

**FOUR HEAVENLY KINGS:
ICONOGRAPHY AND SYMBOLISM SEEN THROUGH
LITERARY EVIDENCE AND IMAGERY**

Yeoung Shin Shim

A DISSERTATION

in

East Asian Languages and Civilizations

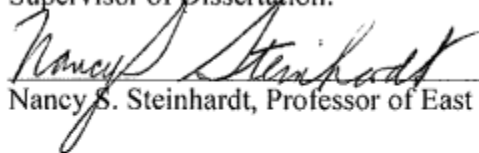
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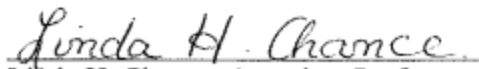
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ABSTRACT

FOUR HEAVENLY KINGS: ICONOGRAPHY AND SYMBOLISM SEEN THROUGH LITERARY EVIDENCE AND IMAGERY

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The Four Heavenly Kings have been represented from early Buddhist art in India until today in East Asia. There are two types of distinctive iconography of the deities: a king-like appearance in India and Southeast Asia and a warrior-like appearance in Central Asia and East Asia. Exactly when, where, and why this epochal change occurred is the subject of this thesis. The role of deities seen through images in Korea has been interpreted only in terms of the literal meaning of their Sanskrit name, Lokapala, ‘protectors of the world.’ This dissertation tries to resolve matters of cult and iconography of the deities focusing on causal factors rather than resultant appearance, by considering what kind of indigenous thoughts were involved in creating Lokapala’s iconography in India in the first place; what principally caused the change of iconography in East Asia; and what kind of religious intention was at the background of commissioned imagery in Korea. In the dissertation the change of iconography is viewed through the development of Buddhist doctrine, Hinayana and Mahayana; the role of Lokapala manifested as imagery in Korea is interpreted from the standpoint of the practitioner associated with the Buddha’s relic cult. Indian indigenous thoughts are involved in the basic iconography of

the deities, and regional differences in iconography were caused by differences in the cult of the deities as based on differences between Hinayana and Mahayana traditions. Armor, which is the distinctive element that does not appear in Indian images of the Lokapala, symbolizes the Mahayana path, emphasizing the Bodhisattva's intention to help living beings attain Buddhahood. The inner function of imagery of the deities in Korea, almost all of whom are represented on sarira reliquaries and stupas, is to affirm the living presence of the Buddha manifested as sarira preaching the Law in a space symbolized as a stupa.

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Introduction

In the *Lotus Sutra* the Buddha speaks in a verse that:

In order to save all living beings,
By tactful methods I reveal nirvana,
Yet truly I am not [yet] extinct
But forever here preaching the Law.
I forever remain in this [world],
Using all my spiritual powers
So that all perverted living beings,
Though I am near, yet fail to see me.
All looking on me as extinct
Everywhere worship my relics,
All cherishing longing desires,
And beget thirsting hearts of hope.
[When] all living beings have believed and obeyed,
In [character] upright, in mind gentle,
Wholeheartedly wishing to see the Buddha,
Not caring for their own lives,
Then I with all the Samgha
Appear together on the Divine Vulture Mountain.
And then I tell all living beings
That I exist forever in this [world],
By the power of tactful methods
Revealing [myself] extinct and not extinct.
[If] in other regions there are beings
Reverent and with faith aspiring,
Again I am in their midst
To preach the supreme Law.
You, not hearing of this,
Only say I am extinct.¹

The Buddha emphasizes in the verse that he is not extinct. He exists forever in this world to preach the supreme Law, and nirvana is only a skillful means of attaining the Law.

Yet according to the Buddha, the worship of his relics is evidence that worshippers

¹ Bunno Kato (trans.), *The Threefold Lotus Sutra* (New York: Weatherhill, 1975), pp. 160-61. I made some changes of a few words.

perceive him to be extinct. Belief in the living presence of the Buddha makes practitioners' relationship or connection with him firm.

In ancient Korean Buddhist art there are deities who symbolically affirm the actual living presence of the Buddha: the Four Heavenly Kings (Kr. Sacheonwang, Ch. Sitianwang, Jp. Shitenno, and Skr. Lokapala). The word "Lokapala" literally means "protectors of the world." Each protector king presides over one of four continents corresponding to a cardinal direction. The subject of my dissertation is the Four Heavenly Kings and their cult as seen through literary evidence and images. In order to examine the Lokapala cult in East Asia, in particular in Korea, the dissertation is organized into three parts: Lokapala's religious function described in Buddhist scriptures; Lokapala's iconography in India and in East Asia; and analytical descriptions of Lokapala images produced in Korea from the seventh century to the thirteenth century. Each of these three aspects raises issues that this dissertation seeks to answer.

The central issue of part one is that, with respect to the Lokapala cult, because Lokapala means "protectors of the world," modern scholars have had a tendency to interpret the deities' function in Buddhist art as protectors of states. It has been assumed that the images were made in the context of a Lokapala cult in order to pray for the security of the state. In Korea that an extreme view of this notion has been applied to Buddhist art. Korean Buddhism has been characterized as *hoguk bulgyo* 護國佛教 ("state-protecting Buddhism"),² a notion started by a Japanese scholar during Japanese

² This interpretation of history of Korean Buddhism ignores the autonomy of Buddhism vis-à-vis the state or ruling elite, and highlights the aspects of subjugation of Buddhism to the demands and desires

occupation. The notion was theoretically supported during the military dictatorship in Korea, and since then has enjoyed its unchangeable position, as it is regarded as a “beautiful” feature of Korean Buddhism.³

This notion, however, prevents precise examination of the Lokapala cult. The simple thought is that because the deities are protectors of states, they were produced as images to secure the state, and worshipped. The Lokapala cult has been roughly understood in the boundary of *hoguk bulgyo* without precise examination on the cult. However, this interpretation does not allow for investigation of how Lokapala art in Korea was creatively produced.

Because “the dissemination and development of religion was inseparable from the political, economic, and ideological circumstances”⁴ of any society in ancient times, my dissertation will not deny the political function of ancient Buddhism. However, because the Lokapala cult and art have so far been studied from the *hoguk bulgyo* perspective, which prevents other possible discussion and appreciation on them, this dissertation suggests a different view that allows for more diverse arguments.

For discussion of the Lokapala cult, I will first explore literary evidence of Buddhism and history in the first chapter of this dissertation; what Buddhist scriptures

of the state. See Pankaj N. Mohan, "Western Scholarship on Ancient Korean Buddhism," *Sillasa Hakpo (Journal of Silla History)* Vol. 21(April, 2011).

³ Nationalist perspectives on Korean Buddhism have been highly criticized by some Korean and Western scholars since the 1990s but domestic scholarship seems to still hold onto the *hogukbulgyo* concept. See Sanghyun Kim 김상현, "The Identity of Korean Buddhism within the Context of East Asian Buddhism," *Bulgyo Yeongu* 27(2004).; Mohan, "Western Scholarship on Ancient Korean Buddhism."

⁴ Li Gang, "State Religious Policy," in *Early Chinese Religion: Part Two, Period of Division (220-589 Ad)*, *Handbook of Oriental Studies Section Four, China* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2010), p. 193.

state on the religious function of Lokapala. If a difference between older tradition and Mahayana Buddhism is found, its distinction should provide a suitable frame to interpret the iconographic difference between regions where Theravada or Hinayana Buddhism is strong and Mahayana is strong. There is a possibility that role of the deities changed as Mahayana Buddhism developed. In that case, it would be worth linking changes of Lokapala's role to iconographic transformation of the deities. It is also important what ancient people perceive the role or power of Lokapala. This is because according to ability of the deities that ancient people believed to exist, they would have had rituals and produced images. For this reason historic records are used in this dissertation to examine the Lokapala cult in daily life.

The second theme of this dissertation, part two, is the iconography of Lokapala. There is a large difference between India and East Asia. In India they are represented like Indian kings, with naked upper bodies, loin cloths on the lower bodies, and heavy ornaments, sometimes holding attributes. This iconography is similar to that of Southeast Asian Lokapala. In East Asia, on the other hand, the deities wear armor and hold weapons, giving them the appearance of warriors.

It has been more than one hundred years since Lokapala were identified on Bharhut stupa in 1879 by Alexander Cunningham.⁵ Some Lokapala images appearing on panels which depict the Buddha's life were investigated in scholarly efforts to find the provincial works of warrior-type Lokapala in India. Representatives of this type of

⁵ Alexander Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bharhut: A Buddhist Monument Ornamented with Numerous Sculptures Illustrative of Buddhist Legend and History in the Third Century B. C.* (London: W. H. Allen and co., 1879).

scholarship from the art history perspective are Phyllis Granoff and Tanabe Katsumi. However there has not been complete discussion of iconographic characteristics of Buddhist Lokapala in India and context of production of imagery of the deities. This point is addressed here.

Exactly when, where, and why this epochal change happened, and which is the primary matter in dealing with the iconography of Lokapala in East Asia, also has not yet been determined. There are useful studies on independent Vaishravana called *Tobatsu Bishamonten* in Japanese by Japanese scholars. In the development of the research, attention had been paid to Khotan as a possible birthplace of the warrior-type Lokapala by Toyomune Minamoto.⁶ This dissertation also accepts Khotan as a possible birthplace for the armed Vaishravana.

In respect to the cause of the epochal changes of Lokapala's iconography in East Asia, Yuji Dainobu argues as the reason of the transformation that they occurred because Lokapala were non-Buddhist deities in their origin. Along these lines, scholars have thought that it might have been easier to transform the iconography of Lokapala as compared to other deities with Buddhist origin. Another common explanation for the changes is that because Lokapala are the protectors of the world, armor is suitable for their role in East Asia.

In an effort to explain such a distinction, I try to approach it with a different perspective from that of previous scholarship. I focus as two possible causal phenomena

⁶ Toyomune Minamoto 源豊宗, "Bishamontenzō No Kigen 毘沙門天像の起源 (Origin of Vaishravana Figure)," *Bukkyō bijuts (Buddhist Art)* 15(1930).

of the transformation on the profound difference of attitude toward divinities in India and East Asia and on development of Buddhist traditions. To meet the goal, I discuss indigenous thoughts in each area; I differentiate the Lokapala cult in the Mahayana and Hinayana traditions; and I investigate the religious context for armor and weapons for Lokapala.

The term Hinayana, which literally means “lesser vehicle,” was first used by people known as Mahayanists when they began Mahayana movements around the first century C.E. According to the Mahayanists’ notion, religious attainments of the Buddhist tradition prior to Mahayanist movements were limited to monks and nuns who were monastic community members. Criticizing Hinayana as a “lesser vehicle,” Mahayanists propagated their doctrine as the “great vehicle” since it was to lead all living beings to Buddhahood. For this reason, some scholars consider the term Hinayana somewhat derogatory.

Regardless of the negative aspect, I have to choose Hinayana as a term for the Buddhism of those regions in which Lokapala’s iconography is different from that associated with Mahayana because it is the best way to contrast the practice with that of Mahayana. One might suggest Theravada as an alternative label that does not connote relative value. However, Theravada is originally a term for a Buddhist school. There have been numerous Buddhist schools in the doctrinal history of Buddhism, but there are only two goals of Buddhism: personal liberation, which is the goal of Hinayana, and great enlightenment to benefit others, which is the goal of Mahayana. In this perspective I thus

use Hinayana as an umbrella term categorizing all schools that contrast all the schools in the Mahayana tradition.

What I try to emphasize in my dissertation, in order to bring into focus the Lokapala cult in East Asia, is Mahayana Buddhist practice. Armor, a distinctive characteristic of East Asian Lokapala, actually is figured as the Mahayana path. In regions where Indian king-like Lokapala images are popular, such as Southeast Asia, the dominant Buddhist tradition is not Mahayana.

Third, as for Lokapala images in Korea, I choose the thirteenth century as a time limit for the dissertation according to consistency of works of Lokapala in terms of iconography and art media in which the deities are represented. Judging from the extant works of Lokapala, from the beginning through the thirteenth century in Korean Buddhist art, there is no three-dimensional sculpture of the deities; they are usually represented on the surfaces of Buddhist establishments such as *sarira* reliquaries and stupas, or depicted in paintings equipped with armor and symbolic items such as a stupa, sword, and spear. Metal images of the deities are attached to the metal reliquaries and images are carved on the surfaces of stone stupas and stone lanterns. The thirteenth century can be considered the tentative lower date limit of the iconography and cult of Sacheonwang developing in a coherent line in ancient Korea. This is why the time limit of the thirteenth century has been chosen here.

From the late Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392 C.E.), iconography of Lokapala changed in Korea and new iconography was formed on the basis of influence from Tibet

through art of the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368).⁷ Sacheonwang images placed into the (Sa)cheonwangmun (四)天王門 (“(Four) Heavenly Kings Gate”) had been made out of clay with wooden armatures. From the time the *Cheonwangmun* was built, the Sacheonwang sculptures with new iconography were produced in a way never used before for Lokapala.

Lokapala imagery produced in Korea during the period mentioned above has been studied quite a lot especially focusing on images in Unified Silla.⁸ These studies examine

⁷ Seung-hee Lee 李承禧, "Goryeomal Joseoncho Sacheonwang Dosang Yeongu 高麗末 朝鮮初 四天王圖 研究 (Iconography of Four Directional Guardians in the Late Goryeo and the Early Joseon Dynasties)," *Misulsa Yeongu* 22(2008.12)..

⁸ Ubang Kang 姜友邦, "四天王寺址 出土 彩釉四天王浮彫像의 復元の 考察-五方神과 四天王像의 造形的 習合現象 (Review for Reproducing the Sacheonwang Image on Green Glazed Tile Excavated at the Sacheonwang Temple Site – Five Directional Deities' Absorption into the Sacheonwang Image)," *Misuljaryo 美術資料 (Art Data)* 25(1979. 12). also in *Wonyunggwa Johwa: Hanguk Godae Jogaksaui Wolli 圓融과 調和: 韓國古代彫刻史의 原理 (Infinite Interpenetration and Harmony: The Principle of Ancient Korean Sculpture)* (Seoul: Yeolhwadang, 1990)., pp. 159-201; Moon 문명대 Myungdae, "Silla Sacheonwangsangui Yeongu – Hanguk Tap Bujosangui Yeongu 新羅四天王像의 研究-韓國塔浮彫像의 研究 2 (a Study on the Images of the Four Divine Kings in the Silla Dynasty – a Study on Korean Reliefs on the Surface of Stupas I)," *Bulgyo Misul 佛教美術 (Buddhist Art)* 5(1980).; Lena Kim 金理那, "Tongil Silla Jeongiui Bulsang Jogak Yangshik 統一新羅 前期의 佛像彫刻 樣式 (Style of Buddhist Images in Early Unified Silla)," *Misulsaahak Yeongu (Korean Journal of Art History)* 154•155(1982. 6). pp. 61-95; Keisabro Mizuno 水野敬三郎, "感恩寺西塔舍利具의 四天王像 (Four Heavenly King Images on Sarira Reliquary Excavated from the West Stupa at Gameunsa)," *Bukkyo Geijutsu 佛教藝術 (Arts of Buddhism)* 188(1990. 2). pp. 70-79; Lena Kim 金理那, "Tongil Silla Bulgyo Jogake Boineun Gukjejeok Yoso 統一新羅 佛教彫刻에 보이는 國際的 要素 (International Elements of Buddhist Sculpture in Unified Silla)," *Silla Munhwa (Silla Culture)* 8(1991. 12). pp. 69-115; Yeoung Shim 沈盈伸, "Tongil Silla Sidae Sacheonwangsang Yeongu 統一新羅時代 四天王像 研究 (a Study on Sacheonwang Imagery in the Unified Silla Dynasty)" (Hongik University, 1993).; Wonyoung Jo 曹元榮, "Silla Hadae Sacheonwang Bujosangui Joseonggwa Gue Baegyeong 新羅下代 四天王浮彫像의 造성과 그 배경 (Production and Context of Loakapala Images in Late Unified Silla)," *Yeoksawa Segye (History and World)* 19(1995.6). pp. 171-211; Yeoung Shin Shim 沈盈伸, "Tongil Silla Sacheonwang Sang Yeongu 통일신라 사천왕상 연구 (a Study of the Representations of the Four Heavenly Kings in the Unified Silla Dynasty)," *Misulsaahak Yeongu 미술사학연구 (Korean Journal of Art History)* 216(1997.12).; Kang-Mi Kwon 권강미, "Tongil

iconography of Loakapala in relation with China and analyze styles of images; the majority of the studies have done by *hoguk bulgyo* perspective. Even though Lokapala are lesser deities than Buddhas or bodhisattvas in Buddhism, they are popular in Buddhist practice in Korea from ancient times until today. The *hoguk bulgyo* view does not seem to fully provide a proper measurement for illustrating the popularity. It seems likely that results of the previous scholarship have been accumulated enough to change the directions of investigation of Lokapala. This is why this dissertation is written.

