation of Various Accounts

Among the five Chinese Buddhist literatures related to Hārītī mentioned above, the first three focus on her conversion story while the last two focus on the ritual practice. As the earliest account of Hārītī, the *Fo shuo Guizimu jing* reveals that Hārītī has five hundred children, and her function is to grant progeny to the childless. It also mentions that her shrine will be near a Buddhist monastery. In the fifth-century translation, the *Zabaozang jing* adds some more information about Hārītī. It introduces her husband is Pāñcika, and changes the number of Hārītī's children to ten thousand. While in the record of the *MSV*, which was compiled in the fourth or fifth century, the responsibility of Hārītī is to guard Buddhist monasteries day and night, granting peace and security of the Buddhist community. As a monastic rule, Hārītī and her offspring would be fed in all Buddhist monasteries. The *Da yaochanu huanximu bing aizi chengjiufa*, translated into Chinese in the early eighth century, covers all functions of Hārītī mentioned in the above texts, such as granting progeny to the childless, guarding the Buddhist community, protecting all sentient beings, and especially protecting all newborn children from the attack of evil spirits. These two texts also elaborate her function by providing instructions to make Hārītī's image and practice her Dhāraṇ ī in order to mak for easy delivery, happy child rearing and parenting, harmony between husband and wife, and the well-being and safety of the family.

[19] T. 21 289b15-290a29.

Although the narratives of Hārītī's story and function became more and more elaborate as time goes on, her conversion to Buddhism is always emphasized. In the depiction of function, Hārītī is always associated with to granting progeny to the childless and protecting all sentient beings from evil spirits.

2.2 Hārītī Images and Hārītī Cult in India

In the detailed version of her legend from the *MSV*, related above, Śākyamuni addressed that Hārītī should receive food offerings whenever the monks or nuns have a meal. Yijng's invaluable reportage indicates that Hārītī was also worshiped by lay people (which will be mentioned below). These two records reveal that Hārītī was an integral part of Indian Buddhist monastic life.

Although Hārītī is classified as a yakṣ iṇ ī, her representations were slightly different from the conventional yakṣ iṇ ī figural type. Yakṣ iṇ ī were almost always depicted in a standing posture, sensuously posed and scantily clad, generally canopied by a tree or lotus parasol. Their association with fertility and abundance was expressed primarily by fruit, flowers, vegetation, vessels, elaborate hip girdles, aquatic motifs, and only rarely by the presence of a child.[20] Hārītī, however, is a stately figure, a mature matron rather than a young maiden, dignified in posture, radiating an air of majesty. Her iconographic emblem is the children that sport at her feet and rest on her lap and shoulders.

An examination of her worship condition and iconographies in India could help us to know better about her transformations and evolution in nature and character in different periods in China. In India, there are various iconographies of

[20] Shaw, *Buddhist Goddesses of India*, 122.

Hārītī: seated, standing, with her children or with her husband and children. Moreover, she is placed near the entrance of a monastery, either on the porch or in a corner of the dining-hall of Indian monasteries.

The earliest surviving depictions of Hārītī date from the Kuṣ āṇ a period (first-third centuries C.E.);[21]and there are images of Hārītī known to survive from the Pāla period (eighth-twelfth centuries).[22] This information shows that the goddess continued to receive worship and visual interpretations in India from the first through the third centuries and the eighth through the twelfth centuries.

It is in Gāndhāra that the early images of Hārītī are noticed. Take a third-century statue as an example (Fig. 2.1), Hārītī is seated on a throne in the frontal *pralambapāda* pose, with her knees spread and feet firmly planted on a small dais. She despalys a posture signifying royalty and authority. Simialr to the descriptions in the two texts that translated into Chinese in the Tang Dynasty, she cradles an infant in one of her arms and holds a bunch of grapes in the other hand. However, things in each hand was opposite of that descriped in texts. Her clothing and adornments bear the strong Greco-Roman imprint of the style. Her beautifully coifed hair, its every wave rendered with loving attention, is drawn into a topknot that rises above her coronet. Her serene, gently smiling face is marked with floral designs. Hārītī is opulently ornamented with dangling earrings, a heavy necklace, bracelets (visible beneath her sleeves), and anklets. Her classical-style robes convey a sense of luxury, too, with their sumptuously pooling folds, except where the fabric is stretched smooth over her breasts; and her ornately pleated sleeves are embellished with embroidery or beading.[23] She is depicted with eight children: as typical, she cradles

[21] Ibid., 122.
[22] Ibid., 132.
[23] Ibid., 122.

one in her arm while the other children perch on her shoulders and sport at her feet in playful attitudes. The child on her shoulder plays cymbals and the two children beside her right foot wrestle; the toddler at her feet plucks a grape and bears a piece of fruit or a toy. All the children wear varied adornments (necklaces, armbands, bracelets) that signal their superhuman status.

This statue displays many recurrent features of Gāndhāran artistic treatments of Hārītī. Some works, however, show her in a standing pose, and her outer garment may be draped over one shoulder in the manner of an Indian sari (Fig. 2.2).

Hārītī's images are also found in the company of her companion Pāñcika in Gāndhāra, either combined in a single relief (Fig. 2.3) or in separate reliefs placed in paired niches. As mentioned in *MSV,* Pāñcika is son of the patron yakṣ a general of Gāndhāra, whom Hārītī lived with as a husband for a period before returning to Rājagṛ ha with her children to devour infants. In artistic representations, Pāñcika is depicted as a regal figure, mustachioed, turbaned, richly adorned, and well built. His identifying attributes are a spear, reflecting his martial aspect, and a bulging coin purse, signifying the granting of wealth.[24] In Gāndhāra Pāñcika sometimes leans on his lance and holds a purse, suggesting his role both as a warrior and dispenser of riches. In keeping with this Hārītī often carries a cornucopia or the "horn of plenty" or a noose, while in some cases she is seen as holding a vessel.[25] In Fig 2.3, Hārītī bears the same feature with Fig 2.1. Her hair is waved carefully and drawn into a topknot that rises above her coronet. She is crowned with a laurel wreath that centers on a rosette, and her earrings are in the shape of corns. Rosettes and vegetative

[24] Ibid., 127.

[25] Mallar Mitra, "Hārītī in Buddhist Monasteries," in *Historical Archaeology of India: A Dialogue between Archaeologists and Historians*, ed. by Amita Ray and Samir Mukherjee (New Delhi: Books and Books, 1990), 323.

motifs are creatively integrated into the carvings, subtly alluding to Hārītī's association with earthly fertility and abundance.[26] She is surrounded by four plump children. The child in her left arm is suckling, while playing the mother's necklace with his left hand. All children are naked and ornamented with anklets.

Images of Hārītī have also been found in the Mathurā region, another important center of Buddhist artistic production during the Kuṣ āṇ a era (45-250 C.E.). The Mathurān vision of Hārītī is designed in conformity with the prevailing idiom for portraying divine mothers, similar infant-cradling figures with one or more children at the base.[27]

In the later representations, the clothing, ornaments, figural type, and posture of Hārītī reflect regional stylistic developments and broader Buddhist iconographic trends. The famous relief at Ajanta (Fig. 2.5) records a transitional phase in the artistic conception of Hārītī. She has an elaborate hairstyle and a coronet reminiscent of the Gāndhāra effigies; however, she is bare-breasted and wears a diaphanous lower garment, in conformity with Indic artistic conventions. Her massive body proportions and rotund breasts characterized her portrayal for several centuries, conveying her character as a prosperous matron. Her legs, departing from the configuration seen in earlier images, are shown here with one folded inward and the other pendant, in the posture of royal ease. She supports a child with her left hand, while the right bears a partially effaced object that appears to be a cluster of fruit on a long stem. She is accompanied by Pāñcika, who is seated on her left. Eleven children, two of them straddling horses, wrestle and sport across the lower register of the relief, reproducing the pattern seen in the Gāndhāran and Mathurān examples illustrated above.

[26] Shaw, *Buddhist Goddesses of India*, 124.
[27] Ibid., 128.

A distinctive aspect of this relief is the presence of a pictorial narrative of Hārītī's conversion and worship. The shrine walls are covered with sculpts and painted vignettes illustrating the well-known conversion story. The right side depicted a flailing, wild-eyed and four-armed Hārītī approaching Buddha, and the scene on the left shows a peaceful Hārītī kneeling in reverence. The end of the depiction is a scene of women and children bringing and piling offerings before Hārītī and bowing at her feet.[28]

The relief at Ratnagiri is iconographically and stylistically similar to the Ajanta one (Fig 2.4). Her hairstyle remains elaborate, piled high on her head and held in place by strands of beads; however, she now wears a crown that made of a jeweled diadem adorned with a band of flowers rather than a coronet. The ample contours of her body and breasts are accented by intricately detailed ornaments, multiple bangles, a hip girdle with a floral clasp, and bell anklets. The presence of offspring remains constant, as her primary identifying attribute. However, her many children are nowrepresented by a single child perched on her left thigh, supported by her left arm.[29] Hārītī's upraised right hand holds a stalk of grain with the treasure-displaying mudrā, signaling her association with agricultural fertility, a theme subtly echoed by the floral pattern on her throne.

The above discussion illustrates the iconographic depiction of Hārītī in India and bears continuity in time and prevalence in space. Some works show her in a sitting posture with either one leg pendant (Fig. 2.4) or both legs pendant (Fig. 2.1), while some other works show her in a standing posture (Fig. 2.2). In some cases she is depicted singly with along with her children (Fig. 2.1, fig. 2.2). In other cases, she

[28]Richard S. Cohen, "Nāga, Yakṣ iṇ ī, Buddha: Local Deities and Local Buddhism at Ajanta." *History of Religions* 37, no.4 (May 1998): 381-91 and figs. 5-10.
[29] Ibid., 130.

is accompanied by her consort whereas her depiction is of her consort Pāñcika as well as her children (Fig. 2.3). Though there is a regional stylistic development trends in the clothing, ornaments, figural type, and posture of Hārītī's representation, the main attribute of her image—cradling a child in her left arm and holding auspicious fruit in right hand—keeps in conformity with each other.

This attribute reminds us the most important function of Hārītī, granting progeny to childless. Moreover, this attribute is also in conformity with the accounts of Hārītī's iconography in the two texts that translated into Chinese in the Tang Dynasty (*Da yaochanv huanximu bing aizi chengjiufa* and *Helidimu zhenyan jing)* that mentioned above.

Both textual and archaeological evidences from India suggest that the goddess Hārītī has played an important role in the religious life and beliefs of people. The extant firsthand account of worship of Hārītī in India, provided by Yijing (seventh century), confirms that food offerings were central to her cult. The Chinese pilgrim relates in brief her conversion tale and Buddha's promise that the yakṣ iṇ ī and her family would be fed daily in his monasteries, continuing:

> For this reason, an image of Hārītī is found either in the porch or in a corner of the dining-hall of all Indian monasteries, depicting her as holding a babe in her arms, and round her knees three or five children. Every day and abundant offering of food is made before this image.[30]

Significantly, Yijing reports that laypersons made their own offerings at these altars and informs us of two of the benefactions they sought:

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30 Takakusu, trans. *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago (A.D. 671-695), by I-Tsing* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1998), 37.

> [Hārītī] has the power of giving wealth. If those who are childless on account of their bodily weakness (pray to her for children), making offerings of food, their wish is always fulfilled.[31]

The second benefaction causes one to recall the depictions of benefits one could get from practicing Hārītī's Dhāraṇ ī in *Helidimu zhenyan jing*： those who could not bear children or have miscarriage, if they paint an image of Hārītī and practice ritual and Dhāraṇ ī in front of her, and then the wish would be fulfilled.[32]

Yijing also reports on a bimonthly ritual in which the laity feasted with monastic residents and Hārītī at the same table. He describes the seating arrangement, with images of Arhats (Buddha's enlighten disciples) at the head, followed by the row of monks, and ending with Hārītī.[33]

Related to the practice that Yijing recorded with the depiction in the *MSV* that Śākyamuni addressed in regards to monastic worship of Hārītī, stipulating that she should receive food offerings whenever the monks or nuns have a meal, which is clear that Hārītī figured in both daily worship and regular ritual events and provided a vital interface between the lay and monastic communities. For monastic residents, she served as a "Dharma-protector", a being who safeguards Buddhist institutions and teachings and those who follow them. Her effigies also drew laypersons to the monasteries, knowing they could find there not only spiritual guidance but also emotional comfort and hope for more immediate benefits of progeny, prosperity, good health, and success in worldly undertakings.[34]

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[31] Ibid.
[32] T. 21 289c3-18.
[33] Ibid., 36.
[34] Shaw, *Buddhist Goddesses of India*, 121.

There may also have been temples devoted to Hārītī. The remains of two such temples that have been unearthed in Andhra Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh.[35] Xuanzang reported on a stupa erected at Peshawar in Gāndhāra by Aslka to mark the site of Hārītī's conversion:

> Going northwest about 50 pl from these stupas there is another stupa. Here Sākya, Tathāgata converted the Mother of the demons and caused her to refrain from hurting men. It is for this reason the common folk of this country offer sacrifices to obtain children from her.[36]

When he visited the area in the seventh century, the stupa was still in worship by local women for its child-bestowing powers.

In the earliest account of Hārītī that appears only in Chinese—*Fo shuo Guizimu jing (Hārītī Sūtra)*—that dated from late third or early fourth century, Hārītī expressed her desire to live near Buddha and to have her children join her, follow his teachings, and serve the beings who live on and above the earth. Śākyamuni praised her aspirations and promised that in the future she would live near a Buddhist monastery. This statement is consistent with Yijing's account that the "image of Hārītī is found either in the porch or in a corner of the dining-hall of all Indian monasteries"; therefore, the placement or location of Hārītī in Buddhist monastery is fixed, and this attribute is also proven from archaeological finds.

At Ajanta, in Cave2 (fifth century), a monastery, on each side of the antechamber is a subsidiary pillared chamber. The right one contains the seated figures of Hārītī and her consort Pāñcika (Fig. 2.5).[37]

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[35] Ibid., 121.
[36] Samuel Beal, trans. *Si-yu-ki: Buddhsit Records of the Western World. Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 629)*(New York: Paragon, 1968), 110-11.
[37] Mitra, "Hārītī in Buddhist Monasteries," 323.

At Ratnagiri, a seated image of Hārītī is within a niche of the east wall of the rear porch beyond the gate of Monastery 1(late seventh or early eighth century) (Fig. 2. 4).[38]

Of the two monasteries unearthed at Sirpur, on the west wall of the rear porch of the oblong one, entered through the gate, there is an image of Pāñcika. On the central courtyard of the second monastery is a dislocated image of Hārītī, which originally was either close to the dining place or more likely fixed into a wall of the porch.[39]

2.3 Conclusion

Hārītī's conversion story and functions described in Buddhist texts became elaborate as time went on, however, the core of Hārītī's conversion story remains similar with varied texts and depictions. Hārītī's responsibilities are to grant progeny to the childless, guard children, grant them peace and security to monasteries, guard and increase wealth, and protect all sentient beings from all evil spirits.

The iconography and function of Hārītī in India are coherent with Buddhist texts. All the iconography, placements, and postures of Hārītī in India have evidence in the accounts of Buddhist texts. Hārītī's images are placed either in the porch or in a corner of the dining-hall of Indian monasteries. Her iconographic attribute is cradling a child in her left arm and holding an auspicious fruit in her right hand, with several children who play at her feet and rest on her lap and shoulders. The representation of her clothing, hairstyle, ornaments, and posture reflects Indian regional stylistic developments.

[38] Ibid., 324.
[39] Ibid., 324.

Chapter Three Visual Representations of Hārītī as a Subordinate Figure in a Narrative Story

Among the different types of extant representations of Hārītī, narrative depictions are the earliest, namely in Kizil Caves and Yungang Cave 9. In these narrative depictions, the central theme is of telling a story in Śākyamuni's life. Hārītī is not the main figure, nor is she a cult figure that is meant to receive independent worship. This chapter is set to discuss on the first type of Hārītī's visual representation in China, in order to get the idea of the depiction and Hārītī's role in these narrative stories.

3.1 Images Related to Hārītī in Kizil Caves

Kizil is located at 7 km southeast of the modern town of Kezier in Baicheng County, Xinjiang Province. The place belonged to Kucha kingdom where Buddhism once flourished. Kizil is the largest and the best-researched Buddhist cave site in Xinjiang. There are 236 catalogued caves in Kizil now, which date from the late third century to the ninth century C.E. These caves could be classified into two ways according to their function: worship caves and residence caves. The worship caves can be divided in to three categories due to their different shape style: the central-pillar cave, the square cave, and the colossal-image cave. Paintings and

sculptures mainly exist in worship caves. There are about 80 worship caves in Kizil and 51 of them are central-pillar caves. [40]

The Kizil central-pillar caves (Fig. 3.1) have an unusually consistent and uniform iconographic scheme: narrative scenes of Buddha's preaching on the side walls on the main chamber; *jataka* or *avadāna* stories on the ceiling in the main chamber; subject matters that relate to the parinirvāṇa on the back corridor, and Maiterya in the area of interior tympanum over the portal of on the main chamber.

The theme of the cave paintings is conceptually divided into two parts: the deeds and teachings of the historic Buddha, Śākyamuni, are commemorated in the front section, and the stories related to the parinirvāṇa, dominates the rear section. Upon leaving the rear chamber and returning to the main chamber, the image of Maitreya, Buddha of the future, points to the coming of a new age, completing the Buddhist cycle of the present.[41] Thus, in short, all the paintings in the central-pillar cave are centered around Śākyamuni.

At Kizil, paintings involving Hārītī are the *avadāna* type of stories, which appear in the central-pillar cave on the vaulted ceiling either of the main chamber or of the corridor, and framed in the uniquely Kizil diamond-shaped unit (Fig. 3.2).[42] The five images related to Hārītī at Kizil appear in cave 34, cave 80, cave 171, cave

[40] Ma Shichang 馬世長 "Kezier zhongxinzhuku zhushi quanding yu houshi de bihua" 克孜爾中心柱主室券頂與後室的壁畫 in *Zhongguo shiku—Kezier shiku III* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1996), 174-175.

[41] In a small number of caves, the interior is completely covered with a Thousand-Buddha pattern, which is related more to the decorative scheme of the Chinese caves. According to the C-14 results, wall painting with this type of decoration is generally later in date than the examples cited here. Very often, this layer of painting would have been added to the cave interior during subsequent renovation. See Leung Andrew K. Y., "*The architecture of central-pillar cave in China and Central Asia: A typological study"* (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2007), 136.

[42] Some scholars believe that this pattern is related to the concept of Mount Sumeru, the central world-mountain in Buddhist cosmology. See Leung Andrew K. Y., "*The architecture of central-pillar cave in China and Central Asia: A typological study"* (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2007), 134.

196 and cave 206.[43] Among these caves, Caves 171 and 80 are well published. All these images are located on the vaulted ceiling. Cave 171 dates from early fifth century.[44] It bears the common composition discussed above. The image of Hārītī is located on the east side of ceiling of the chamber on row number 2 and line number 3 (Fig. 3.2, 3.3). As Fig. 3.3 shows, the background of the diamond-shaped pattern is painted blue. Buddha is the main figure that sits on a platform located in the center of the pattern with his right hand in fear-not *mudrā*. Buddha faces right, looking at the woman on his right side. The woman kneels down on one knee, facing Buddha, with her palms together in *mudrā*, a hand gesture of veneration. She has an aura and wears a big bead on her head, which all indicate her deity status. At the lower section of the diamond-shaped pattern, in front of Buddha's platform, a green container is depicted with a naked child in it faceing Buddha and joining his hands together in *mudrā*.

The image in Cave 80 is similar to that in Cave 171. Cave 80 dates from around seventh century C.E.[45] As shown in Figure 3.4, the image related to Hārītī is on the south side of the ceiling of the chamber, in row number 5 and line number 2 counting from the left. Figure 3.5 is the detail of the depiction. Sharing the same composition with the one in Cave 171, the same three figures appeare in the green mountain pattern. It is clear that these two images are depicting the same episode, which has been mentioned in Buddhist texts related to Hārītī like the *Zabaozang jing* and the *MSV*. In order to stop Hārītī from devouring infants, Buddha concealed her youngest son, Priyaṇ kara, under his alms bowl. Hārītī searched far and wide for her missing child for seven days but failed. Buddha showed her where Priyaṇ kara

[43] Xinjiang Qiuci shiku yanjiusuo 新疆龜茲石窟研究所 *Kezier shiku neirong zonglu* 克孜爾石窟內容總錄 (A Comprehensive Catalog of the Contents of the Kizil Grottoes) (Urumqi: Xinjiang meishu sheying chubanshe, 2000), 295.
[44] Ibid., 190; 344.
[45] Ibid., 92-4.

was, but she could not move the bowl with all her power. Then Buddha urged her to recognize her mistake and converted her. In these visual depictions, the woman represents Hārītī and the naked child in the alms bowl is Priyaṇ kara.

