STUDIES ON ... THE ROCK-CUT BUDDHIST IMAGES

IN THE

PROVINCE OF BUNGO

Ьу

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PREFACE

This is the result of our studies on some rock-cut Buddhist images in the province of Bungo, which were commenced in 1921 with my colleague, Mr Sentarô Sawamura, and assisted by Messrs Sueji Umehara and Sadahiko Shimada. But owing to the long absence of Mr Sawamura, sent abroad by the Government, we have had to publish this Report unfortunately without his collaboration, though his notes and suggestions have been freely used in my writings. Mr Umehara kindly prepared for me the description of the images ar Fukada, and Mr Shimada the notes of the ethnographical observations on stoneworkings; while Mr Masutarô Suzuki took up the task of photographing throughout our work. Mr Kudo's album of the rock-cut images as well as Mr Genmyô Ono's report on these monuments, published by the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts, naturally gave me inevitable help. Professor Bunzaburô Matsumoto's suggestions on iconographical studies also must not be overlooked. I am grateful to all these gentlemen, above-mentioned, and especially to Professor Takuji Ogawa who is the pioneer of scholars making investigation into those images and his never-failing kindness was manifested in various ways throughout our studies.

My sincere thanks are due to Messrs Hinako, Kojiro and Tamada, for kindly playing the cicerone in those districts where the objects of our studies exist, and to Messrs Ono, Shimada and Umehara for their invaluable assistance in making maps and drawings, &c. We are indebted also for some photographs and sketches to Professor Amanuma, Messrs Kobayashi, Kudô and Ogawa. Finally we are under great obligations to Mr Motoyama, President of the Osaka-Mainichi Newspaper, for his donation of a fund which has enabled us to carry out this publication.

Archaeological Institute, Kyoto Imperial University, Kosaku Hamada,

March, 1925.

P.S. The author desires to add his thanks for kindness shown in his trips, made while the printing of this was in progress, to inspect those rock-cut images at Oya ih Shimotsuke, at Fukuura in Iwaki and at Kasuga-yama near Nara, to Mr Maruyama, Professor Hasebe and Mr Uyeda, respectively. (Aprial, 1925)

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Studies on the Rock-cut Buddhist Images in the Province of Bungo

INTRODUCTION

It has long been thought that in Japan Buddhist sculpture in stone had never flourished as in China where this branch of art was in vogue from the beginning of the introduction of that religion. Naturally it depends largely upon whether materials suitable for the purpose exist in country or not, but if we remember that the Koreans tried to produce Buddhist images even in granite, a material too hard for sculpture, and that our ancestors made primitive figures and sarcophagi of volcanic tuff, a material too soft and rough for fine work, it seems rather absurd to think we were entirely strangers to the art of making Buddhist images in stone, which is a quite universal material for sculpture in every quarter of the world.

In fact, a large number of rock-cut Buddhist images had been hidden in places out of the beaten track, and neglected by students of art history, until investigated some ten years ago by Dr Takuji Ogawa, Professor of Geography in the Imperial University of Kyôto. He first took cognizance of those rock-cut images in Bungo, and then occupied himself with those in other parts of Kiushû.¹ Following in his footsteps, Mr R. Kudô published an album of the images in Bungo, and other scholars of Buddhist iconography and art, like Mr Genmyô Ono, eagerly carried on an inquiry in the subject.² Moreover, rock-cut images in the north-eastern part of Japan, such as those in Iwaki and in Shimotsuke, have been brought to light by other scholars, and stimulated by this general movement, further studies were made of those already known near

I. See articles in the Kokka, Nos. 292 and 293.

^{2.} Only a small pamphlet published by the Teikoku-Bijutsuin (Imperial Academy of Fine Arts) in 1923.

Nara, &c. These are said to be quite epoch-making discoveries for the history of art in Japan, which we have never expected until recently.

The rock-cut images in the province of Bungo can be grouped in four large divisions, that is to say, first those existing in and near the city of Oita; secondly, those in the district of Ôno-gun; thirdly, those in the vicinity of the town of Usuki; and lastly, those in the peninsula of Kunisaki. Though our researches are as yet confined only to some notable ones among the abovementioned groups, and scarecely extend to other parts of Japan, we hope that our years' work will contribute some items as fundamental material, fully described and archaeologically studied, for the benefit of students of art.

CHAPTER I. ROCK-CUT IMAGES IN THE CITY OF OITA

1. Locality and History of the Images.

[Plates I-XI]

On the south of the city of Oita, west of the river of the same name, a plateau of volcanic tuff and gravel of Tertiary period extends toward the west. At the eastern margin of the hill a cliff, some 20 feet high, descends abruptly near the houses of Motomachi, and here the Buddhist images in two or three groups are cut out of the rock. One the most notable is called Iwa-Yakushi, with some defaced figures in its heighbourhood; 17 other figures at Tatsu-gahana 能力鼻, near the Furugô 古國府 station of the light-gage railway from Oita to Yudaira.

The place where the images were excavared is not far from the seat of the ancient prefectural government, *Kokufu*, and the Otomo family in the Middle Ages once made their stronghold on this plateau until it was removed to the present city. So it is evident that this part of the city exercised a very important rôle in the early ages of our history, as shown also by the remains of ancient tumuli on the hill. Unfortunately, however, we have very scanty records concerning the rock-cut images, save that there is a certain document telling us that they belonged originally to the precincts of a temple called

Iwaya-dera 岩屋寺 or Grotto-temple, and this name appeared in some old manuscripts written in 1053 and in 1059.¹ So we can say at least that some rock-cut images of Buddhas existed in the Fujiwara period, but when, before that date, they were made, is only determined by the studies of the images themselves.

2. Group of the Iwa-Yakushi.

(Frontispiece, Plates I-IV)

The Iwa-Yakushi 岩藥師, most remarkable of the Oita images, is enshrined in a small straw-roofed fane. The central figure is Yakushi-nyorai 藥師如來 (Bhay'sajaguru) a huge seated statue, about 17 feet high, on a rectangular throne, with a double halo on his back. Though at present both hands are missing, it is undoubted that the Buddha was in abhaya mudra with his right hand, and with the left hand lying on the lap probably holding a medicine bottle, this being a popular attitude of the Yakushi. Mr Kudô, however, proposed the theory that this might be a Dainichi 大日如來 (Vairocana) of the Taizô-kai 胎臟界 (Garbha-dhatu) with which we shall deal later². On the left of the statue a standing figure of Fudô-myôwô 不動明王 (Aryaacalanatha) with his two pages Kinkara 矜羯羅 and Ćetaka 制吒迦 is represented. Unfortunately the heads of the Fudô and his left attendant are broken off, while the right attendant is half hidden, engraved in law relief, between the Fudô and the Yakushi. (Fig. 1) On the right of the Yakushi stands an armoured Lokapāla, lacking his head, and considerably defaced, but probably represented Bishamon-ten 毘沙門天 or Tamon-ten 多聞天 (Vaiścavaṇa). (Fig. 2).