This dissertation tries to examine real religious meaning reflected in Lokapala imagery with an alternative perspective: the point of view of the ancient people who produced the images. I look into what these people thought of Lokapala's role and what they expected from the commissioned imagery of the deities. Even though it is not easy to discover the real religious intentions in commissioned imagery, such questions become an imperative agenda for the discussion. In an effort to investigate what kind of religious intention or idea was at the background of the production of the images, this dissertation considers the sarira cult as an important dimension for interpreting a strand of Lokapala worship. This is because as far as the number of art works of Lokapala in Korea is concerned, Lokapala is most directly related to Buddhist relics, *sarira*.

Silla Sacheonwang Sang Yeongu 統一新羅 四天王像 研究 (a Study on the Four Guardian King Statues in the Unified Silla Dynasty)" (Dong-A University, 2001).; Lina Kim 김리나, "Tongil Silla Jeongi Sacheonwang Sange Gwanhan Yeongu 통일신라전기 사천왕상에 관한 연구 (a Study on Sacheonwang Imagery in the Early Unified Silla Dyansty)" (Kyungju University, 2001).; Youngae Lim 임영애, "Seokguram Sacheonwangsangui Dosanggwa Bulgyo Gyeongjeon 석굴암 사천왕상의 도상과 불교 경전 (Statues of "Seokgulam Four Heavenly Kings" and Buddhist Sutras)," *강좌미술사 (THE MISULSA [The Art History Journal])* 37(2011): 23-48.

Chapter I. The Cult of the Four Heavenly Kings in East Asia

The Four Heavenly Kings (四天王, Kr. *Sacheonwang*, Ch. *Sitianwang*, and Jp. *Sitenno*) are figures of the Buddhist universe. Each presides over one of four continents corresponding to a cardinal direction. Common Sanskrit expressions for *Sacheonwang* are *Lokapala* (“Protector of the World”) and *Cāturmahārāja* (“The Four Great Kings”) who reside in *Cāturmahārājika* heaven. The Sanskrit *loka* means “the world,” and *pala* is “protector.” *Catur* means “four,” *maha* is “great,” and *raja* is “king.” In Chinese, *Lokapala* is *Hushi* 護世 (“Protector of the World”) and *Caturmaharaja* is *Sidawang* 四大王 (“Four Great Kings”). In Buddhist scriptures translated into Chinese these deities are often called *Hushisi(tian)wang* 護世四(天)王 (“the four [heavenly] kings protecting the world”) which includes the meanings of both *Lokapala* and *Caturmaharaja*.

Lokapalas as a palladium of Buddhism are in reality lesser deities who abide in *samsara*, or cyclic rebirth not yet attaining enlightenment, or even liberation – two great goals of Buddhism. Even though they are of a lower status of god, their imagery was often produced in ancient East Asia. Studies of the imagery have been conducted in diverse disciplines, such as art history, Buddhology, and modern history. Premodern art and modern scholarship show that these deities have been treated as especially important in the history of East Asian Buddhism, and that they are an “example of the pan-Asian nature of Buddhist art and religion.”⁹

⁹ Robert E. Fisher, “Noble Guardians: The Emergence of *Lokapalas* in Buddhist Art,” *Oriental Art* (1995): 17.

Even though the concept of Sacheonwang, the four directional guardians of Buddhism, has Indian origins, it is not easy to distinguish the Indian nature from the Asian one, as the two are mingled in the four Lokapalas. If we can manage to make this distinction, however, the East Asian nature of Buddhism would also be characterized. Fortunately, the iconography of the four Lokapalas in East Asia developed differently from the iconography in India and South Asia. Therefore, investigation into the iconic development of these deities in East Asia could give us insight into East Asian characteristics of Lokapalas. This can be done because the preferred iconography reflects both the appreciation of people who made it and the popularity of scriptures, on which the iconography is based.

In Buddhist scriptures, Buddha asks the four Lokapalas to protect the Dharma, the world, and all living beings who seek help with sincere faith. Modern East Asian scholars, in particular Korean, understand that Lokapala imagery produced in ancient times was introduced solely for the purpose of protecting states. This attitude of interpreting religion and its art was formed under the popularity of nationalism, which sees Korean Buddhism as a religion that has functioned to protect the state. The term *hogukbulgyo* 護國佛教 (“state-protecting Buddhism”) is used in identifying Korean Buddhism.¹⁰ This perspective, fixed during the last decades,¹¹ seems to provide an easy

¹⁰ The scholarship on this subject started with a Japanese scholar, Toshio Eda 江田俊雄. It has since been conducted by the Buddhologists Dong-hwa Kim 金東華 and Jeong-sang Wu 禹貞相 (Sanghyun Kim, "Goryeo Shidaeu Hoguk Bulgyo Yeongu: Geumguangmyunggyung Shinangeul Jungshimeuro (a Study on State-Protecting Buddhism: Focusing on Faith in the Golden Light Sutra)," *Dangukdae Daehakwon Haksul Nonchong* 1(1976): 193. There are many theses and journal articles on this subject, all of which support this perspective.

way of interpreting Buddhist practice and Buddhist art works. Korean art historians often make conclusions in their writings about Buddhist art, such as “this sculpture or painting was made for the purpose of protecting the nation.” This perspective, however, should be seen as an obstacle to looking deep into the function of individual religious art work, as well as to opening up a greater number of appropriate interpretations.

Real religious meaning reflected in Lokapala imagery should not be investigated solely through the modern nationalism perspective, but also with the point of view of the ancient people who produced the images: what these people thought of Sacheonwang and what they expected from the commissioned imagery of these deities. I believe that there should be an invisible boundary, somewhat vague, by which we can distinguish foreign and indigenous ideas in the concept of the Four Heavenly Kings in East Asia. It is not easy to distinguish foreign Indian concepts and indigenous Chinese concepts melded in Lokapala, and not easy to discover the real religious intentions in commissioned imagery. In spite of these difficulties, the two issues would be properly answered by investigating the Lokapala cult and its iconography. In this chapter, therefore, I will try to examine the specific religious position or function of Lokapalas in East Asian Buddhism seen through Buddhist texts translated into or written in Chinese, as a way of investigating the

¹¹ Recently this view has been criticized, mostly by Western scholars, as well as by some Korean scholars. These scholars find that problems were caused by the involvement of nationalism and Buddhology. They emphasize that in order to systematically understand Korean Buddhism, there must be investigation of the **issues** and cultural characteristics that each time period produced, in place of idealization of Korean Buddhism as “**nation-protecting Buddhism**” (Pankaj N. Mohan, "Seoyang Hakgyeui Hanguk Bulgyosa Yeongu (Western Scholarship on Ancient Korean Buddhism) " *Sillasa Hakpo (Journal of Silla History)* 21(April, 2011): 277-304.).

Sacheonwang cult. Literary evidence should be the basis upon which we assess how ancient people understood the religious role of these deities and had faith in them.

1. Names for Caturmaharajas in Buddhist sutras translated into Chinese

The significant directions frequently mentioned in Buddhist texts translated into Chinese are four, five, six, eight, and ten. The indigenous concept of the directions of four, five, nine, and ten was already established in China before the introduction of Buddhism. This is the reason why the Buddhist concept of directional gods was very easily adjusted and probably modified to the Chinese tradition. This reason, however, also makes some scholars wonder if Lokapalas are a Chinese indigenous, rather than an Indian or Buddhist concept, since directions are the basic concept by which the ancient Chinese understood the universe. Even though this is true, it must be noted that Lokapalas were born not just from Buddhism but from an Indian tradition much older than Buddhism. Indian cognition of space, which has a history that may be traced back as early as the Vedic period (the early Vedic texts date from about 1500-1000 B.C.E.), resulted in the allotment of specific deities to categories of space.¹² There is a good deal of literary evidence for this allotment, from Brahmanas, Aranyakas, Upanisads, Sutras and Epics.¹³ Indian awareness of space, and faith in directional gods, were rooted in the Indian tradition.

¹²Corinna Wessels-Mevissen, *The Gods of the Directions in Ancient India: Origin and Early Development in Art and Literature (until C. 1000 A.D.)* (Berlin: Reimer, 2001), 6-10.

¹³ Corinna Wessels-Mevissen, 7-17.

According to some Buddhist scriptures, an invocation of the directions in India was popular even during the lifetime of Shakyamuni Buddha. For example, in the *Shijialuoyue Sutra* 尸迦羅越六方禮經 “Shijialuoyue’s Worshipping Six Directions Sutra,”¹⁴ the Buddha sees on the road, while he is begging, a man *Singalovada* (*Shijialuoyue* 尸迦羅越), worshipping the six directions of the east, the west, the south, the north, below, and above, following his father's will. Buddha taught Shijialuoyue that what his father said to him was not to physically bow to the directions and it is meaningless to regard directions as sacred. Buddha then taught four precepts, six bad actions and the real meaning of worshipping the six directions.¹⁵ From the Vedic rituals, “an invocation of the directions and their overlords is crucial,” even though “a consistent development towards the later directional *lokapla* concept has not taken place in that

¹⁴ This sutra (Taishō Tripitaka Vol. 1, No. 16), translated into Chinese by Anshigao 安世高 in the Later Han, is one of four different translations of *Shanshengjing* 善生經 in fascicle 11 of *Foshuo zhangahan jing* 佛說長阿含經 (Taishō Tripitaka Vol. 1, No. 1[16]). The other two are “*Shanshengzijing* 善生子經 (Taishō Tripitaka Vol. 1, No. 17) ”.and the 135th *Zhongahanjing* 中阿含 (Taishō Tripitaka Vol. 1, No. 26 [135]). It corresponds to *Singalovada Sutta* in Pali. (Kiyong Yi 이기영, *Buljeon Haeseol 불전해설 (Interpretation of Buddhist Scriptures)* (Seoul: Hangukgulgyo Yeonguwon (Institute of Korean Buddhism), 1991), 23.)

¹⁵ Worshipping the east is the same meaning as children’s respecting their parents; worshipping the south is students’ respecting their teachers; worshipping the west is wife’s respecting her husband; worshipping the north is relationship with relationship with relatives and friends; worshipping below is acting one’s master to his or her servants; worshipping above is respecting monks (*Shijialuoyue Sutra* 尸迦羅越六方禮經, Taishō Tripitaka Vol. 01 No. 16, p0251b01 - p0251c18). This idea of a relationship between directions and good actions is very interesting because Lokapalas were worshipped as inspectors of actions of human beings as discussed below.

sphere.”¹⁶ It is from this tradition that the concept of both the Buddhist universe and the directional guardians emerged.

In Buddhism, the universe consists of three realms, *dhatu* in Sanskrit: *Kamadhatu* (“the Desire Realm”), *Rupadhatu* (“the Form Realm”), and *Arupadhatu* (“the Formless Realm”). Buddhist sutras that teach deconstruction and renovation of the universe¹⁷ enumerate all living beings in these three dhatus. According to these, there are six lokas of Desire Realm gods. One such source is fascicle 56¹⁸ of the *Great Treatise on the Perfection of Wisdom* (Ch. *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論, Sk. *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsāstra*).¹⁹ However, in fascicle 20 of the *Long Agama Sutra* (Sk. *Dīrgha Agama*, Pl. *Dīgha, Nikāya*),²⁰ in which are enumerated all beings living in these three realms, there are seven heavens of Desire Realm gods.²¹ Although the number of heavens in the Desire Realm, six or seven, depends upon which Buddhist sutra is under consideration. In all cases it is consistent that the lowest among the Desire Realm gods are the Caturmaharajika. The

¹⁶ Corinna Wessels-Mevissen, *The Gods of the Directions in Ancient India : Origin and Early Development in Art and Literature (until C. 1000 A.D.)*, Monographien Zur Indischen Archäologie, Kunst Und Philologie, (Berlin: Reimer, 2001), 4.

¹⁷ See footnote 52 in this chapter.

¹⁸ ‘四天王天 (Heavens of the Four Heavenly Kings, Caturmaharajika), 三十三天 (Thirty-three Heavens, Trayastrimsa), 夜摩天 (Heavens of Without Combat), 兜率陀天 (Joyful Land, Tusita), 化樂天 (Heavens of Enjoying Emanations, Nirmanarati), 他化自在天 (Heavens of Controlling Emanations, Prānirmita vasavarin)’ (Taishō Tripitaka Vol. 25, No. 1509, 0458a01).

¹⁹ The text was composed by Nagarjuna, a Buddhist philosopher and the founder of the Madhyamika school, who lived in India in the second century C.E. It was translated into Chinese in the early fifth century by Kumarajiva 鳩摩羅什, a monk from Kucha.

²⁰ *Foshuoahanjing* 佛說長阿含經, translated into Chinese by Buddhayasas 佛陀耶舍 and Zhufonian 竺佛念, in the Hongshi 弘始 era (399-416) of the Later Qin 後秦 (384-417).

²¹ The seventh Heaven is Devil Heaven (魔天 Mara-deva) (Taishō Tripitaka Vol.1, No. 1, 135c27-136a13). The Puranas also teach that there are seven lokas (Robert Spence Hardy, *A Manual of Buddhism, in Its Modern Development*, [1st Indian ed., The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Studies, (Varanasi,: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1967), 25. According to *Dazhiduolun*, Mara is Lord of Controlling Emanations Heaven (他化自在天, Prānirmita vasavarin) ‘魔 名自在天主’(Taishō Tripitaka Vol. 25, No. 1509, 0458b11).

beings living in these three realms are sentient beings; all beings from the sixth level of the Desire Realm to the Formless Realm are gods living in their own heaven. From the Buddhist perspective, at the center of universe is the mythical holy Mount Meru. There are three worlds of the highest level of the Desire Realm located on or around Mount Meru: *Trayastrimsa* located on its peak, *Caturmaharajika* situated on its slopes, and *Asura* located at its base.

Sacheonwang refers to gods abiding in the Heaven of the Four Great Kings, the lowest realm of the above mentioned six realms. Because *Caturmaharajika* is a part of the Buddhist universe, deities abiding in that heaven appear as early as in Theravada Buddhist scriptures. In particular in texts on the Buddhist cosmos, such as *Ahanjing* 阿含經 (“*the Agama Sutras*”), and also in sutras on Shakyamuni Buddha’s life, such as *Lalitavistara*,²² *Xiuxingbenqijing* 修行本起經 (“Sutra on the Original Rise of Buddhist Practice”) and *Taiziruiyingbenqijing* 太子瑞應本起經 (“Sutra on the Original Rise of the Auspicious Response of the Crown Prince”). These sutras are literary evidence that Lokapalas were established in the early phase of Buddhism and that they were well known even in China from the early time of the arrival of Buddhism in China. There is fairly frequent mention in Buddhist scriptures of the four Lokapalas, or the four Maharajas. These names appear fairly early in Buddhist sutras because they are

²² The scholar P. L. Vaidya dates the finished Sanskrit text of this sutra to the third century. (L. A. Waddell, "The So-Called "Mahapadana" Suttanta and the Date of the Pali Canon," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* July, 1914.) The text probably existed in the first or second century A.D. (P. L. Vaidya, *Lalita-Vistara*, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts (Darbhanga: Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, 1958), xii.

inhabitants of an important part of the Buddhist universe, and attend the Buddha's sermons as members of assemblies.

It is important to examine what kinds of names for Lokapalas, or Caturmaharajas are used in Buddhist scriptures translated into Chinese, because the usage of these names gives a clue to their religious function as understood by the Chinese.²³ The name "Lokapala" itself contains the sense of a religious function: protectors of the world. Each of the four names also conveys its own individual specific function. Therefore, translation of each name shows how the ancient Chinese became aware of its function. The process of finding better words for transcription and translation gives us the impression that translators and writers in ancient times made an effort to adjust the conception of these deities to Chinese culture. It shows how the Lokapala faith was transmitted into China and how it developed in China as well as in East Asia. In this respect it is important to examine how the names were translated into Chinese, in order to investigate Indian and Chinese characteristics in the Lokapala cult.

As mentioned above, common Sanskrit expressions for the Four Heavenly Kings are Lokapala and Caturmaharaja. Lokapala refers to "the protectors of the world," and Caturmaharaja comes from Caturmaharajika, which means "the land of the four Maharajas." Therefore, *Hushisitianwang* 護世四天王, mentioned in texts translated into Chinese, includes the meaning of both Lokapalas and four Maharajika gods, or

²³ Dongwha Kim 金東華, "Bulgyo Sasangi Sillaui Samguk Tongile Michin Yeonghyang: Bulgyoui Hoguk Sasang 불교사상이 신라의 삼국통일에 미친 영향: 불교의 호국 사상 (Influence of Buddhist Thought on Silla's Unification: Patriotism of Buddhism)," *Dongguk Daehakgyo Nonmunjip (Journal of Dongguk University)* 12(1973): 22.