In this kind of visual representations, paintings of Hārītī belong to the *avadāna* story (a kind of moral stories about the previous lives of various saints). Hārītī served as subordinate figure in a narrative story. Viewing from the overall decorative program of the Kizil central-pillar cave, the function of the depiction of the *avadāna* stories served as morality tales, expressing Buddha's virtue. Since one of them is placed on the ceiling, the depiction of Hārītī's conversion story is definitely not for worshiping purpose. In my point of view, the appearance of the story of Hārītī's conversion in Kucha area may relate with the *MSV*. As mentioned in chapter two, the compilation of the Vinaya dates to the fourth or fifth century with portions of the work dating to earlier times. Regarding Kucha Buddhism during medieval times, the only eyewitness account of medieval Kucha comes from Xuanzang 玄奘 when he visited the Central Asian oasis in 628 CE. He wrote:

> There are about a hundred monasteries in this country, with five thousand and more disciples. They belong to the Little Vehicle of the School of Sarvastivadas (*shuoyiqieyoubu* 说一切有部). Their doctrine and their rules of discipline are like those of India, and those who read them use the same originals. They especially hold to customs of the gradual doctrine (*jianjiao* 渐教), and partake only of the three pure kinds of food (*sanjing* 三净). They live purely, and provoke others to a religious life."[46]

Xuanzang's recording demonstrates the booming of Hīnayāna Buddhism in Kucha at that time, and their close relation with India. They read the

[46] Beal, trans. *Si-yu-ki: Buddhsit Records of the Western World*, 19-20.

Indian original texts and followed the Indian doctrine and rules of discipline. It is very possible that the *MSV* is the text origin of the narrative story.

The narrative representation of Hārītī's conversion story is also extant in India. In Cave 2 at Ajanta (Fig. 2.5), there is one Hārītī and Pāñcika shrine on the back walls. The story starts with a wild Hārītī approaching Buddha, then followed by a peaceful Hārītī kneeling in reverence (to Buddha), and closing with a scene of women and children bringing and piling offerings before Hārītī and bowing at her feet.[47] However, neither the depiction nor the function of the story is similar with that in Kizil. The Indian depiction explains how Hārītī was converted in order to express the cult of Hārītī. Moreover, the presence of the pictorial narrative of Hārītī's conversion is not popular in India, and the location of the depiction is in not important in the shrine.

3.2 Depiction of Hārītī in Yungang Grottoes

Yungang Grottoes is located on the southern cliffs of Wuzhou Mountain, 16 kilometers west of the city of Datong. This grotto is one of the three cave sites that is directly associated with the Northern Wei court. It is also one of the earliest cave sites in central China. The total number of caves and niches with assigned numbers is 252, which are dated from the Northern Wei to the Tang dynasties (386-907 C.E.).

The image related to Hārītī is in Cave 9. Cave 9 together with cave 10 forms a pair of caves, or twin caves (Fig. 3.6). According to the newly found stele in Jin Dynasty, Su Bai dated the excavation of Cave 9 and 10 as being started in 484

[47] Shaw, *Buddhist Goddesses of India*, 130.

CE and being completed in 489 CE.[48] They are just a little bit later than the first phase II twin caves—Caves 7 and 8.[49] The narrative depictions of Buddha's life and previous life are the new subject of phase II at Yungang.

On the first layer of Cave 9, the middle part is the gateway, inside the lintel a seated Buddha. The west part of the second layer depict the *avadāna* story of *Guizimu shizi yuan* (鬼子母失子緣 Avadāna Tale of How Hārītī Lost Her Child), while the east part is a niche with a seated Buddha surrounded by his disciples and supported celestial figures. The third layer is divided into three parts: the middle is a niche with a seated Buddha surrounded by four supported celestial figures on his sides, the west part is also a niche with a seated Buddha attended by eight supported celestial figures on his east side, and the east part depict another *avadāna* story. The fourth layer is divided into two parts by the window, with an *avadāna* story depicted in each part. In the antechamber, the three walls are divided into three layers, the main motifs are *Jakata* tales, cross-legged Maitreya in a Bodhisattva dress or a Buddha dress, seated Buddha, or two Buddhas seated together in a niche.

Located on the west part of the second layer of the south wall of the rear chamber in Cave 9, Hārītī is depicted with her husband Pāñcika (Fig. 3.7, 3.8). Actually, the two figures are depicted in a same way, with the same shape, same clothes, same pose, and even the same hair and face. It is impossible to distinguish between man and women directly from their appearance, but Hārītī is only

[48] Ding Mingyi 丁明夷. Yungang yanjiu wushi nian 雲岡研究五十年 (The Fifty Years ' Study on Yungang Grottoes) in *Zhongguo shiku—Yungang shiku II* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991), 176. However, Japanese scholars hold different opinions on the exacted date of the twin caves. Nagahiro Toshio believes their excavation execute from 467 and finish in 475 CE.

[49] Scholars divided Yungang Grottoes into three phases according to the date and artistic style. Phase I, Caves 16-20, excavated in 460-465 CE. Phase II, excavated between 465 to 494 CE, include Caves 1 and 2, Caves 5 and 6, Caves 7 and 8, Caves 9 and 10, forming four pairs, as well as Caves 11, 12 and 13. West of Cave 20 there are many later smaller caves and niches dated after 494 A.D. including Caves 4, 14, 15, which comprise the phase III project.

distinguished from her husband because she is the one who has a child (head broken) in her arms, the iconographic emblem of Hārītī.

Seated in the center of the niche, the size of Hārītī and Pāñcika is much bigger than other figures, showing that they are the major figure of the niche. The halo, scarf and clothes they wear are the same with the celestial figures around them, indicating their deity status. There are five celestial figures kneeling down and worshiping them on their left and four on the right. Worshipping celestial figures is a common motif in Yungang and they almost appear in every niche. Hārītī and Pāñcika are all seated in a pensive pose, with the right leg pending down and the left leg resting on the right knee.

It is popular to depict Hārītī together with Pāñcika in the Gāndhāra region of India, just as those images mentioned in the previous chapter (Fig. 2.3, 2.5). However, the inspiration of depicting Hārītī in companion with Pāñcika at Yungang may come from the *Zabaozang jing*.[50] The *Avadāna Tale of How Hārītī Lost Her Child* in the *Zabaozang jing* first explains that Hārītī's husband is Pāñcika, a powerful yakṣ a general. Though the appearance of Hārītī and Pāñcika are in Chinese style, their clothes are still in western style. It is always difficult for scholars to explain the buzzard hairstyle of Hārītī and Pāñcika since nowhere else found the same style. It is probably because the monks only instructed the workers of the content of story but did not provide with the drawings or models of how to carve them.[51]

[50] According to Hu Wenhe's research on the artistic styles in the Yungang Grottoes. He argues that the sculptures of Yungang Phase II inherited Buddhist art from Gāndhāra and Mathura of the Kushan period (1st to 3rd centuries CE.), and absorbed advanced carving techniques that entered China. Refer to Hu, Wenhe 胡文和 "A Study of the Artistic Styles in the Yungang Grottoes and their Subject Matter: Biographies of the Buddha, Jātaka Tales, and Nidāna Tales.*"Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal* 19 (2006), http://enlight.lib.ntu.edu.tw/FULLTEXT/JR-MAG/mag140378.htm.

[51] Nagahiro Toshio 長廣敏雄. "Yungangshiku di 9,10 shuangku de tezheng 雲岡石窟第9、10

Caves 9 and 10 are the typical caves in Yungang Grottoes where the *Jakata* tales and *avadāna* stories are expressed. They are all depicted on the walls of rear chambers. Among the carved stories, nine tenths of them are based on the *Zabaozang jing* that is translated by Kiñkara and Tan Yao.

Under the Northern Wei however there was a very significant event—a three-year long persecution of Buddhism during which virtually all activities of the Buddhist community were suspended. It ended in 459-460 CE allowing many Buddhist believers to come out of hiding. In 460 CE Tan Yao, who survived hidden as a lay-man, was made the master of the sramanas at the court and ordered to build the five great caves at Yungang. While directing the excavation of the caves, Tan also translated several *sūtra* and the *Zabaozang jing* is one of them. The *Jakata* tales and *avadāna* stories in Caves 9 and 10 might indicate, in the period of Northern Wei that Mahāyāna Buddhism is in prevalence. This also suggests that monks did not give up using *Jakata* tales and *avadāna* stories to spread Buddhism. The depiction of Hārītī, as that in Kizil, is not placed in an important position of the cave, usually placed on the walls or ceilings, still served as a subordinate figure that foils the major figure, in order to glorify Buddha and disseminate Buddhist teachings.

3.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I reviewed the visual representation of Hārītī as a subordinate figure in the narrative stories in Kizil and Yungang caves. The depiction in Kizil resembles a version of the "Avadāna Tale of How Hārītī Lost Her Children" recorded in the *Zabaozang jing* and the *MSV*. The depiction in Yungang caves

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雙窟的特征 (The characteristics of the Twin Caves 9 and 10 in Yungang Grottoes)," in *Zhongguo shiku—Yungang shiku II* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991), 206.

depicts Hārītī seated together with her husband Pāñcika—inspired by the new information of Hārītī in *Zabaozang jing*. Although depicted in different ways, they are both based on certain Buddhist texts. However, the most important is the same function Hārītī played in both representations. She was not the main figure that received worship, she appeared only as a secondary figure in one Buddhist narrative story among the large amount of stories, glorifying Buddha and assisting to disseminate Buddhist teachings.

In later times, with the spread of related Buddhist texts, Hārītī's conversion story became a theme among artists and was represented in paintings of the Tang and Song dynasties and even Yuan dramas.[52] According to the literary sources, there was a painting on Hārītī's conversion story on the west wall of the main hall of Xiangguo Temple, the imperial temple of Northern Song. The painting is called *Guizimu jiebo tu* 鬼子母揭缽圖 (Hārītī Opens the Alms Bowl), and the content of the painting is about the scene in which Buddha converted Hārītī. In composition of this, Buddha's image takes most of the space while Hārītī and her attendants only show on the side as subordinate figures.[53] There is no doubt that *Guizimu jiebo tu* is also a narrative painting, Hārītī appears in her conversion story only as the subordinate figure to glorify Buddha.

[52] The Yuan drama is titled *Guizimu ji bo ji* 鬼子母揭缽記 (On Hārītī Opens the Alms Bowl), see Xiang Yurong 項裕榮, "Jiuzimu Guizimu Songziguanyin"九子母 鬼子母 送子觀音, *Ming Qing xiaoshuo yanjiu* 明清小說研究 2 (2005): 178.

[53] Duan Yuming段玉明, *Xiang Guo Si—zai Tang Song diguo de shensheng yu fansu zhijian* 相國寺—在唐宋帝國的神聖與凡俗之間 (Xiang Guo Temple—Between the Sacred and Profane in Tang and Song Empire)(Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 2004), 133.

Chapter Four Independent Representations of Hārītī in China

In visual representations, sometimes, Hārītī is depicted as the main figure. In this type of image, Hārītī is meant to receive independent worship. This type of Hārītī image includes both paintings and stone sculptures. There are two paintings of Hārītī as the main figure that still exist till today. One is a wall painting found in Farhād-Bēg-yailaki, Khotan area, Xinjiang Province, China; the other is a painting on ramie found in a temple of Yarkhoto, Turfan, Xinjiang Province, China. Nine stone sculptures of Hārītī still remain in China, mainly located in Bazhong Caves and Dazu Stone Carvings sites in Sichuan Province. In this chapter, I will analyze the extant visual representations in order to find out their artistic characteristics first. Then, the relationship between these visual representations and Buddhist texts and the cult of Hārītī will be discussed. Due to the lack of relevant studies on the later development of Hārītī in the academics, I hope my work can provide some clarification on this issue.

4.1 Independent Visual Representations of Hārītī

As mentioned above, there are eleven independent visual representations in total which could be divided in to four groups: wall painting found in Farhād-Bēg-yailaki, ramie painting found in Yarkhoto, stone sculptures found in Bazhong Caves, and stone sculptures found in Dazu Stone Carvings.

4.1.1 Wall Painting in Farhād-Bēg-yailaki

Farhād-Bēg-yailaki lies on the southern Silk Road, in ancient Kingdom of Khotan. Here A. Stein explored the remains of Buddhist shrines, which he dated from the fourth to the sixth centuries C.E.[54] Hārītī, protector of children, is found "painted in tempera on a coating of mortar, in the embrasure of the door of a little Buddhist sanctuary."[55]

As the principal figure, Hārītī is seated in frontal view, with a round face (Fig. 4.1). Her hair is displayed in two symmetrical lovelocks. Both the elongated matching eyes and the folds of the neck are drawn in Indian fashion. The perforated and frightfully distended lobes of the ears and the net of pearls in the hair may be her only adornment. The triple circular orbs of the nimbus show her goddess status. The goddess is dressed to the waist in a short cassock, of a rich greenish hue, spotted with yellow and trimmed with fawn braid. A turquoise-colored scarf hangs in folds in the hollows of her arms. Her left hand, with straightened index, rests on the front of her knee and is bent in the Indian manner.

The lower part of the painting has suffered much from the abrasion of bypassers because the entrance served as a passage for worshippers in former times; however, according to A. Foucher, two little figures clothed and gamboling could still be distinguished near the left foot of Hārītī. While near Hārītī's right foot is a little naked boy seeming to be getting out of the way of a blow struck by a person completely effaced. There is a naked child clinging to Hārītī's left breast, as if asking to be suckled, while another little boy is seated astride on her right forearm. Two

[54] THE SILK ROAD & THE V&A COLLECTION, Farhād-Bēg-yailaki. http://www.vam.ac.uk/collections/asia/asia_features/stein_collection/silk_road/map_4/index.html (accessed July 26, 2010).

[55] Alfred Foucher, *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art and Other Essays in Indian and Central Asian Archaeology*, English ed. (Varanasi: Indological Book House, 1972), 285.

more, one of whom is dressed in red robe, ride familiarly on her shoulders. [56]

This painting of Hārītī bears strong Indian characteristics. There are originally eight children depicted with her, which is the conventional number common portrayed in India.[57] Moreover, the naked children who sit on her shoulders and rest in her arms are also reminiscent of the Indian effigies (Fig. 2.1, 2.2).

4.1.2 Ramie Painting in Yarkhoto

Yarkhoto is an oasis town that served as the capital of Turfan until the Tang Dynasty (618-907 C.E.). The painting of Hārītī painted on a ramie (Fig. 4.2) is found in a Tang Dynasty temple. There is nothing depicted on the back of the ramie, so it is likely that this painting was originally posted on a larger textile, or at least inlaid with wide or narrow decorative textile.[58]

Enthroned on a richly ornamented seat, Hārītī faces left and nurses a baby in her right arm. The baby is wrapped in swaddling clothes with only his head exposed. He has the same East Asian type of face as Hārītī and the other children around them. A yellow-and-red nimbus surrounds Hārītī's head. On her head she wears a carmine-red kerchief lined in white, with a decoratively embroidered border, which is secured by means of two lateral ribbons at ear level tied in a bow at the back. Her only jewels are earrings and a string of beads lying snugly around the neck. The collar and edges of her orange-red robe, which reaches down to her feet and is fastened in the middle, are decorated with an embroidered border identical to that on the kerchief. The robe is patterned with yellow lozenges divided into four by

[56] Ibid.

[57] Miranda Shaw, *Buddhist Goddesses of India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 122.

[58] Albert von Le Coq, *Gaochang-Tulufan gudaiyishu zhenpin* 高昌吐魯番古代藝術珍品 (Ancient Art Treasures in Gaochang and Turfan), trans. Zhao Chongmin 趙崇民 (Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1998), 120.

two black lines at right angles to each other. Her right foot, the only one remaining, is concealed in a small dark slipper like a ballet shoe that rests on the base of the throne.[59]

Hārītī is depicted with nine children, and she is the central figure in a group of eight small children at play. They are vigorous and plump little boys. All of the boys wear crowns of shaven tufts of hair and necklaces ornamented with medallions are around their necks. Reminiscent of chubby Chinese cherubs, their bodies are naked apart form a loincloth passing between their legs and tied in a bow at the back. They are occupied in various activities: some are playing ball, one is plucking a stringed instrument, one is carrying a bowl of melon slices, and another is holding a pitcher on his head.

The date of this painting is uncertain. According to Alfred Foucher, this painting dates to at least the beginning of the seventh century, because the woman's costume is of a fashion already Uigur and not to mention the extreme obliquity of the eyes.[60] Other scholars are of the opinion that this painting is no later than the ninth century.[61]

The image of Hārītī image in this painting resembles the description of Hārītī in the two Buddhist texts translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra in the early period of the Tang Dynasty. According to these two texts, Hārītī should be painted on a white silk as a heavenly goddess in golden color. She should be wearing a precious cloth and ornamented with a coronet and other adornments. She should be

[59] Herbert Hartel, *Along the Ancient Silk Routes: Central Asian Art from the West Berlin State Museums: An Exhibition Lent by the Museum für Indische Kunst, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Federal Republic of Germany* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1982), 206.

[60] Foucher, *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art and Other Essays in Indian and Central Asian Archaeology*, 275.

[61] Hartel, *Along the Ancient Silk Routes: Central Asian Art from the West Berlin State Museums: An Exhibition Lent by the Museum für Indische Kunst, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Federal Republic of Germany*, pl. 147.

postioned on a dais with both legs pending down, while holding a child in her left arm and an auspicious fruit in the right hand.

Except for the auspicious fruit in her hand and the attendants that stand on each side of Hārītī, there is a high degree of consistency between this painting of Hārītī and the depiction in Buddhist texts. Referring to the children, the texts only mentioned nine or five children around Hārītī, with no other details recorded. Even in India, the number of children around her is unsettled.

4.1.3 Stone Sculptures in Bazhong Caves

Sichuan became one of the most prolific regions for Buddhist art during the Tang Dynasty. Nurtured by centuries of figurative art production and supported by relative political and economic stability, Sichuan sculptures reached maturity much as its northern counterpart did. More importantly, the province continued as in earlier times to search for its own mode of expression rather than depend exclusively on the dynastic north for inspiration.[62]

Bazhong is located in northern Sichuan, which connects Sichuan with the Central Plains. The niches of statues in Bazhong mainly belong to the Sui and Tang dynasties. Prior to the mid-eighth century was the peak period of Bazhong statues.[63] There are three niches in Bazhong related with Hārītī: Niche 68, Niche 74, and Niche 81.

Niche 68 is a typical Sichuan style that is characterized by a circular arch with a double-layered niche, due to the frequently rainy climate of Sichuan.[64] The

[62] Angela Falco Howard et al. *Chinese Sculpture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 201.
[63] Lei Yuhua 雷玉華, "*Bazhongshiku yanjiu"* 巴中石窟研究 (On Bazhong Grottos) (PhD diss., Sichuan University, 2005), 69-74.
[64] Ibid.

main figures in the niche do not exist. Only two attendants are left inside the niche, and two powerful guardians stand on each side of the niche. There are two main figures at the center of the niche, and one attendant figure at each side of them. However, only these figure's halos, two peach-shaped and two round halos, and a Chinese character "佛" (Buddha) still exist in the back wall of niche. Hārītī is depicted at the basement of the niche (Fig. 4.3). She sits with cross-legged at the center with a child in her arms. Both of them are shown in the front. Hārītī's hairstyle is highly characterist of Chinese hairstles: piled on her head in the shape of a discoid. She also wears a Chinese-style garment, a short-sleeved coat with collar pending down, a long-sleeved blue undershirt, and a long blue dress that covers both her feet. On each side of Hārītī depict four children are seated in the same gesture. They are all bald, slightly plump, and wearing varied adornments (necklaces, armbands, and bracelets). These attributes signal their wealthy status and good health. Both Hārītī and her children are shown with happy and peaceful expressions on their round faces. On the right side of Hārītī, there is a stone inscription that displays the donor's name.

Niche 74 is also a double-layered niche. The main figure is Buddha, with two disciples and two Bodhisattvas on his sides and two Heavenly Kings and two Vajrapāṇ is stand on each side of the niche. Hārītī and her nine children are depicted on the right side of the outer niche, above the donor's image (Fig, 4,4). In the small relief, Hārītī is seated on a rectangular pedestal at the center of the group. Her hair is piled high on her head, and her face is round. She wears a short-sleeved cassock-like coat with a downturned collar and a long-sleeved blue undershirt. She cradles a child to her breast, and the four children sit in a group on each side of her. The children are looking front, bald, and wearing monk robes.

