

# The Fudō Myō-ō from the Packard Collection: A Study during Restoration

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IN THE RECENTLY ACQUIRED Harry G. C. Packard Collection of Asian Art at the Metropolitan Museum is a wood statue of the powerful Buddhist deity called Fudō Myō-ō (Sanskrit: *Acala*grā *Vidyarājā*). It is the object of this paper to investigate the origin, iconography, stylistic development, and construction of the sculpture, and to compare it with similar figures, in order to determine its date.

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Fudō Myō-ō was introduced into the Japanese Buddhist pantheon in the ninth century, at the beginning of the Heian period (A.D. 794–1185). His origins may be traced to India, where he was known in Hinduism as Shiva or Acala, “The Immovable One.” In the eighth century, Fudō appears in Chinese Buddhist iconography associated with the Chen-yen or Mi-chiao sect, which incorporated much of the magic ritual and spells of India’s Tantric Buddhism.

In 804 the Japanese monk Kūkai, also known as Kōbō Daishi (774–835), visited China to further his studies of Buddhism. Shortly after his arrival in Ch’ang-an, he met the master Hui-kuo (746–805), who immediately accepted him as a disciple. For the next two years, Hui-kuo imparted to his pupil all the secrets of the *mikkyō*, or esoteric form of Buddhism, known in Japan as Shingon (Sanskrit: *Mantrayana*), or the “True Word.”

Kūkai returned to Japan in 806, following Hui-kuo’s death, bringing with him all the basic textual

and iconographical material necessary to transmit Shingon tenets. Among the documents and paintings he carried back were drawings by the painter Li-chen and ten other artists, as well as many ritual objects. Art, using strong colors and imagery, became the primary vehicle by which Shingon beliefs were transmitted.<sup>1</sup>

By the first quarter of the ninth century, there were several forms of exoteric Buddhism that centered their doctrines on Shakyamuni, the historical Buddha. Esoteric Buddhism, however, secretly transmitted to initiates only, claimed that Shakyamuni was but one aspect of the all-encompassing esoteric deity known as Vairocana Buddha (Japanese: *Dainichi Nyōrai*). Shingon also differed from the more gradual approach inherent in exoteric Buddhism by advocating the possibility of enlightenment in one lifetime. Both the philosophical and visual grandeur of this dynamic religion, as well as the offer of quick salvation for those willing to earn it, appealed to the sensitivities of Heian Japan, and Shingon rapidly took root.

Included in the material that Kūkai brought back from China were the two basic schemata, or mandalas, that embodied all the religious concepts of the Shingon sect. They demonstrated visually different

1. “The abbot informed me that the Esoteric Buddhist scriptures are so abstruse that their meaning cannot be conveyed except through art” (“A Memorial Presenting a List of Newly Imported Sūtras and Other Items,” *Kōbō Daishi Zenshū*, in Yoshito S. Nakeda, trans., *Kukai’s Major Works* [New York, 1972] p. 148).

aspects of the cosmos. The Womb Mandala represented the esoteric or spiritual aspect and appeared as a symbolic diagram of Buddhist thought. It was based on the *Dainichi-kyō* (Sanskrit: *Mahāvairocana sūtra*). The Diamond Mandala contained the more practical and material aspects. It provided a format for the study of esoteric rites and was based on the *Kongōcho-kyō* (Sanskrit: *Vajrāsekhara sūtra*), also known as the Diamond Sutra.

These mandalas in brilliant color served as focal points of meditation for the initiate, and a pupil's ability to explicate them indicated to his master his state of understanding. Basic iconographic descriptions of Fudō with his designation as a Myō-ō, or "King of Light," were first given in the "Dai Birushana Jobutsu Shimpun Kaji-kyō" section of the *Dainichi-kyō*, translated by Zenmui (637–735, Sanskrit: Subhākarasīma) in 724. Further elaboration appeared subsequently in the *Dainichi-kyō-so*, a commentary on the *Dainichi-kyō*, written by Zenmui and his disciple Ichigyō (683–727, Chinese: I-hsing) between 725 and 727.

In Japan the worship of Fudō took various forms in the Heian period. For example, there was a ritual in which an initiate would first purify body and spirit under a plunging waterfall, then build a fire on an altar-hearth, offer prayers, and perform austerities. Such burnt-offering ceremonies (*goma*) originated in India, were adopted by the Chinese, and continued by practitioners of Shingon in Japan. Usually a table containing a metal basin to hold offerings was set up on a small platform before the image. Fragrant wood, oils, incense, and other similar substances were burnt. The celebrant assumed the correct hand gesture (*mudrā*) for worship, usually emulating certain hand and body positions of the deity he was worshipping.

The masculine aspect of the rituals made them especially attractive to the many ascetics in rural and mountain districts, as well as to the population of more urban areas, resulting in a great increase in the popularity of the deity during the tenth and eleventh centuries. The primary agents for the dissemination of Shingon in the mountainous areas at this time were the Yamabushi, literally "those who sleep among mountains." These ascetics formed a loose association called Shugendō, a hermit sect devoted to Shinto, Shingon, and their mysteries, and some of them espoused Fudō worship in particular.

As Fudō became more popular in the ninth cen-

tury, he emerged as a single deity housed in his own hall (*Goma-dō*). According to various scriptures, Fudō had numerous disciples and *dōji* (child servants) in attendance.<sup>2</sup> Their number was quickly reduced to two, however, in the early Heian period, when Kongara Dōji (Sanskrit: Kinkara) and Seitaka Dōji (Sanskrit: Cetaka) soon emerged as his customary attendants.

## ICONOGRAPHY

Descriptions of the physical appearance of Fudō vary. For example, a passage in the *Dainichi-kyō* states:

He holds the sword of wisdom and a lasso. A pile of hair hangs on his left shoulder. In a glance he observes everything clearly. He looks very angry and there is a furious flame of fire from his body. He is [exists] on a rock in safety. On his forehead there are water waves. His figure is like a fat boy. Such a figure is the one who has the perfect wisdom.<sup>3</sup>

The *Dainichi-kyō-so*, written two years later, expanded the iconography to read:

His figure is like a child. In his right hand he holds the great sword of wisdom and in his left hand he holds the lasso. On the head there is a pile of hair (*mage*) and hair hangs down his left shoulder. The left eye is slightly closed<sup>4</sup> and the lower teeth bite the upper lip at the right side. The left lower lip protrudes. On the forehead are grooves like waves. He sits on a rock.<sup>5</sup> He looks humble and is fat. He is extremely angry.<sup>6</sup>

2. In the "Fudō-mandala-shū," a collection of mandalas on Fudō, references are made to his numerous servants and attendants, but the authority for some of the statements is not clear. However, images of Kinkara and Cetaka are clearly mentioned in two cases. See Takakusu Junjirō and Ono Gemmyō, eds., *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō-zuzō* (Tokyo, 1933) VI.