Caturmaharajas. In a Buddhist text translated into English from a Sanskrit source, *Lalitavistara*, which shows what words are used for the Four Heavenly Kings in the Sanskrit text, these words are used together as well. For example, in the *Lalitavistara Sutra*, which is a very important text on the biography of Shakyamuni Buddha translated into English, the English translator uses “Lokapalas,” “four Lokapalas,” “four Maharajika gods,” and “the four Maharajas.”²⁴ The abodes of the Lokapalas are called “the four Maharajakayika.” English translations used here for these deities are “the four Protectors” and “Protectors of the four quarters.” The word Maharaja (“great king”) is put before the Sanskrit name of each Lokapala: *Maharaja Dhṛtarāṣṭra*, *Maharaja Virūḍhaka*, *Maharaja Virūpākṣa*, and *Maharaja Kubera* or *Maharaja Vaiśravaṇa*, for kings of the east, the south, the west, and the north, respectively.

It does not seem that the Sanskrit words Lokapala, Caturmaharaja, and Maharaja were transliterated into Chinese. Yet each of the four kings’ names was transliterated before it was translated. According to my research on transliterations and translations into Chinese of each Lokapala name, there are more than forty texts containing these names (Table 1). Among forty in <Table 1>, about fifteen texts provide explanations on the meaning of each name of the four Maharajas. Individual names for them began to appear in Buddhist texts translated into Chinese in the third century C.E. Translation of each Sacheonwang’s name was suggested for the first time in Chinese Buddhist history in *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論 (the *Great Treatise on the Perfection of Wisdom*), translated by Kumarajiva 鳩摩羅什 in the early fifth century C.E. It was presumably difficult for the

²⁴ Bijoya Goswami, *Lalitavistara: English Translation with Notes* (Kolkata: The Asiatic Society, 2001).

ancient Chinese to understand the four kings' individual roles before Kumarajiva translated their names in the *Dazhiduolun*. However, they had already become aware of the Lokapalas' collective role.

In fascicle 54 of *Da zhiduo lun*, Nagarjuna interprets the meaning of the four Lokapalas' names and their retinues as follows:

As for the Four Divine Kings' Heaven, (the king of) the east named *Diduoluo* 提多羅吒, meaning "ruling the state" in Chinese, the lord of *Gandapo* 乾闥婆 and *Pishedu* 毘舍闍; (the king of) the south named *Piliuli* 毘流離, meaning "increasing and growing" in Chinese, the lord of *Jupancha* 拘槃荼 and *Biliduo* 薜荔多; (the king of) the west named *Piliubocha* 毘流波叉, meaning "mixed language" in Chinese, the lord of several *Naga* kings and *Fuduona* 富多那; (the king of) the north named Bingshamen 鞞沙門, meaning "much-hearing" in Chinese, the lord of *Yecha* 夜叉 and *Luocha* 羅刹.²⁵

However, Kumarajiva, in fascicle 1 of *Foshuomiledachengfojing* 佛說彌勒大成佛經 ("Sutra of Maitreya Bodhisattva's Attainment of Buddhahood") suggested transliterations different from those in *Dazhiduolun*: 提頭賴吒, 毘樓勒叉, 毘留博叉, 毘沙門 in the order of the east, the south, the west, and the north. It is not known, though, which was translated first.

The names of the four Lokapalas used in Buddhist scriptures listed in <Table 1> are as follows: *Dhṛtarāṣṭra*, "king of the east," was transliterated very often as *Titoulaizha* 提頭賴吒, with a few variations, such as *Titoulai* 提頭賴, *Tidilaizha* 提帝賴吒, and *Tiduoluo* 提多羅吒. *Ditoulai* was the first transliteration in Chinese. It does

²⁵ 「四天王天」者,東方名提多羅吒(秦言治國),主乾闥婆及毘舍闍;南方名毘流離(秦言增長),主拘槃荼及薜荔多;西方名毘流波叉(秦言雜語),主諸龍王及富多那;北方名鞞沙門(秦言多聞),主夜叉及羅刹(Taishō Tripitaka Vol. 25, No. 1509, 443b10-443b13).

not hold *zha* 吒, the last character of the other transliterations. This may reflect the situation in which Buddhism entered China via Central Asia in its early introduction. According to the phonetic system in Central Asia, the last vowel, *a*, is eliminated.²⁶ Therefore it is possible that Ditoulai is a transliteration of the Central Asian pronunciation.

According to a chapter on the names of spirits (*Shenming* 神名) in fascicle 7 of *Fanfanyu* 翻梵語 (“Translation of Sanskrit Words”),²⁷ an ancient Sanskrit dictionary for Chinese, “Titoulaizha 提頭賴吒 should be read *Tiliduolaizha* 提栗哆賴吒. *Tiliduo* 提栗哆 means ‘to rule’ (Ch. *zhi* 治), and *laizha* 賴吒 refers to “states” (Ch. *guo* 國).” The author quotes this from fascicle 13 of *Increasing by One Agama Sutra* (Ch. *Zengyiahanjing* 增壹阿含經, Sk. *Ekottara Agama*, Pl. *Anguttara Nikāya*), but I could not find the passage in the sutra. Kumarajiva translated Dhṛtarāṣṭra as *zhiguo* 治國 in *Da zhidu lun*. It was also translated later, by other translators, as “maintaining the state” (Ch.

²⁶ *Fo* 佛 (Skt. *Buddha*) and *seng* 僧 (Skt. *Sangha*) are good examples showing this (Jong Cheol Lee 이종철, *Jungguk Bulgyeongui Tansaeng: Indo Bulgyeongui Beonyeokgwa Du Munhwaui Mannam* 중국 불경의 탄생: 인도 불경의 번역과 두 문화의 만남 (*Birth of Chinese Buddhist Sutra: Translation of Indian Buddhist Sutra and Encountering Two Cultures*), Seonam Dongyang Haksul Chongseo (Seoul: Changbi, 2008), 39,42.).

²⁷ This is a Buddhist dictionary considered valuable in that it suggests the correct Chinese transliteration of Sanskrit. Some believe the text was composed by Baochang 寶唱, a monk from Zhuangyan Monastery 莊嚴寺, in the Liang dynasty (Chen Shiqiang 陳士強, *Da Zangjing Zongmu Tiyaoyao • Wenshizang* 大藏經總目提要 • 文史藏 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 2008), pp. 272-77.), because Buddhist sutras quoted in *Fanfanyu* are all translated no later than the Liang dynasty (502-557), and because Baochang quotes a good deal from this book *Jingluixiang* 經律異相. It is normally believed, however, that its author is unknown (Foguang dianzi dacidian 佛光電子大辭典, p. 6589).

chiguo 持國). Later, in Song dynasty, Zhiyuan 智圓 (976-1022) elaborately explained its meaning as “protecting and maintaining the state territory and securing living beings” (Ch. *anzhongsheng* 安衆生) in *Qingguanyinjingshuchanyichao* 請觀音經疏闡義鈔 ("Commentary on Petitioning Sutra") <Table 1>. Buddhist or historical texts mention the kings of the east as Titoulaizha tianwang 提頭賴吒天王, or Chiguo tianwang 持國天王.

It is the word *Piloulecha* 毘樓勒叉, 毗婁勒叉 that was frequently used for transliteration for the Sanskrit Virūḍhaka, “king of the south.” There are some transliterations that look like variations of *Piloulecha*, such as *Piliule* 毘留勒, *Piliuli* 毘流離, and *Piloulejia* 毘樓勒迦. The main difference among these transliterations is whether or not the name holds the final vowel *cha* 叉 or *jia* 迦. This case also may be referred to the Central Asian phonetic system. In addition there are further different versions of transliterations: *Weishanwen* 維睒文, 惟睒門, *Suiloule* 隨樓勒, and *Piliufucha* 毘留匍叉. Among these, *Weishanwen* 維睒文 has a completely different sound, and it is not easy to explain how it was transliterated. One possibility is sources in Pali. The Wesleyan Methodist reverend R. Spence Hardy, who travelled to Ceylon three times as a missionary and was familiar with South Asian Buddhism, lists in the book *A Manual of Buddhism* the four kings as *Dhratarāshtra*, *Wirūdha*, *Wirūpaksha*, and

Waisráwana.²⁸ It is worth noting that the sound *p* in Chinese is equivalent to *w* in what is probably Pali.

It may be useful to figure out the ancient pronunciation of 維睽文. 維睽文 is currently pronounced as Weishanwen based on the modern Mandarin. *Fanfanyu* makes clear that there is one thing that we may be certain about, which is that 維 was read as 毘 close to the third century.²⁹ Following from modern scholarship, however, it is hard to recognize similarity of pronunciation between these two characters: According to the early medieval Chinese phonetic system,³⁰ 維睽文 should be read as *jwi ċiam' mun* and in late medieval Chinese as *jyj śiam' vjyn* or *jyj śiam' vun*.³¹

Huilin 惠琳 also suggests *Biliuchajia* 鼻溜茶迦, in fascicle 73 of *Yiqiejingyinyi* 一切經音義, written in the Tang dynasty. *Virūdhaka* has been translated “increasing and growing” (Ch. *Zengzhang* 增長) since Kumarajīva. In *Miaofalianhuaqing wenju* 妙法蓮華經文句 (“Commentary on the Lotus Sutra”), Zhiyi 智顗 (538-597) explains this term

²⁸ Robert Spence Hardy, *A Manual of Buddhism: In Its Modern Development [1st Indian Ed. The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Studies]* (Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1967), p.24.

²⁹ “維睽文(應云毘睽文 譯曰消息)” (Taishō Tripitaka Vol.54, No.2130, 1028c23).

³⁰ “Early medieval China” is a term generally used by Western scholars to refer to the Chinese historic period between the fall of the Han 漢 Dynasty (206 B.C.E. – 220 C.E.) and the founding of the Sui 隋 Dynasty (589-618), which corresponds to Wei Jin Nanbeichao (魏晉南北朝). For more detail, see, Alan Kam-leung Chan, Yuet Keung Lo, and ebrary Inc., *Philosophy and Religion in Early Medieval China*, (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2010), <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/yale/Doc?id=10574138>, note 1 (pp. 15-17).

³¹ Edwin G. Pulleyblank, *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1991), pp. 320, 275, and 323. In this book Pulleyblank proposes lexicon of ancient Chinese in the early medieval China, the late medieval China and Yuan dynasty.

as “avoiding and getting away” (Ch. *Mianli* 免離), besides “increasing and growing.”³²

However, the meaning of this translation is out of accordance with “increasing and growing,” which is widely accepted as the translation for Virūḍhaka in East Asian countries. Zhili 知禮 (960-1028), a monk in the Song dynasty, explains in

Jinguangmingjing wenjuji 金光明經文句記 (“Commentary on the Golden Light Sutra”), fascicle 5, that the object of increasing and growing is the root of goodness.³³

The Sanskrit Virūpākṣa, “king of the west,” was repeatedly translated as *Piloubocha* 毘樓博叉, 毗婁博叉, *Pilliubocha* 毘流波叉 (transliterated by Kumarajiva in the early 5th century), *Piloubo* 毘樓博, and *Weiloule* 維樓勒 (translated by Zhi Qian 支謙 and Dharmarakṣa 竺法護 in the third century; this be read as jwi ləw lək in early medieval Chinese and as jyj ləw ləǎk in late medieval Chinese³⁴). *Huilin* 惠琳 also suggest *Piloubo* 毘樓博 and *Biliubo* 鼻溜波 besides *Piloubocha* 毗留博叉 in *Yiqiejingyiny* 一切經音義 <Table 1>. According to the above-mentioned pronunciation of 維睽文 in *Fanfanyu*, *Weiloule* 維樓勒 should also be read **Piloule** 毘樓勒.

There are several translations for Virūpākṣa, which are somewhat inconsistent. *Guangmutian* 廣目, meaning “wide eyes,” is well known as the Chinese translation. It was Yijing 義淨 (635-713) who in the Tang dynasty first suggested “wide eyes” as a

³² Fayun 法雲 quotes *Jinguangmingjing shu* 金光明經疏 for this translation in *Fanyimingyi ji* 翻譯名義集, but I could not find this translation in *Jinguangmingjing shu*.

³³ ‘令自他善根增長故’ (Taishō Tripitaka Vol.39, No.1786, 0138a22).

³⁴ Pulleyblank, *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin*, pp. 320, 199, and 84.

translation for Virūpākṣa, in *Foshuo dakongquezhawang jing* 佛說大孔雀咒王經 (“Sutra of Great Peacock Spell King”), a Tantric scripture. Lokapala images made in the mid-seventh century and installed in the Golden Hall 金堂, Horyūji 法隆寺, in Nara, Japan, have inscriptions. “King of the west” is inscribed as *kōmoku tennō* 廣目天王. In the mid-seventh century, “king of the west” was well known as “the heavenly king who sees all.” It is of interest to note that in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, an Indian manual of paintings that I will discuss in Chapter 2, Virupaksha is illustrated with expanded eyes.³⁵ This is a good example that shows how Indian people understood the meaning of Virupaksha from about the fifth to the ninth century. However, the most frequently quoted translation for Virūpākṣa in ancient texts is *Zayu* 雜語, meaning “miscellaneous speech,” because Kumaraśīla translated the word thus. As for the reason for this, Zhili 知禮 explains in *Jingguangmingjing wenjuji* 金光明經文句記 fascicle 5 that the king can perform miscellaneous speech.³⁶

Choumu 醜目 and *chouyan* 醜眼, meaning “ugly eyes,” are additional translations for Virūpākṣa. They were made respectively by *Baosiwei* 寶思惟 (Ratnacinta), who came from Kaśmīra in 693 C.E. in (table 2), in *Bukong jiansuo tuoluoni zizaiwang zhoujing* 不空羂索多羅尼自在王呪經 (“Infallable Lasso Dharani Unrestrained King’s Mantra Sutra”); and by Zhiyi 智顗 in *Miaofalianhuaqing wenju* 妙法蓮華經文句. Xifu

³⁵ “Virupaksha has expanded eyes, a majestic staff, a bright face, hairs erect, two hands and a yellow beard. (He is) of limbs reddish-dark by color, with a dark garment, with all ornaments and with the hand holding staff and reins.” P. 82

³⁶ ‘能作種種語故’ (Taishō Tripitaka Vol. 39, No. 1786, 0138a24).

栖復, a monk living around the year 835, explains in fascicle 10 of *Fahuajing xuanzanyaoji* 法華經玄贊要集 (“Essential Collection of Commentary on the Profound Meaning of the Lotus Sutra”) that this is “because his eyes are the most ugly.”³⁷ Also virūpa [vi+rūpa] is given as “ugly” in the Pali-English dictionary.³⁸ However, according to fascicle 5 and 6 of *Dafang guangfo huayanjing shou* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏 (“Commentary on the Greatly Enlarged Flower Garland Sutra”), composed by Chengguan 澄觀 in the Tang dynasty, between 784 and 787, the word does not necessarily mean “ugly.” Pilou 毗樓 means “ugly” (*chou* 醜) and bocha 博叉 means “eyes” (*mu* 目), but *pi* 毗 means “everywhere” or “all over” (*bian* 遍) and “numerous” (*dou* 多), and *lou* 樓 means “color” or “appearance” (*she* 色).³⁹ According to Chengguan’s interpretation, *chou* 醜 is similar to *guang* 廣 in its meaning, and after all, *chouyan* 醜眼, or *choumu* 醜目, meaning “wide ranging eyes” has the same meaning as *guangmu* 廣目, meaning “wide eyes.”

Pishamen (毘沙門, 毗沙門) is the most frequently used transcription for Vaiśravaṇa, “king of the north.” 毘沙門, or 毗沙門, should be read as *bjiṣai mən* or *bjiṣe:mən* for the early medieval period and *pḥjiṣa:mun* for the late medieval period of

³⁷ “目最醜故” (卍 Xuzangjing Vol. 34, No. 638, 0409c14).

³⁸ Pali Text Society., *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary* (London: Pali Text Society, 1921), p. 635.

³⁹ ‘毗樓博叉唐三藏譯云醜目.毗樓醜也.博叉目也.日照三藏譯云.毗遍也多也.樓者具云嚕波.此云色也.博吃叉此云諸根也.謂眼等諸根.有種種色故以為名.此不必醜’ (卍 Xuzangjing Vol. 7, No. 234, 0539b17- 0539b20; 0657b19-0657b22/).