3. Groups North of the Iwa-Yakushi.

(Plates I & X)

On the north of the Iwa-Yakushi group, we notice two groups of images, the B group consisting of three seated Buddhas, and the C of a central seated

^{1.} Quoted in the Usa ôk ışami 宇佐大鏡 which is seen in the Dazai kandaishi. 大宰管內志 Vol. V.

^{2.} See the explanation of the plate of the Yakushi in his Album of the Rock-cut Buddhist Images in Bungo 豊後磨崖石佛.

figure and two attending Bodhisattvas. But all the figures are so hopelessly damaged that it is imposible to realise exactly what triad images was represented. Further on, behind a farmer's house we see an unfinished niche (D) and a rectangle niche (E) with Buddhist images in relief and some stupas cut out in the cliff-side.

4. Groups at Tatsu-ga-hana

(Plates V-XI)

Here we see some 17 figures in a row, excavated in a softer tuff, mostly in an obliterated condition. In the centre a big statue (No. 11), perhaps the Dainichi, is faintly visible. The figures to the left of this are ten in all, but it would seem that No. 7 is the central figure of them all, judging from its size and position. No. 3 is the one best preserved, representing an armoured figure with a spear in his right hand and lifting his left hand, suggestive of the god Bishamon. Nos. 5 and 9 are Bodhisattvas, while No. 4 is a deva with his large eyes, and No. 10 the Fudô-myôwô. Among these figures we can distinguish two kinds of nimbi, one in relief and the other in hollow, the latter figures being probably added in later times. (Fig. 4).

On the right side of the central statue we see a group of three figures, one seated in the middle, perhaps a Yakushi or Dainichi, two standing Bodhisattvas with a guardian god, Bishamon, at the right. At the dexter extremity of this side we find the best-preserved figure of an Eleven-faced Kwannon 十一面觀音 (Ekadasamka), about 7 feet high, in his elegant robes, well-proportioned, but with a sadly damaged chin and hands (Fig. 3). Near by this figure at the right hand side a small square cavity or socket has been cut out and we read an inscription inside running thus: "7th Month of the 15th Year of Tenmon" 天文十五年七月 (1946 A. D.) (Figs. 5 & 6)

Some 30 feet east of the former groups is noticeable high on the cliff, a rock engraved with a lattice-like pattern and a broken piece of it laid on the ground. This is undoubtedly the representation of the so-called Sentai-butsu 千體佛 or Thousand Buddhas, though there are no traces of any figure remaining in each frame.

In short, the groups at Tatsu-ga-hana seem to have been made out of two

or three different schemes in composition. The Eleven-faced Kwannon is evidently an independent statue, large in size and standing directly upon the level of the ground, while the others are all cut out on a higher level. They consist of a triad of images, on the east of the central figure, and similar ones with additional images, on the west of it.

5. Chronological and Aesthetical Remarks

The huge statue of Yakushi with his companions, the Bishamon and the Fudô family, are works unmistakably belonging to one and the same date, if we may judge from their style and position. Though in some way the Yakushi retains the Nara style, his mild but mystic features as well as the soft folds of his drapaery show the statue was the work of the Post-Nara or Early Heian period (9th to 10th centuries A.D.). If we compare this with those masterpieces in wood or other material of the same period, in Kyôto or elsewhere, it is difficult to say the statue is one of the finest, but no one will hesitate to rank it as one of the best among the rock-cut images in Bungo, with the sculptor's mastery of such rough material and his skill in producing a well proportioned figure of such a huge size. The Fudô and the two pages as well as the Bishamon belong evidently to the same period as the Yakushi, and manifest good taste, though they are unfortunately much damaged. The defaced images to the north of the Iwa-Yakushi seem to be about the same age, while the rectangular niche, &c., belong propably to a much later period than the preceeding examples.

The images at Tatsu-ga-hana could not have been made at one and the same period, though most of them belong to the Heian or Pre-Kamakura Era, except some of additional figures which are not very important. The best without doubt is the Eleven-faced Kwannon which exhibits the Early Heian style like the huge Yakushi already mentioned. The most interesting is the relief of the Thousand Buddhas, which are seen very frequentry in the Pre-Nara periods or in the Six Dynasties in China (Figs. 7 & 8). But here in our example this must be dated as belonging to the Heian period, together with the other images in this similar representations occured in that period.

The tradition ascribing all these statues, the Iwa-Yakushi as well as the

groups at Tatsu-ga-hana, to the Priest Nichira 日羅 who came from Korea in the 7th century, is quite absurd, a matter with which we shall deal in a later chapter.

CHAPTER II. ROCK-CUT IMAGES OF TAKASE.

1. Buddhist Grotto at Takase.

(Plates XII-XXI)

About five miles south-west of the former groups of images, near the right bank of the Nanase river, a tributary of the River Oita, we find a Buddhist grotto excavated in a volcanic tuff at a hill near the Takase village. The grotto is shallow and small, only 12 feet long and 6 feet wide, facing east, containing five images in high relief. It was one time closed by a wooden door and beams, as shown by the grooves cut on either side of the entrance of the cave. A small niche, about 3 feet square, with relief figures is also noticeable on the right hand side. No history is left concerning this cave, except a name Garan-sako 你藍道(Valley of the Temple)extant near the spot, though there is scarcely room to imagine a magnificent temple existing in this narrow valley. A number of ancient rock-cut tombs are visible on the hill side opposite the grotto.