Niche 81 is a small shallow niche exclusively for Hārītī. She is seated on the ground. The statue is only 29 cm high. Her hairstyle remains the same: piled up on her head in a steamed bread shape. Her face is even rounder, a typical Tang Dynasty style. Hārītī wears cross-collar clothes, with a bugle shaped cuff. She also wears a broad green belt and a scarf. She is holding a child in front of her, who is sitting with his legs crossed at Hārītī's feet. He wears a blue collar-crossed coat, as same as those of the children standing in the back. They are arranged four to a group on each side of Hārītī. All the children have the same round face and hairstyle as Hārītī.

These visual representations of Hārītī bear little accordance with the Buddhist texts. She is no longer depicted as a heavenly goddess, wearing precious clothes and ornamented with a coronet along with other adornments. Instead of sitting on a dais with one or both legs pending down, her posture in Bazhong is casual, and the auspicious fruit is not mentioned at all. However, the depiction of Hārītī in these three niches shares common features. Depicted with nine children, she is the main figure that sits at the center and cradles a child in her arms. On each side of her, four children sit or stand. Compared with the paintings found in Xinjiang, Hārītī in Bazhong is depicted just like a common, loving Chinese mother, and not as a celestial type of deity. This makes worshippers feel she is close to common people. The depictions of children are also different. In Bazhong, they are depicted like common Chinese children with chubby faces and wear Chinese-style clothes. None of them are naked or animated in a playful way. They just sit or stand beside their beloved mother, quietly and obediently, which indicates the ideal model of children in Chinese culture.

These three visual representations of Hārītī are accompanied by dated inscriptions, which show the renovation of Niche 81 is dated to 887 C.E. while Niche 68 and 74 are dated to 888 C.E. They are all renovated by the same donor—Li Sihong 李思弘, who was a military officer of Bazhou (Bazhong area) at that time. He wished that Hārītī would bless his son Li Baoshou 李保壽 to be raised easily, healthy and smart. Besides Hārītī, he has also renovated a number of other niches and images, such as Amitābha, Shakyamuni, Thousand-Buddha, Avalokiteśvara, and Kṣ itigarbha. By the accumulation of these merits, the donor asked for a promotion in his career and a good health for his whole family.[65]

Located in a far place, Bazhong may not reflect the mainstream style of Hārītī's image of the Tang Dynasty in the capital area. Japan maintained a close relationship with China in the Tang Dynasty. Therefore the remained Japanese images of Hārītī may reveal more information about the mainstream Tang style of Hārītī's image.

As shown in Figure 4.6, a Tang Dynasty Japanese painting of Hārītī, she is depicted as a divine mother. She is seated on a richly decorated dais with her left leg folded inward and the right pendant. Since the left leg was folded inward, she does not wear shoes in her left foot. The neat, slipper like shoe remained in front of the base of the seat. Hārītī wears a two-layer halo and is crowned with a richly ornamented cornet, suggesting her deity status. She is depicted in especially gorgeous clothes and ornamented with bracelets no longer resembling the commoner's style as Bazhong's did but in a luxurious court style. She holds a child in her left arm and a bowl of fruit in her right hand. Five children are depicted with

[65] Liu Changjiu 劉長久, *Zhongguo xinan shikuyishu* 中國西南石窟藝術 (The Grotto Art in Southwest China) (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1998), 56-7.

Hārītī in total. One is in her arm and on each side of Hārītī stand two children. Their plump bodies are naked apart from a loincloth passing between their legs and tied in a bow in the back. They are occupied in various postures: the child-in-arm tries to reach the fruit in the bowl. The child who stands in the front row of her left side presses his palms together in a gesture of devotion towards his divine mother, while the other one on the right side raises his head while watching his mother.

This representation of Hārītī is highly consistent with the depiction of her image making in the *Da yaochanu huanximu bing aizi chengjiufa* 大藥叉女歡喜母並愛子成就法. The number of the depicted children is consistent with that in *Helidimu zhenyan jing* 訶利帝母真言經, the other text that was translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra in the early period of the Tang Dynasty. However, attendants that stand on each side of Hārītī mentioned in both texts are not shown in this painting.

The comparison of visual presentations of Hārītī in the Tang Dynasty in different places indicate that there are paintings of Hārītī that followed the instructions in Buddhist texts, while there are also depictions that used its own mode of expression rather than depending exclusively on the texts. However, no matter following the texts or not, the main iconographic emblem of Hārītī stays the same. She is the central figure in a group of several small children, while one child rests in her arms and others surrounding her.

4.1.4 Stone Sculptures in Dazu Stone Carvings

Dazu Stone Carvings is the general definition of stone carvings that distributed in Dazu County. Located in central Sichuan, Dazu County includes a handful of very important Song Dynasty sites (in Shimenshan, Miaogaoshan,

Shizhuanshan, and Nanshan), among which Beishan and Baodingshan are the most famous.

According to archeological report, six niches related to Hārītī are still extant in Dazu area. There are Niche 122 and Niche 289 at Beishan Fowan,[66] Niche 1 at Shizhuanshan,[67] Niche 9 at Shimenshan,[68] Niche 3 at Yutan,[69] and Niche 2 at Lingyan temple.[70] These Song Dynasty niches of Hārītī range from 1.4 to 2.1 meters in height, 1.1 to 2.53 meters in width and 0.6 to 1.13meters in depth.[71] The arrangement and figures appeared in these niches are basically similar. Hārītī is the main figure that sits on a seat in the group, and she is depicted in various postures. Either holds a child in her left arm and an auspicious fruit in the right hand, or holds a child in left arm and the right hand is just put on her right leg, or holds a child with both hands, or just as Figure 4.7 shows, her left hand stretched out while right hand pulls a child to climb up to her knee. A wet-nurse nursing a child and two maids in worshiping gesture are placed beside Hārītī. Several children either playing or sporting are depicted around their mother.

Figure 4.7 displays the niche of Hārītī at Shimenshan Niche 9, which may give us an idea of the typical arrangement of Hārītī representation in the Song Dynasty. Hārītī is seated on a platform in the frontal *pralambapāda* pose at the center of the group, with her knees spread and feet planted on the floor. She is crowned with a tall and richly decorated cornet, ornamented with earrings. Two

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[66] Hu Wenhe 胡文和, Li Yongqiao 李永翹, *Dazu shike neirong zonglu* 大足石刻內容總錄 (A General Catalog of Dazu Stone Carvings) (Chengdu: Sichuansheng shehuikexueyuan chubanshe, 1985), 389, 429.
[67] Ibid., 526-7.
[68] Ibid., 547.
[69] Ibid., 571.
[70] Liu Changjiu, *Zhongguo xinan shikuyishu*, 85, 128.
[71] Not include Niche 2 at Ling Yan temple, since it is not include in *Dazu shike neirong zonglu* 大足石刻內容總錄 (A General Catalog of Dazu Stone Carvings).

ribbons in the back of her head are flying up on each side. Hārītī wears a coat that collar reaches down to her knees, and an inner dress that is decorated with an embroidered border and fastened by means of two lateral ribbons at breast level tied in a bow at the front, while the ribbons come down and reach to the floor. A child wears necklace, back to the audience, is raising his hands and right leg and trying to climb up to Hārītī's right knee. On the left side of Hārītī, depicts a wet-nurse sits on the platform and holds a child in her arm to her exposed breast, in a posture of nursing the child. One child stands right beside the wet-nurse and another stands left to her foot (has been weathered). On the right side of Hārītī stands a babysitter, who wears a dress that has very broad sleeves. Four children depicted between the babysitter and Hārītī. The two stands on platform are playing. The left one is riding a rod sculptured with a horse head while the right one is playing with birds, and he has a bird stopped on his right hand finger. Under they two, sits a boy whose two palms are posed together. Under the boy, depicts a child that looks back to the child who climbing up to Hārītī's knee and pulls the babysitter's dress, in a posture that look forward to be hugged.

The representation in Niche 1, Shizhuanshan, reflects the exact depiction of Hārītī in the *sūtra*. She is represented as a very beautiful heavenly goddess wearing a precious cloth, ornamented with earrings, coronet, bracelets and other adornments. She is seated on a richly ornamented throne with the both legs pending down, while her feet are shoed and planted on a small dais. Priyaṇ kara, Hārītī's favorite child, is rested on her left knee and trying to get the auspicious fruit that held in Hārītī's right hand. On each side of Hārītī stand two maids, one of which holds something (maybe official seal). Hārītī's other children are depicted playing around. A wet-nurse nursing a child is depicted on right side of the right maid. The wet-nurse

is seated with legs crossed, holds a child in her arms to her exposed breasts and smiles kindly.[72]

It is clear that in the Song Dynasty depictions, new element emerged in the iconography of Hārītī: the depiction of maids, wet-nurse or even babysitter in Hārītī's representation. These new elements may come from the texts. In the depiction of the *Da yaochanu huanximu bing aizi chengjiufa,* it describes that "on each side of her, maids and attendants that holding white whisk or other Buddhist staff should be depicted." They borrowed the idea of depict maids and attendants around Hārītī, but made them more humanized. The attendants may include the wet-nurse that nurses Hārītī's child, the babysitter that helps Hārītī to take care of child since she has so many children.

As an invention in the Song Dynasty carvings, the depiction of maids and attendants in Hārītī's visual representation is also found mentioned in literary accounts. Zhang Shi displayed the renovated depiction of Hārītī and her children in Famen temple in his article that carved on a stele in 1045 C.E. "The mother is seated at the center, appears graceful and virtuous, watching her beloved children kindly. Her children are depicted in various activities: one is naked and being hugged, one is swaddled and carried, one is about to cry, one is angry since been blamed, two get lost while playing hide and seek, two are rivaling for attention, one is ornament with coronet and devoted to his mother. Moreover, two maids depicted around."[73] As a very detailed writer, he wrote down every figure that he observed.

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[72] Ibid., 526-7.

[73] Zhang Shi 張奭, "Famensi chongxiu jiuzimu ji 法門寺重修九子母記," in *Jinshi xubian* 金石續編, vol. 14, ed. Lu Yaoyu 陸耀遹, vol. 893 of *Xuxiu sikuquanshu* 續修四庫全書, ed. Xuxiu sikuquanshu bianzuan weiyuanhui 續修四庫全書編纂委員會(Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), 730.

Yi jian zhi, compiled in the Southern Song Dynasty (1127-1279 C.E.), recorded a story on a traveler that seduced by the exposed breasts of a wet-nurse in Hārītī hall and had an affair with her.[74] It is a ridiculous story but indicates the existence of the wet-nurse in Hārītī hall, as one of the attendants.

4.2 The Cult of Hārītī

The independent visual representations of Hārītī in China indicate the existence of the Hārītī cult. Actually, the cult of Hārītī in China was recorded in literary sources.

The earliest account of worship of Hārītī in China is dated to the East Jin Dynasty (317-420 C.E.), provided by a Tang Dynasty monk Falin 法琳. In the novel "Zhang Ying", he accounted a man named Zhang Ying, who used to worship folk deities and married a Buddhist disciple. In 333 C.E. they moved to Wuhu 蕪湖 (now in Anhui Province). Afterwards, his wife got sick; he spent all his money to please the folk deity and got no cure. His wife asked him to arrange Buddhist rituals for her since she was a Buddhist disciple. Therefore, Zhang Ying went to the monks' abode and saw Zhu Tanjing. Zhu told him it was Buddhists' responsibility to save all sentient beings, but the requirement was that one must believe in Buddhism. He made an appointment that he would go to Zhang Ying's house the next day. In the night, Zhang Ying dreamed a man entered his house and asked why this house is not clean. Zhu Tanjing followed the man and told him that this family should not be blamed because they had just had the sense (of Buddhism). When Zhang Ying woke up, he held a torch and began to set up a high seat and a Guizimu (the mother of

[74] Hong Mai 洪邁, *Yi jian jia zhi* 夷堅甲志 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), 129.

demons) seat. At the time Zhu Tangjing arrived at Zhang Ying's house, he had already finished setting. Zhang Ying told Zhu Tangjing his dream and accepted the five lay percepts. After a while, his wife's illness was healed.[75]

Guizimu, the mother of demons, is the most common Chinese term for Hārītī. Zhang Ying set up a seat of Hārītī reflects the existence of the Hārītī cult at his time, and to cure illness is one of Hārītī's functions.

Jingchu suishi ji, a book written in the Liang Dynasty (502-557 C.E.) that recorded customs through a year in Hunan and Hubei area, accounted the worship of Hārītī. "Under the pavilion of Changsha Temple, located Jiuzimu god. On the eighth of the fourth month in lunar calendar, people in the town who are childless will offer round flat cake to pray to her for children, and their wishes are always fulfilled."[76]

Jiuzimu, the mother of nine children, could be another Chinese name of Hārītī.[77] People make her offerings of food and pray to her for children, which is similar with the worship of Hārītī in India. This is the earliest firsthand account of worship of Hārītī for children in China. In later times, the literary account on pray to Hārītī for children keeps existence and has elaborate details in different stories.

In a story happened in the Tang Dynasty around 762 C.E., the wife of the officer of Shaoxing 紹興 was very beautiful but childless. There was a hall for demon mother in Baolin temple in the city, to whom people pray for boys or girls will come true. Then the officer and his wife went to the temple and prayed to the demon mother for a boy. They promised that they would reconstruct the hall if it

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[75] Fa Lin 法琳, "Zhang Ying 張應," in *Taiping guang ji* 太平廣記, ed. Li Fang 李昉, vol. 161 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 1161.

[76] Zong Lin 宗懍, "Jingchu suishi ji 荊楚歲時記," in *Hanweiliuchao bijixiaoshuo daguan* 漢魏六朝筆記小說大觀, ed. Shanghai guji chubanshe (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1999), 1061.

[77] Zhao Bangyan 趙邦彥, "Jiuzimu kao 九子母考," *Lishiyuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 歷史語言研究所集刊 vol.2 no. 3 (1931): 263.

came true. Two months later, sure enough, the wife gave birth to a boy. They were very happy and constructed an extremely beautiful hall for the demon mother.[78]

Another Tang Dynasty literary source also mentions the appearance of Hārītī hall in a Guanyin temple in Mianyang, Sichuan province. People make Hārītī the same offering as they make to Gaomei (高禖), a Chinese deity that bestows children. The amount of people pray to her is large and their wishes are always fulfilled. [79]

There is no doubt that Hārītī has her own hall in some Buddhist temples in the Tang Dynasty and is known for the efficacious of giving children.

The two inscriptions on Hārītī's niches in Bazhong Caves also reveal her other functions. One writes: "bless my son Baoshou can be raised easily and healthily, and smart"; the other just simply writes, "Baoshou can be raised easily and healthily."[80] It is clear to see that Hārītī also possesses the power to protect children.

There are also Song Dynasty accounts that record the existence of Hārītī image in temples. "Under the east porch of Shanxi Famen temple, located a Hārītī hall. According to the old saying, 'if those who are childless pray to her for children, they will get many children and live a happy life'."[81] *Dongjing meng hua lu*, a book that recalls the life between 1102 to 1125 C.E. in the capital city Kaifeng of Northern Song mentions Hārītī as well. It writes, on the sixteenth of the first month, people in distinguished positions will go to visit Xiangguo temple. The temple will be very crowded with people. Among the whole temple the most interesting and bustling

[78] "Hei Sou 黑叟," in *Taiping guang ji* 太平廣記, vol. 41, ed. Li Fang 李昉 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 259.
[79] Hou Gui 候圭, "Dongshan Kuan-yinyuan ji 東山觀音院記," in *Qinding quan Tang wen* 欽定全唐文, vol.806, ed. Dong Gao 董誥, vol. 1647 of *Xuxiu sikuquanshu* 續修四庫全書, ed. Xuxiu sikuquanshu bianzuan weiyuanhui 續修四庫全書編纂委員會(Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), 594.
[80] Liu Changjiu, *Zhongguo xinan shikuyishu*, 56-7.
[81] Zhang Shi, "Famensi chongxiu jiuzimu ji, 730.

place will be the Jiuzimu Hall and east and west tower yard.[82] It has not only shows the existence of Hārītī hall in the imperial temple of the Northern Song Dynasty, but also indicates that the Hārītī hall is a very attracting place, maybe due to the beauty of Hārītī and lively forms of her children.

From the Tang to Song Dynasties, the existence of the cult of Hārītī is evidenced either by literary sources or by her image in temples and halls. According to Daocheng 道誠, a Northern Song Dynasty monk, when Chinese temples establish halls, Hārītī hall will be the first choice, then the Earth God hall, the third is Pindolabharadvaja hall—the saint monk in the hall.[83] There may also have been temples devoted to Hārītī in the Song Dynasty. The evidence is in the Southern Song Dynasty poet Lu You's 陸游 article. He mentions that there is a Jiuzimu temple in his city, and a handsome man sit in the west hall, while people thought he is the husband of Jiuzimu.[84] As a goddes bestowed and protected children, Hārītī enjoys a good faith. The following table gives a general idea of the exitstence condition of Hārītī cult in China.

TIME	Visual Representation	Text	Place	reference
Eastern Jin		*	Wuhu 蕪湖, Anhui 安徽	Fa Lin, "Zhang Ying", 1161
Southern Dynasty, Song		*	Lujiang 廬江, Anhui 安徽	Liu Jingshu, "Chen Yu"[85]
Southern Dynasty, Liang		*	Jiangling 江陵, Hubei 湖北	
Tang 762 C.E.		*	Shaoxing 紹興, Zhejiang 浙江	

[82] Meng Yuanlao 孟元老, *Dongjing meng hua lu* 東京夢華錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), 117.
[83] T 54 303b 14-6.
[84] Lu You 陸游, *Laoxue'an biji* 老學庵筆記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), 96.
[85] Liu Jingshu 劉敬叔, "Chen Yu 陳虞," in *Taiping guang ji* 太平廣記, ed. Li Fang 李昉, vol. 292 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 2324.

Tang		*	Mianyang 綿陽, Sichuan 四川	Hou Gui, "Dongshan guanyinyuan ji," 593-594.
Tang	One Wall painting		Khotan 和田, Xinjiang 新疆	
Tang	One Ramie Painting		Turfan 吐魯番, Xinjiang 新疆	
Tang	Three Niches		Bazhong 巴中, Sichuan 四川	
Song	Six Niches		Dazu 大足, Sichuan 四川	
Song		*	Xi'an 西安, Shanxi 陕西	Zhang Shi, "Famensi chongxiu jiuzimu ji," 730.
Northern Song		*	Kaifeng 開封, Henan 河南	Meng Yuanlao, *Dongjing men hua lu*, 117
Southern Song		*	Shaoxing 紹興, Zhejiang 浙江	Lu You, *Lao xue an biji*, 96
Southern Song		*	Renshou 仁壽, Sichuan 四川	Hong Mai, *Yi jian jia zhi*, 129.
Yuan		*	Beijing 北京	Liu Minzhong, "Dazhiquan si bei," 11-14.
Ming		*	Yunnan 雲南	Xu Hongzu, "*Xu Xiake youji*," 17.

4.3 Development of the Hārītī Cult after the Song Dynasty

During the Tang and Song Dynasties, Hārītī is known as the deity bestows and protects children. There are images, halls, and niches devoted to her in China. However, after the Song Dynasty, the independent cult of Hārītī as a children bestower and protector became less known. From both the textual and archaeological evidences, it becomes rare for Hārītī to appear as the main figure.[86] People seem lost the knowledge of the deity Hārītī and the new emerged Child-giving Guanyin replaced the major role she played in her cult. There lacks serious study on the later

[86] According to the stone inscription, one Hārītī hall was built in Beijing in 1312 C.E. in the Yuan Dynasty, and the donor was the empress. See Liu Minzhong 劉敏中, "Dazhiquan si bei" 大智全寺碑, *Zhong'an ji* 中庵集, vol. 14, p. 11-14. The Ming Dynasty traveler Xu Xiake also mentioned he encountered one Hārītī hall in Yunnan in 1368. See Xu Hongzu 徐弘祖, "Xu Xiake youji" 徐霞客游記, vol. 7, first half, p. 17, in Wenyuange sikuquanshu dianzi ban 文淵閣四庫全書電子版 Electronic version of Wenyuange Sikuquanshu.

development of Hārītī. Some scholars argued that actually the cult of Hārītī still exists; however, the deity is no longer named Hārītī but called Child-giving Guanyin, a type of Chinese indigenous Guanyin.

It is Alfred Foucher that first raised his concern on the development of the Hārītī cult in China, in his book that first published in 1917.

> "In China itself matters are not quite so simple, and a new element seems to have intervened to complicate the problem. Has the personality of Hārītī been engrafted upon that same native goddess who, according to a certain interpretation, had been identified with the Indian Bodhisattva, Avalokiteśvara? Has she simply been absorbed into the vogue of the feminine forms of the latter and considered as one of the numerous avatars of his inexhaustible grace?"[87]

However, Foucher only raised the possibility but did not prove his argument with evidence. Zhao Bangyan, a scholar that made further development of Foucher's opinion argued that the name of "Child-giving Guanyin" did not find mention in the literary source prior to the Song Dynasty. He believed the appellation of "Child-giving Guanyin" was emerged in the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368 C.E.) and before that she was called "Hārītī."[88] Though he presented some literary source related with Child-giving Guanyin, there was still no strong evidence that the prototype of Child-giving Guanyin was Hārītī.