China. It is important to note that “the Tang pronunciation of Pishamenten, Bhi-sha-man, represented the Chinese transcription of the Khotanese popular form, Vrrīssamam.”⁴⁰

Tanabe Katsumi also discusses local pronunciations of Vaishravana, such as ‘Viśravaṇa’ in Gandhara, ‘Bēsramano’ in Bactria, and Vaiśravaṇa, Vaiśramaṇa, and ‘Vrrīśama(m)’ in Khotan.⁴¹

It is also worth pointing out that the title of the royal house of Khotan is *Vijida*, found in a third-century Kharoṣṭhī document. The word in Tibetan is *Bijaya*, and in eighth to tenth century Khotanese it was *Viśya* and later *Viśa*.⁴² Even though Edwin Pulleyblank mentions that it is presumably the same word as *Yuchi* 尉遲 in the Chinese sources,⁴³ it seems more similar to 毘沙 (毗沙), whose sound was bjiṣai or bjiṣe in the early medieval Chinese phonetic system. If this is correct, and considering the fact that Khotan’s royal line was protected by Vaishravana,⁴⁴ it could be proved that the Khotanese royal house was named after Vaishravana, whose Chinese transcription was bjiṣai or bjiṣe. This evidence strengthens a proposition of Khotan’s direct connection to Vaishravana.

⁴⁰ According to Victor Mair’s suggestion Valerie Hansen checked the Khotanese pronunciation. For this, see Valerie Hansen, "Gods on Walls: A Case of Indian Influence on Chinese Lay Religion? Religion and Society in T’ang and Sung China," (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1993), no. 56 in p. 106.

⁴¹ Katsumi Tanabe 田辺勝美, *Bishamontenzō No Kigen 毘沙門天像の起源 (the Origin of the Vaiśravana Image)* (Tōkyō: Sankibō Busshorin, 2006), p. 157.

⁴² Susan Whitfield; British Library; British Museum, *The Silk Road : Trade, Travel, War and Faith* (London: British Library, 2004), p. 34.

⁴³ *The Silk Road : Trade, Travel, War and Faith* (London: British Library, 2004), n. 35 (p. 36).

⁴⁴ N. 141 in Chapter II of this thesis. According to a legend of Khotan’s foundation, the prince of the first Khotanese King was born by power of Vaishravana and was fed by milk of earth breast.

Pishamen, Jujunluo 拘均羅 (should be read as kuǎ kjwin la and in early medieval Chinese as kyǎ kjyn la⁴⁵), Bingshamen 鞞沙門, Pisheluomen 毘舍羅門, Bingsheluopona 鞞舍囉婆拏, and Bingshiluomennang 鞞室羅憍囊 were sometimes used. The Chinese translations for Vaiśravaṇa are *douwen* 多聞, “much hearing,” *zhongzhongwen* 種種聞, “all kinds of hearing,” and *puwen* 普聞, “hearing from everywhere.”

It must be noted that there were different transliterations for the individual names of the four Lokapalas in texts translated earlier than the *Great Treatise on the Perfection of Wisdom*. These are *Ditoulai* 提頭賴 for the east, *Weishanwen* 維睒文 for the south, *Weiloule* 維樓勒 for the west, and *Jujunluo* 拘均羅 for the north,⁴⁶ all of which are the earliest transliterations for the names of the four kings. They were made in fascicle 2 of *Taiziruiyingbenqi jing* 太子瑞應本起經,⁴⁷ translated by Zhi Qian 支謙 (fl. 222-252 C.E.), and in fascicle 7 of *Puyaojing* 普曜經 “Universal Glorious Sutra,”⁴⁸ translated by Dharmarakṣa 竺法護 in the Western Jin 西晉 (265-316). These two sutras were translated in a fairly early time in the Chinese history of Tripitaka translation. The above-mentioned translations, except for those for “king of the east,” are pronounced differently from later ones, according to the modern Chinese phonetic system. It is not

⁴⁵ Pulleyblank, *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin*, pp. 163, 69, 203.

⁴⁶ In *Fanfanyu* it says **Jugouluo** 拘鉤羅 instead of **Jujunluo** 拘均羅 (Taishō Tripitaka Vol. 54, No. 2130, 1028c22): “拘鉤羅(譯曰曲也) 普曜經第七卷 (Jugouluo (translated as “bent”) in fascicle 7 of *Puyaojing*).”

⁴⁷ Taishō Tripitaka Vol. 3, No. 185, 479b18-479b19.

⁴⁸ Taishō Tripitaka Vol. 3, No. 186, 527a09-527a10.

easy to reconstruct their original sound with the contemporary sound system, which is different from the contemporary system when the translations were done.

Puyao jing 普曜經 is a sutra on the Buddha's life, one of various versions of the Chinese translation of the *Lalitavistara Sutra*, which was translated four times into Chinese. The extant translations are the second one, *Puyaojing*, and the fourth one, *Fangguang dazhuangyan jing* 方廣大莊嚴經 “Enlarged Great Ornament Sutra”.⁴⁹ *Fangguang dazhuangyan jing* accounts the Buddha's whole life in detail, and is considered important among the Buddha's biographical texts. The four Lokapalas' names used in this sutra are Ditoulaizha 提頭賴吒, Piloulecha 毘婁勒叉, Piloubocha 毘婁博叉, and Pishamen 毘沙門,⁵⁰ different from those used in *Puyaojing*. It is possible that the difference derives from the time difference of translation: While *Puyaojing* was translated in the Western Jin dynasty (265-316), *Fangguang dazhuangyan jing* was translated in 683, by which point these transliterations were already widely accepted.

As mentioned early in the *Translation of Sanskrit Words* (*Fanfanyu* 翻梵語), *Weishanwan* 維睽文 should be read *Pishanwan* 毘睽文. In addition, Ditoulai 提頭賴

⁴⁹ Translated in 683 C.E. (the Tang dynasty) by Divakara 地婆訶羅 (613-687), a monk from Central India. There is doubt that the “Chinese versions of the biography of the Buddha can be called translations of *Lalitavistara* at all.” This is because it is hard to decide whether *Puyaojing* can agree with the translation of one edition of *Lalitavistara* by S. Lefmann, whereas *Fangguangdazhuangyanjing* is regarded as a translation of the edition. However, a Tibetan translation done in the ninth century is regarded so. P.L. Vaidya, *Lalita-Vistara* (Darbhanga: Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, 1958), x-xi.

⁵⁰ Fascicle 6 (Taishō Tripitaka Vol. 3, No. 187, 574b03-574b16).

should be sometimes read as *Luduolaizha* 履多賴吒, meaning “to rule a state.”⁵¹ We can know from *Fanfanyu* what transliterations were used for each of the four Lokapalas until the Liang dynasty: Ditoulaizha 提頭賴吒 or Toulaizha 頭賴吒 for “king of the east”; Piliule 毘留勒 meaning “to increase” or Weishanwen 維睽文 (or read Pishanwen 毘睽文) for King of the south; Piliubocha 毘留波叉 (譯曰非好報也) or Piloushacha 毘樓沙叉 (or read Pibocha 毘博叉) for King of the west; Jupiluo 拘毘羅⁵² (譯曰非好身也) possibly for Kubera and Pisheluomenwang 毘舍羅門王 (or read Pishamen 毘沙門 meaning to hear many things) for Vaiśravaṇa.⁵³

There is another version of transliteration of Lokapalas’ names mentioned much later in the *Vaishravana Sutra*,⁵⁴ which states the Sacheonwangs’ names, their retinues, and their roles. It lists *Chiguo* 持國 for “king of the east”; *Yiluchajia* 尾嚕茶迦 for “king of the south”; *Yilubocha* 尾嚕博叉 for “king of the west”; and *Jufeiluo* 俱吠囉 for “king of the north,” probably Kubera rather than Vaiśravaṇa.⁵⁵ Also there is another translation for their names, although it was made in neither ancient nor Chinese texts. The stupa in Bharhut has inscriptions of kings of the south and north, *Virudako Yakho* and *Kupiro*

⁵¹ ‘應云時履多賴吒譯曰治國’ (Taishō Tripitaka Vol. 54, No. 2130, 1028b20). In the same chapter, it says that Ditoulaizha 提頭賴吒 should be Diliduolaizha 提栗哆賴吒. Diliduo 提栗哆 means “to rule” and laizha 賴吒 means “state” (‘應云提栗哆賴吒譯曰提栗哆者治賴吒者國也’ Taishō Tripitaka Vol. 54, No. 2130, 1028b03).

⁵² In Korean Jupiluo 拘毘羅 is read *Gubira*, which is closer in sound to the Sanskrit name Kubera. Because the Korean phonetic system for the classical Chinese keeps the ancient system, it is worth pointing out.

⁵³ Taishō Tripitaka Vol. 54, No. 2130, 1028a23–1030c02.

⁵⁴ *Aanaiyamasutra-nama-mahasutra* (*Foshuopishamentianwangjing* 佛說毘沙門天王經) translated by Dharmadeva (Fatian 法天, ?-1001), an Indian monk.

⁵⁵ Referring to footnote 49 of this chapter.

Yakho.⁵⁶ Authors introducing the inscriptions translated the names, including those of the kings of the east and the west: the “jealous holder of royal scepter,” the “terrible warrior-god,” the “evil-eyed warrior-god,” and the “powerful lord of wealth,” in the order of east, south, west and north.⁵⁷

As mentioned above, transliterations for each of the Lokapalas often used in the Buddhist scriptures translated into Chinese are Ditoulaizha 提頭賴吒, Piloulecha 毘樓勒叉,毗婁勒叉, Piloubocha 毘樓博叉,毗婁博叉, and Pishamen 毘沙門,毗沙門. These transliterations have been repeatedly used since the fourth century, and are found on some Buddhist art works, as well. For example, it is Ditoulaizha 提頭賴吒, Piloulecha 毗婁勒叉, Piloubocha 毗婁博叉, and Pishamen 毘沙門 that were used on the surface of sarira (Shakyamuni Buddha’s physical relics) reliquaries made in China in both 604 and the late ninth century. The first was commissioned to be produced in the Renshou era (601-604) of Sui Wendi (fig. 4.21-1 and 4.21-2).⁵⁸ I will discuss this with more detail in the later chapter on iconography. The second was excavated from Famensi in 1987 (fig.

⁵⁶ Beni Madhab Barua and Gangananda Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1926), 65.

⁵⁷ *Barhut Inscriptions* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1926), 66.

⁵⁸ On Sairira reliquaries commissioned to be produced in the Renshou era (601-604) of Sui Wendi, see Kyeongmi Joo 주경미, *Jungguk Godae Bulsari Jangeom Yeongu* 중국 고대 불사리장엄 연구 (*a Study on the Buddhist Reliquaries in Ancient China*) (Seoul: Iljisa, 2003), 96-148. Among them only one reliquary from Shendesi 神德寺 is extant today, discovered in Yaoxian 耀縣, Shanxi province 陝西省 in 1969. However, it was missing and then rediscovered in 2010 by two Korean art historians in their field research: Songran Lee and Daenam Park. Their article on the reliquary is Songran Lee 이송란; Daenam Park 박대남, "Jungguk Su Insu Sa-Nyun Shindeoksa Sarigu Yeongu 중국 수 인수 4 년 신덕사 사리구 연구 (Study on Shendesi Sarira Reliquary Made in the Fourth Year of China Renshou Era," *Hanguk Gdaesa Tamgu* 한국 고대사 탐구 6(December, 2010): 201-49.

1.1-1, 1-2, 1-3, and 1-4).⁵⁹ The names of the kings of the south and the west on the Famensi reliquary are mistakenly switched as ‘南方毗婁博叉天王’ and ‘西方毗婁勒叉天王,’ as the Chinese scholars have already been pointed out.⁶⁰ It is very interesting, though, to consider that these art works were commissioned by the Emperor.

2. Functions of Lokapalas in Buddhist Sutras translated into Chinese

According to previous scholarship, Buddhist sutras that mention Lokapalas can be divided into three groups, by their understanding of the role of these deities. The first group only mentions the names of them. The second groups state that the Lokapalas assist the Buddha. The third group calls the four Maharajas protectors of the world.⁶¹ I would add two more categories, dharmapalas and inspectors, whose concepts are closely related to each other. In addition, the first group should be divided into two categories. First, sutras that only enumerate their name with other deities; many sutras do this, as examined earlier, such as *Jishi jing* 起世經,⁶² *Great Collection of Sutras*,⁶³ and *Taiziruiying benqi jing* 太子瑞應本起經. Second, scriptures, in which the names of the

⁵⁹ On Sairira reliquaries in the late Tang dynasty, including the Famensi Sarira reliquary, see Kyungmi Joo, *Study on Buddhist Sarira Ornament of Ancient China (Jungguk Godae Bulsari-jangeom Yeongu)*, Seoul: Iljisa, 2003, pp. 246-341.

⁶⁰ Wu Limin 吳立民; Han Jinke 韓金科, *Famensi Digong Tang Manchalu Zhi Yanjiu* 法門寺地宮唐密曼荼羅之研究 (*Study on the Mandala of the Underpalace at Famensi*) (Hongkong: 中國佛教文化出版有限公司 (China Buddhist Cultural Publish Limited), 1998), p. 406.

⁶¹ Dongwha Kim 金東華, "Bulgyo Sasangi Sillaui Samguk Tongile Michin Yeonghyang: Bulgyoui Hoguk Sasang 불교사상이 신라의 삼국통일에 미친 영향: 불교의 호국 사상 (Influence of Buddhist Thought on Silla's Unification: Patriotism of Buddhism)," *Dongguk Daehakgyo Nonmunjip (Journal of Dongguk University)* 12, (1973).

⁶² This sutra is fascicles 18 to 22 of *Foshuozhangahanjing* 佛說長阿含經: *Dīrghāgama (The Longer Agama Sutra)* translated into Chinese by Buddhayaśas 佛陀耶舍 and Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 in 412-13 C.E.

⁶³ *Dafangdengdajijing* 大方等大集經 (Skt. Mahāsaṃnipāta): 60 fascicles translated into Chinese in 420-426 by Dharmakṣema (Tanwuchan 曇無讖) and Zhufafeng 竺法豐 (385–433 C.E.).

Sitianwang are mentioned sometimes with their functions, such as the *Vaishravana Sutra* and the *Ashoka Sutra*.⁶⁴

The *Vaishravana Sutra*⁶⁵ states Sacheonwang names, retinues, and roles:

(In) the Eastern world there is a lord of *Gandapo*, called *Chiguo*. He has great virtue and radiates bright light, which is just like the rising sun shining all over the world. --- *Chiguo* the Heavenly King protects the East and protects the world as Buddha does. --- (In) the Southern world there is a lord of *Jiupanna*, called *Yiluchajia*. He has great virtue and radiates bright light, which is just like the rising sun shining all over the world, and like a great ocean deep and wide without end. The lord of *Jiupanna* protects the South and protects the world as Buddha does. --- (In) the Western world there is a lord of great Nagas, called *Yilubocha*. He has great virtue and radiates bright light far away. --- The lord of great Nagas protects the West and protects the world as Buddha does. --- (In) the Northern world there is a lord of *Yaocha*, called *Jufeiluo*. He has great virtue and is radiating lights like the great flame. The lord of *Yaocha* protects the North. He protects the world as Buddha does. --- Thus *Chiguo* of the East, *Yiluchajia* of the South, *Yilubocha* of the West, and *Jufeiluo* of the North protect the four great continents with their own virtue.”⁶⁶

According to the names of each Lokapala, they are deities existing for the benefit of the world by maintaining states, increasing benefits, seeing widely (the suffering of beings), and also listening to dharma or what living beings need in order to give them

⁶⁴ *Ayuwangjing* 阿育王經 translated into Chinese by Sanghapala (Sengqiepoluo 僧伽婆羅), a monk from Siam, in the Liang dynasty (502-557).

⁶⁵ *Foshuo pishamentianwang jing* 佛說毘沙門天王經 (*Aanaiyamasutra-nama-mahasutra*), translated by Dharmadeva (Fatian 法天, ?-1001), an Indian monk.