2. Buddhist Images in the Grotto.

(Plates XII-XXI)

All images are about 4 feet high, three seated and one standing at the left extremity. The central figure is unmistakably the Dainichi (Vairocana) in the Taizô-kai, represented in the form of a Bodhisattva, and with the hand in the dhyána mudra though the face and other front parts are much dilapidated. Next to the right is a figure with four arms, seated on a lotus flower, with right knee drawn up. This seems to be the Nyoirin-Kwannon 如意輸觀音 (Cintamani). A figure with three faces and six arms comes at the right end, seated also on a lotus throne. Many theories have been proposed as to what

god this represented, but we are inclined to attribute him to the Batô-Kwannon 馬頭觀音 or Horse-headed Avalokitesvara (Hayagriva).

The figure left of the central Dainichi is evidently the Dai-itoku-myôwô 大威德明王 (Yamāntaka), with six faces and six pairs of limbs, riding on a seated buffalo. The left end figure is very unique, standing with snakes in his outstretched hands and decorated with a pectoral of skulls and a human mask in front. This is, no doubt, though iconographists deverge in their views, the figure of Shinsha-taishô 深沙大將 (Anglinara?) which is said to have appeared to Hüan-chuang 玄奘 in the desert.

3. Chronological and Aesthetical Remarks.

The combination of the five gods, the Dainichi in the centre and two esoteric deities on each side, as in this grotto, is scarcely to be found in the Buddhist iconography of Japan and of China. It may express certain underlying symbolic ideas, such as the representation of the deities of the four cardinal points, as Dr Ogawa has suggested, but more likely it might have been only a selection of his favourite gods from the Buddhist Pantheon, of the sculptor or the designer of the cave. The worship of the Shinsha-taishô flourished only in the T'ang period in China and was introduced it would appears, in the Heian period into this country. From this consideration as well as from the artistic style of the images, which shows characteristics of the Heian period or especially of the Fujiwara time, as exemplified by the statues in the Daigo-ji Temple, &c., we are convinced that they date from that period, though some critics like Mr Ono would place them in an earlier time, the Nara period. The facial features of the statues are soft and mystic, and the treatment of the drapery is free and natural, exhibiting considerable skill in the plastic art of the Mikkyô or Tantra doctrines with its rare representation of gods, like the Shinsha-taishô. &c.

The triad of images in a small niche is very interesting, as they are represented seated on lotus flowers sprung up from a common stem, an attitude which reminds us of the famous group in the Tachibana-fujin shrine of the Hôryû-ji Temple, &c. (Figs. 10 & 12) However the latter belongs to the Early Nara or Hakuhô period, our example must be ascribed to the same age as the

other statues in the grotto. The images are much defaced and it is impossible to know what gods they represent, though probably the Amida triad, or the three Buddhas (Amida, Shaka and Yakushi), or something similar.

CHAPTER III. ROCK-CUT IMAGES OF SUGAO IN ONO-GUN.

1. The Iwa-Gongen Group at Asase.

(Plates XXII--XXVIII)

This belongs to the groups in Ôno-gun district, the furthest west in the province, scattered along the highway to Higo province from Oita through the Aso mountain. There are two or three groups of very remarkable rock-cut images and this Iwa-gongen 岩權現 has undoubtedly the right to be ranked as the most perfect and beautiful, surpassing even those at Minami-ogata.

In the mountainous district south of the River Ôno, on a high volcanic cliff of tuff stands the Iwa-gongen, facing west and sheltered in a modern shrine-like building. It consists of five rock-cut images in a row, four seated statues, each about 6 feet high and one standing figure in high relief at the right end. The latter no doubt is the Bishamon (Vaiscavana) in armour, lifting up his left hand grasping a small stupa, and a sword in his right. The two central figures are the Amida (Amitabha) and the Yakushi (Bhaysajaguru) from left to right, and the Senju 千手 (Sahasrahasta) and the Juichimen-Kwannon 十一面觀音 (Ekadasamukha) on either side. All these statues, except the the Bishamon, are re-painted red and green on a white-washed ground, manifesting very modern appearance. No hisfory is known of the images or the temple.

2. Chronological and Aesthetical Remarks.

Four seated Buddhas and Bodhisattvas very greatly resembling each other, rather stout in figure but mild in expression. The drapery is somewhat formally arranged. They show the characteristic physiognomy and treatment of drapery of the Late Heian or Fujiwara period and in the main accord with the iconographic canons of the Mikkyô doctrines. We can not say that the four

seated statues have high artistic merit, though they are not quite mediocre. Comparing these, the Bishamon excels artistically in his attitude as well as expression, notwithstanding the imperfact technique of the sculpture. As a whole this group comes into close relation with those of Minami-ogata in its artistic style and date, (Fig. 26) and we see no reason for ascribing this group to the Nara period, as Mr Ono suggests in his book.

CHAPTER IV. ROCK-CUT IMAGES OF FUKADA, NEAR USUKI.

1. Locality and History of the Images.

(Plates XXIX-LXXIII)

For its artistic value as well as its great number, these groups of images at Fukada near the town of Usuki are undoubtedly one of the most distinguished collocations in the province, or even in Japan. Nearly fifty images, grouped here and there, cut out of the hill sides in volcanic tuff, like the statues in a glyptotheke, or the figures of Mandalas, large and small in a Buddhist temple, as Mr Niiro says in his graphic phrase. Indeed this is a wonderfully picturesque sight, though it is somewhat regretable that there is no striking beauty of nature, such as a high mountain or deep water, as in the case of Long-men or other cave temples in China.

The village of Fukada is about three miles south of the town, along the River Usuki, situated in a small valley formed by its tributaries. We notice on the right bank of the main stream in the field a big torii gateway in stone, which seems formerly to have marked the main entrance to the renowned precincts of Buddha. (Fig. 16) As we proceed into the valley appears in front of us a high hill thickly wooded with steep steps leading to a Shinto shrine of Hiyoshi which stands on the top. On the eastern side of the hill a row of Buddhist statues is suddenly revealed in the forest. This is the largest of the groups, called that of Dainichi-yama 大日山 (A) after the name of the hill. A small group (B), Kakure-jizô 隱心地藏, is seen on the other side of hill, under a hanging cliff, half hidden in shrubs and ivy. On the cliffs opposite the former, separated by a narrow valley, stand a number of groups of images,

which can be divided into the Upper (J, H, G, F, E) and the Lower (C, D) of Dôgaseko 堂ヶ迫, belonging in reality to the village of Minami-tsuru.