3. *Ibid.*, XVIII, no. 848, p. 7B.

4. This trait is called the *tenichi-gan* expression, literally translated as "one eye looks at heaven, the other at earth."

5. It is interesting to note the change of character used to describe Fudō's position. The sutra says "exists on a rock" or "is on a rock." The commentary changed the characters to read "sits on a rock." This variation allowed the deity to appear in both seated and standing positions, as either text could be the iconographic source.

6. Takakusu Junjirō and Watanabe Kaigyoku, eds., *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* (Tokyo, 1914–32) XXXIX, no. 1986, section 5 of commentary, p. 633b. I would like to thank Reverend Hozen Seki of the New York Bukkyōkai for help in translating these references, and Professor Yoshito S. Hakeda of Columbia University for further clarifying their meaning.

The Fudō Myō-ō in the Packard Collection (Figures 11–14) complies with the iconographic details specified in the *Dainichi-kyō* and the *Dainichi-kyō-so*. The face is chubby and boylike, with the heaven-to-earth (*tenichi-gan*) style of eyes and teeth: the right eye is open and bulging, looking straight ahead, with the bottom right tooth pointing up; simultaneously, the left eye is narrowed, looking down, and the top left eyetooth is extruding down. The long knotted lock of hair falls gracefully to the left shoulder. The body is soft and voluptuous, conveying a sensuality typical of the Heian period; this kind of fleshiness is also characteristic of the Japanese interpretation of a child's figure. Originally, the overall color of the body was blue-green,<sup>7</sup> and the statue must have held the appropriate attributes of a sword (*ken*) in the right hand and a lasso (*kensaku*) in the left.<sup>8</sup> Finally, the Packard Fudō stands astride a formation of rocks,<sup>9</sup> a detail which completes the iconography as expressed in the sutra.

## STYLE

When Kūkai established the Kongobū-ji in 816 on Mount Kōya, Fudō appeared as one of the two Myō-ō images in the group of seven statues placed in the Lecture Hall.<sup>10</sup> Six statues were arranged around the Ashuku Nyōrai (the Buddha Askobhya), evidently according to Kūkai's own guidelines.

The Lecture Hall and its statues were destroyed by fire in 1926. Until that date, the Fudō in the group was the earliest wooden image of the deity in Japan.

7. Blue is one of the colors discussed in the various representations of Fudō. See *Dainichi-kyō*, ch. 2 (cited above, note 3), and *Dainichi-kyō-so*, ch. 9 (cited above, note 6).

8. The present sword is an Edo replacement. The lasso was made by Mr. Kanya Tsujimoto, senior restorer at the Metropolitan Museum from 1973 to 1978, in the course of his restoration of the statue.

9. The present base is an Edo replacement, but a technical study of the statue shows that it was constructed to stand on some kind of base. As a rule, Fudō is always shown seated or standing on a rock formation, see above, note 5.

10. The other Myō-ō represented was Gōsanze.

11. This must have been considered by Kūkai to be the epitome of controlled anger, made fierce by inner tension. See Sawa Takaaki, *Art in Japanese Esoteric Buddhism*, trans. Richard L. Gage, Heibonsha Survey of Japanese Art (New York/Tokyo, 1972) fig. 62.

It portrayed him with bulging eyes, and with prominent front teeth and fanglike projections biting over the lower lip, rather than in the more typical interpretation of the iconography of the sutra.<sup>11</sup> Kūkai's alteration of the iconography seems to have lain principally in his interpretation of the facial characteristics, which became known as "Kūkai's style." The rest of the body followed the standard specifications. The style of undercutting seen in the drapery is known as *hompashiki*, or "rolling wave pattern."<sup>12</sup>

In 823 the Emperor Saga made Kūkai abbot of the Tō-ji temple in the capital, and it soon became the seat of the Shingon sect. Kūkai was a man of great imagination and innovation. Translating the Diamond Mandala into sculptural imagery, he created a three-dimensional object of worship far more striking than a painting hung flat on the wall. The impact of this imposing group of statues in the Kōdō (Lecture Hall) must have been awesome when first seen. Certainly it was the primary stimulus for the development of sculpture in Shingon. Within the group Fudō appears as a seated image elevated on a central platform above four standing, companion images. Collectively, they are known as the Five Great Kings of Light (Godai Myō-ō), representing the wrathful aspects of the five great Buddhas.<sup>13</sup> The wooden statue of Fudō (Figure 1) is carved in the *ichiboku* or single-block technique. While the general facial appearance is the same as that of the Kongobū-ji image, an attempt has been made to carve striations in the hair, resulting in a smoother transition from forehead to hairline.<sup>14</sup>

For the next two centuries Fudō images show only

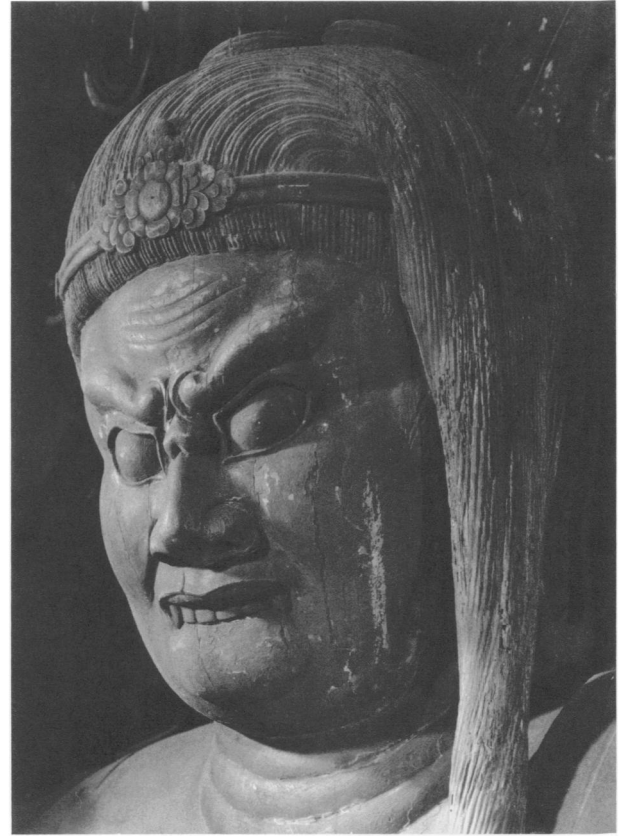
12. Heian sculpture may be dated by the style of *hompashiki* employed in carving the drapery. During this period it had a high rounded ridge followed by a short, sharp tip forming a lower ridge. As time progressed, this style became less sharply delineated, and by the late Fujiwara period it is hardly noticeable or nonexistent.