⁶⁶ “東方世界有乾闥婆主名曰**持國**。具大威德身放光明。譬如日出普照世間。---彼持國天王守護東方。如佛行行如是護世。---南方世界有鳩盤拏主名**尾嚕茶迦**。具大威德身有光明。如日照世亦如大海深廣無邊。---彼鳩盤拏主守護南方。如佛行行如是護世。---西方世界有大龍主名**尾嚕博叉**。有大威德光明遠照。---彼大龍主守護西方。如佛行行如是護世。---北方世界有藥叉名**俱吠囉**。---彼藥叉主守護北方。如佛行行如是護世。---如是**東方持國南方尾嚕茶迦。西方尾嚕博叉北方俱吠囉**。各以威德護四大洲” (Taishō Tripitaka Vol. 21, No. 245, 217a29-217c06). * Bolds are made by the author of the present article.

help.⁶⁷ There are several ways they conduct their duties as protectors of the world differently from in the Hinayana and Mahayana traditions. Previous scholarship has focused on the four Maharajas' role of protecting the world and consequently the state. I would not completely deny this, but there seems to be a point missed here, which is the way of protection. Scholars interpret "to protect" literally, or physically. "To protect" the world, living beings in particular, has a deep meaning in Buddhist practice. There is even a unique way to achieving this. Lokapalas are gods who protect the world not in a physical way, but in a spiritual way: through putting the Buddha's teachings, or dharma into practice. This is why Buddha asks them to protect dharma and the world, and why these deities inspect the world, as I discuss below. This spiritual way is also related to a practice unique to Buddhism: Holding, respecting, reading, writing by hand, and transmitting Buddhist sutras is a way of bringing protection and happiness. The four Great Kings aspire and promise to protect people involved in this practice. However, protection of these people is achieved not by these deities but by their own practice. The four Maharajas are deities abiding in the Four Great Kings' Heaven, and they delight in the Buddha's teachings, ways of bringing protection and happiness to all living beings. For this reason they inspect whether people observe the Buddha's teachings or not. The gods are very happy with people who observe what they should observe, and the gods are unhappy with people who do not follow what they should follow.

⁶⁷ In *Lalitavistara*, the king of the north, Vaisravana, is called "the lord of wealth," which is a phrase for Kubera. (p. 126). In the sutra, Kubera, Vaishravana, and even the Lokapalas are enumerated together as if they are separate persons at the end of the chapter on the visit to the temple: "When Bodhisattva placed his right foot on the floor of that temple, all the inanimate idols – those idols of Siva, Skanda, Narayana, **Kubera**, the Moon, the Sun, **Vaisravana**, Sakra, Brahma, **Lokapalas**, etc. – all rose from their own places and fell on the floor at Bodhisattva's (feet)." P.116.

(1) Caturmaharaja as assistants

The four Maharajas are deities abiding in Caturmaharajikayika. Thus their basic function comes from the Buddhist conception of the universe. Buddhist sutras describing the creation and destruction of the universe, and its form and size, are *Shiji jing* 世起經 (“Sutra of Cosmology”), fascicle 30 of *Foshuo zhangahan jing* 佛說長阿含經 (“The Longer Agama-Sutra”)⁶⁸ and the different versions of its translation.⁶⁹ These sutras have a separate chapter on the Four Heavenly Kings (*Sitianwangpin* 四天王品), in which the World of the Four Great Kings is explained.⁷⁰ These chapters mention the four kings’ names, sizes, appearance and decoration, and the locations of their abodes. From these attributes we can locate their religious position within the system, because the Buddhist universe basically reflects a hierarchy of religious achievement. Buddha himself was born in the Land of the Four Heavenly Kings in one of his previous lives. The Agama sutras are regarded as representative of Hinayana sutras, and they do not mention the Lokapalas as protectors of the world. Therefore it can be concluded that Lokapalas are mainly perceived as four members of Caturmaharajikakayika (the World of the Four

⁶⁸ *Dīrghāgama* (*The Longer Agama-Sutra*) translated into Chinese by Buddhayaśas 佛陀耶舍 and Zhufonian 竺佛念 in 412-13 C.E.

⁶⁹ There are four different versions of translation of this sutra: *Daloutan jing* 大樓炭經 (Taishō Tripitaka Vol. 1, No. 23), translated by a monk Fali 法立 and Faju 法炬 in the Western Jin 西晉 (*Loutan* 樓炭 is a Sanskrit term meaning “creation and destruction”); *Jishi jing* 起世經 (Taishō Tripitaka Vol.1, No. 24, 339c16-341a05), translated by Shenajueduo 闍那崛多, a monk from India, and others, in the Sui dynasty; and *Jishiyinben jing* 起世因本經 (Taishō Tripitaka Vol. 1, No. 25), translated by Damojiduo 達摩笈多, a monk from India, in the Sui dynasty).

⁷⁰ Besides these sutras, there are additional; scriptures that have the separate article, such as the *Dafangdengdaji jing* 大方等大集經 (Skt. Mahāsaṃnipāta), the *Golden Light Sutra*, and the *Lokapala Sutra*, which belongs to the Mahayana tradition.

Great Kings) and are beings delighted to hear Buddha's sermon in the Hinayana tradition.⁷¹

In Buddhist scriptures, in particular in texts on Shakyamuni Buddha's biography,⁷² Lokapalas come up at important occasions during his lifetime, such as scenes of his descending from the Tushita Heaven in order to enter his mother's womb, his departing his father's palace to seek enlightenment, his attaining enlightenment, and his nirvana. The reason they follow Shakyamuni Buddha as though they are assistants is clearly mentioned in the *Lalitavistara Sutra*:

It is unfit of us, Sirs, it is ungrateful also, that we discard Bodhisattva all alone, who amongst us, Sirs, dares to follow Bodhisattva constantly during his entry into the womb, birth, youth, childish play, watching the drama in the inner quarters, departure, practice of difficult tasks, going to the bodhimanda, vanquishing Mara, attainment of Bodhi, and turning the Wheel of Religion, up to the Final Nirvana, with a mind bent on good, on love, on affection, on amity, on happiness.⁷³

Therefore Lokapala imagery subordinated to the main images of Buddha and bodhisattva implies that they are not yet independent objects of worship. I should mention here a little bit about the function of Sacheonwang images represented

⁷¹ In *Abhidharma-kosa*, translated into Chinese by Xuanzang (玄奘, 602-664), Vasubandhu also explains the Land of the Four Great Kings with the size of each, and enumerates heavenly beings living in the Land while **informing** Mt. Sumeru (*Miaogaoshan* 妙高山). He adds that the Land is the largest in the Desire Realm.

⁷² There are several sutras on the Buddha's present life: *Lalitavistara*, *Buddhacarita* (*Acts of Buddha*) composed by Asvaghosha. It was translated into Chinese in 5 fascicles of *Fosuoixingzan* 佛所行讚 by Dharmaraksha in 420 entitled and 7 fascicles of *Fosuoixingzan* 佛所行讚 by Baoyun 寶雲 in Song (420-479) of Southern Dynasty.

⁷³ Goswami, *Lalitavistara: English Translation with Notes*, 50.

accompanying Buddha. Some scholars think that in these art works, the role of the four Maharajas is to protect Buddha. This is absurd, because Buddha is not an object of protection, but the subject of protection of sentient beings. The power of protection in Buddhism means spiritual power, and Buddha is King of kings in spiritual power. Deities accompanying Buddha show their role as assistants of Buddha, or an assembly listening to his teachings.

(2) Dharma protectors

Among the sutras on the Buddha's biography, three texts should be noted, because these exhibit well the function of Sacheonwang as dharmapalas, protectors of dharma, the Buddha's teachings: *Xiuxingbenji jing* 修行本紀經, *Taiziruiying benqi jing* 太子瑞應本起經 and *Yichupusa benqi jing* 異出菩薩本起經 ("Sutra on the Original Rise of Yichu Bodhisattva").⁷⁴ *Xiuxingbenji jing* accounts Shakyamuni Buddha's biography from his previous life, the time when he was predicted by Dipankara Buddha to be a Buddha in the future through attainment of enlightenment in this life. *Taiziruiying benqi jing* depicts Shakyamuni Buddha's life from when bodhisattva *Rutong* 儒童 (Megha, Shakyamuni Buddha in a past life) met Dipankara Buddha and was predicted to be a Buddha in the future by way of this life of birth, practice, attaining enlightenment, and giving sermons. *Xiuxingbenji jing* and *Taiziruiying benqi jing* are very similar in plot, volume, and expressions, and are believed to have been composed earlier than other sutras on the life of the Buddha. *Yichupusabenqi jing* also tells the Buddha's life story as

⁷⁴ Translated by Niedaozhen 聶道真, a layman, in the Western Jin 西晉 (265-316).

the sutras mentioned above, from his previous life when he was predicted to be a Buddha, up through his turning of the wheel of dharma in this life.

In these scriptures on the life of the Buddha, the Lokapalas are very delighted with Buddha's birth, and so they bathe and escort him. They assist or help him when as a prince he leaves his palace to obtain enlightenment. They even notify the prince that it is time for him to leave his father's palace, and in *Yichupusabenqi jing* they help him to depart in silence.⁷⁵ They do this because they deeply understand the tremendous value of dharma. In the early phase of Buddhism, they are beings eagerly wanting to listen to the Buddha's teachings, and they are the first to attend these. This enthusiastic attitude towards the dharma, therefore, reflects their function to protect the dharma after Buddha's passing away, which develops in the later phase of Buddhism, Mahayana.

The *Ashoka Sutra* accounts how the Lokapalas came to be in charge of protecting the dharma. At the time when Buddha's nirvana comes, Buddha tells Indra and Saceonwang, "You must protect the dharma after my nirvana, and you have to protect the dharma at the time when the three enemy kings come." After Buddha's parinirvana, Indra and Saceonwang make offerings with incense, flowers, and music, to Buddha's sarira. Indra says to Saceonwang that "Buddha requested us to protect the dharma when he went into nirvana. So now we should protect the dharma." Indra tells the king of the east, "You should protect the dharma in the east." Again he tells the king of the south, "You should protect dharma in the south," he tells the king of the west, "You should protect the dharma in the west," and he tells Vaishranva, "You should protect the

⁷⁵ Taishō Tripitaka Vol. 3, No. 188, 619b01- 619b09.

dharma in the north. Buddha said that ‘after my passing away, there will be three enemy kings, who will come from the same place as you.’”⁷⁶

(3) Inspectors and protectors of the world

When Shakyamuni Buddha was born, he was escorted by Indra, Brahman, and the Lokapalas with their retinues (*Xiuxingbenjijing Shang*),⁷⁷ or he was bathed by the Lokapalas (*Taiziruiying benqi jing*⁷⁸ and *Yichupusabenqi jing*⁷⁹). When Prince Sidhartha left his palace to go on the path to enlightenment, the Lokapalas supported the feet of the prince’s horse, Kantaka, in order that they did not make noise (*Xiuxingbenji jing Xia*).⁸⁰ In *Taiziruiying benqi jing*, there is a story, well known as the source of some extant sculptures in Ghandhara and Mathura.⁸¹ The story goes that the four Lokapalas gave the Buddha begging bowls made of iron (var. stone) for him to receive food offerings from

⁷⁶ “世尊復念四天王。時四天王知佛心故即至佛所。佛復告四天王。我涅槃後。汝等當護持法藏。乃至未來三賊國王。汝皆應共其護持法藏。四天王白佛言。如是世尊。----乃至天主帝釋及四天王。一切香花種種伎樂供養舍利。說言。世尊付我等法藏入涅槃。今我等依佛法守護。是時帝釋語持梨哆阿囉哆(翻治國)言。汝於東方當護佛法。復語毘留多(翻增長)言。汝於南方當護佛法。復語毘留博叉(翻不好眼)言。汝於西方當護佛法。復語鳩鞞羅(翻不好身)言。汝於北方當護佛法。世尊言。我滅後有三賊王。當來與汝同處。(阿育王經卷第六(扶南三藏僧伽婆羅譯) 佛記優波笈多因緣第六)”(Taishō Tripitaka Vol. 50, No. 2043, 150a19-150b16).

⁷⁷ The following scene shows that the King Shudodana was happy to see the prince escorted by these beings (Taishō Tripitaka Vol. 3, No. 184, 463c16-463c27).

⁷⁸ Taishō Tripitaka Vol. 3, No. 185, 473c05-473c06.

⁷⁹ Taishō Tripitaka Vol. 3, No. 188, 618a20-618a21.

⁸⁰ In *Taiziruiyingbenqijing*, the south Lokapala, Weishan 維睺, makes his retinues do this (Taishō Tripitaka Vol. 3, No. 185, 475b22).

⁸¹ Account by Chinese pilgrims such as Faxian (*A Record of the Buddhist Countries* (Peking: Chinese Buddhist Association, 1957) Faxian (Trans. Li Yung-his), *A Record of the Buddhist Countries* (Peking: Chinese Buddhist Association, 1957)., pp. 27-29.) and the sculptural evidence of the Buddha’s alms bowl show the importance of the bowl in Gandhara. Kurt A. Behrendt’s investigations have shown that there were separate architectural structures at Buddhist sites in Gandhara to secure when they are not displayed and to display Buddha’s relics such as the alms bowl and *uṣṇīṣa*, portion of the skull of the Buddha. See Kurt A. Behrendt, *The Buddhist Architecture of Gandhara*, Brill, 2004, pp. 61-73.

merchants after he attained enlightenment. At that moment, Buddha fused the bowls into one. To ordinary beings, however, these appeared to be four.⁸²

The story of the alms bowl is followed by Buddha's teaching to the merchants, on the merits of "giving." Buddha teaches what kind of benefits and fortunes come from giving, and that the four Lokapalas give awards according to peoples' good actions. He says that he will make the four Lokapalas protect givers from adversity. This shows a basic idea of the Lokapalas' function as protectors of the world, an idea which will develop later in the Mahayana tradition. In relation to this matter, in *Zengyiahuan jing* 增壹阿含經 ("Agama Sutra Increased by One") it says that the four Lokapalas are in charge of observing the world in regard to who maintains the Eight Precepts (Ch. *baguanzhai* 八關齋, Skt. *aṣṭāṅga-samanvāgatōpavāsa*), and then reporting their observations to Indra.⁸³ Buddha says that there are three days of *zhai* 齋: the eighth, the fourteenth, and the fifteenth. On the eighth day Saceonwang send their emissaries to the world to inspect it, and report what they observe to Indra. On the fourteenth day the Lokapalas send their princes to the world, and on the fifteenth day they themselves go to the world, inspecting

⁸² This story is found in *Lalitavistara* (Goswami, *Lalitavistara: English Translation with Notes*, pp. 348-50.) and sutras translated into Chinese on Buddha's life such as *Puyao jing* 普曜經, *Fangguang dazhuangyan jing* 放光大莊嚴經, *Fobenhangji jing* 佛本行集經, *Guoqu xianzai yinguo jing* 過去現在因果經. The King Ashoka visits this place and hears this story from 優波笈多 in the *Ashoka Sutra*: 此是佛受四天王四鉢合為一鉢處 http://www.cbeta.org/result/normal/T50/2043_002.htm (Taishō Tripitaka Vol. 50, No. 2043, 137c27.) In Gandhara Faxian observed the bowl and writes about it in his travel diary that "its four layers are clearly apparent." For more detail, see Faxian (Trans. Li Yung-his), *A Record of the Buddhist Countries*, pp. 27-29.

⁸³ Taishō Tripitaka Vol. 2, No. 125, 624b18-625a23.

and reporting the inspection to Indra. What is followed here is Buddha's teaching on the Eight Precepts and how to practice them.⁸⁴

As mentioned above in the *Shijialuoyue Sutra* 尸迦羅越六方禮經 Buddha teaches what are good actions of human beings especially in relationships with others: relationships of parents' and children, teachers and students, husband and wife, relationship with relatives and friends, relationship of masters and servants, and monks and people. Buddha enumerates what should be followed in each relationship.⁸⁵ It is very interesting that respecting people in specific relationship is related to six directions of the east, the south, the west, the north, below and above. Taking into account that Lokapalas offer directional guidance, the original idea of Lokapalas' observing actions of human beings seems to be an Indian indigenous thought.

Other sutras with similar contents are *Chizhai jing* 持齋經 ("Sutra of Maintaining Precepts") (T. Vol. 1, No. 26 [202]), which is the 20second sutra in fascicle 55 of *Zhongahan jing* 中阿含經 ("Middle Length Agama Sutra"); *Foshuo zhai jing* 佛說齋經 ("Sutra of Holding Precepts") (T. Vol. 1, No. 87), translated by Zhi Qian 支謙 (fl. 222-252 C.E.); *Youpyi duoshejia jing* 優婆夷墮舍迦經 ("Stura of Youpyi and Duoshejia") (T. Vol. 1, No. 88), whose translator is unknown; and *Foshuo baguanzhai jing* 佛說八關齋經 ("Sutra of Eight Precepts") (T. Vol. 1, No. 89), translated by Juqujingsheng 沮渠京

⁸⁴ The Eight Precepts (Ch. *baguanzhai* 八關齋), a moral discipline that laymen should follow in Buddhism, are not killing, not stealing, not engaging in sexual misconduct, not lying, not drinking alcohol, not using adornments of flowers or perfumes, not eating except at regulated hours, and not enjoying music (Taishō Tripitaka Vol. 2, No. 125, 625c20-625c23).