On the plain east of the hills above-mentioned, we come across a pair of statues of guardian gods, Niwô which, it is said, denoted the site of the main gate of the Temple Mangetsu-ji 滿月寺. Near by the place at the foot of a low hill are seen two grottos, contanining three portrait statues, one of the Priest Renjô 蓮城法師 and the others of the Mano-no-chôja Millionaire 真野長者 couple, the legendary founders and patrons of the Temple as well as of all the rock-cut images. A stone stupa may also be noticed to the north of the temple site which with the Buddhist images, forms one of the most memorable relics of ancient Buddhism, together with two other small stone stupas on the hill under which the Dôgaseko groups of images were cut out.

Now, then, who were the Priest Renjô and the Millionaire Mano-no-chôja, whom tradition makes the founders of the temple and its attendant images? No trustworthy record affirms that they were real historical personages, but a most ridiculous book of legends current in the vicinity, complied in modern times, tells their stories. Renjo, according to it, was a priest who came from Kudara of Korea, in the reign of the Emperor Kimmei, two years previous to the date established as that of the official introduction of Buddhism, and built the temple and images between 574 and 575, for the sake of the millionaire who from being humble charcoal-burners, Sumiyaki², eventually climbed the dizzy height of piled money-bags! Beneath all this old wives' talk may some lie slight historical data, as for example, the fact that a certain rich man, or a powerful clan, once lived here in a remote time who assisted a priest to build those Buddhist monuments, which no doubt were a wonder to the people of those days, but whose descendants in time forgot the history. As for age and other details, there are no trustworthy facts from which we can deduce any satisfactory data for study. There is also another tradition ascribed to Nichira, 日羅 but this seems of much later origin and has to be criticised in the same way as the other legend.

Mano-no-chôja sometimes is spelled Mana-no-chôja 眞名長者 and called also the Sumiyaki-chôja 炭烧長者.

^{2.} The so-called kilns of the Chôja is preserved on the hill south of the plain of Fukada (Figs. 22 & 23).

2. Images of the Dainichi-yama Group.

(Plates XXI-XLIV)

This is the grandest and was the most splendid group at Fukada, though unfortunately damaged very miserably by natural agencies as well as the human hands, a sacrilege ascribed to the Christian Daimyô Sôrin Ôtomo 大友宗鱗. A row of 13 statues were excavated under a high tuff cliff, facing eastward, all seated except one figure at each extremity. The central figure is the Dainichi (Vairocana), originally about 10 feet high, whose head is now found on the ground, revealing one of the most beautiful image seen at Fukada. Two statues on either side of this are Buddhas, as seen from their rahatsu 螺髮 hairs, but without any clue to determine what Buddha each represented. The next two on either side are Bodhisattvas, most probably being the Kwannon 觀音 (Avalokiteśvara), Seishi 勢至 (Mahāsthānapraptā), Monju 文珠 (Mañjuśri) and Fugen 普賢 (Samantabhadra), with their proper crowns on their heads. A statue next to the Bodhisattva at the left is a Fudô, but the one on the right side corresponding to this is uncertain. Two end figures are Lokapālas in armour, the right one being unmistakably the Bishamon, the guardian of the North, with a stupa on his lifted left hand, while the statue on the left seems to be the Zôchô-ten 增長天 (Virūdhaka), the guardian of the South. Most of the Buddha statues are now headless, but the Bodhisattvas and guardian gods still preserve their heads in spite of the under parts of their bodies being much damaged.

Then what is the cycle of these 13 images with 5 Buddhas, 4 Bodhisattvas and other deities? There is a cycle of "Thirteen Buddhas" 十三佛, including 5 Buddhas and 7 Bodhisattvas, &c. But here we see only 4 Bodhisattvas and no Jizô figure, who is usually represented in the form of a priest, is to be found among them. So it is plausible only to think that first the Five Buddhas with Dainichi were represented, then the four most popular Bodhisattvas and two Devas, the Fudô being one, with the pair of guardian gods

A fragment of the crown with some traces of colouring and a rough sketch of a Buddha was found, (Fig. 17)

added, according to the cardinal points of the compass where the group was excavated. And we have to imagine that there was originally a raised platform in front of the images and also a shelter-shrine built over the group, as is indicated by the remains of the foundation stones, &c. (Fig. 18.)

Two images of Niwô 仁王 (Vajrapāni) may be seen also further to the north of the group, near the entrance to the precinct, as if those guardian gods had stood at the main gate of a temple.

3. Images of the Kakure-Jizô Group.

(Plates XLV-XLVIII)

Certainly this is not a Jizô, but a triad of Buddhas whose names we are unable to recover. The central figure is nearly 9 feet high and in the mudra of preaching. Though very imposing in its huge size the statue is by no means beautiful, lacking fineness and grace. The statues on either side of it are much smaller and the one on the left is more artistic than the central figure, while the one on the right is broken and mediocre, compared with his counterpart.

4. Images of the Lower Groups at Dogaseko.

(Plates XLVIII-LVI)

In the C group, the lowest of the Dôgaseko conclave, we see 8 figures, with a triad of images on the left and 4 standing images on the right. The former consists of one seated Buddha, much damaged, with his nimbus, (Fig. 19) and two standing Bodhisattvas, and, further on the left, is traceable one more mutilated figure. There is no clue to determine the names of the deities in this group, except that the right end statue seems to be a Kwannon.

The D group, to the left of the former, consists of a triad of images of Amida 阿爾陀 (Amitābha) and two Bodhisattvas. The central figure, Amida, about 10 feet high, is one of the best-preserved statues among the Fukada groups, with the most gracious countenance and soft drapery; if there be anything to criticise, it is the disproportionally large head. Two attendants, the Kwannon on the right and the Seishi on the left, are standing with similarly beautiful heads, but with well-proportioned bodies. The other two figures of Bodhisattvas are small and much mutilated.

5. Images of the Upper Groups at Dôgaseko.

Plates LVII-LXV)

These five groups begin at some distance from the Lower groups and continue upward along the road to the village of Nakao. The E group, however, is a little away from the main track and represented a row of ten stupas in flat relief. Each stupa is exactly a replica of all the others, except that two of them in the middle have a round cavity in the lower part, which seems to have contained a votive document or something like it. Though at present no inscription remains, the form of the stupa indicates its relation to the Kamakura period.

The F group excavated on a higher level, as is the G group next to it, represents the Jizô 地藏 (Kshitigarbha) in the centre and the Ten Kings of Hell, the Jû-wô, 十王 five on each side. The subject is rather rare among the rock-cut images in Bungo, and the Jizô's pose, resting one foot on the other knee, not very common either (Fig. 20). The Ten Kings have also very mild and pleasant features, different from those of later periods which are usually fierce in expression.