While according to Chun-fang Yu, the Child-giving Guanyin was a form of the White-robed Guanyin but with different names.[89] The White-robed Guanyin was the first clearly feminine form of the bodhisattva created by Chinese artists, and her cult began at the tenth century. Yu believed that her cult was due to a group of

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87 Foucher, *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art and Other Essays in Indian and Central Asian Archaeology*, 287.
88 Zhao Bangyan, "Jiuzimu kao," 270.
89 Chun-fang Yu, *Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokitesvara* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 251.

indigenous texts that present her primarily as the goddess with child-granting efficacy. In the *Dhāranī Sūtra of the Five Mudrā of the Great Compassionate White-robed One,* the power to grant children, particularly sons, is attributed to her.[90] Yu argued that in this way the Child-giving Guanyin was developed from the White-robed.

Chun-fang Yu noted the *sūtra* was popular among the literati in the late Ming. Based on many testimonials written by her grateful devotees, the White-robed Guanyin was clearly viewed as a compassionate giver of male heirs. And it was during the period 1400-1600 that the cult of the White-robed as a giver of heirs became firmly established in China.[91]

It is very difficult to judge the relationship between the cult of Child-giving Guanyin and Hārītī. Although the classical iconography of Child-giving Guanyin—holds a boy either in her arms or on her lap— shares some similarity with Hārītī's image, there is no further evidence to prove the influence of Hārītī's iconography to that of Child-giving Guanyin. Moreover, the standard representation of Hārītī is surrounded by eight children while had one held in arms.

Furthermore, the resemblance between the iconography of Child-giving Guanyin and the "Madonna and Child" has been widely noted. The classical iconography of Child-giving Guanyin represented most frequently by the blanc de Chine (French for "Chinese white") porcelain and ivory figures was produced in Fujian since the sixteenth century. Fujian was a coastal province that was visited by Christian missionaries as early as the thirteenth century and, again, on a larger scale, beginning in the sixteenth century. Between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, Spanish conquistadors and missionaries brought sculpture from both Spain

[90] Ibid., 258.
[91] Ibid.

and northern Europe to China and the Philippines. They also commissioned Chinese craftsmen to carve Christian images, most frequently the Virgin with the Child. The artisans are Fujianese, coming predominantly from Chaozhou, Fuzhou, and Quanzhou, the same cities that produced the image of Child-giving Guanyin. Since the same artistic communities produced these religious images, it is not surprising that the Madonna looked somewhat Chinese, and the Guanyin looked almost "Gothic." The power to grant children is mentioned as one of the many powers of Guanyin in the "Universal Gateway" chapter of the *Lotus Sūtra*. Prior to the Ming, however, the depiction of Guanyin, even in feminine forms, never included a male child held either in her arms or placed on her lap. The religious basis for this iconography came from Buddhist scriptures, but its artistic rendering might have been influenced by the iconography of the Virgin.[92]

In summary, there is nearly no evidence to support the opinion of the existence of inherited relationship between Hārītī and Child-giving Guanyin, neither on the cult nor the iconography. However, due to some reasons, there were much less records of the Hārītī cult in later times, people only knew Child-giving Guanyin. In Niche 122 at Beishan Fowan, the niche for Hārītī mentioned above was recognized as niche for Child-giving Guanyin during the renovation in the Republic period (1912-1949).[93] In my explanation, though Hārītī had an independent cult in China, it never grew strong and popular enough to become the mainstream. After all, Hārītī is a minor Buddhist goddess, and she never replaces the many regional Chinese deities that possess similar functions with her. Once the cult of the Child-giving Guanyin as

[92] Ibid., 258-9.

[93] Chen Mingguang 陳明光, *Dazu shike mingwen lu* 大足石刻銘文錄 (A Catalog of Inscriptions at Dazu Stone Carvings) (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 1998), 346.

a giver of heirs became firmly established in China, the cult of Hārītī then faded away.

4.4 Conclusion

Representations of independent Hārītī vary in different regions and of different times. The wall painting found in Farhād-Bēg-yailaki dated to the mid-sixth century bears strong Indian characteristic and indicates the iconography origin is from India. The painting on ramie found in Yarkhoto dated before mid-Tang displays Hārītī's children in Chinese style and the arrangement of this painting has some consistency with the two *sūtra* that translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra in the early period of the Tang Dynasty. The stone sculpture representations found in Bazhong Caves in the Tang Dynasty display the sinicization of Hārītī. She is depicted just like a common, loving Chinese mother in contemporary women's clothing in the Tang, surrounded by children with chubby face and Chinese style clothes. Stone sculptures found in Dazu Stone Carvings demonstrate the great inventiveness of Hārītī's representation in the Song Dynasty: maids, wet-nurse or even babysitter. Moreover, this inventiveness can be explained as the expression that depends exclusively on the *sūtra.*

Literary sources also show the condition of the Hārītī cult from the fifth century to the Yuan Dynasty. She has independent halls in some temples that enjoy good offerings due to the efficacious of bestowing and protecting children. However, the cult of Hārītī never grew strong and popular enough to become the mainstream. As a minor Buddhist goddess, Hārītī never replaced the many regional Chinese

deities that possess similar functions with her. Once the cult of Child-giving Guanyin as a giver of heirs became firmly established in China, her cult faded away.

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Chapter Five Hārītī in the Assembly of Indian Gods in Chinese Buddhist Art

In previous chapters, I have discussed representations of Hārītī as a subordinate figure in a narrative story, and as an independent major figure in China. Simultaneously, there is a third type of Hārītī's representation in Chinese Buddhist art, as one member in the assembly of Indian gods. In Buddhist art, Indian gods also appear as attendants of Buddha in a Buddhist assembly. Such as in Kizil, an early Buddhist cave site, there are paintings of Indian gods as attendants of Buddha's teaching. But in Chinese Buddhism, these Indian gods were systematically grouped as *zhutian* (諸天 various gods) or *tian* (天 god). The number of the group of these gods changed in different dynasties; there are sixteen *zhutian*, twenty *zhutian*, and twenty-four *zhutian*. When the cult of Thousand-handed and Thousand-eyed Guanyin emerged, based on the Buddhist texts dedicated to him, these Indian gods were also grouped as his twenty-eight attendants.

As an early Indian god that absorbed in Buddhism, Hārītī was a fixed member in *zhutian* and the twenty-eight attendants of Thousand-handed and Thousand-eyed Guanyin based on Mahāyāna Buddhist texts. Hārītī's image appeared in the attendants of Buddha's teaching, the *zhutian* assembly in Chinese Buddhism art and the attendants of Thousand-handed and Thousand-eyed Guanyin. These representations of Hārītī do not reflect her own cult but can be seen as the representative of the development of the certain Indian gods' group in Chinese

Buddhism and Buddhist art. However, since there are too many visual representations of this kind, especially in later times, therefore I will not list the extant images one by one. In this chapter, I will review the development of the assembly of Indian gods in Chinese Buddhism and the representation of Hārītī, including her attribute and her role in the assembly.

5.1 Development of the Indian Gods in Chinese Buddhism

According to the accounts in Mahāyāna Buddhist texts, when Buddha is teaching, many gods will come to listen to the teaching. They worshiped Buddha and vowed to protect the Dharma and the Buddhist followers. Therefore, these gods became the protective deities in Buddhism. Moreover, the presence of these Indian gods at Buddha's teaching also glorified Buddha. Actually, Buddha's relationship to gods is mutually beneficial. Buddha instructed gods on how to end all suffering. The gods came to Buddha to request instruction and clarification, to support his *śāsana* or "dispensation", to praise his incomparable qualities, and to pay homage at his feet. At pivotal moments in Buddha's career, Indian gods often played supporting roles. The Indian gods show respect at the turning points of Buddha, and help him to overcome obstacles, and frequently proclaim his feats far and wide.

5.1.1 Indian Gods in Buddha's Teaching Assemblies

Several Mahāyāna Buddhism texts, such like the *Golden Light Sūtra* (*Jingguangming jing* 金光明經 *Suvarnaprabhasa-sūtra*), record these first reverent audiences of Buddha. The *Golden Light Sūtra* was originally written in India in

Sanskrit in the fourth century, and has been translated several times into Chinese.[94] The first Chinese translation was made by Dharmakşema, who arrived in China in 414 C.E. Baogui 寶貴 about 600 C.E., made a combined version, using the translations of his predecessors. But the best known translation was made by Yijing 義淨(703 C.E.). This *sūtra* became very popular among Chinese and Japanese.[95]

In Buddhist art, those Indian gods are represented as attendants of Buddha's teaching scene. Figure 5.1 is a wall painting in Kizil Cave 181, which shows the scene of Buddha's teaching assemblies. Several Indian gods can be recognized from the attendants. Buddha is the major figure in the group that seated in the center. There is a water pond depicted in front of Buddha. Above him are Indian gods Brahmā and Indra, who always appear together. A monk kneels down on one knee located on the front left side of the painting, presses his palms together in a gesture of devotion, reverencing Buddha. A yakṣ a figure stands beside the monk in the water pond, and holds the hand of a naked child that stands next to him and stares at his face. The second row depicts a blue-skinned yakṣ a with six arms, which should be Maheśvara. Two heavenly kings, a king and a celestial figure are depicted behind him. On the right side of the painting, two figures are seated on the back of a cow, and behind them are two heavenly gods. Two musicians are at the back row, playing their instruments.

The depiction of attendants of Buddha's teaching is not fixed. Some times Hārītī is depicted as one of them. Figure 5.2 is one detail of Buddha's teaching assemblies at the west wall of Kizil Cave 198. The composition of this "teaching assemblies" is similar as Figure 5.1. There is a water pond in front of Buddha and

[94] Hajime Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism: A Survey with Bibliographical Notes* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1987), 193.

[95] Ibid.

attendants are seated around him. Hārītī and Pāñcika are depicted on the second row, left side of Buddha. Ornamented with beautiful adornments on the head, Hārītī faces to her husband and nurses a child in her right arm. The child raises his right hand to hold the mother's breast to help himself eat. Hārītī is opulently ornamented with dangling earrings, a necklace that fixed on a belt, bracelets. Pāñcika is seated behind her, holding a very strange flower in his hands, and wearing a small hat and the same characteristic necklace with Hārītī's. His clothing and adornments bear strong local style. The pattern on his pants could still be seen on the locals'.[96] Under Hārītī and Pāñcika, in the first row of attendants, are Maheśvara (Śiva) and his wife, Pārvatī (Fig. 5.3).[97] They are both seated on the back of the cow with their legs crossed. Only three hands of Maheśvar's are existed. They are ornamented with earrings, necklace, bracelets and anklets. They both face to Buddha and press their palms together in a gesture of devotion, reverencing Buddha.

As mentioned above, the function of the presence of these Indian gods doesn't represent their own cult but to glorify Buddha. The attendants of Buddha's teaching are not fixed, some times Hārītī will show up while some times not.

5.1.2 Development of the Assembly and Ritual of Indian Gods in China

In later times, based on Buddhist texts, Chinese monks systematically grouped those attendants of Buddha's teaching and settled their roles as protective

[96] Albert Grünwedel, *Xinjiang gu fosi:1905-1907 nian kaocha chengguo* 新疆古佛寺：1905–1907 年考察成果 (Xinjiang Ancient Buddhist Temples: the Expedition in 1905-1907), trans. Zhao Chongmin 趙崇民, Wu Xinhua 巫新華 (Beijing: Zhongguo Renmin daxue chubanshe, 2007), 232.
[97] Ibid., 234.

deities. These Indian gods are named as *zhutian* in Chinese. They attained this new identity in China and began to involve in Chinese Buddhist rituals frequently.

The *Jinguangming chanfa* 金光明懺法(*Procedure for Golden Light Repentance*) is the first manual that mentions making offering to the gods in the repentance ritual. The manual is generally attributed to a Sui Dynasty monk, Master Zhiyi (智顗) (538-597 C.E.), who is credited with the final systematization of the teachings of the Tiantai School and the founding of its chief monastic centers. The rituals in *Jinguangming chan fa* are mainly based on the chapters on ***Si tianwang pin*** 四天王品 (Four Heavenly Kings), *Gongdetian pin* 功德天品 (Śrī Lakṣ mī), and ***Dabian**tian pin* 大辯天品 (Sarasvatī) in the *Golden Light Sūtra*. It is because the *Golden Light Sūtra* also provides methods on how to get magic power and protect one from evil things by inviting protective gods. While the gods mentioned above has made vows to protect and support those who recite, preach, and accept the *Golden Light Sūtra*. The gods will remove sufferings for them, keep disasters far away from them, bless the state, and make all beings achieve happiness and peaceful. All of these good deeds of the gods are recorded in the Zhiyi's ritual. He wrote that while cleaning the sanctuary for repentance, the seat for Lakṣ mī (*Gongde tian* 功德天) should be placed on the left of Buddha image. If the sanctuary is broad enough, the seat of Sarasvatī (*Biancai tian* 辯才天) and Four Heavenly Kings should be placed on the right of Buddha's image. During the ritual there are procedures such as "inviting the gods" into the sanctuary and "invocating Lakṣ mī's name three times". After making offerings to Buddha, one should also offer good food to Lakṣ mī, scattering the food in all directions, and invocating dhāraṇ ī for her. [98] It seems

[98] Shi Darui 釋大睿, *Tiantai chanfa zhi yanjiu* 天台懺法之研究 (A Study on Tiantai

Lakṣ mī and other gods are the main axis of the repentance ritual. Though Zhiyi named the gods as "Big Bodhisattva (*da pusa* 大菩薩)" in the repentance ritual based on the Buddhist texts, there are sentences on inviting twelve gods and their attendants in the liturgy. The *Jinguangming chanfa* initially defined the gods and their attendants possess the qualification of receiving offerings.

In the Song Dynasty Master Zhili's (知禮) (960-1028 C.E.) *Jinguang zuisheng chanyi* 金光最勝懺儀 (Repentance Ritual of Golden Light Supreme), which based on *Jinguangming zuishengwang jing* 金光明最勝明王經 (*Sūtra of Golden Light Supreme Among Scriptures*), translated by Yijing in the Tang Dynasty, the number of gods should be invited in the liturgy turned in to sixteen. While in another Tiantai School Master Zunshi's (遵式) (964-1030 C.E.) *Jinguangming chanfa buzhu yi* 金光明懺法補助儀 (*Subsidiary Ritual of Golden Light Repentance*), the number of the gods is consistent with Zhiyi's liturgy, still maintains twelve.[99] Therefore, it becomes confusing that how many gods should be invited in a repentance ritual and who are in the list. In the Southern Song Dynasty around 1131-1162 C.E., Master Shenhuan (神煥) compiled a book named *Zhutian zhuan* 諸天傳 (*Biography of zhutian*) (already lost) which attempts to integrate various opinions, but his attempt nearly failed. The preliminary criteria of gods to be invited in a repentance ritual did not appear until 1173 C.E. The Tiantai School Master Xingting (行霆), based on discussions with other monks, complied the *Chongbian*

Repentance) (Dharma Drum Publishing Corp. 2000), http://www.chibs.edu.tw/publication/LunCong/025/025a-6.htm# (assessed July 26, 2010).

[99] Bai Huawen 白化文, "Hua zhai tian (話齋天 On Purification Fast for Gods)," *Minzhu* 5 (1998): 23.

zhutian zhuan 重編諸天傳 (*Recomposition of Biography of zhutian*), which was gradually accepted by many temples and used to make statues and offerings.

The *Chongbian zhutian zhuan* makes the number of gods to be invited into twenty and arranges the order of their seats. There are two different arrangements of the gods. One is the order of Veneration Buddha: 1. Brahmā, 2. Indra, 3. North Heavenly King, 4. East Heavenly King, 5. South Heavenly King, 6. West Heavenly King, 7. Vajrapāṇ i, 8. Maheśvara, 9. Pāñcika, 10. Sarasvatī, 11. Lakṣ mī, 12. Skanda, 13. Pṛ thivī (Earth God), 14. God of Bodhi Tree, 15. Hārītī, 16. Mārīcī, 17. Sun God, 18. Moon God, 19. Sagara, 20. Yamarājā. The other is the order in *Jinguangmin* repentance: Buddha sits in the middle, and Lakṣ mī serves as his left attendant while Sarasvati as the right one. The other gods will line up in two rows, as the following figure show.

Buddha Sarasvatī (*Biancai tian*) Śrī Lakṣ mī (*Gongde tian*)	
1. Indra	Brahmā
2. East Heavenly King	North Heavenly King
3. West Heavenly King	South Heavenly King
4. Moon God	Sun God
5. Maheśvara	Vajrapāṇ i
6. Skanda	Pāñcika
7. God of Bodhi Tree	Pṛ thivī (Earth God)
8. Mārīcī	Hārītī
9. Yamarājā	Sagara

Table 1. Order of the twenty *zhutian* in *Jinguangmin* repentance. After *Chongbian zhu tian zhuan*, 卍 88:1658.

Although Xingting provides preliminary criteria of gods to be invited and worshipped, actually there are another two editions of the gods' number in the Song

Dynasty. The first one is sixteen, which is the first sixteen out of the twenty. While the first twelve out of these sixteen gods are those mentioned in the *Golden Light Sūtra*. [100] The second is thirty-three, which adds the wind god, water god, and ect.[101] There is also a tendency of increasing in the number of the gods invited, and different temples may have different arrangements. Since the number is increasing, some of the gods in the list are beyond the scriptures. For example, the wind god and water god are not mentioned in scriptures, because they are already included as Indra's attendants.

In the early Ming Dynasty (1368-1449 C.E.), the number of gods increases into twenty-four. The newly added four gods are: Kinnara, the Indian music god; God of the North Star; God of the Mountain Tai; Indian Thunder god.[102] The middle two are obviously deities from Taoism.

In the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911 C.E.), the number of gods continued to change. Master Hongzan (弘贊) removed the two Taoist deities and added five Indian deities, made the number into twenty-seven. In 1823 C.E., Master Hongyuan (洪源) combined the three editions of the *Golden Light Sūtra* and enlarged the number of gods into forty-nine.[103] His work, *Baizhang qinggui zhengyi ji* (百丈清規證義記), has listed a chapter specially named "*Gongtian* 供天 (Make Offerings to Gods)", which is the earliest ceremonial record of "*Zhaigong zhutian* 齋供諸天 (Making Purification Fast for *zhutian*)" as a separately performed Buddhist ritual.

From the emergence and development of the rite for worshiping gods, it is clear that the *Golden Light Sūtra* is the basic theoretical source for these

[100] Ibid., 24.
[101] 卍 88:1658.
[102] Bai Huawen, "Hua zhai tian," 24.
[103] Ibid.

developments. The sections concerning the Four Divine Kings (*si tianwang pin* 四天王品), Ghosts and Deities (*guishen pin* 鬼神品), and other various gods in the *Golden Light Sūtra* has contributed significantly to the vision of the cult of gods who protect Dharma and bless the believers. Based on the *Golden Light Sūtra*, Hārītī is always one of the grouped protective deities.

5.1.3 Representation of Assembly of Indian gods in Chinese Buddhist Temple

In Southern Song Dynasty (1127-1279 C.E.), Xingting made the number of gods to be invited into twenty. This version was gradually accepted by many temples and became the literary source that used to make statues and offerings for the gods. In the early Ming Dynasty (1368-1449 C.E.), the number of gods increased to twenty-four. After that, though there were still changes in the number of gods in texts, they were not universally accepted. The systematically grouped twenty or twenty-four gods are called twenty *zhutian* or twenty-four *zhutian*, and became an important part in the Chinese Buddhist art. Some big temples will place their sculptures in each side of Buddha in the main hall as protective deities of the Dharma.[104] Fig.5.4 shows a view of the Ming Dynasty's sculptures of the twenty *zhutian* in the main hall of Shang huayan temple 上華嚴寺, Datong, Shanxi Province, China. The sculptures are all in Chinese style. Their bodies tilt forward with different attitudes and expression. They share a height of 3.2 meters and form two 7 meters long queues. The order of the twenty gods is as follows:

West side of the north wall, from east to west	East side of the north wall, from west to east

[104] Bai Huawen 白化文, *Hanhua fojiao yu siyuan shenghuo* (漢化佛教與寺院生活 Sinicized Buddhism and Monastic Life) (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 1989), 55.