⁸⁵ See footnote 6 and 7 of this chapter.

聲 (?-464).⁸⁶ These are all different versions of translation of the same source. In *Jinglü yixiang* 經律異相 (“Deferent Aspects of Buddhist Sutra and Vinaya”), composed by Sengmin 僧旻 and Baochang 寶唱 in 516, it is also said that the four Maharajas inspect the world whether or not human beings keep the Eight Precepts, quoting *Changahan jing* 長阿含經 20, *Da zhi lun* 大智論 and *Loutan jing* 婁炭經 (“Sutra of Creation and Destruction”).⁸⁷

It is *Foshuo sitianwang jing* 佛說四天王經 (“Sutra of Four Heavenly Kings”) whose content is solely the above mentioned Sacheonwang’s inspection on the world.⁸⁸ The Sutra is very short, with just fifty-two lines. In this sutra the four Maharajas send their emissaries and princes to the world, and they themselves also go to the world to observe it. They inspect the actions of human beings, and report these to Indra. The only difference with the scriptures mentioned above is that not three but six days of zhai 齋 appear in this text. Lokapalas send their ministers on the eighth and twenty-third days, and their princes on the fourth and twenty-ninth days, and they themselves go to the world on the fifteenth and twentieth days. This independent sutra solely on the four Guardian Deities’ inspection of the world implies that this is an important function of theirs, in the Sacheonwang cult. It is interesting to note that Buddhist practice related to this role of the four Maharajas developed in East Asian countries as I discuss below.

⁸⁶ Footnote 1 in *Jeungil ahamgyeong* 增壹阿含經 in The Tripitaka Koreana electronic version (http://ebti.dongguk.ac.kr/h_tripitaka/v1/search.asp).

⁸⁷ In fascicle 1 of *Jinglüyixiang* 經律異相 Vol. 53, No. 2121, 0001c07-0001c13. In this book the authors also explain transcriptions of the four Lokapalas’ names, their lifespan and size, and also the World of the Four Heavenly Kings.

⁸⁸ Taishō Tripitaka Vol. 15, No. 590.

In ancient Japan, there was a ritual called *kaika* 悔過 (“regret”) in which people confessed their bad actions, and thereby fulfilled their wishes. Nagaoka Ryūsaku examines the role of Buddha imagery at this ritual.⁸⁹ According to him, the *Chronicle of Japan* (*Nihonshoki*) states that the first *kaika* ritual was conducted in the seventh month of the first year of Empress Kōgyoku’s reign (642). This ritual was performed as a prayer for rain. For the ritual participants used images of Buddhas and bodhisattvas and the four Maharajas at the southern garden of the Great Gudara monastery (百濟大寺), and read *Dayun jing* 大雲經 (“Great Cloud Sutra”).⁹⁰

It should be noted that the *Dharani Sutra*, which is important to the iconographic history of Lokapala (table 2), was used to enumerate sutras that should be read at the ritual. The enumerated sutras are as follows: the *Great Cloud Sutra* 大雲經, the *Peacock King Sutra* 孔雀王經, and *Dayunlun jing* 大雲輪經 (“Great Cloud Wheel Sutra”). The eleventh fascicle of the *Dharani Sutra* introduces how to pray for rain: “When you pray for rain, you should go to a pond in plain view of four directions with beautiful scenery, where dragons are living. Make a ground sized fifty steps in four directions near the pond level and clear out.” According to Daiju Sasaki, the ritual of the *Dharani Sutra* is similar to ritual introduced in the following texts: the chapter on prayer for rain (*qingyupin* 請雨品 64) of *Dafangdeng dayun jing* 大方等大雲經 (“Great Well-balanced Cloud Sutra”) (T19, no. 992, trans. by Dushenayeshe 闍那耶舍 in 554 C.E.);

⁸⁹ Ryusaku Nagaoka, "Hoigwawa Bulsang 悔過와 불상 (Repentance and Image of Buddha)," *Misulsa Nondan* 23(2006.12): 129-33.

⁹⁰ It is interesting that also in Silla there was a rite for a prayer for rain, in which participants recited the *Golden Light Sutra*.

the chapter on prayer for rain (qingyupin 請雨品 64) in *Dayun jing* 大雲經 (T.19, no. 993, trans. by Dushenayeshe in 554 C.E.); *Dayunlun qingyu jing* 大雲輪請雨經 (“Sutra of Great Cloud Wheel Prayer for Rain”) (T.19, no. 991, trans. by Narendrayaśas 那連提耶舍 in 585 C.E.); the chapter on the altar for prayer for rain (*qiyutanfa* 祈雨壇法) of *Dayunjing* 大雲經 (T.19, no. 990, anonymous translation in the late eighth century); and *Darirulai jianyin* 大日如來劍印 (“Vairocana’s Sword and Seal”) (T.18, no. 864, unknown time of translation).⁹¹

Nagaoka thinks the role of Lokapala imagery was related to the practice of following the Eight Precepts. This is because one of premises of the ritual was keeping the Precepts, which were observed by the Maharajas. The fact that the king of the west sculpture produced in ancient Japan, in particular the Nara period, holds a brush and a scroll of paper, seems to indicate their duty as reporters. The original source of these attributes is *Boreshouhu shiliushanshenwan gxingti* 般若守護十六善神王形體 (“Wisdom Protecting Sixteen Benevolent Spirit Kings’ Form”), where it says the king of the west makes a pose writing with a brush.⁹² Nagaoka explains that these attributes of a brush and a scroll of paper are related to Sacheonwang’s role of observing people.⁹³ It is possible that these

⁹¹ Daiju Sasaki 佐佐木大樹, "Darani Shuken Ni Kansuru Shobunken No Kosatsu 陀羅尼集經に關する諸文獻の考察 (a Study of Various Texts on Dharani Sutra)," *Taishō Daigaku Daigakuin kenkyū ronshū*, 大正大学大学院研究論集 (*Journal of Taisho University Graduate School*) 29(2005): p. 11.

⁹² The sutra was translated into Chinese between 723 and 736. “以筆作書寫之勢” *Taishō Tripitaka* Vol. 21 No. 1293. For the meaning of these attributes see Masaaki Matsuura 松浦正昭, "Hokkedo Tenpyo Bijutsu Shinron 法華堂天平美術新論 (New Argument on Tenpyo Art in Hokkedo)," *Nantobukkyo* 南都佛教 82(2002, 12).

⁹³ Ryusaku Nagaoka, *Butsuzō No Imi to Jōdai No Sekaikan –Uchi to Soto Ishiki Wo ChūShin Ni* 佛像の意味と上代の世界観-内と外の意識を中心に, 講座日本美術史 第三卷 (Tokyo: 東京大學出版會, 2005.6). In addition to this, articles on the meaning of Sacheonwang imagery made in ancient Japan

attributes were used in the visual form only by the ancient Japanese, because a brush and a scroll of paper have not been represented in countries besides Japan. In addition, the reason the king of the west holds these attributes is likely due to the meaning of his name: “widely seeing” or “miscellaneous speech.”

It was in the mid-seventh century that the kaika ritual was performed in Japan. In the ritual, the statues of the four Maharrajas were enshrined as the main imagery along with statues of Buddhas and bodhisattvas. The same ritual with Lokapala images was already performed in the sixth century in China. According to the chapter on the monk Daoxian 釋道仙 in *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (“Continued Biography of Eminent Monks”), at the end of the Tianjian era (502-519) in the Liang dynasty, the Prince Shixing⁹⁴ commissioned an image of the Four Heavenly Kings, had them enshrined at Liangtai monastery, and made pure offerings to them every six Zhai days.⁹⁵ It is interesting that here in *Xugaosengzhuan* the four Lokapalas are introduced only by their duty, observing the world as in the Hinayana tradition.⁹⁶

There is no direct visual or literary evidence that the Four Maharajas were worshipped in Korea as observers who inspect good and bad actions of human beings and

relating to teachings on keeping the precepts are as follows: Fumi Nakamura 中村史, *Nihon Ryōiki to Shōdō* 日本靈異記と唱導 (Tōkyō: Miyai Shoten 三弥井書店, 1995.5); Katsutaka Hōjō 北條勝貴, “日本の中華國家の創出と確約的宣誓儀禮の展開-天平期律令國家再検討する視點として” *Bukkyō shigaku kenkyū* 佛教史學研究 42-1(1999.9).

⁹⁴ The Prince Shixing was a younger brother of Liang Wudi 蕭憺 (478-522) (Qiwei Shen 沈起煒, *Zhongguo Lidai Renming Da Cidian* 中國歷代人名大辭典 (*Biographic Dictionary of Chinese History*) (Shanghai: 上海古籍, 1999), p. 2098.

⁹⁵ “天監末始興王暕感.於梁泰寺造四天王.每六齋辰常設淨.供仙後赴會.四王頂上放五色光” (Taishō Tripitaka Vol. 50, No. 2060, 0651b08-0651b09).

⁹⁶ Hardy, *A Manual of Buddhism, in Its Modern Development*, 61-62.

report what they observed to Indra and Brahma. However it is worth pointing out the fact that these deities are represented as retinues of *Jijang shiwangdo* 地藏十王圖 (“Kshitigarbha on paintings Kshitigarbha and Ten Kings of Hell”) of in the fourteenth century of Goryeo. There exist about 160 Buddhist paintings of Goryeo dynasty in the fourteenth century. Of these paintings, on the eleven paintings appear Sacheonwang according to research conducted so far. Six paintings out of eleven are paintings of *Kshitigarbha and Ten Kings of Hell* (地藏十王圖). The relatively frequent appearance of Sacheonwnag as his retinues in specific Kshitigarbha paintings is due to their role observing actions of human beings and reporting to Indra and Brahma.⁹⁷

Practice of the Prince Shixing and Goryeo Buddhist paintings above mentioned are another important example that shows why ancient people made independent images of the four Maharajas in East Asia: These gods observe or inspect people, determining whether they follow virtues. These records of the rituals performed in China and Japan show that the cult of the Four Great Kings is deeply related to the practice of confession, and the protection of states from an enemy’s invasion. In regard to this matter, it should be noted that what the Buddha teaches in the *Jinguangming jing* 金光明經 (“Golden Light Sutra”), the subject is confession of bad actions and purification of them. The first chapter, or introduction of the sutra, which usually states the subject of the sutra’s teaching, accounts confession practice. The third chapter, which is on confession, states

⁹⁷ Jeonghee Kim 金廷禧, "Joseon Shidae Myungbujeon Dosangui Yeongu 朝鮮時代冥府氈圖像의研究 (a Study on Iconography of Myeongbujeon in Joseon Dynasty), Ph.D. Dissertation" (韓國精神文化研究院, 1992), 152-53.

that the *Golden Light Sutra* teaching eliminates all bad actions and their effects, accumulated for a thousand kalpa.

The sutra has a wide general appeal, with a variety of useful teachings on the Mahayana doctrines of emptiness, cause and effect, and the life of the Buddha; on confession; on advice for kings and rulers; and on the *jataka* of the hungry tigress; etc.⁹⁸ Another important teaching in the *Golden Light Sutra* is on Trikaya *sanshenfo* 三身佛, which I will discuss in a later chapter on images of the Four Heavenly Kings. The complete original Sanskrit text, *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra*, is extant today. It has been widely translated: three times into Chinese; at least three times into Tibetan; and into Khotanese, Sogdian, Uighor, Mongol, and Tangut (Xixia).⁹⁹ The complete Chinese translation of the sutra has three versions: 4 fascicles of the *Golden Light Sutra* translated by Dharmakṣema (414-426), 8 fascicles of the *Hehu jinguangming jing* 合部金光明經 (“Compendium of the Golden Light Sutra”) compiled by Baogui 寶貴 in 597, and the *Jinguangming zuisheng jing* 金光明最勝王經 (“King of Glorious Sutras Called the Exalted Sublime of Golden Light”) translated by Yijing 義淨 (635-713) in 703. The original sutra is believed to have been established in about the fourth century, and has been gradually changed and elaborated, as in Yijing's version.

⁹⁸ Prods O. Skjærvø, *This Most Excellent Shine of Gold, King of Kings of Sutras : The Khotanese Suvarṇabhāṣottamasūtra*, 2 vols., vol. 1, Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures (Cambridge, Mass.: Dept. of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 2004), lii. The author also explains the history of the sutra in this book.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

In Hinayana Buddhism, “Sacheonwang was initially portrayed in Sakyamuni's teaching scenes as guardians of Mt. Meru, the center of Buddhist cosmos, then gradually developed into and settled as national patron deities”¹⁰⁰ in Mahayana. It is a common belief that Sacheonwang worship became popular as patriotism as it became a part of the religion with the advent of Mahayana sutras and wide recognition of the *Golden Light Sutra* as a state-protecting sutra. This change occurred as Lokapala came to be in charge of guarding rulers and also their people who were working on spreading Buddhist sutras, and they encouraged people to respect these sutras.¹⁰¹ In normative views of Korean and Japanese historians, these deities as protectors of the world became national patron deities in the Mahayana tradition. It has also been understood that the meaning of the *Golden Light Sutra* is based on the nation-protecting faith, and studies on the sutra have been conducted from this point of view.¹⁰²

With regard to this view, in East Asia, so far the importance of the *Golden Light Sutra* has been emphasized only by virtue of its chapter on Caturmaharaja, the Four Great Kings, because it states their function.¹⁰³ Due to this chapter, the sutra has also been regarded as one that makes popular Sacheonwang's name as “protectors of the world,”

¹⁰⁰ Yuji Dainobu 臺信祐爾, "Tonkō No Shitenno Zuzō 敦煌の四天王圖像 (an Iconographical Study of Lokapala Imagery in and around the Dunhuang Grottoes)," *Tōkyō kokurytsu hakubutsukan kiyō 東京國立博物館紀要 (Proceedings of the Tokyo National Museum)* 27(1991): 10. In this article, Yuji Dainobu focuses on the Lokapalas' role in protecting the world.

¹⁰¹ Yuji Dainobu enumerates the *Golden Light Sutra*, *Taiziruiying benqi jing* 太子瑞應本起經, *Ayuwangjing* 阿育王經, *Shitianwang jing* 四天王經, and *Fomu dakongqiaomingwang jing* 佛母大孔雀明王經 as sutras where the change can be seen (Ibid).

¹⁰² See Sanghyun Kim (1976); Malhwan Kim 김말환, "Geumgwangmyeonggyungui Yullisasanggwa Geu Hangukjeok Jeongae 금광명경의 윤리사상과 그 한국적 전개 (Ethics of the Golden Light Sutra and Its Development in Korea), M.A. Thesis" (Dongguk University, 1984).

¹⁰³ *Sitianwangpin* 四天王品 of fascicle 2 of , in *Jinguanmingjing* 金光明經 (*Taishō Tripitaka Vol. 16, No. 663*).

and thus as a root text for the Sacheonwang cult. The Sacheonwang monastery in Gyeongju, Korea, was established at a place where Myungnang, a Korean Tantric monk, had a ritual to save Silla at the point at which Tang invaded Silla. It is believed that it was this chapter upon which the Sacheonwang monastery in Gyeongju, Korea, was established on account of the Tang invasion of the Silla kingdom, and upon which Shitennōji in Osaka, Japan, was established as well.

There is a similar story in *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (“Biographies of Eminent Monks”) written by Huijiao 慧皎 in the Liang dynasty (502-557). He writes about Kāśyapa Mātanga (Shemoteng 攝摩騰 or Jiashemoteng 迦葉摩騰), the first Buddhist missionary from middle India, as follows. Shemoteng once taught the *Golden Light Sutra* in a country governed by India. At that moment the enemy of this country invaded the border. He said, “this sutra says that if you teach it, with the protection of the earth-god, the place where you are staying becomes peaceful and pleasant. Because the war is about to start, it will help.” Thereupon after aspiring to help, he went to the battlefield himself without concerns for his security, and suggested making peace. Finally the two countries became joyful with one another, and thereupon his rank increased.¹⁰⁴ The source cannot be trusted as a faithful record of events that took place in the time of Shemoteng, but it suggests that the sutra at least was popular with the nation-protecting faith in the Liang dynasty.

¹⁰⁴昔經往天竺附庸小國講金光明經。會敵國侵境。騰惟曰。經云。能說此經法。為地神所護。使所居安樂。今鋒鏑方始。曾是為益乎。乃誓以忘身。躬往和勸。遂二國交歡。(T50n2059, 0322c17-0322c20) http://www.cbeta.org/result2/normal/T50/2059_001.htm

In the chapter on the Four Great Kings, however, the kings “praise the sutra itself and promise their support to those who honor it.”¹⁰⁵ This is the real function of the four Maharajas emphasized in the *Golden Light Sutra*. This function is closely related to a practice unique to Buddhism: The Buddha emphasizes the importance of respecting, holding, writing, and teaching scriptures that contain specific teachings of the Buddha. Buddhist Lokapalas are deities who encourage this practice and protect practitioners engaging in this practice. This is the way in which the four Lokapalas protect the world.