The central figured of the G group is unmistakably the Dainichi of the Kongô-kai 金剛界 (Vajra-dhātu), with his crown and a characteristic mudra of his hands. (Fig. 21) The Buddha on his right with the *rahatsu* hairs and preaching gesture, is probably Shaka, and the one on the left, with the same kind of hair, but both hands on his knees, seems to be the Amida. On their rectangular pedestals a round or square cavity is engraved, as we have noticed on some stupas in the G group. The two standing Bodhisattvas on each side of this triad, have some resemblance to the Eleven-faced Kwannon at Tatsu-gahana of Oita, though much mutilated.

The H group consists of a triad of images of Amida (centre), Shaka, 釋迦 (right), and Yakushi (left), with a series of defaced images at the right hand side, and also the Aizen-myôwô 変染明王 (Rajirasattva) at the left. The three Buddhas are larger in size than those of the former graup, but in worse condition. Cavities also are to be seen on their pedestals. The Aizen is only

recognizable from his six hands and upright hairs, &c., other details being quite impossible to distinguish.

The J group is the uppermost of these Dôgaseko conclaves, and of similar composotion to that of the G, consisting of a triad of images and two Bodhisattvas on each side, but in the worst preservation. The central figure seems to be the Shaka in a preaching mudra, on the right the Amida, and on the left perhaps the Yahushi. The Bodhisattva statues are much mutilated and only the one on the right can be recognized to be the Kwannon with a lotus flower in his left hand. All figure show rather rough technique and not refined as the other images we have already seen.

Among these five groups of the Dôgaseko conclove, the H is the largest in scale, and the J comes next. From this as well as from other points in its general arrangement, it is more likely that the H was first excavated and the J followed almost simultaneously. The G group is evidently of later construction than the H, because its left extremity is cramped by the end of the H group. A similar relation is more clearly seen of the F group. Here the left side Kings of Hell could not be arranged like those on the other side, one figure having been isolated in a small space. The E group was probably the the latest addition, if we may judge from its situation and its subject.

6. Images in and near the Site of the Mangetsu-ji Temple.

(Plates LXVII-LXXI)

The traditional site of the Temple Mangetsu-ji 滿月寺 extends northward of the Niwô statues which indicate the site of the main gate. There were, it is said, once five monasteries or religious buildings, Gida, Ryôbyô, Seyaku, Annyô and Geraku (祗陀, 療病, 施藥, 安養, 戲樂) by name, consecreted by Mano-no-chôja in this place. But the area seems too narrow to have contained such a number of edifices, unless they were very humble buildings. Moreover, it is very likely that they were thatched with straw or reeds, if the tradition be accepted, very different from those religious buildings in the centres of civilization. Some think that they extended to another side of the plain, but we have not yet come upon any traces of ancient tiles or foundation stones to indicate that there great buildings once existed.

The pair of Niwô (Vajrapāni) statues stands freely on a pavement in their usual manner, half naked and with outstretched hands. The heads are too large and the bodies not well-proportioned, showing crude workmanship. The portrait statue of the Priest Renjô is placed in a roughly constructed caveshrine, partly excavated in a tuff hill, with a gabled roof and those of the Mano-no chôja couple, also in a similar grotto, without façade, close by the former. The Renjô figure seems merely crude and disproportioned, while the statues of Chôja and his wife are simple and and archaistic, resembling in some ways the Shintô statues of deities. We can not believe that these naive works, without any pretension to style, belong to the same age, as the tradition tells, with the other rock-cut images we have already seen.

7. The Hiyoshi-to and other Stone Stupas.

(Plates LXXI-LXXIII)

Two small stupas in Aso lava or hard tuff on the hill above the J group of Dôgaseko are very important from their inscriptions. They show quite the usual type of the stupa which prevailed between the Fujiwara and Kamakura periods and are not of very fine workmanship. The larger one is about 5 feet high and inscribed with the date of the 2nd year of Kawô 嘉應 (1170 A.D.), while the smaller, about 3 feet ½ high, is of the 2nd year of Shôan 承安 (1172). They are called "Hijiri-tô" 聖塔 or Saints' stupas, but seem merely dedicatory monuments, as the inscriptions tell us, not being tomb-stones. Similar small stupas without inscription are found in front of the C and D groups of Dôgaseko, along the path to that group, near the steps to the Hiyoshi shrine and the so-called kiln of the Charcoal-burner or Mano-no-chôja.

The stupa so-called Hiyoshi-tô 日吉塔, situated to the north of the Niwô images, is in the most elegant style of the kind in the province or even in Japan. It belongs to a type called Hokyoin-tô 實篋印塔, in a shape somewhat house-like with a square plan, greatly divergent from the original form of

I. This type of stupa has been derived from the shape of the small bronze stupas, 84000 in number, made by Chien-shu 錢椒 king of Wu-yüeh 吳越 in China. (10th cent.) In each stupa is a small scroll of the magic writing of Hôkyôin-darani, from which the name of stupa is derived. Some of specimens have been found in Japan. (Fig. 24)

Indian stupa, consisting of a body with a cavity for an image or so, and a square terraced roof on it, crowned by a high sôrin top. As the pedestal is now buried, the proportion seems rather top-heavy, but its original form must have been the most admirable among the Kamakura specimens of the kind to which this stupa belongs. The total height is about 14 feet.

There are also some fragmentary relics of *Ita-gorin* 板五輪 (flat stupa) and of *Ita-bi* 板碑 (flat stele) belonging perhaps to the Kamakura period. (Fig. 25)

8. Chronological and Aesthetical Remarks.

There is no documentary evidence to fix the date of the rock-cut images nor of the temple of Fukada, except the two stupas with inscriptions, above-mentioned, which seggest to us that at the end of the Fujiwara period, at least some Buddhist influence was exercised here, most probably in connection with those images and temple. But how far before that period can we go back for the construction of the images?

As we shall see later again, the tradition relating to the Priest Renjô and his patron Mano-no-chôja, as the founders of these religious monuments seems quite legendary, without historical value at all. More groundless is another ascription to Nichira, though he himself be a historical personage. If one accept either of these traditions the images have to date back to the 7th century, that is to say, to the Suiko period. But this is quite absurd, if we consider their artistic style which, I believe, belong to the Heian period in the main.