13. For a more comprehensive discussion of the Godai Myō-ō, see Julia Meech, "A Painting of Daiitoku in the Bigelow Collection," *Boston Museum Quarterly* 67 (1969) pp. 21–30. The group is illustrated in Takaaki, *Art in Japanese Esoteric Buddhism*, figs. 64, 147–149.

14. The seated image at Kongōbu-ji had a lotus flower (*shake*) on the head, but the larger, later image in the Kōdō at Tō-ji does not. Scriptural sources for this attribute are based on the commentaries rather than the original sutra. After Kūkai's death the *shake* returns to the head of all Fudō images, although the flower also undergoes stylistic modifications.



FIGURE 1  
Fudō Myō-ō, ca. A.D. 839, upper torso. H.  
173.2 cm. Kyoto, Tō-ji (Lecture Hall) (photo:  
courtesy Kanya Tsujimoto)



minor stylistic variations (Figure 2)<sup>15</sup>, and were always sculpted in a seated position. Standing figures of Fudō begin to appear in the eleventh century.<sup>16</sup> Nakano states that the statue in the Seigo-in dating from the end of the eleventh century is the oldest standing Fudō extant (Figure 3).<sup>17</sup> That image and the standing Fudō (Figures 4–8) in the Myōō-ji Temple in the Takidani section of Osaka, dated 1095, are almost identical in appearance. They represent a new development in sculpture during the eleventh century, *yos-egi* or the multiple-block technique, which facilitated the creation of larger figures.

The Takidani Fudō serves as a prime example of the early Fujiwara style<sup>18</sup> in headdress and facial characteristics as well as stance. The figure stands

with feet apart, the left slightly in front of the right, and one hip higher than the other. His features are closer to the description in the *Dainichi-kyō-so*. These changes also represent the establishment of the Japa-

15. The seated Fudō Myō-ō dated 1005 in the Doshū-in at Tōfuku-ji (Figure 2) introduces a small circlet suggesting a crown and emphasizing a change in hair style.

16. The only standing Fudō which may be earlier is the Namikiri Fudō on Mount Koya, which Kūkai is supposed to have brought from China. Whether or not the statue as we see it today is the original brought by Kūkai is questionable.

17. Nakano Genzo, *Fujiwara Chōkoku* (Tokyo, 1970) p. 50.

18. Historically, the Heian period is 794–1185, subdivided into the Kōnin-Jogan (794–897) and the Fujiwara (897–1185). Artistically, the time periods are termed Heian and Fujiwara, and are not so stringently defined.

**FIGURE 2**  
Fudō Myō-ō, ca. 1005, detail of head. H. 265 cm. Kyoto, Dōshu-in Tōfuku-ji (photo: courtesy Kanya Tsujimoto)



**FIGURE 3**  
Fudō Myō-ō with two guardian figures (*dōji*), end of 11th century. Kyoto, Seigo-in (photo: courtesy Shoichi Uehara)

nese (*wa-yō*) style, as opposed to “Kūkai’s style,” whose Indian flavor was due to its origins on the continent. Among the specific points to be noted are the flower on Fudō’s head,<sup>19</sup> which has changed in appearance from a high crested lotus to a flattened petal shape, and the transition from long, striated hair to small seashell-shaped curls.<sup>20</sup> In addition, the *tenichi-gan* formation of the eyes and teeth follows the sutra’s traditional iconography.

19. The Takidani image was restored by Mr. Kanya Tsujimoto, who reports that the high lotus flower shown in Figures 5, 7, and 8 was an Edo replacement. He personally removed it and restored the original flat flower (Figure 4).

20. The sutra specifies only the long lock.

The early years of the Fujiwara period brought renewed vitality to religious sculpture. The facial expression of the Takidani image conveys a feeling of strength and purpose. The broad and massive body also suggests a great spiritual force. The rolling wave pattern in the drapery is modified, completing the stylistic evolution during this period. The next fifty years show little dramatic change in Fudō imagery.

The Fudō Myō-ō at Bujō-ji (Figure 9), created sixty years later in 1154, represents the late Fujiwara style. Only 50 centimeters high, the sculpture lacks the dynamic power inherent in earlier Fudō imagery. It has a graceful, refined line, but the elaborate decoration seems to detract from its elegance of form and the Wheel of Life on the navel is a piece of artistic license.

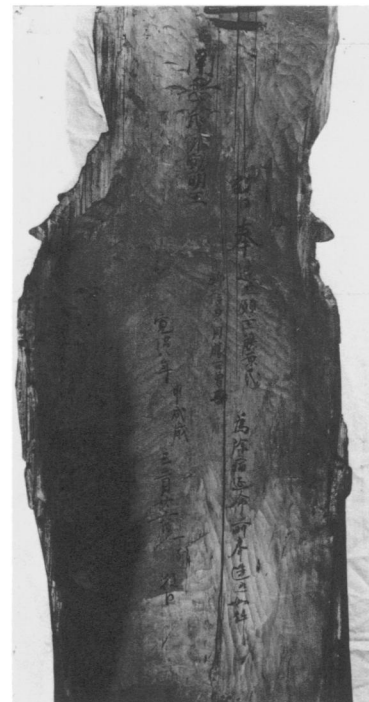


**FIGURE 4**  
Fudō Myō-ō, dated 1095, after restoration. Osaka, Takidani, Myōō-ji (photo: after Maruo Shōzaburō et al., eds., *Nihon Chōkoku-shi Kiso Shiryō Shūzei*)