Regarding confession practice, all three Chinese translations of the *Golden Light Sutra* include a chapter on confession. It is based on this chapter that the five practices of praise, confession, requesting teachings, rejoice, and dedication became Mahayana bodhisattvas' common practice. Teachings on confession and purification are fundamental in the *Golden Light Sutra*. Zhili 知禮 (960-1028) created a ritual called *Jingguangming zuisheng chanyi* 金光明最勝懺儀 (“Most Sublime Repentance of Golden Light”), based on the chapter on confession and purification of bad actions.¹⁰⁶ This is similar to the kaika ritual conducted in ancient Japan, and is still the basic practice in East Asia.

Buddhist sutras introduce the Four Great Kings in four or five ways, including their names and functions, as mentioned above. It is important to understand these roles in order to interpret their functions in individual art works. These guardians appear in

¹⁰⁵ Prods Oktor Skjærvø, *This most excellent shine of gold, king of kings of sutras : the Khotanese Suvarṇabhāṣottamasūtra*, Cambridge, Mass.: Dept. of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 2004, P. lii.

¹⁰⁶ Yi 이기영, *Buljeon Haeseol 불전해설 (Interpretation of Buddhist Scriptures)*, 183-84.

many Buddhist settings, such as stupas, sarira reliquaries, inside temples, and at temple gates. These different settings in which Lokapalas are represented or placed indicate different aspects of their role. This is why focusing solely on their function as national patron deities does not give a proper interpretation of what they do as art works.

Chapter II. Iconographic Origin of Lokapala

1. Some Points to Consider

The visual form of the directional guardians in India is composed of the usual features of Indian deities: their bodies show potent superiority, enhanced by jewelry and ornaments; attributes carried in their hands signify the character and role of the deity; the vehicles on which the gods are mounted exhibit another feature of their quality.¹⁰⁷

Lokapala images in India have the same aspect as the other directional deities mentioned above. They are represented in the image of contemporary Indian rulers. The deities normally have a naked upper body and wear a headdress with heavy ornaments and a loincloth on the lower body. They are ornamented with earrings, armlets, and bracelets. Their posture is calm and their hands are folded. They do not have distinctive individuality.

In East Asian Buddhist art, however, Lokapala are portrayed as warrior-like figures. They wear armor, sometimes with a helmet, crown, or topknot on the head, and they hold attributes of stupas and also weapons, such as swords, spears, or bows and arrows, in a threatening pose.¹⁰⁸ As far as iconography of armed Lokapalas is concerned, there are some Lokapala images in Central Asia that date as early as the fourth century C.E. These are the oldest known works of armed Lokapala.

¹⁰⁷ Wessels-Mevissen, *The Gods of the Directions in Ancient India: Origin and Early Development in Art and Literature (until C. 1000 A.D.)*, p.1.

¹⁰⁸ This is a major change because they are divinities in a religion whose iconography should be tied down in regulations. Lokapala were not indigenous Buddhist deities; Yuji Dainobu argues that they would have seemed somewhat freed from the regulations, and would have made the change possible (Yuji Dainobu 臺信祐爾, "Tonkō No Shitenno Zuzō 敦煌の四天王圖像 (Iconography of Lokapala in Dunhuang) " *Tokyo kokurytsu hakubutsukan kiyō* 東京國立博物館紀要 27(1992): 16.

One of the primary issues in dealing with the iconography of the East Asian Lokapala is figuring out when and where they started to be fully equipped with armor and weapons – an epochal transformation in the iconography. There is still controversy on the question of whether the practice began in Gandhara or in Central Asia. The normative view, however, is that armed Lokapala imagery started to be created in Central Asia, and then flourished in East Asian countries such as China, Korea, and Japan.

One important point that should be considered in tracing the origin of fully armed East Asian Lokapala is the iconographic evolution of Vaishravana. Vaishravana is the northern Lokapala of the Four Heavenly Kings. Even though he is one of the Lokapala, unlike the other three he has been worshiped independently. Before Lokapala became Buddhist guardian gods, they were indigenous gods of India. Vaishravana was Kubera, a deity of wealth, and after Buddhism was established he was absorbed into Buddhism. In India, this early type of northern Lokapala was called Kubera, as seen from inscriptions on the Lokapala images of the Bharhut stupa.

The single Kubera image normally holds a mongoose or a treasure purse and a stick. In East Asia there is one example of a Kubera-like Vaishravana image, at Yulin cave no. 15 in Anxi, China (fig. 2.49). The mongoose, stick, and his bare upper body indicate his origin as Kubera. However, the exotic image was not popular in East Asia, judging from the fact that the Vaishravana image as Kubera was not represented in East Asian art except for the instance mentioned above. Vaishravana as a warrior who wears armor like the other Lokapala, holds a spear and a small votive stupa, and stands on a dwarf-like figure, is probably the major iconographic form in East Asia (fig. 2.26-28).

Vaishravana's iconography in East Asia shows dramatic changes in comparison to the original image in India. For this reason there have been questions about the origins of the solitary Vaishravana image. There has been no such independent image of Vaishravana discovered in India. Therefore it is possible that the emergence of its single image, in particular the unique figure called '*Tobatsu Bishamonten*,' which I shall discuss below, was established in Central Asia from the Kushan dynasty onwards. The major discussion on the place of establishment of the single Vaishravana image is divided in two: one side that advocates Khotan and one side that advocates Gandhara.

From the beginning of the study of Vaishravana, Japanese scholars such as Minamoto Toyomune paid attention to Khotan as a birthplace of the single Vaishravana.¹⁰⁹ Tanabe Katsumi finds that this previous Japanese scholarship is not useful for examining the origin of Tobatsu Bishamonten, even though Khotanese images are important in that examination. She believes the scholarship is not useful because Tobatsu images of Khotan are dated from the fourth century onward, which is later than dating for Gandharan images that she argues to be the origin of the independent Vaishravana.¹¹⁰ Yet these Gandharan images are not yet confirmed to be the origin of the

¹⁰⁹ Besides Japanese scholars, the scholars who have drawn attention to Khotan are as follow. Joanna Williams argues that the identity of Vaishravana in local dress, boots, and probably armor was established in Khotan. In her article, Joanna Williams, "The Iconography of Khotanese Painting," *East and West* vol. 23, no. ½ (March-June 1973): pp. 132-34. Young Ae Lim 林玲愛 also argues that representation of armed Lokapala in armor with a dwarf-like vehicle was established in Khotan, in "Mujangheong sacheonwangsang-ui yeonwon jaego-gandara mit seoyeok-eul jungshim-euro 무장형 사천왕상의 연원 再考-간다라 및 서역을 중심으로- (A Reconsideration of the Origin of Armed Four Guardian King Sculptures - Focused on Gandhara and Central Asia)," *The MISULSA 강좌미술사* (The Art History Journal) 11 (1998), 77-97.

¹¹⁰ Tanabe 田辺勝美, *Bishamontenzō No Kigen 毘沙門天像の起源 (the Origin of the Vaiśravana Image)*, pp. 17-23.

independent Vaishravana. Until Tanabe's argument is confirmed with decisive images, the previous scholarship focused on Khotan is useful. Minamoto's opinion is still accepted as the most convincing: that the single image originated in Khotan and was transmitted to China via Kucha.¹¹¹

Phyllis Granoff and Tanabe Katsumi postulate that the first step of the Northern King's independence was with Lokapala images in Gandhara. However, there are differences in the specific images that function as grounds for their arguments. Granoff regards as the prototype of Vaishravana a Lokapala that wears the northern nomad clothing, the so-called Kushan costume, with a winged cap on the head, depicted in the scene "Offering of the Alms Bowl by Lokapala." And yet she regards Khotanese Vaishravana images as important in the iconographic history of Vaishravana because the images are in the fully developed form of Tobatsu Vaishravana's iconography.¹¹² Tanabe, on the other hand, proposes as the origin of Vaishravana one particular Lokapala wearing the Kushan costume and a headdress with a feather attached in the "Great Departure" scene.¹¹³ It is not easy, however, to accept either of these Gandharan images as a prototype or origin of Tobatsu Vaishravana, because they are very different from images made in East Asia. There should be a bridge image that links Gandhara and East Asia in the iconographic aspect. Thus, as Granoff acknowledged, Khotanese Vaishravana

¹¹¹ Minamoto 源豊宗, "Bishamontenzō No Kigen 毘沙門天像の起源 (Origin of Vaishravana Figure)," 40-55.

¹¹² Phyllis Granoff, "Tobatsu Bishamon: Three Japanese Statues in the United States and an Outline of the Rise of This Cult in East Asia," *East and West* 20, no. 1/2 (1970): 144-68.

¹¹³ Katsumi Tanabe 田辺勝美, "Bishamontenzō No Kigen 毘沙門天像の起源 (the Origin of Tobatshubishamonten/ Vaiśravana Image)," *Bulletin of the Ancient Orient Museum* 1(1979): 95-145;.

images are still important in examining the origin of the iconography of the armed Vaishravana and Lokapala.

According to Buddhist scriptures before Tantra, however, the grounds for the Northern King's independence from Lokapalas and need for establishment of a single cult of the deity is not found. In the texts, the role of the King of the North is not distinguished from that of the other three, even though he is described as the leader of the group. However, the presence of Vaishravana as a single deity was adopted from the pre-Buddhist tradition. For this reason I would rather see the issue in reverse. Even though the emergence of the single Vaishravana in the Buddhist pantheon is a subject matter for art historians, he had already been worshiped independently before being accepted to Buddhism as one of four Lokapalas. It is more likely that he was adopted from his pre-Buddhist origin rather than becoming independent from the four Lokapalas. Therefore his single cult within Buddhism does not seem to be an invention. The more important fact to be considered is a possibility that his iconographic development influenced the new formation of the iconography of armed Lokapalas wherever it happened, which I will discuss in the present chapter.

Although the research of Phyllis Granoff and Tanabe Katsumi is insightful, the example works that they provide as the grounds for their argument do not seem decisive. It seems likely that the argument on the origin of warrior-type Lokapala and Vaishravana goes around in circles, prompting us to wait for a discovery of the decisive pieces in Gandhara, which would directly link the origin and its successors in East Asia. And there is another fact that could make the arguments of Phyllis Granoff and Tanabe Katsumi

weak: Gandharan-style armed Vaishravana has not yet been discovered in Central Asia.¹¹⁴ Thus it is worthwhile to pay attention to Khotan as a birthplace of armed Vaishravana.

When considering the process of iconographic changes of armed Lokapala and Vaishravana in Central Asia and China, it becomes clear what kind of iconography was transmitted from India to Central Asia or China. Iconographic changes are based on the conventional form, which is transmitted from the previous region. For example, the iconographic change into the Chinese style is based on the Central Asian or Indian style; the Central Asian style is based on the Indian. If there had been Vaishravana or Lokapala images clad in armor in India or Gandhara, these images should have been discovered not only in these regions but also in Central Asia or China, places where the Indic iconography was transmitted. Yet there is no image of the deities clad in Indic-style armor.

Lokapala's wearing armor in Central Asia is like clothing reform. This is not reform of the style from Gandharan to local, but from dhoti, the Indic dress for the deities, to armor. As I will discuss in Chapter 4, there is a good example showing the process of the reform of Buddha's robe and Lokapala's armor in China. In China, Buddha's robe was Sinicized in the late fifth century to early sixth century; Lokapala's armor was

¹¹⁴ The fact that there is no Lokapala image holding a stupa in mainland India and Gandhara is taken by Youngae Lim as one of reasons that make it hard for Vaishravana's iconography to be linked directly to India or Gandhara. Youngae Lim 임영애, "Bukbang Damuncheon-Ui Botap Dosang Haeseok: Dosang Hyeongseong Wonin-Gwa Won•Goryo Ijeon-Ui Yangsang 북방 다문천의 보탑 도상 해석: 도상 형성 원인과 원•고려 이전의 양상 (Analysis of the Stupa Icons of Vaiśravana: The Origin and Development of the Iconography of Vaiśravana Holding a Stupa before the Yuan and Kōryō Dynasties," *Misulsawa Shigak Munhwa 미술사와 시각문화 (Art History and Visual Culture)* 9(2010): pp. 86-115.

Sinicized in the early seventh century. Before the reform, Buddha images were clad in an Indian- or Central Asian-style robe, and Lokapala images wore India-originated dhoti or Central Asian-style armor. However, there is no such procedure in Central Asia. This circumstance clearly shows that there is no image of armed Lokapala before Lokapala is equipped with armor in Central Asia.

Also, until decisive visual evidence is found, the Gandharan origin of armed Vaishnavana is not supported in an approach to the issue from other perspectives, such as religious traditions and the artistic atmosphere in each area. Answers may not be found only from insufficient art works extant today.

In this sense we should consider the religious differences between Buddhism in India and in East Asia, which had an influence on the iconography of deities and may explain why they are different in these two regions. The Lokapala cult should be considered important; different faith or different understanding of the function of Lokapala would make its iconography different. In this respect, it should be noticed that the East Asian Lokapalas share their iconographic features, mentioned above, with Tibetan Lokapala.¹¹⁵ This is very interesting, judging from the fact that Tibetan Buddhism is much closer to Indian Buddhism than Chinese, by virtue of its direct influence by India in terms of cult and iconography of deities.¹¹⁶ It is later in the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368) that the Tibetan tradition and Chinese Buddhism really came into

¹¹⁵ It should be noted here, however, that the early images of Tibetan Lokapalas extant today are dated only back to the twelfth century, and there are no art works to compare to Indian and Chinese images that date as early as the fourth or fifth century.

¹¹⁶ In Tibet there are many images of terrifying deities that look different from Lokapalas. The terrifying images appear in a non-human shape, which is similar to that of Indian images, while the Lokapalas look more like warriors in human form.

contact, mainly with Tibetan influence on Chinese Buddhism. Regardless, they share Lokapala iconography in terms of armor and attributes.

Taking into account the development of Tibetan Buddhism and its shared iconography of armed Lokapala with East Asia, there is a possible scenario of the origin and spread of warrior-type iconography of Lokapala, as follows. The iconography of Indian-ruler-type Lokapala was first created as early as the second century B.C.E. in India, and was transmitted to Central Asia and China. Afterwards the iconography of a warrior-type Lokapala, newly created in Central Asia, spread to China and might have been brought back to India where the new iconography was standardized between the fifth and ninth centuries, as seen in *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, a manual of art, discussed below. Then the warrior-type Lokapala iconography was transmitted to Tibet through India with Tantric texts, even though warrior-type iconography was not that popular in India. The artistic atmosphere to create new iconographies was lacking in India, where “the force of tradition is strong.”¹¹⁷

Another fact that should be considered when the religious tradition is accounted for in the iconographic evolution is that Tibetan Buddhism and Chinese Buddhism share the tradition of Mahayana, including esoteric Buddhism as a further development of Mahayanism. They probably shared specific literature that for a religious reason describes Lokapala as warrior-like in appearance. This assumption in turn suggests that

¹¹⁷ A. K. Coomaraswamy writes “Indian art like other arts has always by preference made use of existing types, rather than invented or adopted wholly new ones. The case is exactly parallel to that of religious development, in which the past always survives. We have to do with a conscious sectarian adaptation, accompanied by an unconscious, or at least unintentional, stylistic evolution.” Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas* (New Delhi,: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1971), 29.

the iconographic features of warrior-like Lokapala images were developed in the Mahayana tradition, in which the Lokapala cult became diverse. In Hinayana Buddhism, the deities are frequently mentioned in the scriptures, but there are not many art works of independent Lokapala extant today. The images do not have individuality with attributes, as seen in early Indian Buddhist art. In their Indian homeland they appear “as a collective group of the fourfold directional guardian in attendance on the Buddha,” and are all “one member of the stereotyped Maharajika group” in terms of iconography.¹¹⁸ This might be because in this tradition Lokapala images were not necessarily made independently for religious practice. Distinct themes of Buddhist art are preferred respectively by each Buddhist tradition, such as Hinayana, Mahayana, and Vajrayana. For example, it was when Mahayana Buddhism superseded Hinayana that Jataka stories, popular themes of Buddhist art in Central Asia, stopped development and vanished as a source of inspiration for artists.¹¹⁹

Lokapala representation, which developed in Hinayana Buddhism, is very similar to Indian antiquities dated back to the second century B.C.E., as seen in the Bharhut stupa below (fig. 2.1). Later works of Lokapala in South Asia show that their iconography retained its traits from India, without changes. For example, fragments of wall paintings of the Four Directional Guardians excavated at Mahivangana in Ceylon show that iconography of these gods in South Asia developed differently from those in East Asia

¹¹⁸ P.K. Agrawala, "The Kumbhanda Overlord Virudhaka," in *Ratna-Chandrikā : Panorama of Oriental Studies : Shri R.C. Agrawala Festschrift*, ed. R. C. Agrawala, Devendra Handa, and Ashvini Agrawal (New Delhi: Harman Pub. House, 1989), 67 (67-74).