The grandest in composition is undoubtedly the group of 13 images of the Dainichi-yama hill. The central figure, Dainichi, if it were complete, must have been one of the finest statues of Fukada, with his dignified and spirited expression, perhaps made by the chief sculptor of the artists engaged. The other Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, however, have not much merit, except the guardian gods, especially Zôchô, and the Niwôs at the entrance. All these exhibit the characterstic style of the Heian period in their facial features as well as in their treatment of the drapery. The Group B, Kakure-Jizô, though belonging to the same age, can not be called fine work.

The most beautiful work is found in the triad of images of the Amida and the two Bodhisattvas in the D group of Dôgaseko. Their noble and beautiful

faces, and the graceful folds of the drapery, can only be comparable with the masterpieces in wood of the Heian period exist in Kyôto or elsewhere, though the central figure is to be criticisd for its lack of proportion. No one will hesitate to rank these statues as the finest examples of rock-cut images in Bungo or even in Japan.

Among other groups in Dôgaseko, which mostly belong to the same Heian period, the H is the finest and the G comes next. But the F group with Jizô and the Ten Kings is remarkable for the subject represented. It may be dated a little later than the others, coming nearer to the Kamakura period, they can be said to be one of the oldest works of the subject in this country.

The guardian gods, Niwôs, and the portrait statues of Renjô and the Mano-no-chôja couple in the site of the Mangetsu-ji Temple cannot easily be dated exactly. Though the former seems archaistic in style, they surely come from a later time, while the latter may date from the Post-Kamakura periods, from its crude workmanship, at the hands of a mere stone-cutter or the like. Some may, however, appreciate its naivety, especially of the statues of Chôja and his wife.

9. Images at Monze, near Usuki.

(Plates LXXIV—LXXV)

About midway from the town of Usuki and the rock-cut images of Fukada, we find a small group of statues cut out at a hill side, on the left bank of the River Usuki. The spot is called Dainichi in the village of Monze 門前 and the geological formation is continuation of the same volcanic tuff of Fukada, only separated by the river.

The group is composed of three large triad of statues, the central being the largest, about 8 feet, and the Fudô family on the right and Bishamon-ten on the left side. The triad of Buddhas are now much defaced, their iconographical character being undistinguishable, but the name of the place, Dainichi, suggests us that the central figure has been thought to be the Buddha, while Mr Niiro thinks that they might be a triad of Amida statues. But we are rather inclined to take them the Dainichi with Shaka and Amida, as seen in the G group at Dôgaseko of Fukada.

The Fudô family is in high relief and its composition reminds us of its representation in a painting. They are very well-preserved and finely worked, but the Bishamon is much mutilated. As we ascribe the Fudô with his two pages, which might be a later addition, to the end of the Fujiwara or the beginning of the Kamakura period, the triad must be of the same age or a little earlier, namely, to the middle of the Heian period. The technical merit of all the group is not be mediocre, especially that of the Fudô family. The composition, a triad of Buddha images with Fudô and Bishamon, is the common grouping which we meet in the rock-cut images in Bungo.

CHAPTER V. GENERAL REMARKS.

1. Characteristic Features of the Buddhist Images Represented in the Rock-cut Monuments in Bungo.

As we have described the chief sites and the remains of the rock-cut Buddhist images in the province of Bungo it is now necessary to summarise their general characteristics and to consider their origin and their relation to Chinese cave-temples, &c.

We notice there are two or three most remarkable features very frequently displayed in these monuments in Bungo. First, the so-called Dainichi (Vairocana) is represented in the form of the Yakushi (Bhayśajaguru), a Buddha with rahatsu hairs, instead of his being the usual form of a Bodhisattve with wavy hair and crown, and special mudras of the hands, according te the Mikkyô or Tantra iconography, as seen at Minami-ogata, at Kumano, &c. (Figs. 26 & 28) Some scholars, such as Mr Genmyô Ono, understand this to be the Dainichi of the old Mikkyô, before the doctrines were openly introduced in the 9th century and then the canons of Buddhist images were rigidly fixed. So consequently these must date back to the Nara period (8th century). Though I do not deny that such Mikkyô influence more or less existed already in that time, why do other images, for example, the Fudô family which associated with that image in a single group, quite accord with the later Mikkyô canons? And why do we not find such a Dainichi in Nara or other places?

My own theory is quite otherwise. It is that the so-called Dainichi was in fact a Yakushi and the name of Dainichi was given to it afterward, except to the Yakushi of Motomachi which fortunately retains its original title to this day. See the main statue in the Kondô chapel of the Tôji Temple in Kyôto or the Kôngobuji of Koyasan, &c. It is the Yakuchi, instead of the Dainichi, the supreme god of the Mikkyô doctrines to which these temples belong. Very interesting is it to find in the Kakuzenshô 學禪妙 that the Yakushi statue in Tôji Temple, was thought by a Mikkyô theologian of the Heian period to be nothing but a Dainichi of the Taizô-kai (Garbha-dhatu) in its inner meaning,

making an exact counterpart of the Dainichi of the Kongô-kai (Vajra-dhatu) in the Kôdô chapel. It seems that the founders of the new sect of the religion, Kukai and others, were wise enough to adapt the most popular god Yakushi of the older sects and to explain it as the new god Dainichi, making an apparent compromise with the then existing belief, for the benefit of propaganda. So, if this be correct, those statues must be the Yakushi iconographically, though they have been regarded as a Dainichi theologically.

The second characteristic feature is that the Fudô family frequently appears associated with the Yakushi above-described, as at Motomachi, at Minami-ogata, &c. This combination seems rather unusual and no special theological connection is to be found between these gods. I think, however, the Fudô was a very popular deity worshipped in the Heian and succeeding periods, as the most remarkable among the Five Great Myôwôs 五大明王. So it can be understood that the god was as it were introduced as a representative of the five Devas, which are seen with the Yakushi in the Kondô chapel of the Kongôbu-ji.

Thirdly the Bishamon, one of the four Lokapalas, is often shown in groups with the Yakushi and the Fudô family. This is, however, not difficult to explain, because the Bishamon was worshipped with special ardour in the Heian period and could have most naturally been introduced as the representative of the four guardian gods of the Four Quarters of the Glove, especially where the space, as with our rock-cut images, was inconvenient to represent all of them. We notice a similar grouping also in the rock-hewn images at Kasuga-yama, near Nara. (Fig. 42)

In a word, the Yakushi with the Fudô family and the Bishaman in one group, is to be observed as a miniature representation or a simplified picture of a Shingon temple in the Heian period to which these Bungo images belong chronologically as well as theologically.