**FIGURE 5**  
Takidani Fudō Myō-ō, before restoration and replacement of Edo *shake* (photo: courtesy Kanya Tsujimoto)

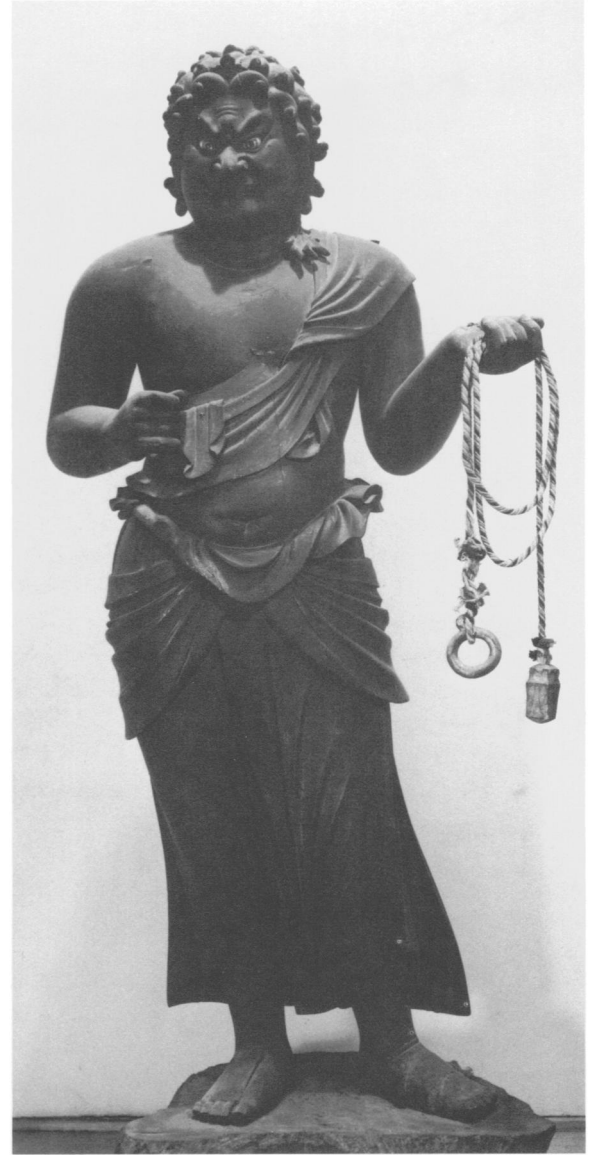
**FIGURE 6**  
Takidani Fudō Myō-ō, inscription inside back, dated 1095 (photo: courtesy Kanya Tsujimoto)



**FIGURE 7**  
Takidani Fudō Myō-ō, before restoration, left side (photo: courtesy Kanya Tsujimoto)

**FIGURE 8**  
Takidani Fudō Myō-ō, before restoration, back (photo: courtesy Kanya Tsujimoto)

**FIGURE 9**  
Fudō Myō-ō with two guardian figures, dated 1154. H. 50.5 cm. Kyoto, Bujō-ji (photo: courtesy Kanya Tsujimoto)



**FIGURE 10**  
Fudō Myō-ō by Unkei, dated 1186. H.  
136.5 cm. Shizuoka Prefecture, Ganjōju-  
in (photo: courtesy Shoichi Uehara)

FIGURE 11

Fudō Myō-ō, after restoration, late 12th century. H. 172.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Harry G. C. Packard Collection of Asian Art, Gift of Harry G. C. Packard, and Purchase, Fletcher, Rogers, Harris Brisbane Dick, and Louis V. Bell Funds, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, and the Annenberg Fund, Inc. Gift, 1975.268.163

Thirty-two years after the Bujō-ji Fudō, in 1186, a tall standing figure of the deity was carved by Unkei for the Ganjō-ju-in in Shizuoka prefecture (Figure 10). This Fudō is infused with renewed strength. His glaring crystal eyes, massive shoulders, and sharply defined, realistically carved costume with its flowing waist frill are indications of the emergence of a new vitality and vigor characteristic of the Kamakura period.

Until recently the Packard Fudō Myō-ō (Figures 11–14) belonged to the Kubon-ji Temple near Kyoto.<sup>21</sup> The figure is tall and imposing. In addition to those traits which are essential to the Fudō Myō-ō, such as the boyish fat, the bulging eyes, and the long lock on the left shoulder, the sculpture has traits peculiar to itself. The flattened lotus flower nestles in Fudō's curled hair. The scarflike garment (*jō-haku*) is draped diagonally from the left shoulder and ties in front. The skirt, which ties in a bow on the belly below the navel, falls in repetitious, slightly stiff folds ending below the knee. The waist frill flares out from the body, giving a feeling of motion and reality to the fabric it represents. There are no signs of the *hompashiki* technique in the drapery. The underpart of the polychromed skirt is exposed in front, showing evidence of an applied cut gold leaf technique known as *kiri-kane*.

The image, whose body bears traces of its original blue-green pigment, stands with feet slightly apart on a rocky formation, in a modified hip-slung position. The limbs are childlike, matching the physiognomy. The fleshiness of the belly is slight compared to the sensual quality more evident when the sculpture is viewed from the back.

This is a gentle, personable figure, not as intense in expression as the Takidani Fudō and not as deep in

21. The Kubon-ji Temple is located about twenty miles outside present-day Kyoto. Its exact address is 47 Funasaka Daimon, Sonobe-cho, Funai-gun, Kyoto fu. Kubon-ji was established in A.D. 810 by Kūkai. It flourished during the 1080s, went into a decline, and was repaired and rebuilt in 1623, according to Zen Nihon Bukkyokai and Jiin Meikan Kanhokai, eds., *Zenkaku Jiin Meikan* (Tokyo, 1970) p. 179.





body volume. The Fudō at Bujō-ji of 1154 is very similar in appearance to the Packard Fudō and would seem to be the closest to it in date. The only major stylistic difference between the two, apart from the more elaborate decoration of the Bujō-ji Fudō, is the flair at the waist in the skirt of the Packard statue. The same kind of flair occurs in Unkei's Fudō of 1186, but the latter shows a return to the Kūkai style of facial characteristics. On stylistic considerations alone, therefore, it seems reasonable to date the Packard Fudō in the third quarter of the twelfth century, making it a transitional example of late Fujiwara sculpture.

## TECHNIQUE

Various materials and techniques have been employed in the creation of Japanese sculptures. In the Nara period (A.D. 645–794), statues were made of bronze, clay, dry lacquer, and wood, or a combination of these materials. As taste and demand changed, metal and clay fell into disuse. A combination of wood and dry lacquer became the predominant medium.