1. Indra	Brahmā
2. North Heavenly King	East Heavenly King
3. West Heavenly King	South Heavenly King
4. God of Bodhi Tree	Maheśvara
5. Sarasvatī	Śrī Lakṣ mī
6. Moon God	Sun God
7. Hārītī	Mārīcī
8. Pāñcika	Pṛ thivī
9. Vajrapāṇ i	Skanda
10. Yamarājā	Sagara

Table 2. Order of the twenty *zhutian* in Shang huanyan temple 上華嚴寺. After Zhongguo fojiao yanjiusuo 中國佛教研究所 and Shanxisheng wenwuju 山西省文物局,*Shanxi fojiao caisu* 山西佛教彩塑 (Shanxi Buddhist Color Sculpture)(HongKong: Zhongguo fojiaoxiehui, HongKong baolian chansi, 1991), 36-7, 58-9.

There is a little difference with the order in *Jinguangming* repentance but the members maintain the same.

Fig. 5.5 shows the part of the sculptures of the twenty-four Ming Dynasty *zhutian* in the south wall of the Guanyin dian， Guanyin tang 觀音堂, Datong, Shanxi Province, China. The sculptures are all in Chinese style, with different attitudes and expressions. There are also twenty-four Ming Dynasty *zhutian*'s sculptures in the main hall of Shanhua temple 善化寺, Datong, Shanxi Province, China. Fig. 5.6 shows the sculpture of Hārītī in the main hall of Shanhua temple. She is represented with ornaments on head and wears a richly decorated dress with very broad sleeves. Hārītī's hands are in front of the breast and the right one grips the left. It is a Chinese gesture that shows reverence. On the left side of Hārītī stands a small yakṣ a figure, whose body is in blue color and holding something (damaged) on his shoulder. The damaged part probably is Hārītī's favorite son, Priyaṇ kara.

5.1.4 Representation of Assembly of Zhutian in *Shuilu fahui*

Since the systematically grouped twenty or twenty-four *zhutian* that functioned as protective gods are an important part in Chinese Buddhism, some Buddhist rituals also need their participation. Besides the rite for repentance and *Zhaigong zhutian* 齋供諸天 (Making Purification Fast for Gods) mentioned above, they also involve in *Shuilu fahui* 水陸法會 (Water and Land Dharma Function), a Chinese Buddhist rite for saving all sentient beings from *samsara*, which has been prevalent since the Northern Song Dynasty.

The full name of *shuilu fahui* is *Fajie Shengfan Shuilu Dazhai Pudu Shenghui* 法界聖凡水陸大齋普度勝會, the definition of which appears in the *shuilu* ritual text edited by Master Fayu (法裕) in 1924[105] is that the ritual invites all enlightened and unenlightened beings to attend the ceremony and share a great meal, focusing not only on food bestowal (*shishi*, 施食) but also on the chanting of many texts and mantras, and the preaching of the sermon to all sentient beings attending the ceremony, in the hope of saving of all sentient beings and helping them finally escape from saṃsāra.[106]

The *shuilu fahui* typically lasts at least seven days and nights, involves at least several tens of monks to participate. It includes a complex layer of ritual activities among which *shuilu* (water and land) paintings play very important role. According to the *shuilu fahui*, *shuilu* paintings are divided into the upper hall (*shangtang*, 上堂) painting and the lower hall (*xiatang*, 下堂) painting. The upper

[105] Fa Yu, *Fajie shengfan shuilu pudu dazhai shenghu yigui huiben (*法界聖凡水陸普度大齋勝會儀軌會本*)* (Hong Kong: Fa Yu Temple reprinted, 1970), the first fascicle, pp.15-16.

[106] Yiu Kwan Chan, "A Chinese Buddhist Ritual Responding the Society of Contemporary Hong Kong, Shuilu Fahui," www.cuhk.edu.hk/crs/cshb/conference/note/yiukwanchan.doc (accessed July 26, 2010).

hall paintings are placed in the main hall and other major places, including Buddhas, Bodhsattvas, Arhats, gods, heavenly kings, and protective deities, which are all higher beings in Buddhism. The lower hall paintings are placed in the corridor or side halls, including Taoist deities, deities in popular religions, and all sentient beings that suffered in saṃsāra. To paint an image or hang on the portrait of a Buddha or god in the Buddhist temple hall is equivalent of have invited Buddha or god to attend the *shuilu fahui*, while depicted or hung on the portrait of a person is equivalent of have called the dead to the ritual. By performing rites such as offering food, beverages and incense, chanting and reciting of mantras and texts, transmitting precepts and bowing in repentance on behalf of the lower realm beings, it is hoped that merit will be cultivated by the ritual masters and the participants for all suffering beings, to assist them to become free from saṃsāra.[107] This is the function of *shuilu* painting in *shuilu fahui*, without the paintings the ceremony cannot be held.

Most of the visual representations of the *zhutian* that survived to today belong to *shuilu* painting. Since there are too many deities invited during the *shuilu fahui*, the *zhutian* are usually painted together with other gods. Each *tian* is accompanied by his or her attendants and an inscription that placed above the group image in order to show identity (Fig. 5.7). Though depicted as one of the twenty *zhutian*, the main attribute of Hārītī's image—accompanied by her children—maintains the same, and the artistic style completely turns into Chinese (Fig. 5.8, Fig. 5.9, Fig. 5.10).

In Fig 5.8, part of painting that shows Hārītī and her attendants on west wall of Qinglong Temple, Shanxi Province, China, and the group of figures is supported by clouds that indicate their deity status. Hārītī is ornamented with coronet

[107] Huang He 黃河, "Yuan-Ming-Qing Shuiluhua qianshuo 元明清水陸畫淺說 (A Brief Introduction On Yuan-Ming-Qing Water and Land Painting)," *Fojiao wenhua* 2 (2006): 101.

and located in the center. She wears a dress that has very broad sleeves, and a green-colored scarf hangs in folds in the hollow of her arms. On each side of her stands one child, whose bodies inclined to her, and they both wear Chinese style garment. Two yakṣ a figures stand behind Hārītī; one holds a child sits on his shoulders and the other hold a child stands in his hands. The bodies of these two children are naked apart form a red loincloth passing between the legs and tied in a bow at the back. There is another attendant standing on right side of Hārītī and holding a stick in his hands.

The composition of Fig 5.9 is similar with the previous one. It is a hanging scroll that painted with ink and color on Hārītī and Attendants from Baoning Temple, Shanxi Province, China. Hārītī stands in the front with her hands joined together under her broad sleeves. She wears an especially magnificent dress that reaches down to her feet. Her hairstyle is elaborate, piled high on her head and ornamented with a beautiful adornment. Two children are depicted; one in blue garment is seated on a big eagle, looks at the other who is held by a maid. The maid wears two collars coat and green dress, and a scarf hangs in folds in the hollow of her arms. One yakṣ a figure stands behind the maid, his red eyes and bared feet show his yakṣ a race. He has a Chinese headdress which means his hair are piled up on the head and held in place by a read cloth. The yakṣ a wears a red coat that expose his chest and dress fastened by a long belt, and a small yakṣ a baby is rest in his left hand. Three warriors stand next to the yakṣ a, all holding long stick in hands.

In Fig 5.10, a wall painting on the north wall of Fahai Temple, Beijing, China, Hārītī is depicted with only one child. Her appearance remains elaborate, represented as a very beautiful heavenly goddess wearing a precious cloth, ornamented with earrings, coronet, bracelets and other adornments. Hārītī holds a fan

in her right hand and touches her adorable child's head with the left hand. The child wears two tufts of hair, which is a typical Chinese children's hairstyle. Around his neck is necklace ornamented with medallions. He is in a red rope, which reaches down to his feet and is fastened in the middle by a precious belt. The child presses his palms together in a gesture of reverence.

However, there is another kind of representation related to Hārītī. She is not depicted with children as the mother of demons, but as a yakṣ a leader. Sometimes these two representations will appear together in one painting. One names Guizimu 鬼子母, the mother of demons; the other names *Helidimu* 訶利帝母, the Chinese character for Hārītī. Actually these different names both refer to one goddess, but sometimes they are depicted as two separate gods.[108] Fig 5.11 and 5.12 show the representation of Hārītī as a yakṣ a leader.

5.2 Representation of Hārītī as One of the Twenty-eight Attendants of Thousand-handed and Thousand-eyed Guanyin

Thousand-handed and Thousand-eyed Guanyin achieved a quick success in China after the introduction of the *Qianshou jing* 千手經 in Early Tang (618-713 C.E.). Although this deity was a latecomer among the Tantric forms of Avalokiteśvara introduced into China, because of the promotion of his cult by the three Tantric masters (Śubhakarasiṃha 善無畏, Vajrabodhi 金剛智, and Amoghavajra 不空 all made translations of the scripture) and the patronage at court,

[108] 卍 88:1658.

the Thousand-handed and Thousand-eyed Guanyin could overtake and eventually absorb the fame of other Tantric forms of the bodhisattva.[109]

Since there are various Chinese translations of the esoteric scriptures glorifying the Thousand-handed Guanyin, the descriptions of visual representation of himself (such as his gesture, attributes in hands, numbers of hands) and his attendants varied from one to another. Though scriptures have different accounts on his attendants, some even did not mention them, the version of Thousand-handed Guanyin has twenty-eight attendants eventually achieved a virtual monopoly.

Qianshou guanyin zaoci difa yigui 千手觀音造次第法儀軌 (Rules for the Sequential Setting Up of Thousand-Handed Avalokiteśvara), translated by Śubhakarasiṃha, records the names and appearances of twenty-eight attendants of the Thousand-handed Guanyin. These attendants are all Indian gods that later turned into Buddhist protective deities, and the members of which share great similarities with the twenty *zhutian*. For example, Brahmā, Indra, Vajrapāṇ i, the Four Heavenly Kings, Maheśvara, Pāñcika, Lakṣ mī, Hārītī,[110] and Kinnara also appeared in the name list. Actually, the nature of the appearance of these attendants is identical with that of the *zhutian*, which is to glorify the main figure as protective deities, the only difference is here the main figure is not Buddha, but the Thousand-handed Guanyin.

The popularity of Thousand-handed Guanyin in China, as well as the spread of Esoteric doctrines, ensured that there were many visual examples among both the wall paintings and the paintings on silk and other materials as well. There are his visual representations in Dunhuang scroll paintings, Sichuan caves, and

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[109] Yu, *Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokitesvara*, 271.

[110] Hārītī is rendered as *shen munu* 神母女 (the divine mother and daughter). Evidence of it is another name of Hārītī, see Matsumoto Eiichi 松本榮一, *Tonkōga no kenkyū* 燉煌畫の研究 (Studies on the Paintings of Dunhuang) (Kyōto: Hastubaijo bunkyūdō shoten, 1937), 753.

Buddhist temples, both with and without attendants. Among the representations with attendants, Hārītī is not always depicted, and here I will focus on how Hārītī is represented.

Among seventy visual representations of Thousand-handed Guanyin in Dunhuang, fifty-one depicted his attendants.[111] Figure 5.13 is a masterpiece of the Tang Esoteric Buddhist painting on Avalokiteśvara. Placed in the centre of the silk painting he is magnificently portrayed. As the facial features and bare forearms and hands are painted in carefully shaded orange and flesh tones, with red or purple outlines, a shimmering circle is created by the outermost rows of countless hands, each with a single eye. Far larger forearms and hands, forty in number, each hand grasping an attribute or forming a mudrā, weave a complex pattern around the figure. Green bracelets with blue jewels, and the blue color of many of the attributes, form a leitmotif of the color scheme, matching the luxuriant blue hair spreading over the shoulders of Avalokiteśvara. He is represented with eleven heads and a single "parent" figure of his spiritual father, Amitābha, in his tiara. Below him a preta and a beggar stretch out their hands to receive sweet dew and the Seven treasures from the two hands which are in vara-mudrā.

The essential elements around Avalokiteśvara are his attendants. At the top, to either side of Sunlight and Moonlight, are transcendent Buddhas of the Ten Directions, in groups of the Ten Directions, in groups of five. Below them on the left the adoring figure is labeled "Scattering Flowers" and is joined by another manifestation of Avalokiteśvara, namely Amoghapāśa, who rescues souls with his

[111] Hu Wenhe 胡文和, "Sichuan yu Dunhuang shiku zhong de 'qianshou qianyan dabei bianxiang'de bijiao yanjiu (四川與敦煌石窟中的「千手千眼大悲變相」的比較研究 Comparative Study of the 'Illustrative Paintings' of the Great Compassionate Thousand-handed and Thousand-eyed between Sichuan and Dunhuang Caves)," *Journal of the Center for Buddhist Studies* 3 (1998): 314.

rope. Their counterparts on the right are Cintamanicakra and another adoring figure "Spreading Incense". Below these on either side appear the Indian gods Brahmā and Indra with their attendants, and beneath them Mahākāla standing on the left and Maheśvara on the right on a white-spotted blue bull and holding a child, symbolic of his role as creator. Below these again, these are still two large groups on either side above the flaming vajra figures. On the left the group is led by the Peacock King, accompanied by a Bodhisattva and a Devaraja, and two of the Four Guardian Kings, one of whom is identified by his lance and *stupa* as Vaisrāmana, Guardian of the North. His sister Lakṣ mī kneels in front of them. On the right, the group is led by the Golden-winged Bird King riding a phoenix, again with two of the Four Guardian Kings. Behind him is a monk, and a woman with two children (should be Hārītī), while the figure opposite Lakṣ mī is a kneeling white-haired rishi holding a staff, the Rishi Vasu.

In the centre, between these two groups, is a lotus pool. The stem of Avalokiteśvara's lotus throne rises from this pool, encircled by swirling waters and supported by two nāga figures with additional serpent heads and serpent tails. Six other nāga figures are also in the pool. Below it only parts remain of two more figures with flame surrounds, identified by the cartouches as Trailokyavijaya ("Subbuer of the three Worlds") and Vināyaka.[112]

As one in many of the attendants, Hārītī is simply depicted with her main attribute—holding her child in arms. Figure 5.13 (b) shows the detail of Hārītī. Wears a dark-red halo, her Chinese style face is turned to the main figure. After piled

[112] W. Zwalf ed., *Buddhism—Art and Faith*, London: British Museum Publications Ltd. for the Trustees of the British Museum and the British Library Board, 1985, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectid=6584&partid=1&searchText= 千 手 觀 音 &fromADBC=ad&toADBC=ad&numpages=10&orig=%2fresearch%2fsearch_the_collection_database.aspx&currentPage=1

up on her head and ornamented with golden adornments, the rest of her hair is spreading over the shoulders. Earrings and necklace can also be seen in the depiction. The child in red gown seems presses his palms together, showing reverence to the main figure.

Sichuan is another place to see the popularity of Thousand-handed Guanyin. According to Hu Wenhe's research, there are at least twenty-seven caves of Thousand-handed Guanyin extant today. The earliest appeared in the High Tang (713-766 C.E.), and reached prosperous in the Mid-Late Tang, and the Five Dynasties, then declined in the Song Dynasty.[113] Figure 5.14 displays a clear arrangement of Thousand-handed Guanyin Niche in Shengshui temple 聖水寺, Dazu County, Sichuan Province, China. It was constructed during the Mid-Late Tang (766-906 C.E.) period. As the main figure in the niche, Thousand-hand Guanyin is in the center, seated on a lotus throne. He wears a dedicated crown, and ornamented with adornments on the body. The hands around him are highly detailed and richly ornamented. A small Amitābha Buddha image is held over his head by two of his upper arms. A pair of the hands presses together in front of the chest, a pair of them shows in Dhyana-mudrā in front of the abdomen, a pair of them holds the sun and moon separately, and a pair of them holds a Buddha image in each hands. The other hands are spreading towards outside from each side of the body, sixteen in number, each grasping an attribute or forming a mudrā. Inside the fire shaped aureole, four rows of countless hands displayed in good order, each with a single eye.

Attendants are depicted both on back wall and side walls of the niche, which can be divided into three layers. At the top, is Maheśvara on the right seated

[113] Hu Wenhe, "Sichuan yu Dunhuang shiku zhong de 'qianshou qianyan dabei bianxiang'de bijiao yanjiu," 313.

on a bull, and the Peacock King is on the left. At the middle, Hārītī is depicted on the right supported by clouds with other two figures, while several Bodhisattva figures are depicted on the left. At the bottom, there are two Heavenly Kings and a worship figure on the right, and another Heavenly Kings and Rishi Vasu are on the left. On each side of the outer niche, there are three little niches, in which bodhisattvas and other attendants are displayed. Located on the right side of second layer of the attendants, Hārītī is recognized by the gesture of holding a child in her arms. It is the main attribute of her visual representation.

Just as the twenty *zhutian* that have been systematically grouped as protective deities of the Dharma and made arrangement in order in the later development in China, the member and arrangement of the twenty-eight attendants of Thousand-handed Guanyin are eventually settled. Dahui temple 大慧寺, a Ming Dynasty temple constructed in 1513 C.E. has preserved a group of sculptures of the twenty-eight attendants of Thousand-handed Guanyin. The name and arrangement of the attendants as follows (Fig. 5.15):

Thousand-handed and Thousand-eyed Guanyin	
West side	East side
1. Indra	Brahma
2. Mahoraga	Ashura
3. God of the North Star	Gandharva
4. Kinnara	Vimalakirti
5.Kṣ itigarbha (Dizang)	Yamarājā
6. Maheśvara	Lakṣ mī
7. North Heavenly King	East Heavenly King
8. West Heavenly King	South Heavenly King

9. Moon God	Sun God
10. Skanda	Vajrapāṇ i
11. Mārīcī	Sarasvatī
12. Pāñcika	Hārītī
13. God of Bodhi Tree	Pṛ thivī (Earth God)
14. God of the Mountain Tai	Nagaraja (King of the nāga)

Table 3. Names and arrangement plan of Thousand-handed and Thousand-eyed Guanyin's twenty-eight attendants. After Wang Guanggao 王光鎬, Wang Zhimin 王智敏, *Mingdai Guanyindian caisu* 明代觀音殿彩塑 (Guanyin Hall of Ming Dynasty) (Taibei: Taiwan yishu tushu gongsi, 1994), 26-7.

The twenty-four *zhutian* in the Ming Dynasty, except the Inidan Thunder God, are all in this name list, including the two Chinese deities: God of the North Star and God of the Mountain Tai. Kṣ itigarbha and Vimalakirti are two very popular Buddhist figures in China. The other three, Mahoraga, Ashura and Nagaraja are Indian gods, and also parts of the Demigods of the Eight Classes.

Figure 5.16 (a) and (b) shows a detail of Hārītī's sculpture in Dabei Hall, Dahui Temple, Beijing, China. She wears ornate ornaments on her head, a richly decorated dress with very broad sleeves, and a heavy necklace. Her right hand rises to the chest, palms toward left, in a gesture of reverence. While her left hand is in the gesture of touching her favorite child's head (which is missing in Figure 5.16 a, but showed in Figure 5.16 b). The child is seated on the shoulders of a yakṣ a figure. He wears red garment, and rests his hands on the yakṣ a's head. The yakṣ a is standing on the left side of Hārītī, smaller in size, with two wings at the back. He wears a short garment covering the lower part of the body, leaving the upper part bare.

5.3 Conclusion

In the time of Buddha, when Buddha is teaching, many Indian gods will come to listen to the teaching. They worshiped Buddha and vowed to protect the Dharma and the Buddhist followers. Later those gods whose attendance is much more frequent than others become representative and turned into protective gods of the Dharma, and the *Golden Light Sūtra* is the basic theoretical source for these developments. In Buddhist art, these Indian gods are represented as the attendants of Buddha's teaching scene. While in Chinese Buddhist art and certain ritual texts, they are systematically grouped as *zhutian* and became an important part in Buddhist temples and rituals. Though the number of the *zhutian* keeps changing in different dynasties, they share the same nature, playing the role as protective attendant base on the Mahāyāna Buddhist texts.

Some big temples will place the sculptures of the twenty or twenty-four *zhutian* in each side of Buddha in the main hall as protective deities of the Dharma. Some Buddhist rituals also need their participation. Such as *Shuilu fahui* 水陸法會 (Water and Land Dharma Function), a Chinese Buddhist rite for saving all sentient beings from *saṃsāra*.

Shuilu paintings play very important part in *shuilu fahui*, without the paintings the ceremony cannot be held. To paint an image or hang on the portrait of a Buddha or god in the Buddhist temple hall, is equivalent of have invited Buddha or god to attend the *shuilu fahui*, while depicting or hanging the portrait of a person is equivalent of having called the dead to the ritual. By performing all kinds of rites, it is hoped that merit will be cultivated by the ritual masters and the participants for all suffering beings, to assist them to become free from *saṃsāra*. *Zhutian*, as protective

gods, are higher beings in Buddhism. Their paintings belong to the upper hall paintings which placed in the main hall and other major place, served as the medium to save all suffering beings from *saṃsāra*.