The representation of other Mikkyô gods, the Dainichi and other deities of monstrous forms are seen above all at Takase grotto. In the large series at Fukada, however, this element is not so dominant, though here we meet with the image of Aizen (Rajirasattva) which is quite unique in Bungo.

⁽¹⁾ See Getty, The Gods of the Northern Buddhism. p. 79.

2. When and by Whom the Rock-cut Images were made?

Though we have mentioned in each instance the date and maker of the images, it will be convenient to discuss the topics more in general here on this occasion. As the founders of these monuments in Bungo there appear very frequently two or three personages in connection with them.

First come the Priest Renjô 蓮城 and his patron Mano-no-chôja 真野長者, as we seen at Fukada, who lived, according to the tradition, in the time of the Emperor Kimmei (6th century). But if one read the so-called History of the Chôja one can not help being disappointed with its anachronism and extravagance, revealing its modernity of compilation and possessing little historical value. As I have told elsewhere, there may underlie some slight historical elements, but can no scholar accept such a legendary tale to establish the date and maker of the monuments.

Secondly, most of the images, even those at Fukada, according to another tradition, are ascribed to a certain Nichira 日羅, mentioned in the chronicles Nihongi 日本書紀. He is said to have been a man of Shiragi in Korea, though originally a native of Higo in Japan, and came back to this country in the reign of the Emperor Bitatsu. But there is nothing mentioned about his being a priest or a sculptor, except a miraculous tale connected with Prince Shôtoku found in a later tradition. Besides this, his stay in Japan having been so very short, before his unhappy death brought about by his countrymen, how could he have made such grand religious monuments in so many places? Moreover, the stylistic analysis of the images themselves absolutely puts out of count, as in the previous case, any attribution of them to that archaic age.

The third person who comes upon the stage is the priest Ninmon 仁聞. He is, like Nichira, one of the most favourite characters in Kiushû, above all in the province of Bungo, and credited with being the founder of the Buddhist temples and rock-cut images. Though no authentic document is extant, he might be a historical personage in the early time of the Nara period, with having some relation with the worship of the god Hachiman at Usa. But we regret that there is scarcely any reliable evidence to affirm his being the sculptor of rock-hewn images anywhere in the province, while the artistic style of the

monuments, in my opinion, rejects any ascription to his age.

I believe that there are very few scholars who accept such legendary personages as above-mentioned, as the founders of our religious monuments, without taking into consideration the artistic styles to which they belong, except who delight in flattering local pride by ascribing any monument of a locality to as high antiquity as possible. Mr Ômura and others, however, accept the tradition of Ninmon, because their opinion of the stylistic analysis is in accordance with the supposed age of the priest.

Mr Ono, on the other hand, proposed the theory that the images belong mostly to the Nara period (8th century), for he thinks the general idea of making rock-cut temples was due to the influence of the last phase of that movement in China, especially in the T'ang dynasty, manifested at the Fênghsien-ssǔ of Long-men. I quite agree with him in his general argument, while I believe that that influence was only exercised in a little later time, that is, in the Heian epoch (9th to 10th centuries).

3. Artistic Styles exhibited in the Rock-cut Images in Bungo.

As we have seen in the foregoing chapters, the traditions relating to the rock-hewn images are entirely valueless from historical point of view, so the dating must be made chiefly upon the stylstic studies of the monuments themselves. But it is not the place here to enter on the details of the subject which perhaps cover all the domain of the history of art in Japan, so I now confine myself only to some points most necessary for our own studies.

Our stylistic comparison is based chiefly upon the results of investigations made of the examples left in the environs of the former capitals, Nara and Kyôto, and in other places already explored. But some scholars, Mr Ono among them, are inclined to consider that in Kiushû there existed some special school of Buddhism or of art in those ages, the products of which are not to be compared with orthodox and genuine examples of other places. I do not believe, however, in this view except in those cases where authentic evidence verifies them. Moreover, our studies on the archaeological relics in this part of Kiushû and Yamato do not offer us any suggestion to deal with both parts of Japan separately from each other upon such presumption. Tomb contents

and other data are not so much differentiated since remote times and in historical periods and especially it is impossible for us to believe that in Kiushû, which is nearer to the Continent, a new current of culture came into being which did not for a long time influence the central parts of Japan. The rock-cut images of Shimotsuke and Iwaki which belong to the same epoch as our Bungo specimens eloquently forbid such a view. (Figs. 40 & 41)

If our rock-cut images belong to the age of the Priest Renjô or Mano-no-chôja or Nichira, as the legends say, they must manifest the artistic style of the Suiko period which is nothing but a corallary of the art of the Six Dynasties in China. It is a style very archaic with characteristic features of physiognomy, for example, almond-shaped eyes, lips with "archaic smile", and drapery with rigid and stiff folds, as exemplified by the statues in the Hôryû-ji Temple, &c. But where can we find such peculiarities in those rock-cut images in Bungo?

The sculpture of the Nara and of the early part of the Heian periods are on the other hand, the offspring of the T'ang art of China. Here we find no more archaic style of the preceding periods, but an art has almost reached perfection, comparable with the age of Phidias in Greece, with its free, naturalistic and vigorous treatment displayed in the drapery as well as in its physiognomy. Most of our examples of the rock-cut monuments, however, show more or less soft and graceful style with a somewhat schematised tendency, as we have seen elsewhere, which precisely belonged to the middle and later parts of the Heian epoch, though it may be called a Japonicised or or degraded style of T'ang sculpture. We find such examples very frequently in the temples near Kyôto, &c.1

4. Relation between Chinese Cave-Temples and Our Rock-cut Images in Bungo.

It is very natural to suggest that our rock-hewn Buddhist images, from

^{1.} We have shown in some plates (Plates LXXVI & LNNVII) the facial profiles and sectional lines of the drapery of a few images at Fukada, made by impressing the modelling-composition, with comparative diagrams of the facial profiles of some statues, rather representative of the Pre-Kamakura periods (Fig. 31.). This is only a trial example in the application of a new method, to evolve a series of simplified formulae in the historical development of the plastic art.

their geographical condition, lying nearest to the Continent, and from the similarity of the methods employed, to have a close relation with that of the Chinese cave-temples. Mr Ono especially emphasised this view which he offered in support of the chronological studies of images. Though I can not agree with him in his dating, his general argument seems quite praiseworthy.