By the Kōnin phase (794–897) of the Heian period (794–1185), wood had become the dominant medium

FIGURE 12  
Packard Fudō Myō-ō, right side



FIGURE 13  
Packard Fudō Myō-ō, left side

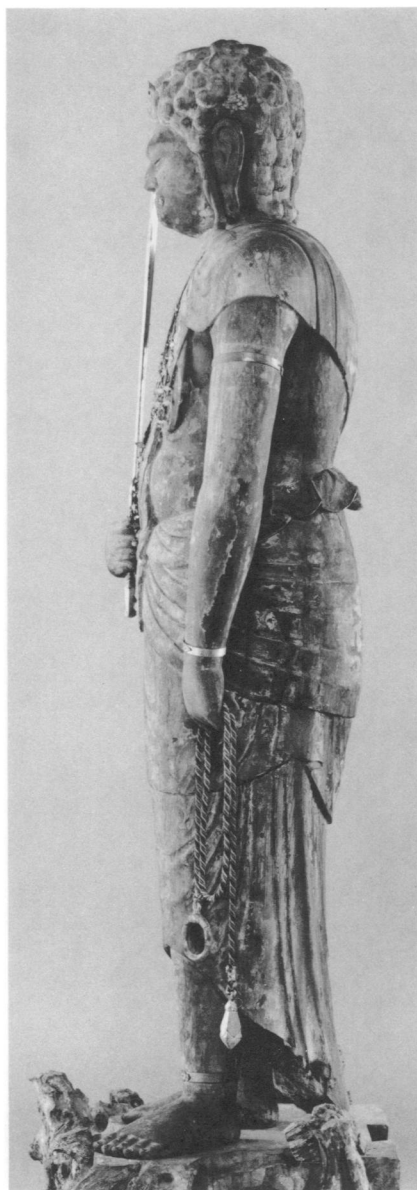


FIGURE 14  
Packard Fudō Myō-ō, back



for religious images,<sup>22</sup> with lacquer (*kanshitsu*) only sparingly applied on occasion. In Shingon Buddhism, the preparation of wood for religious statuary included a solemn ritual as well as a purification ceremony for the sculptor and his tools.<sup>23</sup> Cypress wood (*hinoki*) was readily available and its relative softness, durability, and beautiful graining made it the favored material for Heian sculpture.

As we have seen, early Heian sculptures of Fudō were usually carved in the *ichiboku-zukuri* or single-block technique, in which the head and body are one unit. This technique was also used in conjunction with what is termed the *yosegi-shiki-ichiboku-zukuri*, in which the arms and occasionally a leg or the knees were added to the trunk as separate pieces.

The *yosegi-zukuri* (multiple-block technique) of creating sculpture did not become popular until the Fujiwara period<sup>24</sup> with the advent of Jōchō (994–1057), the regent Fujiwara Yorimichi's favorite sculptor. This respected artist perfected a method of creating large wood sculptures by "schematically dividing the work into parts and joining them according to certain principles."<sup>25</sup> Sculpture, freed from the restrictions imposed by the single-block technique, could now incorporate more intricate shapes and could thereby become more expressive.<sup>26</sup>

Formerly, all work done on a statue by one sculptor was performed in situ, as the wood required was heavy and not easily transported. The new method included the hollowing of the separate components by several artisans. This resulted in the speedier production of a more portable image in a workshop distant from the site.

In 1022 Jōchō was accorded the title *Hōgen*, an ecclesiastical rank never before given to a sculptor, and

he was further elevated with the title *Hōkkyō* in 1048. All sculptors (*bussshi*) benefited from his recognition. They became organized into corporations called *buss-sho*, which grew in importance, gaining control over all production of sculpture. Jōchō's original principles remained a *buss-sho* secret. *Yosegi* is now a generic term applied to any manner of assemblage, whether the figure is seated or standing, in which the head is separated from the trunk and then reinserted.<sup>27</sup> When and how this is done remains a secret to this day.<sup>28</sup> The following summary of the method, therefore, can only be a generalization:

1. Drawings of the image are prepared and presented to the patron, or the patron himself may supply them.
2. A schematic drawing is prepared.
3. The center log is cut into a rectangular shape.
4. The head and body are roughly carved from a center block, and other blocks are joined to it by means of clamps and/or a peg system.
5. Depending on which of several approaches is used, the figure is split from head to foot and opened.
6. The open halves or sections are hollowed out to a thickness of two or three centimeters.
7. The pieces are rejoined permanently and final carving is completed.
8. Final modeling and finishing are followed by a coat of lacquer, and coloring and gilding are added.

The early *yosegi* technique used in the Takidani Fudō (Figures 4–8) is amazingly uncomplicated, considering the size of the figure. Only one block was used for the head, torso, and leg area. The block was first split down the middle forming two halves (Figure 15a), and the head was removed. After the head and body were hollowed, arms were joined to the

works created. See studies of restorations published in Maruo Shōzaburō et al., eds., *Nihon Chōkoku-shi Kisō Shiryo Shūzei: Heian Jidai-Zōzō Meiki* (Tokyo, 1966–71) I–VIII.

27. The Amida image in the Phoenix Hall of the Byōdō-in, dedicated in 1053, has always been considered a fine example of Jōchō's *yosegi* style. Mr. Tsujimoto, who restored the Amida statue in 1954, states that the technique used in its construction was *ichiboku-yosegi-zukuri*, as it was comprised of four main blocks. When split open and hollowed, only the back of the head was removed, leaving the front attached to the front block, which remained one unit. Thus, the technique does not qualify as true *yosegi*.

28. Even today there is no written transmission of the exact methods of construction. Any information must come from observations made during restoration of early works.

22. Noma Seiroku, *Japanese Sculpture of the Heian Period* (Tokyo, 1950) p. 3: "Clay and dry-lacquer were regarded as unholy, while big old trees deep in mountains appeared sacred." It seems probable that the naturalistic overtones found in the development of Shingon sculpture were a reflection of the simultaneous emergence of Shinto sculpture.

23. Ibid.

24. The Bodhisattva at the Chūgū-ji, dated ca. A.D. 650, is an early example of the multiple-block technique. However, the technique was not commonly utilized until the Fujiwara period.