When the cult of Thousand-handed and Thousand-eyed Guanyin emerged, the Indian gods formed his twenty-eight attendants based on the Buddhist texts. The member of the twenty-eight attendants of Thousand-handed and Thousand-eyed Guanyin shares great similarities with the twenty *zhutian*. Actually, the nature of the appearance of these attendants is identical with that of the *zhutian*, which is to glorify the main figure as protective deities. The only difference is the main figure changed from Buddha to Thousand-handed and Thousand-eyed Guanyin.

As one of the Indian gods that turned into Buddhist protective god, Hārītī is always one of the member in either *zhutian* of Buddha or the attendants of Thousand-handed and Thousand-eyed Guanyin. Her visual representation in the assembly did not relate to her own cult, but just as one of the protective attendants to protect the Dharma and glorify the main figure. However, although the artistic style of visual representation of Hārītī completely turns into Chinese, the main attribute of Hārītī's image—accompanied by her children—maintains the same, with which she can be recognized from the assembly.

Chapter Six Conclusion

This present paper provides a comprehensive portrait of the development and evolution of representations of the Indian goddess Hārītī in Chinese Buddhist art. There are three types of Hārītī's visual representations in China, and each of the type indicates different function and nature of Hārītī in Chinese Buddhism. Furthermore, these three types iconography have an independent development from each other.

The first type of representation is Hārītī as a subordinate figure in one Buddhist narrative story. The extant images are in Kizil Caves and Yunggang Cave 9. The paintings of Hārītī in Kizil belong to *avadāna* story (moral stories about the previous lives of various saints), which are depictions of Hārītī's conversion story. As one of the *avadāna* stories placed on the ceiling, Hārītī just served as subordinate figure in her conversion story, and the purpose of painting her story is to express Buddha's virtue. In Yungang Cave 9, Hārītī was depicted seated together with her husband Pāñcika, which might be inspired by the new information of Hārītī in *Zabaozang jing*. Although depicted in different ways, the Kizil and Yungang paintings are both based on certain Buddhist texts. However, the most important is the same function Hārītī played in both representations: she is not the main figure that receives worship; she appears only as a secondary figure in one Buddhist narrative story among the big amount of stories, glorifying Buddha and assisting to disseminate Buddhist teachings. Moreover, in later times, with the spread of related Buddhist texts, Hārītī's conversion story became a theme among artists and was represented in paintings of the Tang and Song dynasties and even Yuan dramas.

There is no doubt that Hārītī appears only as the subordinate figure in order to glorify Buddha.

Hārītī is depicted as the main figure forms the second type of representation. In this type of image, Hārītī is meant to receive independent worship. This type of Hārītī images includes both paintings and stone sculptures. There are two paintings and nine stone sculptures of Hārītī as main figure extant till today, located in Xinjiang and Sichuan Province. These representations of independent Hārītī vary in different regions and of different times. From them one can see that as time went on, the Indian goddess Hārītī gradually turned into a common Chinese mother in contemporary women's clothing, surrounded by children with chubby face and Chinese style clothes. There is great inventiveness of Hārītī's representation in the Song Dynasty: maids, wet-nurse or even babysitter appeared in her representation. However, the arrangement of her representation still maintained consistent with the Buddhist texts and the inventiveness in the Song Dynasty can be explained as the expression that depends exclusively on the texts.

The independent visual representations of Hārītī in China indicate that the existence of Hārītī cult. Actually, literary source also show the condition of Hārītī cult from the fifth century to the 1312 C.E. in the Yuan Dynasty. Hārītī has independent halls in some temples that enjoy good offerings due to the efficacious of bestowing and protecting children. However, as time went on, the independent Hārītī cult became less known. From both the textual and archaeological evidences, it becomes rare for Hārītī to appear as the main figure. People seem to have lost the knowledge of the deity Hārītī, and the new emerging Child-giving Guanyin replaced the major role she played in her cult.

In my explanation, though Hārītī had an independent cult in China, it never grew strong and popular enough to become the mainstream. After all, Hārītī is a minor Buddhist goddess, and she never replaces the many regional Chinese deities that possess similar functions with her. Once the cult of the Child-giving Guanyin as a giver of heirs became firmly established in China, the Hārītī cult then faded away.

The third type of Hārītī's representation in Chinese Buddhist art is as one member of protective deities in the assembly of Indian gods, which is an innovation of Chinese Buddhism. In the time of Buddha, when he is teaching, many Indian gods will come to listen to the teaching. They worshiped Buddha and vowed to protect the Dharma and the Buddhist followers. Later those gods whose attendance is much more frequent than others become representative and turned into protective gods of the Dharma, and the *Golden Light Sūtra* is the basic theoretical source for these developments. In Buddhist art, these Indian gods are represented as the attendants of Buddha's teaching scene. While in Chinese Buddhist art and certain ritual texts, they are systematically grouped as *zhutian* and became as an important part in Buddhist temples and rituals. Though the number of the *zhutian* keeps changing in different dynasties, they share the same nature, playing the role as protective attendants base on the Mahāyāna Buddhist texts.

Some big temples will place the sculptures of twenty or twenty-four *zhutian* in each side of Buddha in the main hall, as protective deities of the Dharma. Some Buddhist rituals also need their participation. Such as *Shuilu fahui* 水陸法會 (Water and Land Dharma Function), a Chinese Buddhist rite for saving all sentient beings from *saṃsāra. Shuilu* paintings play very important part in *shuilu fahui*, without the paintings the ceremony cannot be held. To paint an image or hang on the portrait of a Buddha or god in the Buddhist temple hall, is equivalent of have invited

Buddha or god to attend the *shuilu fahui*, while depicted or hung on the portrait of a person is equivalent of have called the dead to the ritual. By performing all kinds of rites, it is hoped that merit will be cultivated by the ritual masters and the participants for all suffering beings, to assist them to become free from *saṃsāra*. *Zhutian*, as protective gods, are higher beings in Buddhism. Their paintings belong to the upper hall paintings which placed in the main hall and other major place, served as the medium to save all suffering beings from *saṃsāra*.

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Among the three types of Hārītī's visual representation, the first type, namely Hārītī functions as subordinate figure to glorify Buddha is the most based on texts. Although the narratives of Hārītī's story and function became more and more

elaborate as time went on, her conversion to Buddhism is always emphasized in each text. However, since the *avadāna* story did not develop into the mainstream in Chinese Buddhist art, this kind of representation became rare. Comparing to the decline of the independent Hārītī cult, the third type—represented as one member of protective deities in the assembly of Indian gods (*zhutian*) is still in practice today. There are *zhutian* sculptures in modern Buddhist temples, placed in front of the major figure in the main hall as protective deities. *zhutian*, an innovation of Chinese based on Buddhist texts, can be seen as an integration of Buddhism and Chinese culture. It plays a crucial part in Chinese Buddhist ritual and roots in Chinese Buddhism deeply. Therefore, *zhutian* perform as protective deities become a tradition in Chinese Buddhism.

In India, Hārītī is the object of independent goddess cult within Buddhism. She is known as the bestower and protector of children in the Buddhist pantheon. Her images were enshrined on monastic premises, and she consequently received a portion of every monastic meal by Buddha's order. However, as an introduced deity in China, the independent Hārītī cult declined sharply after the Song Dynasty. There might be complicated reasons for the result; however, the cult of Hārītī did not integrate with indigenous culture in the different cultural landscape probably is the most important one. Therefore, nowadays Hārītī is only known as a minor Buddhist figure, and functions as one member of the group of protective deities in Chinese Buddhism.

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Figures

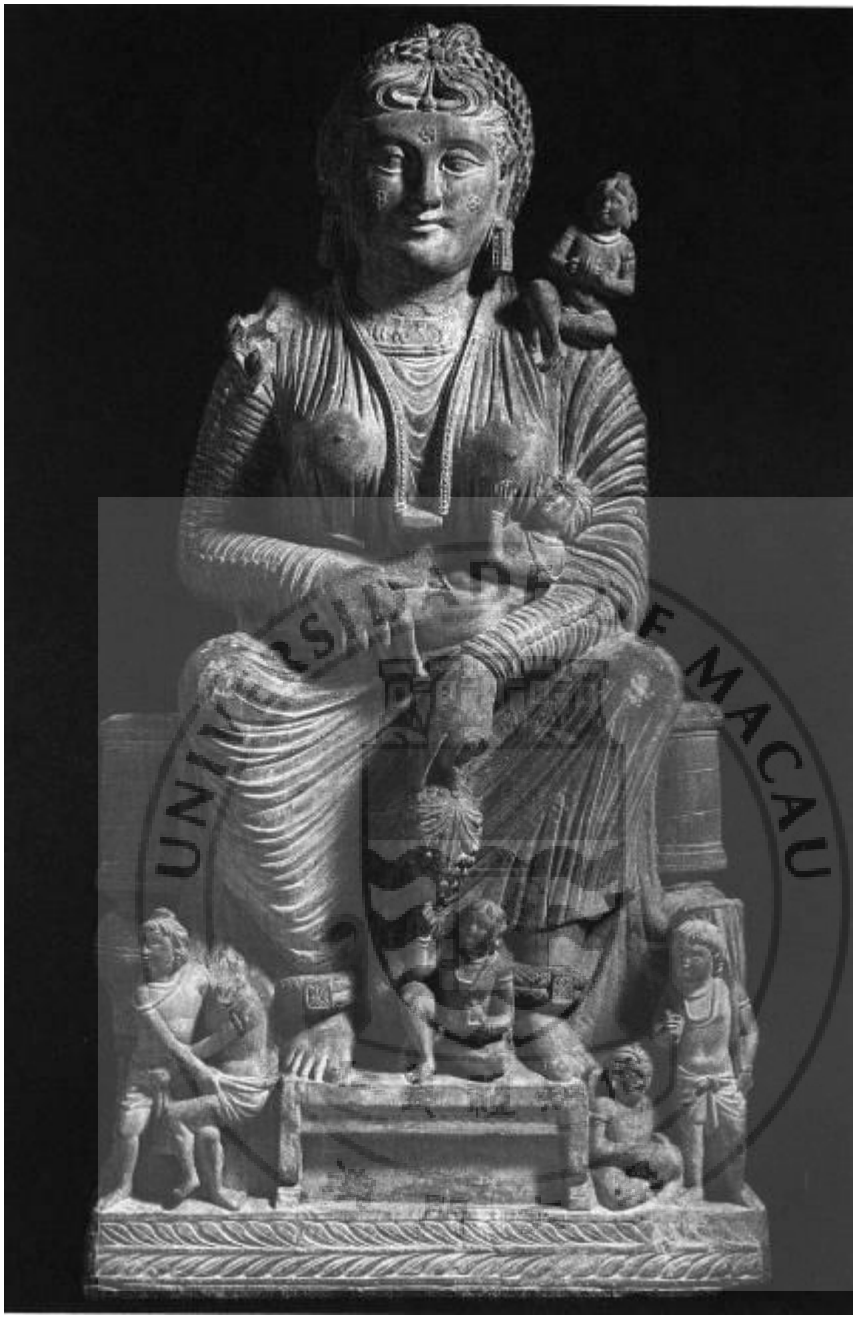


Fig. 2.1 *Hārītī*. Gāndhāra region (Pakistan). Ca. third century C.E. Schist, height 91cm. After Miranda Shaw, *Buddhist Goddesses of India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), fig 5.1.

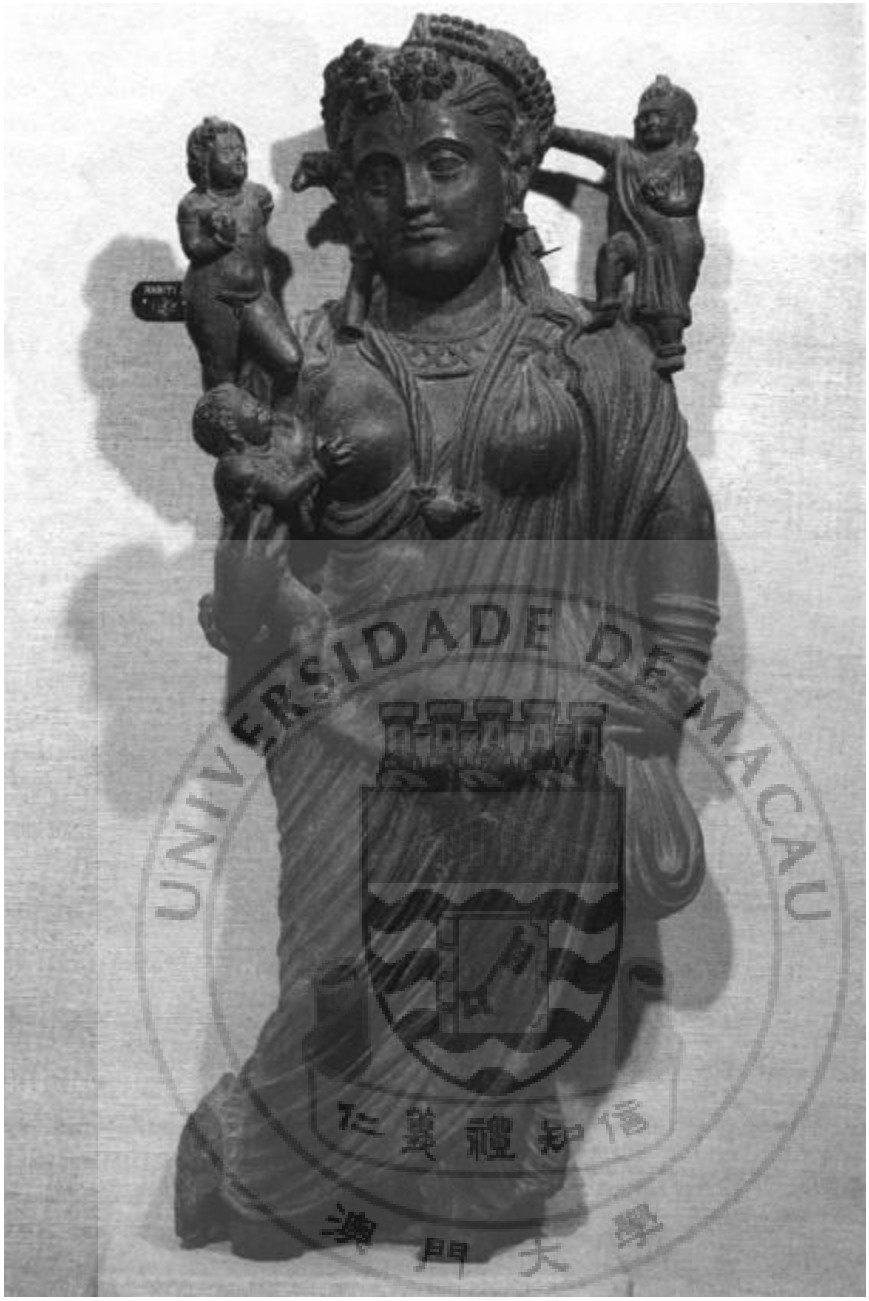


Fig. 2.2 *Hārītī*. Sikri, Pakistan. Kusāna period, ca. second or third century C.E. Schist, height 90.8 cm. Lahore Museum, no. 2100. Photo: The Huntington Archive, the Ohio State University.



Fig. 2.3 *Hārītī and Pāñcika*. Sahrī Bāhlol. Kusāna period, ca. second or third century C.E. Schist, height 101.6 cm. Peshawar Museum, no. 241. Photo: The Huntington Archive, the Ohio State University.

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Fig. 2.4 *Hārītī*. Eastern wall of Monastery 1, Ratnagiri, Cuttack District, Orissa, India. Ca. late seventh or early eight century. Chlorite, height 71 cm. Photo: The Huntington Archive, The Ohio State University.



Fig. 2.5 *Hārītī and Pāñcika*. Cave 2 at Ajanta, India. 450 - 499 C.E. Rock-cut. After Richard S. Cohen, "Nāga, Yakṣ iṇ ī, Buddha: Local Deities and Local Buddhism at Ajanta," *History of Religions* 37, no.4 (May 1998): 381-91, fig. 6.

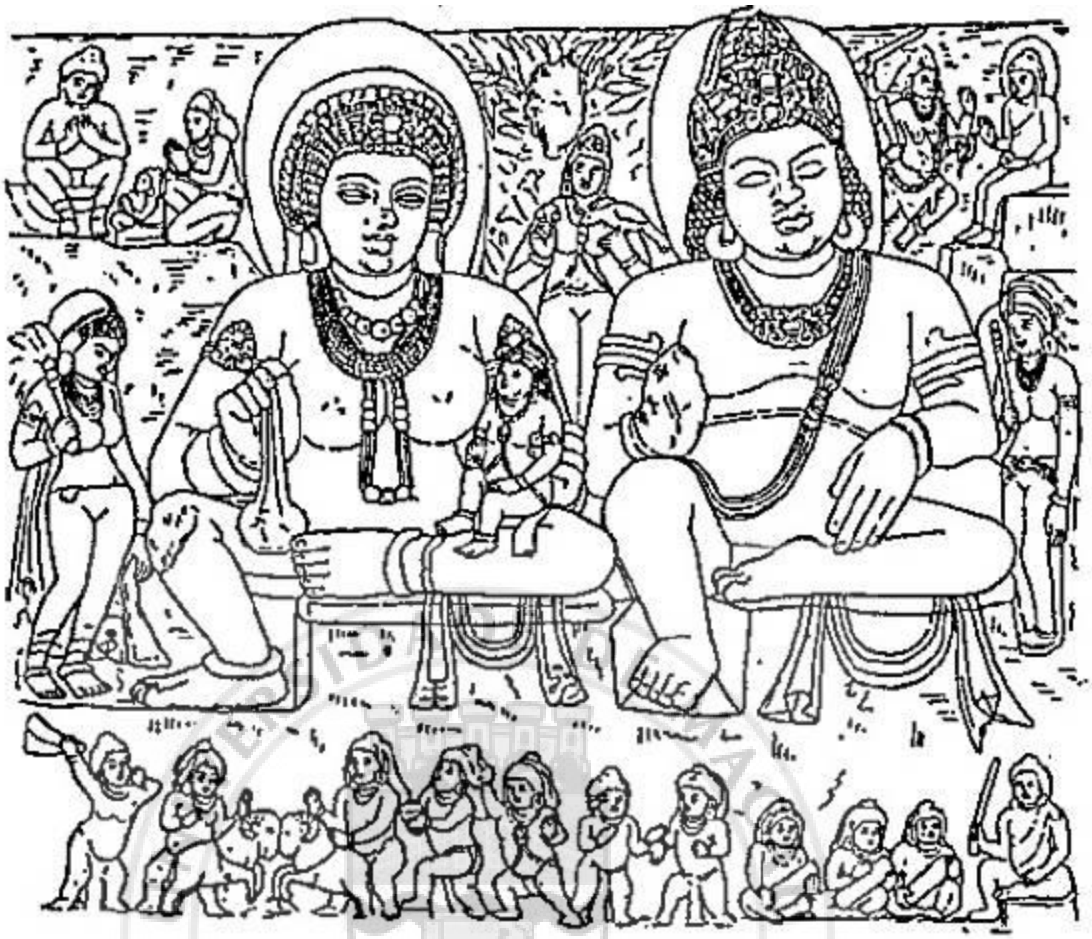


Fig. 2.6 *Hārītī and Pāñcika*. Cave 2 at Ajanta, India. 450 - 499 C.E. After Kobayashi, Taichiro 小林太市郎, "支那に於ける訶利帝 The Karitei Worship and Her Images in China", *しなぶつきょうしがく支那佛教史學* (The Journal of the History of Chinese Buddhism) v.2 n.3 (1938): fig. 2.