To excavate a habitable cave or a monumental representation on a rock-side is popular everywhere in the world, in ancient as well as in modern times. In India, and in Afghanistan, as lately reported by the French archaeological mission, rock-hewn Buddhist temples developed a regular vogue and it seems that this Indian fashion spread into Chinese Turkestan and into the Middle Kingdom. We see a great number of Buddhist grottos, such as those in the vicinity of K'u-ch'e, and the famous Thousand Buddhas Caves at Tun-fuang, and those at Yün-kang, and at Long-men. (Figs. 33–35) This activity for excavating cave-temples had been at its zenith in the Six Dynasties, and continued to the T'ang period or to still later times, as exemplified at the sites above-mentioned.

The cave-temples of the Six Dynasties, however, were mostly grottos each with a narrow entrance passage, exhibiting the direct influence of Idian caves, while in the T'ang period a new kind of temple came more into fashion as seen at the Ching-shan-ssǔ 敬善字 and the Fêng-hsien-ssǔ 奉先寺 of Long-men, open in front and sheltered by a wooden construction to cover the images cut on the cliff-side. (Fig. 32) Rock-cut images in Bungo in fact belong to this latter type of temples, except some rare instances as at Takase. Our priests who visited these Chinese temples, might have been impressed mostly by the newly erected great Buddha of Fêng-hsien-ssǔ, instead of the antiquarian interest of the older ones of the Six Dynasties, and come to imitate it when they returned to their father country.

Unfortunately, however, they found in Japan very few places suitable for such rock-cut temples, owing to the quite different nature of the geological formation. In the neighbourhood of Nara and of Kyôto, then the capitals of Japan, especially are lacking suitable rocks for this purpose. So they had to be content with making bronze, lacquered or wooden statues, as they had been used to, and the new method was applied only where more or less suitable

materials occurred as in Bungo or in some places in north-eastern Japan. (Figs. 40 & 41)

In Korea also material for making rock-cut temples or images is scant. But the enthusiastic endeavours for imitating everything Chinese in the time of Shiragi, conquered at last the difficulty of cutting out Buddhist images in granite, the hardest material for it, as may be seen in the most elegant statue and relieves at Sekkutsu-an grotto near Keishû, &c. (Figs. 36 & 37)

Geological Ground and Artistic Preparation for Rock-cut Image Making in Bungo.

In the central part of Kiushû, between Higo and Bungo provinces, stands the magnificent active volcano, Mt. Aso-take, the crater of which is the largest in the world, far more powerful was it in the past. Lava and ashes issued from this and other peaks belonging to the same volcanic range which covers a large area of both provinces. The rock-cut Buddhist images, with which we have been concerned, are all excavated in the tuff-hills formed of the volcanic materials of those mountains. Not only the images in Bungo, but those Buddhas at Ôya 大谷 in Shimotsuke are cut out of similar volcanic matter derived from the Nikko range (Fig. 41), and even the small group at Kasuga-yama (Fig. 42), near Nara, is nothing but the work done with a small accumulation of tuff scattered in that part of the country, while the statues at Fukuura 福浦 in Iwaki form an exceptional case (Fig. 4.), being excavated from a Tertiary sandstone which answers the same purpose, where volcanic rocks are entirely absent.

Tuff is too rough a material for fine sculpture, but its softness was welcomed by the ancients, as they were unskilful and awkward in their plastic art. So in Greece, for example, the *poros* stone, which is soft and rough like tuff, was employed as a favourite material for archaic sculpture, and in Italy tuff and travertine were regarded as important media for architecture as well as for sculpture. In Japan tuff was used since ancient times for many purposes, such as for making sarcophagi, chambers in tumuli, &c., in those places where this material was abundant. Especially, in Kiushû, there developed ornamented rock-cut tombs, decorated sarcophagi, images of men and animals erected round

the tumuli, all made of tuff. (Figs. 38 & 39)¹ Craftsmen seem to have been accustomed to make use of this material, before the Buddhist missionary propagated his doctrines in that part of Japan and taught how to excavate rock-cut images after the Chinese fashion. Moreover, the tuff is soft enough to be cut with chisels something like timber, and new method of sculpture would not be needed to be learned, but it would be quite sufficient to apply the technique employed for making wooden images, a technique which must have been well known to the artists in the ateliers of sculptors in Kyôto or elsewhere. In fact the style and other details shown in rock-cut statues do not differ from those wooden works of the same age, and undoubtedly belong to the same school of plastic art then prevailing in Japan. Naturally, after practising for some time our artists should have mastered more and more the art of image-making in the living rock, and at last had been established a special group of sculptors for this special material.

The art of rock-cut image making, however, gradually disappeared after the Kamakura period and we find no more such masterpieces in the province, but very crude representations of figures and simple masonry works which survive to our days where the tuff was quarried. It is very interesting to notice such ethnographical phenomena as these: that the tools of the stone-cutters near the tuff quarries in Bungo, for example, at Fukada, seem mostly to resemble those used in the days of the rock-hewn images, or perhaps of the more remote times of the tumulus-builders, if we may judge from the traces of cutting left on those and newer works. (Fig. 46)

In a word, the rock-cut images in Bungo were the manifestion of a method of plastic art in the T'ang period in China which influenced ours in the period of Heian. It was by no means a special school of Buddhism or of plastic art, but only the local adoption of a sculptural method where the suitable material is abundant, for example, the province of Bungo which is especially rich in tuff, owing to the activity of Mt. Aso-take, and the Ôya district in Shimotsuke in the north-eastern part of Japan. The tuff, as a material of plastic art, first came to the hands of tumulus-builders, for making rock-cut tombs, sarcophagi, &c., then to that of the sculptors of the Buddhist images with which we have

^{1.} See our Report upon Archaeological Research. Vols. I & III.

been dealing, and at last to mere masonry workers who utilised it in our days for tomb-stele and other architectural purposes. It is interesting to see how this inexhaustible material was and is used in different ages in different ways for different purposes, according to the wants and taste of each period.¹

t. I have used the word tuff throughout in this article, but the tuff at Fukada is sometimes difficult to distinguish from the so-called Aso-lava which is harder and more compact than the ordinary tuff, comprising dark-coloured lava and tuffaceous derivations.