25. Kuno Takeshi, ed., *A Guide to Japanese Sculpture* (Tokyo, 1963) p. xlv.

26. The new technique enabled studios to mass-produce statuary. Jōchō attempted to standardize construction procedures, but after his death only the principles of the technique were retained, while the specifics became as variable as the

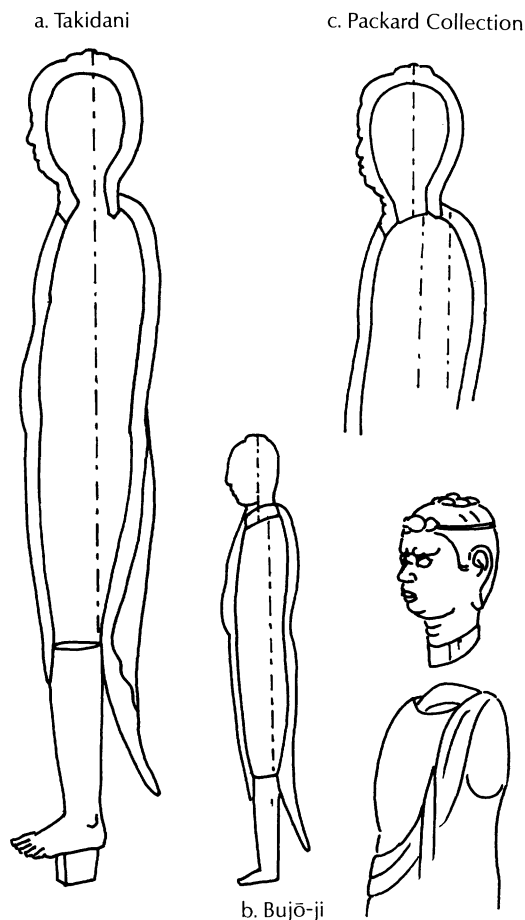


FIGURE 15  
Construction of Fudō Myō-ō figures at: a. Takidani, Myō-ō-ji; b. Būjō-ji; c. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Packard Collection (drawing: Kanya Tsujimoto)

torso, and the head was replaced. The legs were carved from the same block as the head and trunk, and two small pieces were added to form the toes. The entire image was thus composed of only five pieces before the main block was split.<sup>29</sup>

The Fudō Myō-ō at Bujō-ji (Figure 9) represents the next step in the evolution of the *yosegi* technique. An additional piece was joined to the center block forming the head, torso, and legs (Figure 15b). The head was then removed, split open, and hollowed out. The torso was split, the legs were removed, and the two body components hollowed. The head was then rejoined to the body,<sup>30</sup> arms and legs were inserted, and the back was replaced. The entire struc-

ture was prepared for decoration by the application of a coat of lacquer. Color and heavy gilding were then added.

The first step in the construction of the Packard Fudō was probably the provision of sketches showing different views of the image from which the sculptor then made schematic drawings, defining his use of material for the front, back, and sides.<sup>31</sup> Since the center block was not so wide as the intended image, two pieces were added on either side of it (Figure 16, D and E), and two sections on the back in order to make the body deeper (Figure 16, B and C). The “sandwich” construction in depth (note position of B in Figure 16) constitutes a further step in the development of *yosegi-zukuri*, and is more commonly found in sculpture of the succeeding Kamakura period.

The original construction of the head and body consisted of six pieces, the back (Figure 17, c) being made of two separate pieces. The arms and toe sections were added later. The head, body, and legs, therefore, including the little extensions below the feet, were cut from one block. The two sections added to the width formed the additional hip and drape area of the body.

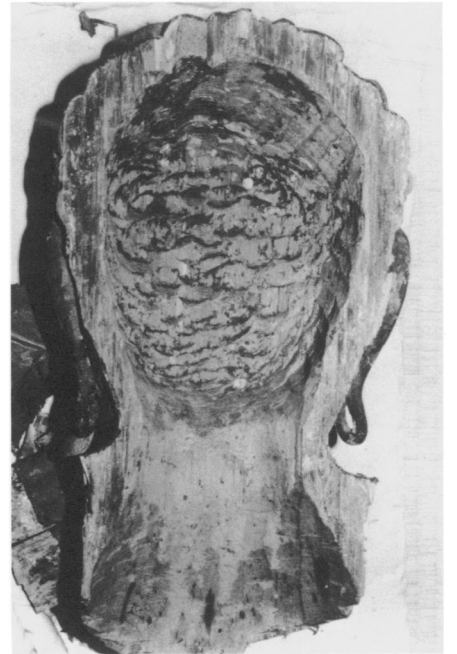
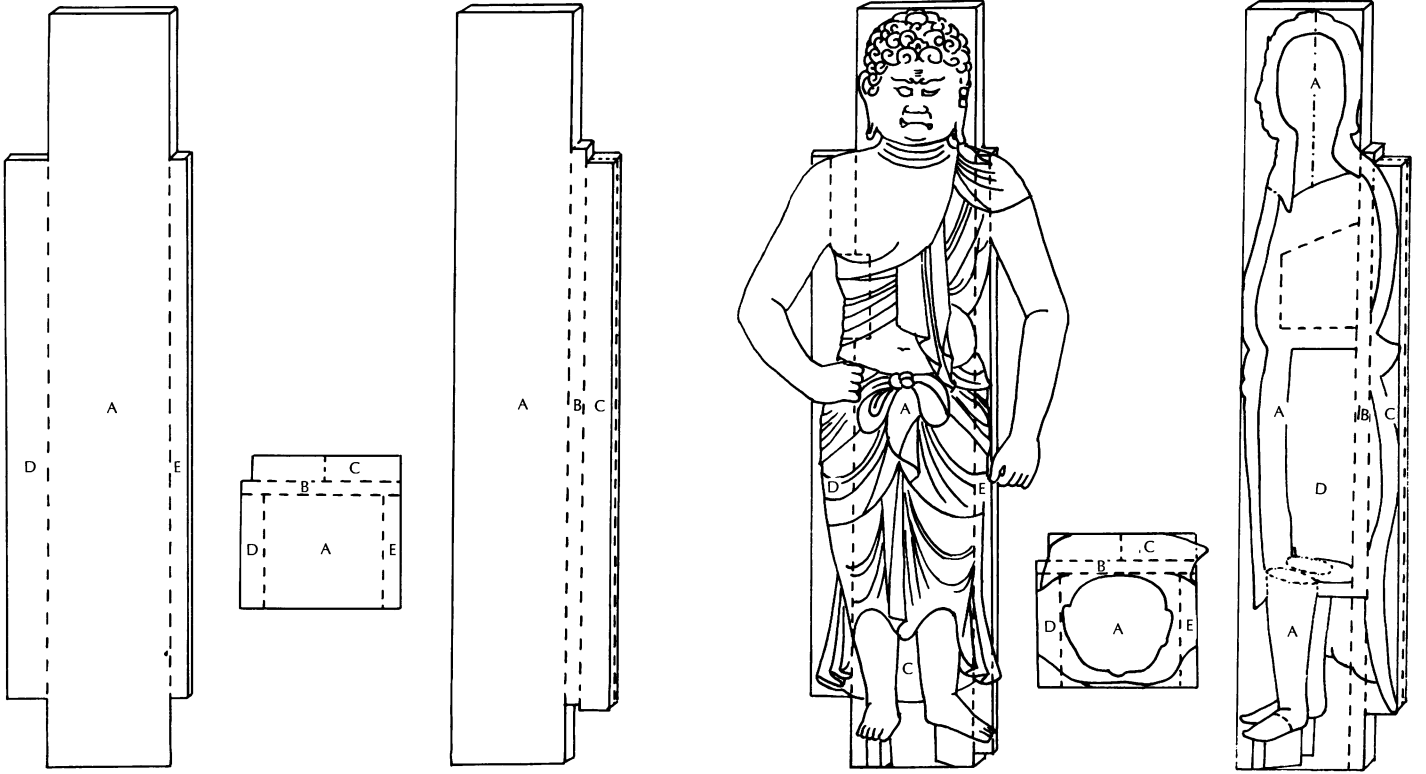
After all the pieces were temporarily joined by dowels, the rough carving was completed. The head and neck element was then severed and worked on separately (Figures 18, 19). The legs were also separated from the center block at this time (Figure 18).