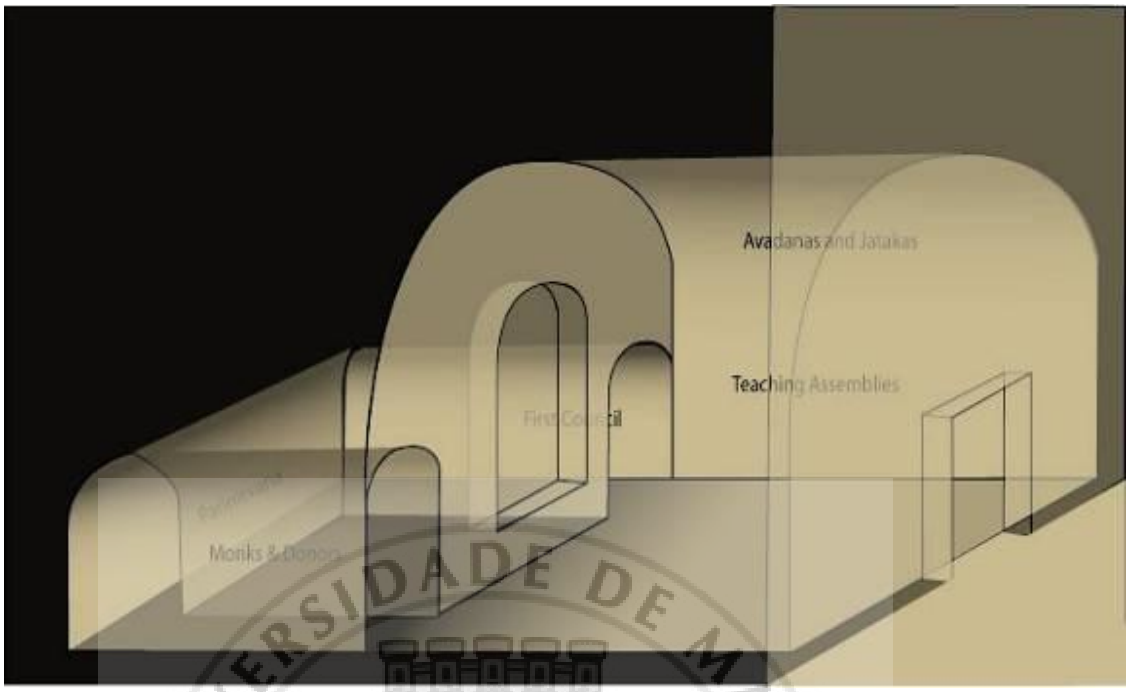


Fig. 3.1 Interior elevation of central-pillar cave in Kizil, Xinjiang, China. Draw by John Huntington.

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Fig. 3.2 *View of the East Side of the Vaulted Ceiling of the Main Chamber*. Kizil Cave 171, Xinjiang Province, China. Wall painting. After *Zhongguo shiku—Kezier Shiku III* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1997), pl. 5.

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Fig. 3.3 *Detail of Avadāna Story of How Hārītī Lost Her Children*. East side of the ceiling, main chamber. Kizil Cave 171, Xinjiang Province, China. Wall painting. After *Zhongguo shiku—Kezier Shiku III* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1996), pl. 6.



Fig. 3.4 *View of the South Side of the Vaulted Ceiling of the Main Chamber*. Kizil Cave 80, Xinjiang Province, China. Wall painting. After *Zhongguo shiku—Kezier Shiku III* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1997), pl. 53.



Fig. 3.5 *Detail of Aavadāna Story of How Hārītī Lost Her Children*. South side of the ceiling, main chamber. Kizil Cave 80, Xinjiang Province, China. Wall painting. After *Zhongguo shiku—Kezier Shiku II* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1996), pl. 53.

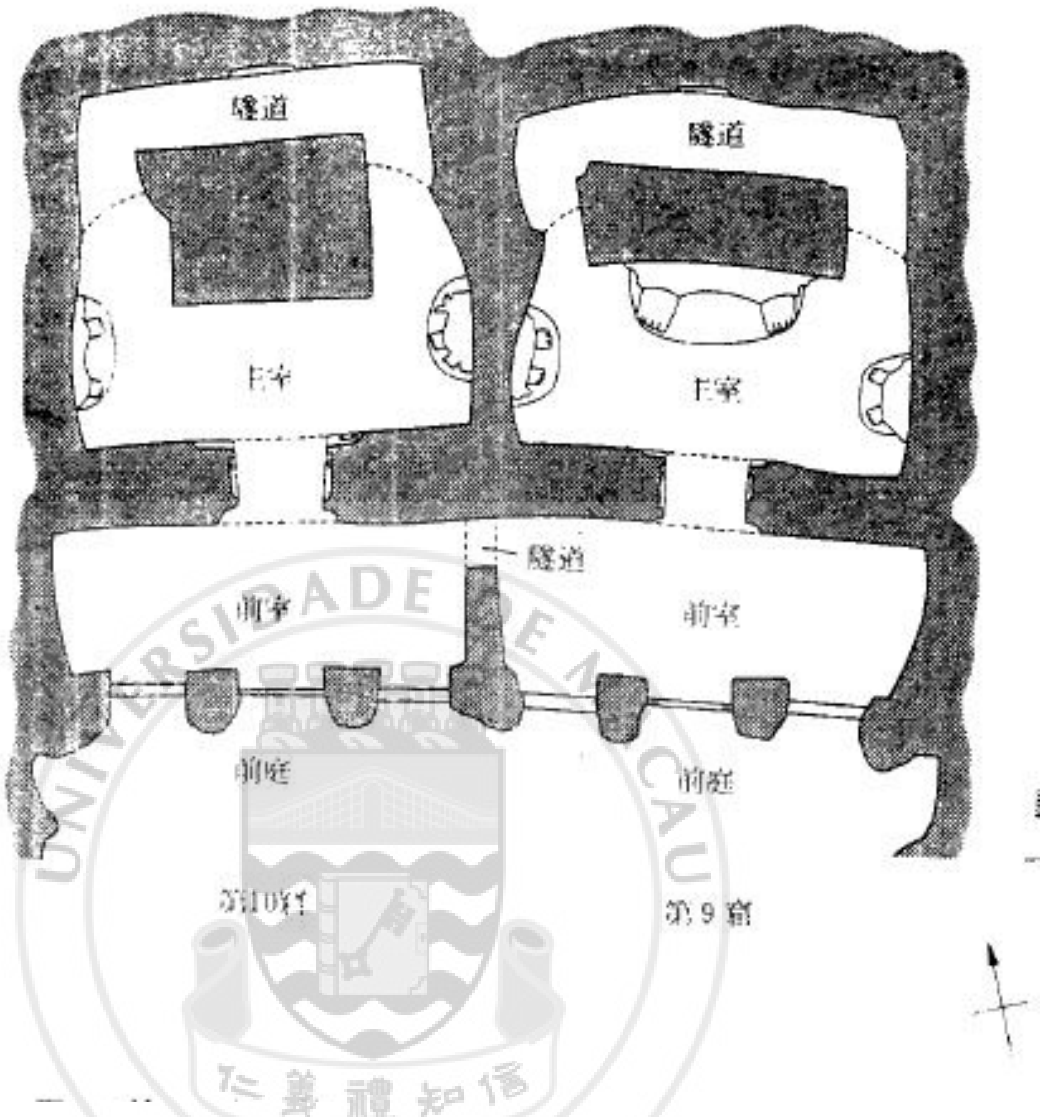


Fig. 3.6 *Plan of Caves 9 and 10*. After Nagahiro Toshio 長廣敏雄. "Yungangshiku di 9,10 shuangku de tezheng 雲岡石窟第 9、10 雙窟的特征 (The characteristics of the Twin Caves 9 and 10 in Yungang Grottoes)," in *Zhongguo shiku—Yungang shiku II* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991), plate 1.

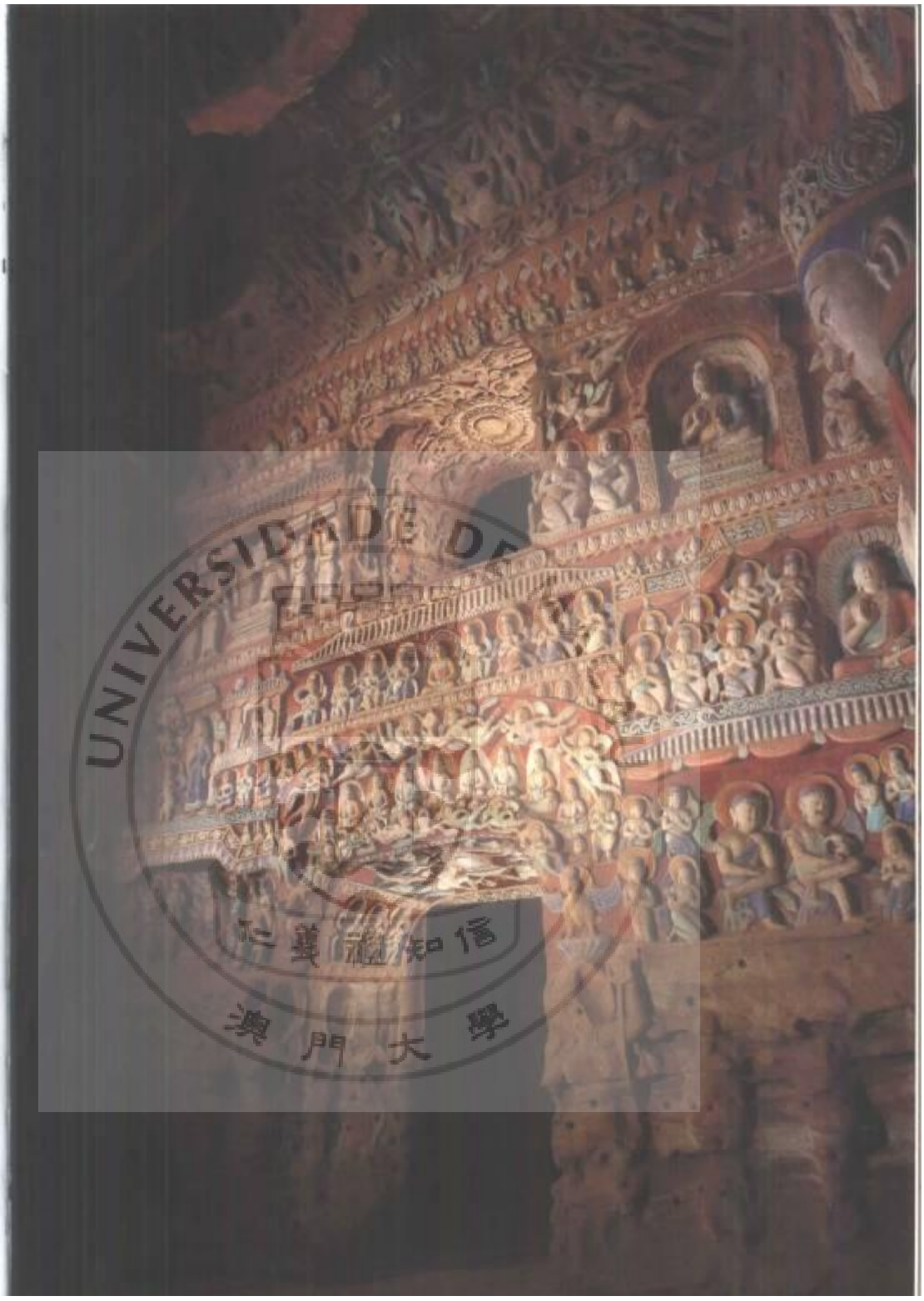


Fig. 3.7 *View of the South Wall of the Main Chamber*. Yungang Cave 9, Shanxi Province, China. After *Zhongguo shiku—Yungang shiku II* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991), pl. 31.



Fig. 3.8 *Detail of Avadāna Story of How Hārītī Lost Her Children.* West Part of the Second Layer, South Wall of the Main Chamber. Yungang Cave 9, Shanxi Province, China. After *Zhongguo shiku—Yungang shiku II* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991), pl. 42.

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Fig. 4.1 *Hārītī with Her Children.* Shrine XII. Farhād-Bēg-yailaki, Xinjiang Province, China. Mid-Sixth Century. Wall painting. After Mario Bussagil, *Painting of Central Asia. Treasures of Asia Series*, editions d' Art Albert Skira, Geneva, 1963, distributed in the United States by Ohio: The World Publishing Company, 54.



Fig. 4.2 *The Goddess Hārītī.* Yarkhoto, Xinjiang Province, China. Ca. early seventh or ninth century. Painting on ramie, 37*51 cm. MIK III 6302. After Herbert Hartel, *Along the Ancient Silk Routes: Central Asian Art from the West Berlin State Museums: An Exhibition Lent by the Museum für Indische Kunst, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Federal Republic of Germany* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1982), pl. 147.

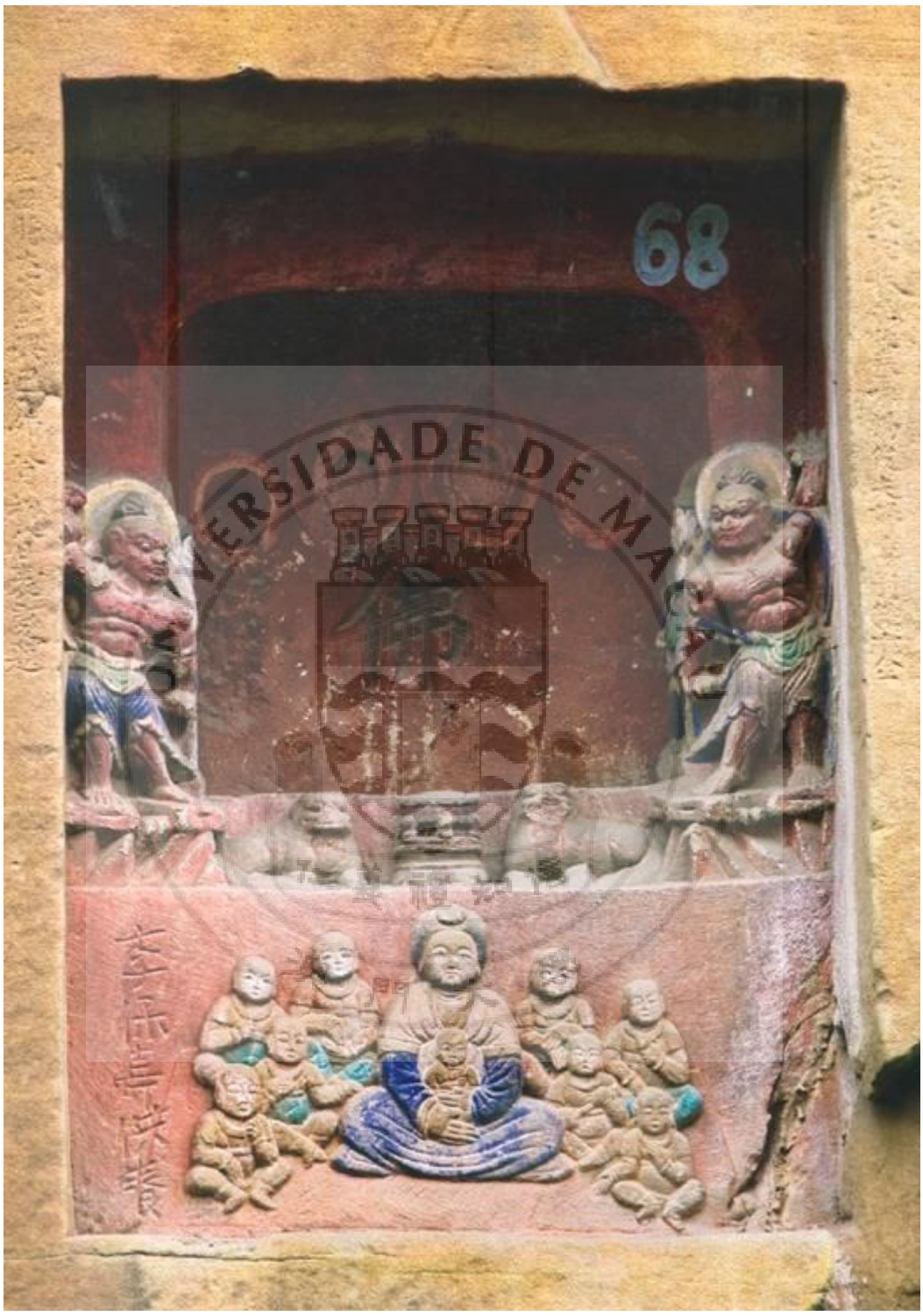


Fig. 4.3 *Hārītī with Nine Children.* Bazhong Grottoes Niche 68, Sichuan Province, China. High Tang (713-766 C.E.). After Bazhongshi Bazhouqu wenwu guanlisuo bianzuan 巴中市巴州區文物管理所編撰, *Bazhong shiku: Tang dai caidiao yishu* 巴中石窟 ： 唐代彩雕藝術 (Bazhong Grottoes: The Tang Dynasty Color Sculpture Art) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang shying chubanshe, 2008), pl. 84.



Fig. 4.4 *Hārītī with Nine Children.* Bazhong Grottoes Niche 74, Sichuan Province, China. High Tang (713-766 C.E.). After Bazhongshi Bazhouqu wenwu guanlisuo bianzuan 巴中市巴州區文物管理所編撰, *Bazhong shiku: Tang dai caidiao yishu* 巴中石窟 ： 唐代彩雕藝術 (Bazhong Grottoes: The Tang Dynasty Color Sculpture Art) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang shying chubanshe, 2008), pl. 95a.

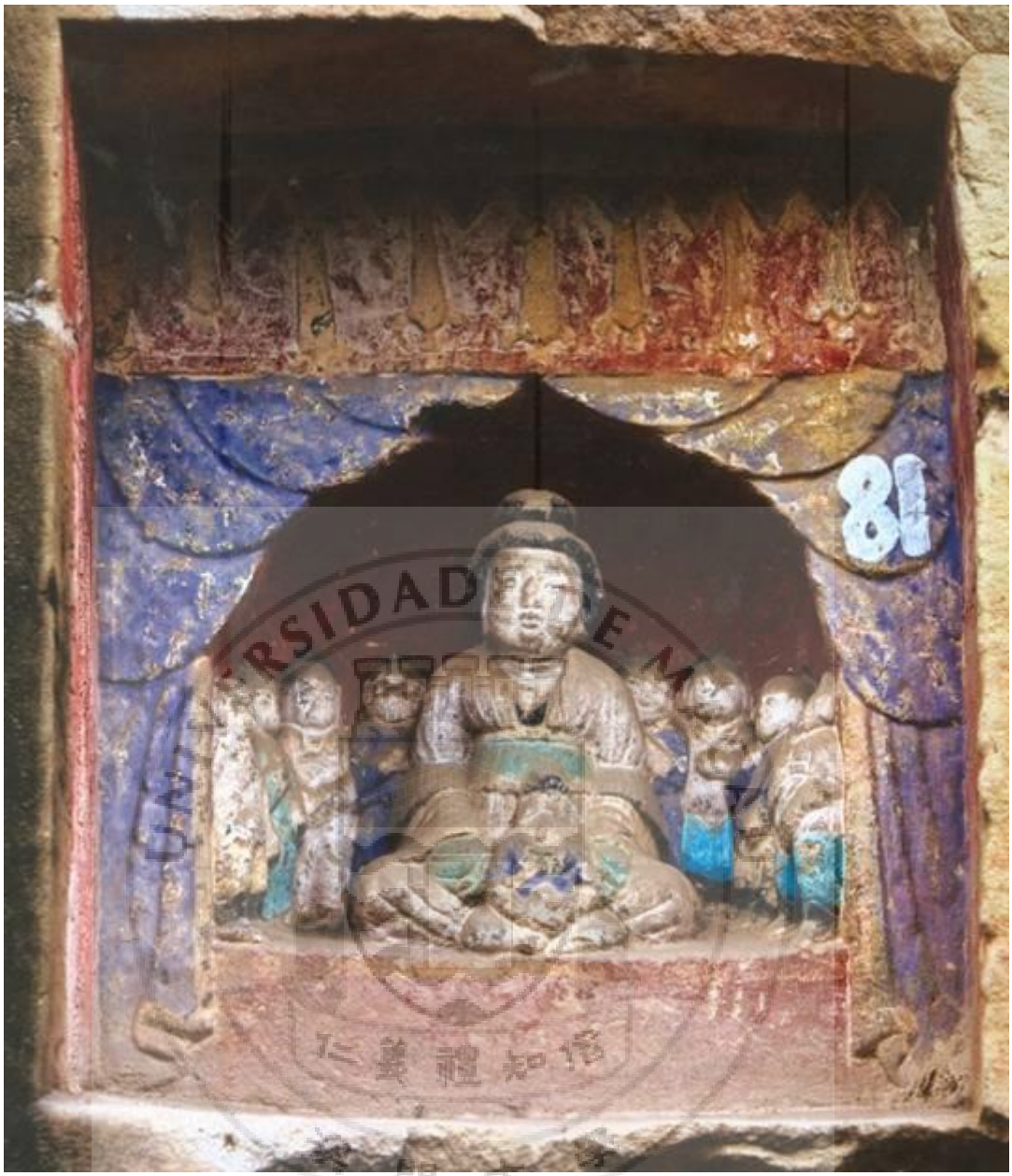


Fig. 4.5 *Hārītī with Nine Children*. Bazhong Grottoes Niche 81, Sichuan Province, China. Mid-Late Tang (766-906 C.E.). After Bazhongshi Bazhouqu wenwu guanlisuo bianzuan 巴中市巴州區文物管理所編撰, *Bazhong shiku: Tang dai caidiao yishu* 巴中石窟：唐代彩雕藝術 (Bazhong Grottoes: The Tang Dynasty Color Sculpture Art) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang shying chubanshe, 2008), pl. 111.