The head was split open behind the ear along the grain, hollowed out (Figure 19), then glued back together (Figure 20). At the same time the body, now divided into two uneven pieces (Figures 21, 22), was also hollowed to within three centimeters of the outer surface, creating a hull. During this hollowing process, the sculptor slipped and broke through, making

29. The two pieces joined by staples which can be seen in Figure 8 are a repair made necessary by the back section splitting at a later date.

30. According to Nakano Genzo, *Fujiwara Chōkoku*, Nihon No Bijitsu (Tokyo, 1970) p. 21, the “neck is rather narrow and is pushed into the opening of the body.” The insertion of the narrow neck is an important factor presaging the *sashi* (“thrust between”) technique (Figure 15c), which becomes more popular in the Kamakura period. Mr. Tsujimoto’s drawing of this image shows that Mr. Genzo’s description is not exact. Unfortunately, further data concerning the statue’s construction are not available.

31. All the information in this section is due to Mr. Kanya Tsujimoto, who also supplied the drawings.



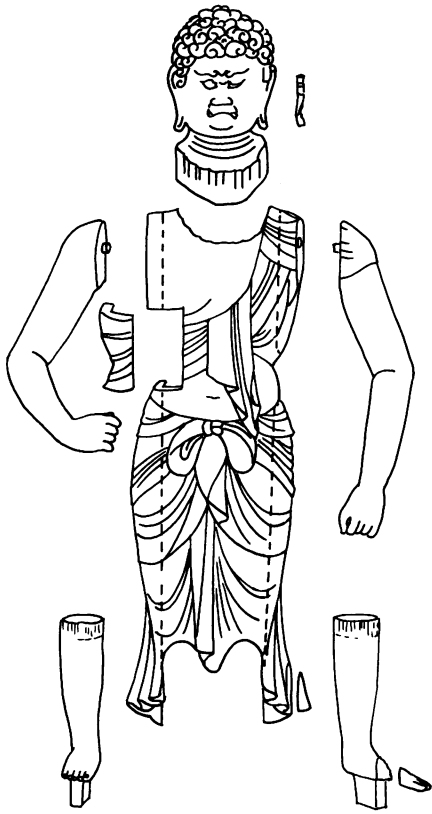
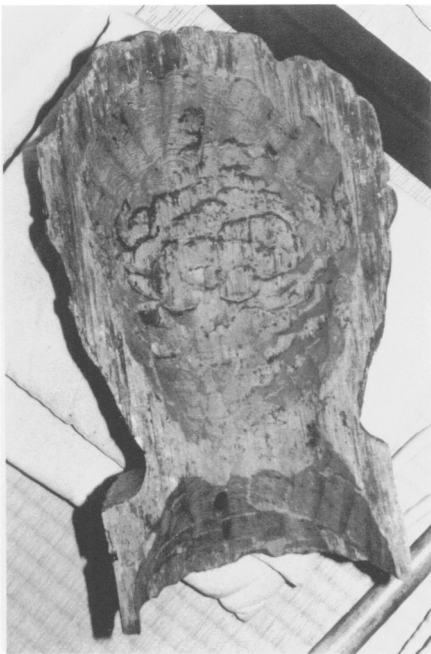


FIGURE 16  
Packard Fudō Myō-ō, diagram showing construction blocks from the front, top, and side (drawing: Kanya Tsujimoto)

FIGURE 17  
Packard Fudō Myō-ō, diagram of the external and internal construction (drawing: Kanya Tsujimoto)

FIGURE 18  
Packard Fudō Myō-ō, diagram of the disassembled components (drawing: Kanya Tsujimoto)



FIGURES 19a–d  
Packard Fudō Myō-ō, disassembled components of head, showing external and internal sculpting (photos: Barbra Okada)

FIGURE 20  
Packard Fudō Myō-ō, head reassembled, showing *shake* (photo: Barbra Okada)



a hole in the center of the right side; to conceal this, an additional piece of wood was added to the inside of the main structure (Figure 23). Arms were then inserted into the hollowed body. The legs, carved separately, were left solid and two additional pieces added to finish the front of the feet, including the toes and part of the projections underneath (Figure 24). The legs were inserted and braced in place (Figures 25a–c).

Next, the head and neck section was rejoined to the body (Figure 26), and two small wedges were inserted to brace the neck in place (Figure 27). Staples and nails as well as a gluelike substance known as *nikawa* were used for the permanent rejoining of the ele-

ments. Small pieces were added as an edge on the skirt and the lock of hair between the head and left shoulder (Figure 18). Finally, the statue was lacquered, color applied to the entire body, and *kirikane* added for a touch of elegance.