Fig. 4.6 *Hārītī*. Tang Dynasty. After Kobayashi, Taichiro 小林太市郎, “支那に於ける訶利帝 The Karitei Worship and Her Images in China”, *しなぶつきょうしがく*支那佛教史學 (The Journal of the History of Chinese Buddhism) v.2 n.3 (1938): fig. 4.



Fig. 4.7 *The Niche of Hārītī.* Shimenshan Niche 9, Dazu County, Sichuan Province, China. Song Dynasty. After Li Sisheng ed 李巳生主編, *Zhongguo shiku diaosu quanji* 中國石窟雕塑全集（The Complete Works of Sculptures in Chinese Grottoes ）Serial no.7 Dazu 第 7 卷大足 (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 1999), p.74, pl.76.

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Fig. 5.1 *Teaching Assemblies.* West Wall. Kizil Cave 181, Xinjiang Province, China. Wall painting. MIK III 8725. After *Zhongguo shiku—Kezier Shiku III* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1997), pl. 205.



Fig. 5.2 *Hārītī and Pāñcika.* West Wall. Corridor East to the Main Hall. Kizil Cave 198, Xinjiang Province, China. Wall painting, height 44cm. After Albert Grünwedel, *Xinjiang gu fosi:1905-1907 nian kaocha chengguo* 新疆古佛寺：1905–1907 年考察成果 (Xinjiang Ancient Buddhist Temples: the Expedition in 1905-1907), trans. Zhao Chongmin 趙崇民, Wu Xinhua 巫新華 (Beijing: Zhongguo Renmin daxue chubanshe, 2007), 232, fig. 296.



Fig. 5.3 *Maheśvara (Śiva) and Pārvatī*. West Wall. Corridor East to the Main Hall. Kizil Cave 198, Xinjiang Province, China. Wall painting, height 32cm. After Albert Grünwedel, *Xinjiang gu fosi:1905-1907 nian kaocha chengguo* 新疆古佛寺：1905–1907 年考察成果 (Xinjiang Ancient Buddhist Temples: the Expedition in 1905-1907), trans. Zhao Chongmin 趙崇民, Wu Xinhua 巫新華 (Beijing: Zhongguo Renmin daxue chubanshe, 2007), 234, fig. 297.



Fig. 5.4 Twenty *zhutian* (gods). North Wall. Main Hall, Shang huayan temple 上華嚴寺, Datong, Shanxi Province, China. Ming Dynasty (1368-1644 C.E.). After Zhongguo fojiao yanjiusuo 中國佛教研究所 and Shanxisheng wenwuju 山西省文物局, *Shanxi fojiao caisu* 山西佛教彩塑 (Shanxi Buddhist Color Sculpture)(HongKong: Zhongguo fojiaoxiehui, HongKong baolian chansi, 1991), 297.



Fig. 5.5 Twenty-four *zhutian* (gods). South Wall, Guanyin dian. Guanyin tang 觀音堂, Datong, Shanxi Province, China. Ming Dynasty (1368-1644 C.E.). After Zhongguo fojiao yanjiusuo 中國佛教研究所 and Shanxisheng wenwuju 山西省文物局, ***Shanxi fojiao caisu*** 山西佛教彩塑 (Shanxi Buddhist Color Sculpture)(HongKong: Zhongguo fojiaoxiehui, HongKong baolian chansi, 1991), 335.

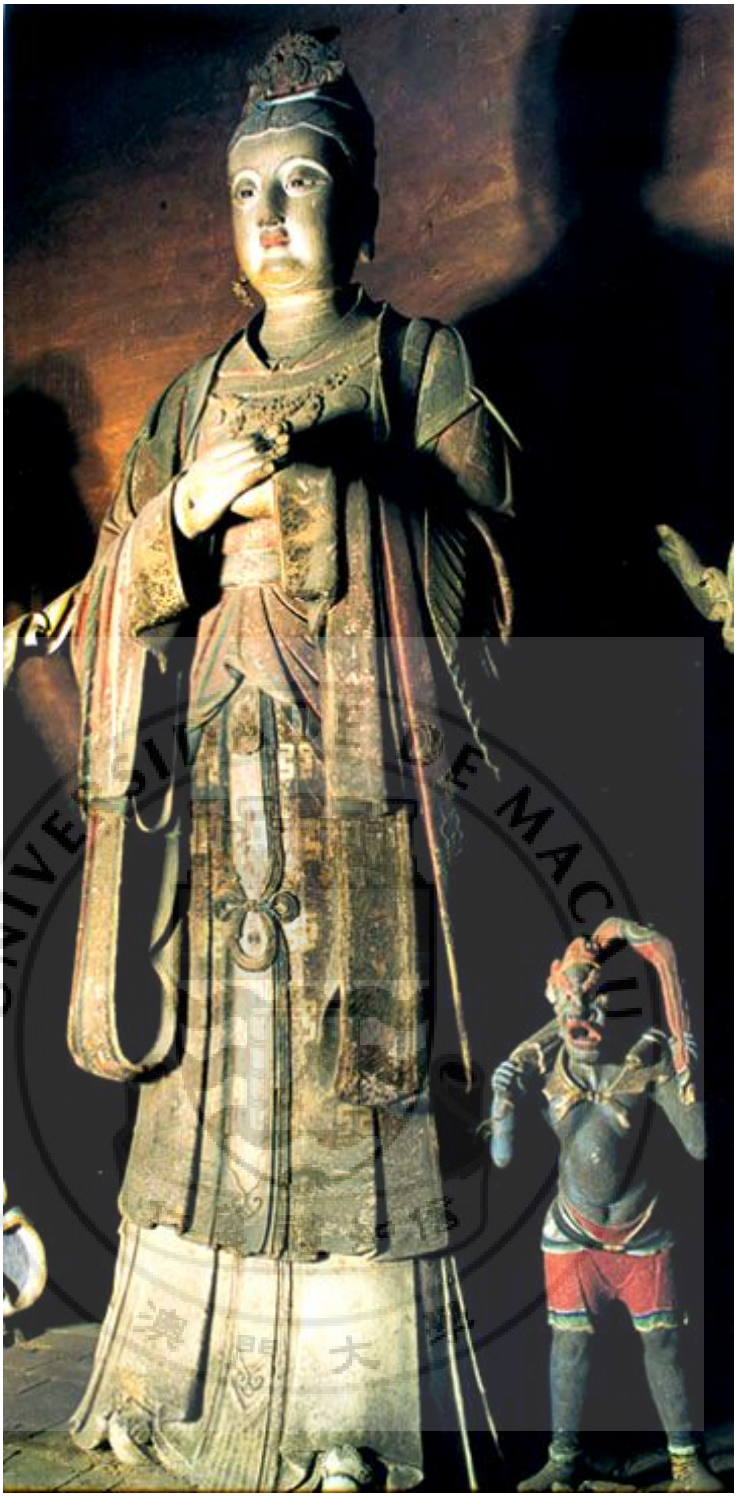


Fig. 5.6 *Hārītī.* Main Hall. Shanhua temple 善化寺, Datong, Shanxi Province, China. Ming Dynasty (1368-1644 C.E.). After Zhongguo fojiao yanjiusuo 中國佛教研究所 and Shanxisheng wenwuju 山西省文物局, *Shanxi fojiao caisu* 山西佛教彩塑 (Shanxi Buddhist Color Sculpture)(HongKong: Zhongguo fojiaoxiehui, HongKong baolian chansi, 1991), 273.

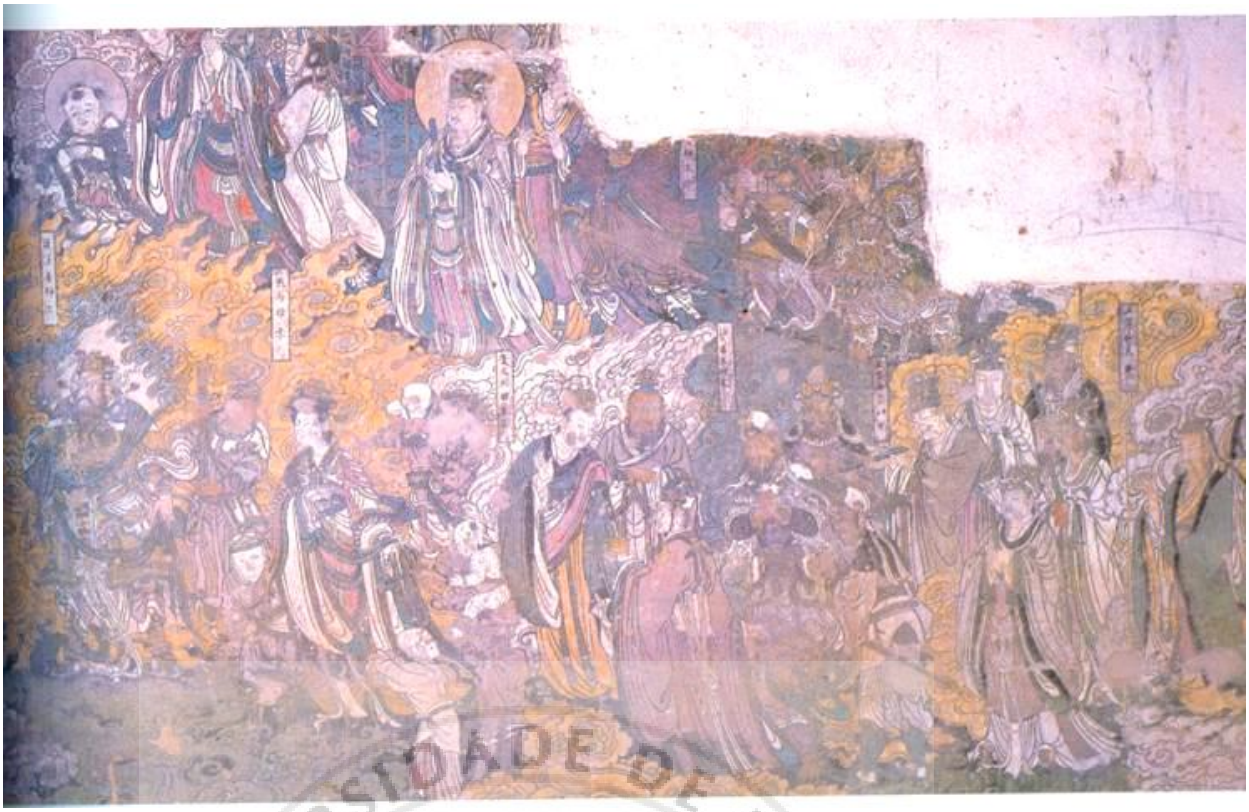


Fig 5.7 Deities of Three Realms (part). West Wall. Qinglong Temple, Shanxi Province, China. Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368 C.E.). Wall painting. After Zhongguo meishu quanji bianji weiyuanhui 中國美術全集編輯委員會, *Zhongguo meishu quanji huihua bian 13* (中國美術全集：繪畫編 13 The Complete Works of Chinese Art: Painting 13) (Beijing: Beijing wenwu chubanshe, 1988), pl. 119.

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Fig. 5.8 *Hārītī*. West Wall. Qinglong Temple, Shanxi Province, China. Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368 C.E.). Wall painting. After Jin Weinuo 金維諾 ed., *Shanxi Jishan Qinglong Si bihua* (山西稷山青龍寺壁畫 Wall Painting at Shanxi Jishan Qinglong Temple) (Shijiazhuang: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 2005), 5.



Fig 5.9 *Hārītī* and Attendant. Baoning Temple, Shanxi Province, China. Ming Dynasty (1368-1644 C.E.). Ink and color on silk, hanging scroll. After Shanxi sheng bowuguan 山西省博物館 ed., *Baoning Si Mingdai shuilu hua* (寶寧寺明代水陸畫 Ming Dynasty Shuilu Paintings at Baoning Si-Painting of Buddhist or Daoist Rituals) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1995), 84.



Fig 5.10 *Hārītī.* North Wall. Fahai Temple, Beijing, China. Ming Dynasty (1443 C.E.). Wall Painting. After Yang Boxian 楊博賢 ed., *Fahai Si bihua* (法海寺壁畫 Wall Painting at Fahai Temple) (Beijing: Zhongguo minzu sheying yishu chubanshe, 2001), 42.



Fig 5.11 *He li dim u da luosha si zhong*. After Huang He 黃河, "Yuan-Ming-Qing Shuiluhua qianshuo II (元明清水陸畫淺說 A Brief Introduction On Yuan-Ming-Qing Water and Land Painting)," *Fojiao wenhua* 3 (2006): 107, b.



Fig 5.12 *He li di mu da luosha zhushen zhong*. Baoning Temple, Shanxi Province, China. Ming Dynasty (1368-1644 C.E.). Ink and color on silk, hanging scroll. After Shanxi sheng bowuguan 山西省博物館 ed., *Baoning Si Mingdai shuilu hua* (寶寧寺明代水陸畫 Ming Dynasty Shuilu Paintings at Baoning Si-Painting of Buddhist or Daoist Rituals) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1995), 85.



Fig 5.13 (a) *Thousand-handed and Thousand-eyed Kuan-yin*. Qian fo dong, Dunhuang, Gansu Province, China. Early Ninth Century. Silk painting, height 226 cm, width 167cm. The British Museum, AN201003.



Fig 5.13 (b) *Detail of Thousand-handed and Thousand-eyed Kuan-yi*



Fig 5.14 (a) *Thousand-handed Kuan-yin*. Shengshui Si Niche 9, Dazu County, Sichuan Province, China. Mid-Late Tang (766-906 C.E.). Stone Carving, height 63cm. After Li Xiaoqiang 李小強, Zhang Wengang 張文剛, "Dazu Qianshouguanyin shike" 大足千手觀音石刻 (Stone Sculpture of Thousand-Handed Kuan-yin at Dazu), *Xun gen* 6 (2007): 76, pl. 1.

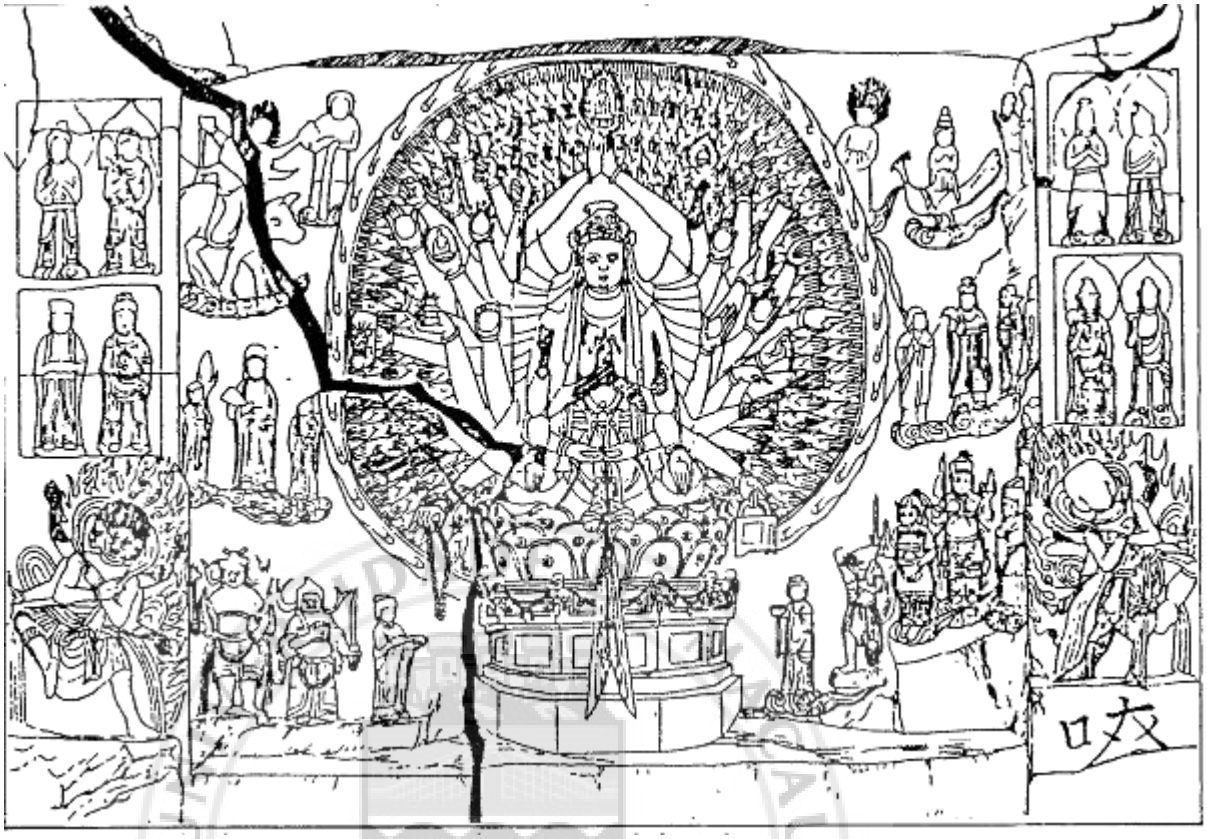


Fig 5.14 (b) *Thousand-handed Kuan-yin*. Shengshui Si Niche 9, Dazu County, Sichuan Province, China. After Hu Wenhe 胡文和, "Sichuan yu Dunhuang shiku zhong de 'qianshou qianyan dabei bianxiang'de bijiao yanjiu (四川與敦煌石窟中的「千手千眼大悲變相」的比較研究 Comparative Study of the 'Illustrative Paintings' of the Great Compassionate Thousand-handed and Thousand-eyed between Sichuan and Dunhuang Caves)," *Journal of the Center for Buddhist Studies* 3 (1998): 324, pl.1.

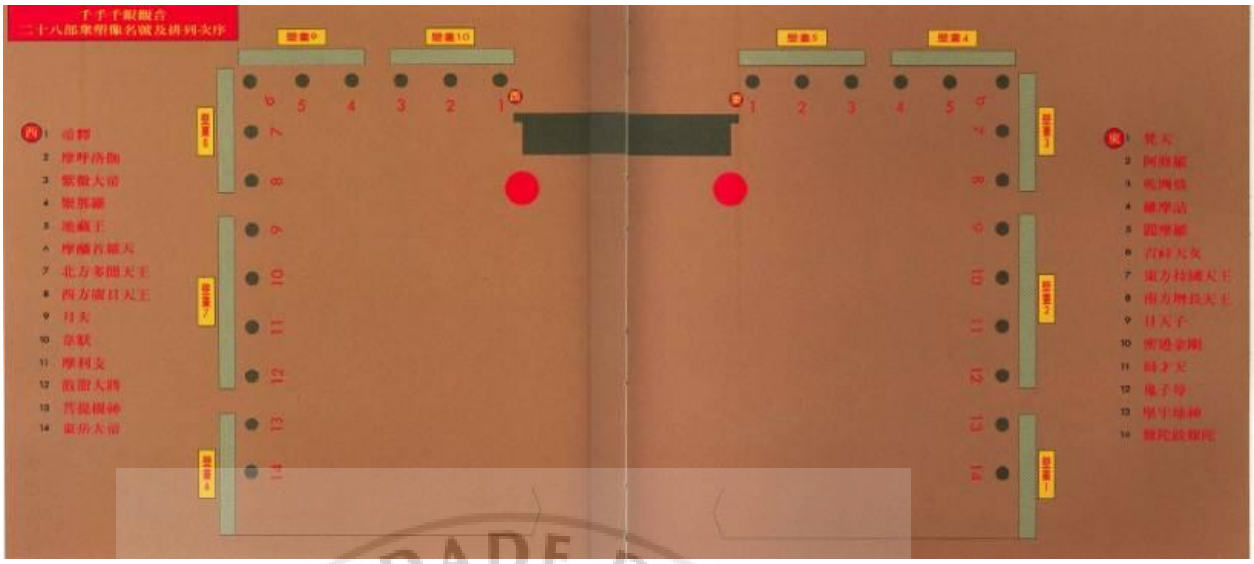


Fig 5.15 *Names and Arrangement Plan of Thousand-handed and Thousand-eyed Guan-yin's Twenty-Eight Attendants'.* After Wang Guanggao 王光鎬, Wang Zhimin 王智敏, *Mingdai Guanyindian caisu* 明代觀音殿彩塑 (Guan-yin Hall of Ming Dynasty) (Taibei: Taiwan yishu tushu gongsi, 1994), 26-7.

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Fig 5.16 (a) *Hārītī*. Dabei Hall, Dahui Temple, Beijing, China. Ming Dynasty (1513 C.E.). Painted clay. After Zhang Zong 張總, *shuobujin de Guanshiyin* 說不盡的觀世音 (The Endless Guanyin) (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2002), 59, pl.84.



Fig 5.16 (b) *Hārītī*. Dabei Hall, Dahui Temple, Beijing, China. Ming Dynasty (1513 C.E.). Painted clay. After http://bbs.oldbeijing.org/dv_rss_xhtml_16_51982_2.html, accessed November 30, 2010.