## CONCLUSIONS

It is evident that the *yosegi-zukuri* method of sculpture construction underwent a definite evolution in the Fujiwara period. Jōchō's new technique provided an innovative approach to seated images which could be applied to the construction of larger standing images



FIGURE 21  
Packard Fudō Myō-ō with  
back removed (photo:  
Otto E. Nelson)

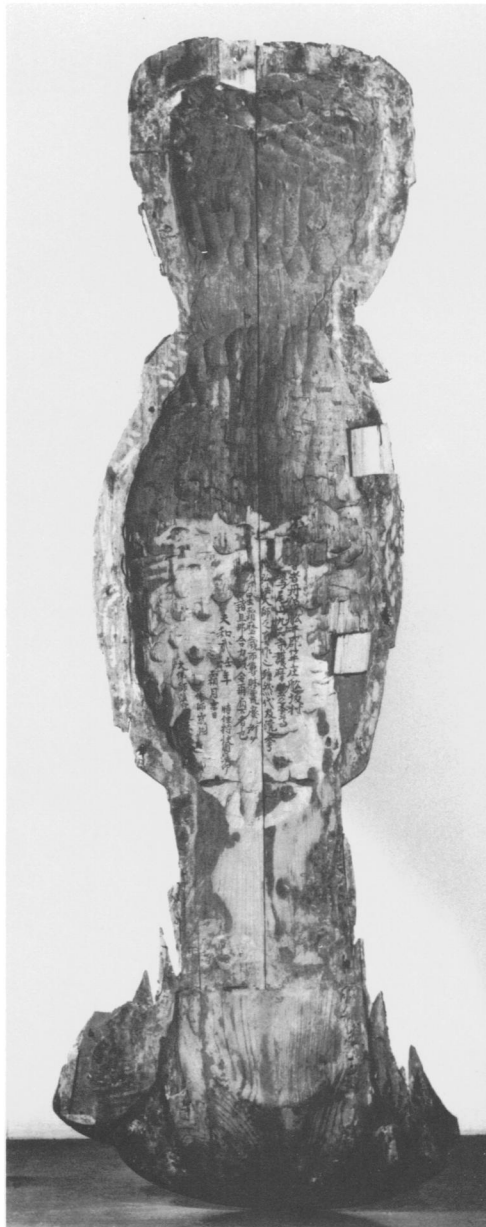


FIGURE 22  
Packard Fudō Myō-ō, in-  
terior of back with in-  
scription dating from  
restoration of 1682  
(photo: Otto E. Nelson)



**FIGURE 23**  
Packard Fudō Myō-ō, original repair to main structure (photo: Otto E. Nelson)

**FIGURE 24**  
Packard Fudō Myō-ō, reassembled components of foot and projection underneath (photo: Barbra Okada)



**FIGURES 25a-c**  
Packard Fudō Myō-ō, reassemblage of legs and body, with brace (photos: Barbra Okada)

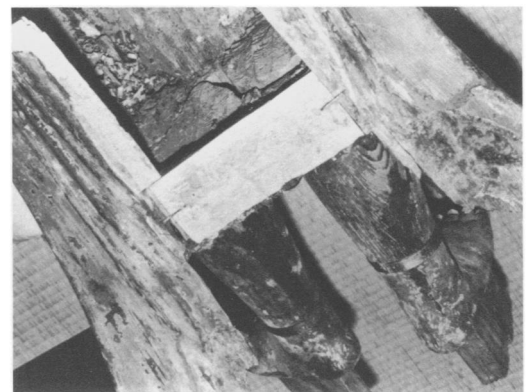
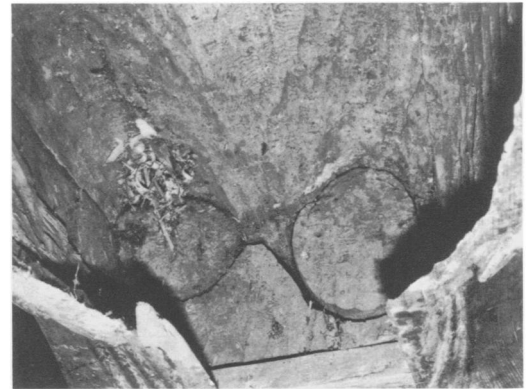


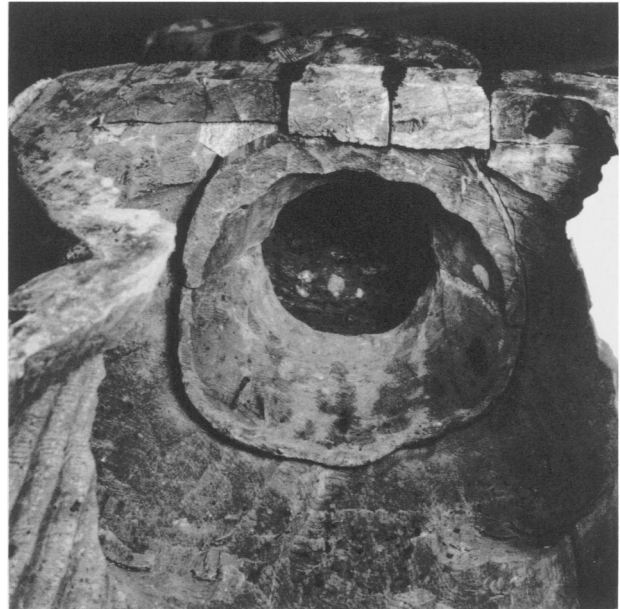


FIGURE 26

Packard Fudō Myō-ō, head and neck restored to body (photo: Otto E. Nelson)

FIGURE 27

Packard Fudō Myō-ō, reassemblage of neck and body, with wedges as brace (photo: Otto E. Nelson)



as well, as exemplified by the Takidani Fudō Myō-ō. More complicated variations were introduced until the advent of the “sandwich” technique apparent in the Packard Fudō, and more commonly found in dated works of the Kamakura period.

The latter period also witnessed a change in the number of pieces used in the construction of a statue. Whereas in the Heian period only a few large blocks were used, so that an arm, for example, would be carved from a single piece, in the Kamakura period appendages were carved in several separate segments and then joined together. The Packard image is composed of only six pieces, which would tend to indicate that it is of Heian rather than Kamakura origin. The absence of *hompashiki* is evidence of Fujiwara origin, yet the flair of the short skirt at the side of the waist is characteristic of the Kamakura style.

In the examination of external pigments, a sample of the original white color showed it to be from a clay

base (*hakudo*) rather than shell (*gofun*). *Gofun* began to be used at the end of the fourteenth century, which confirms indications that the statue dates from an earlier period.<sup>32</sup>

On balance, the study of both construction and style makes it probable that the Fudō Myō-ō in the Packard Collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art dates from the latter part of the twelfth century, possibly between the Shōan and Angen periods (1171–77). Exemplifying the transitional style and technique of the late Fujiwara to early Kamakura periods, it is the only figure of its kind in any museum in America, and its restoration has thrown valuable light on the traditions of Japanese sculpture.

32. Extraneous materials such as glue, staples, and iron do not provide any relevant information concerning the date of the statue, because it was restored in 1682 and the original hardware was replaced at that time.