¹¹⁹ Simone Gaulier; Robert Jera-Bezard; Monique Maillard, *Buddhism in Afghanistan and Central Asia Part 1 Introduction - Buddha – Bodhisattva*, Iconography of Religions Series Sect. 13: Indian Religions (Leiden: Brill, 1976), p. 7.

(fig. 2.2). Mahivangana, an early Buddhist site on the east bank of the Mahaveli River, was excavated in 1951. The Lokapala paintings are dated to the eighth or ninth century due to their style, while other objects are dated to the eleventh century.¹²⁰ The iconic difference between South Asia and East Asia reflects the religious status of divinity in each area, as mentioned in the previous chapter.

For the above reasons, it is worth dealing with what Lokapala looked like in ancient India to see if we can find a clue as to where warrior-type Lokapala originated. From the Indian tradition of Lokapala image making, we can find one important point: that the people who created these deities' iconography in India regarded them as Indian rulers, judging from the way the artists depict the deities. Even though the new iconography of Lokapala, the warrior image, was created in Central Asia, the local authority responsible for the creation seemed to want these deities to look like rulers; this tendency seemed to influence the formation of the new iconography. For this reason, in the present chapter, I will conduct two examinations: a brief look into the general iconographic features of the Indian Lokapala and an investigation of the iconographic evolution of Vaishnavana, in an effort to trace the iconographic origin of fully armed East Asian Lokapalas with armor and specific attributes.

2. Iconography of Lokapala in India

The early representation of Lokapala in India is the two guardian figures with the inscriptions “kupiro yakho” and “virudako yakho” on the Buddhist stupa at Bharhut,

¹²⁰ William E. Ward, "Recently Discovered Mahiyangana Paintings," *Artibus Asiae* 15, No. 1/2: 108-13.

dating to the second century B.C.E. (fig. 2.1).¹²¹ Virudhaka and Vaishravana reliefs on the Bharhut stupa are the oldest works of Lokapala, as well as the only example in India with inscriptions.¹²² Lokapalas of the Bharhut Stupa have a significant meaning in the iconographic history of Lokapalas; from them we can obtain information about what the contemporary Lokapala looked like in India. The inscriptions give us an impression that the origins of Lokapala are Yakshas, which are non-Aryan spirits, or *geni*. The appearance of Lokapala in Buddhist art as in Bharhut and in Sanchi, as seen below, indicates that the folk religion was assimilated into Buddhism. Images of Lokapala derived initially from images of Yakshas in the pre-Buddhist tradition.

Imagery of Lokapala in India is divided into three groups, depending on their function within art works that depict Lokapala: gatekeepers or guardians of stupas, worshippers of the Buddha; and assistants mainly appearing on narrative panels about Buddha's legends.¹²³ The tradition of Indian art in which Yakshas are depicted as attendants, guardians, and worshippers¹²⁴ is alive in these representations of Lokapala.

On the stupa of Bharhut, Lokapalas standing with folded hands wear a turban on the head, with naked upper body and a loincloth called *dhoti* on the lower body. They are

¹²¹ Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bharhut: A Buddhist Monument Ornamented with Numerous Sculptures Illustrative of Buddhist Legend and History in the Third Century B. C.*, 20.; Gouriswar Bhattacharya, "Dāna-Deyadharma: Donation in Early Buddhist Records (in Brāhmī)," in *Investigating Indian Art : Proceedings of a Symposium on the Development of Early Buddhist and Hindu Iconography, Held at the Museum of Indian Art Berlin in May 1986*, ed. Marianne Yaldiz, Wibke Lobo, and Museum für Indische Kunst (Germany) (Berlin: Museum für Indische Kunst : Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 1987), 39-60.

¹²² Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, 65-67.

¹²³ Hyang Sook Kim 金香淑, "Indo No Shitenno No Zuzō Teki Tokuchō インドの四天王の圖像的特徴 (a Study of Four Lokapala Iconography in India) the Mikkyō Zuzō (the Journal of Buddhist Iconography)," 15(1996-10): 4.

¹²⁴ Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, 28-29.

adorned with headdress, earrings, and bracelets. This appearance makes them look as if they are the contemporary secular rulers of India.¹²⁵ Lokapala images with these features appear on the first and fourth stupa of Sanchi in middle India (fig. 2.3 and 2.4). Ananda Coomaraswamy identified the Yakshas with a lotus in hand at Sanchi as guardians (*dvārapālas*).¹²⁶ These gatekeepers or guardians of the stupa at Sanchi¹²⁷ are considered to be Lokapalas by some scholars because they are put on guard at the entrance of the four gates of the stupa.¹²⁸ The Lokapalas of the Sanchi stupa, and gatekeepers of the western caves in India not only are close in date; they also share common iconographic elements such as turbans, loincloths, and ornaments, which are the Indian ruler's iconic factors, and attributes of a flower.

With regard to the armed Lokapala, it is worth pointing out that a guardian on the south pillars of the west gate at the Sanchi stupa is holding a spear in his left hand (fig. 2.4), whereas Lokapalas on the Bharhut stupa do not have weapons. Lokapalas on narrative panels discovered in Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda also hold weapons – a dagger or a spear (fig. 2.7-1 and 2.8). Guardians holding weapons including spear, bow,

¹²⁵ Lokapala images are comparable to Indian ruler images because Lokapala are human beings who have visible bodies, whereas deities are spiritual beings who can only be represented by borrowing physical forms. The opposite is written, however, in *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*: “A king (ruler of the earth) is to be depicted just like a god. In the case of kings (however), the hairs on the body should be drawn one by one.” For more detail see Stella Kramrisch, *The Viṣṇudharmottara (Part Iii) a Treatise on Indian Painting and Image-Making*, 2d rev. and enl. ed. (Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1928), p. 53.

¹²⁶ Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, 30.

¹²⁷ With the premise that these paired figures are usually identified as *dvarapalas* (door guardians) due to their presence at the entrances to the sacred precinct, Susan Huntington suggests that they are probably bodhisattvas. See Susan L. Huntington and John C. Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India : Buddhist, Hindu, Jain*, 1st ed. (New York: Weatherhill, 1985), 97.

¹²⁸ Akira Miyaji 宮治昭, *Indo Bijutsushi インド美術史 (Art History of India)*, Rekishi Bunka Serekushon (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2009), 45. In India Lokapala is difficult to identify due to the fact that it shares iconography with bodhisattvas and gatekeepers.

and arrow also appear in the veranda and interior of vihara XIX¹²⁹ and on the doorway of vihara IV at Bhaja in western India (fig. 2.5). These images at Bhaja cave are wearing rather unique tunics and elaborate headdresses and ornaments and are holding spears.

In narrative panels on Buddha's life, female attendants are also represented as holding weapons. In the *Lalitavistara*, attendants appear as vital to everyday life of kings and royal householders. Among these attendants are women working as guards, carrying spears,¹³⁰ as shown in Gandhara narrative panels (fig. 2.9 and 2.10). Thus, holding weapons is not a feature specific to Lokapala, but simply signifies that the weapon bearer is a guard. However, it should be noted that the scene in which Lokapalas appear is the Dream of Queen Maya. This is in correspondence to a Buddhist scripture. According to *Genben shuoyiqieyoubu pinaiyepo sengshi* 根本說一切有部毘奈耶破僧事 “Fundamental Sravastivada Vinaya on Division of Sangha Community” (Sk. Mulasarvastivada Vinaya): “When the Bodhisattva enters his mother's womb, Indra sends the Four Maharajas to guard her. One of them holds a sharp sword, one of them holds reins, one of them holds a spear, and one of them holds a bow and arrow.”¹³¹

The second place where Lokapala images appear is scenes in which they are worshipping symbols of the Buddha such as the Bodhi tree, Dharma wheel, and the Buddha's footprints. These symbols were produced to represent Buddha's presence in the

¹²⁹ Vidya Dehejia, *Early Buddhist Rock Temples; a Chronology*, Studies in Ancient Art and Archaeology (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1972), pls. 9-13.

¹³⁰ Sarla Khosla, *Lalitavistara and the Evolution of Buddha Legend*, 1st ed. (New Delhi: Galaxy Publications, 1991), pp. 69-70.

¹³¹ Taishō Tripitaka Vol. 24 No. 1450, 0107c01-0107c03 “復次菩薩降母胎時.釋提桓因即遣四天王神營衛其母.而此四神一執利刀.一執罽索.一執於戟.一執弓箭.何以故.恐諸惡魔得其母便.”, in *Taishō Tripitaka*

aniconic period, during which anthropomorphic Buddha images were not created. The scenes are found in central India, for example Sanchi, and southern India, for example Amaravati.¹³² On the front of the south pillar of the east gate at the first stupa of Sanchi, there appear Lokapalas worshipping Buddha's enlightenment (fig. 2.6). These four males all look like ancient Indian Kings, wearing turbans on their heads and *dhoti* on the lower body, with an upper body naked though beautified with ornaments. These figures are interpreted as Lokapalas.¹³³ Lokapalas worshipping Buddha's symbolic presence discovered in Amaravati have the same appearance as Lokapalas of Bharhut and Sanchi, as mentioned above.¹³⁴

The third category of works in which Lokapalas appear is the narrative panels illustrating the legend of the Buddha. Lokapalas are represented at every important moment of Shakyamuni Buddha's life, eager to assist him, as mentioned in the previous chapter. Scenes in which Lokapalas are depicted are related to the Nativity of Buddha, Queen Maya's Dream, the Interpretation of the Dream and Buddha's Birth, the Great Departure, and Offering of the Alms Bowl by the Four Lokapalas.

For example, Lokapalas appear on a narrative panel from Amaravati, "one of the most sculpturally sophisticated and most creative centers of the Buddhist narrative

¹³² Kim 金香淑, "Indo No Shitenno No Zuzō Teki Tokuchō インドの四天王の圖像的特徴 (a Study of Four Lokapala Iconography in India) the Mikkyō Zuzō (the Journal of Buddhist Iconography)," 4-5.

¹³³ John Hubert Marshall, A. Foucher, and Nani Gopal Majumdar, *The Monuments of Sāñchi*, 3 vols. (London, Probsthain, 1940), PLATE 51. Miyaji Akira 宮治昭 Miyaji, "Indono Kodaishogi Bisutsuno Komazodono Shusou インドの古代初期美術の降魔成道の諸像 (Images of Buddha's Enlightenment of the Early Ancient India)," *Nagoya Daigaku Bungakubu kenkyū ronshū*. 名古屋大學文學部研究論集 120(1994): 196.

¹³⁴ These works in southern India are dated to the almost same period as are works in which the Buddha figures have anthropomorphic representation. Kim, p. 6.

tradition in India,”¹³⁵ which describe the conception and nativity of Siddhartha (fig. 2.7). There are four scenes separated by architectural elements on the panel: upper level from right, the Dream of Queen Maya and the Interpretation of the Dream; bottom level from right, Buddha’s Birth and Presentation of the Child to the Sakya Temple.

In the Dream of Queen Maya, the queen sleeps on the bed in the center, and one female attendant sleeps, leaning on a stool. Lokapalas guard the four corners of the room. It is normal at Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda for the Lokapalas to appear at the four corners of the room, in the Dream of Queen Maya. They are all sitting on the ground, wearing turbans on their heads and *dhoti* on their lower bodies, with naked upper bodies. Their appearance is similar to that of King Sudhodana, who is the largest figure in the Interpretation of the Dream. At the lower right, in the Buddha’s Birth, the deities appear again. The queen stands under the asoka-tree, holding its branch in her left hand, making a posture much like earlier representations of tree spirits, or Yakshinis, as on the Bharhut stupa. To her right side Lokapalas stand, holding out a cloth to receive the Buddha infant, miraculously born out of her right side. The stool between the deities and the Queen represents the bath of the baby Buddha. It is easy to identify these scenes dealing with the main events in the Buddha’s life because they had become standardized at Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda.¹³⁶ In the panel one figure is regarded as behind the next by means

¹³⁵ In addition, Amaravati sculpture shows consistent development in pattern from an early phase to its decline. For more detail, see Elizabeth Rosen Stone, *The Buddhist Art of NāGārjunakoṇḍā*, 1st ed., Buddhist Tradition Series (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1994), 21-24.

¹³⁶ *The Buddhist Art of NāGārjunakoṇḍā*, 1st ed., Buddhist Tradition Series (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1994), 43.

of linear perspective, and the carving of each figure is deep, indicating much space.¹³⁷

The pillar-like architectural device dividing space into a few scenes, linear perspective, and undercutting are used in another example from Amaravati (fig. 2.7-2)

Lokapalas appear on narrative panels discovered in Nagarjunakonda (fig. 2.8), whose art is a bridge that stylistically links “the fully developed Amaravati of the second century A.D. and the florescence of Gupta style of North India in the fifth century.”¹³⁸ On the panel from the right side there are three scenes: the Dream of Queen Maya, the Interpretation of the Dream, and Buddha’s Birth. Lokapalas appear in the first scene: in the Dream of Queen Maya, in the center of the panel is the Queen on the bed and at either side of the bed are standing Lokapalas. On the far right of the scene a Lokapala holds a spear in his right hand, and both Lokapalas on the left side holds daggers in the right hand. Two deities close to the bed stand in almost frontal view; the other two deities, on the far right and far left, stand in profile, facing the Queen. In the other example of the Dream of Queen Maya, detail of āyaka panel 2 from Site 9 in Nagarjunakonda,¹³⁹ Lokapalas stand at the four corners of the room. A spear is held by a Lokapala on the top left of the scene, and a mace is held by each of two Lokapalas on either side of the lower level. In the same scene from Amaravati, one of the Lokapalas stands at the upper left and holds a dagger leaning against his right shoulder (fig. 2.7-1).

Even though the Lokapalas hold weapons in these scenes, they do not look menacing. This might suggest that the weapons are not for actual fighting, but to signify

¹³⁷ *The Buddhist Art of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā*, 70.

¹³⁸ *The Buddhist Art of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā*, 21.

¹³⁹ *The Buddhist Art of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā*, pl. 83.

that they are guards. With regard to this, we need to recall that in the early phase of iconographic development in East Asia, even though Lokapalas are wearing armor and holding weapons, their attitude is more like bodhisattvas in peace and calm.

Narrative panels that depict Lokapalas were also produced at Buddhist temples in Gandhara. Themes are Queen Maya's dream, the Nativity and Seven Steps, the Great Departure of the Prince, and The Offering of the Alms Bowls by the Four Lokapalas. Because the Nativity is a basic theme in Buddhist art, it is represented in Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda and Gandhara. Yet there is a difference between them: It is represented without the child in Indian art, and with the child later in Gandhara (fig. 2.11).¹⁴⁰ However, Lokapalas are not depicted in the Nativity scenes at Gandhara. For example, there are two sculptures of the Dream of Queen Maya in Gandhara (fig. 2.9 and 2.10). In these scenes the queen is sleeping in a bed, and female attendants standing on either side of the Queen are on guard; one of the attendants holds a sword and a staff.

In regard to the absence of Lokapala in these scenes in Gandhara, Hyangsook Kim suggests that the Nativity subjects are related to a regional preference: Lokapala appear in scenes of Buddha's Nativity in southern India such as Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda, while they are never represented in the same scene in Gandhara; instead they appear in Gandhara in scenes of before and after the Buddha's enlightenment, in particular scenes of the alms bowl.¹⁴¹ Kim explains the popularity of Lokapalas in

¹⁴⁰ Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, p. 34 footnote 1.

¹⁴¹ See Hyangsook 金香淑 Kim, "Minami Indo No Iwayuru Senmu No Futsuden Bamen Ni Tsuite 南インドのいわゆる「占夢」の仏伝場面について-四天王の図像を中心に (Scenes So Called Explanation of

Southern India with the regional characteristics of Andhra Pradesh: that the Lokapala originates from the Yaksha, non-Aryan spirits, or *geni*, as inscribed on a Bharhut stupa in spite of the fact that almost all the residents of Andhra are non-Aryan.¹⁴² Lokapalas are represented on the narrative panels illustrating the Buddha's life at Mathura, as well, even though they are few.¹⁴³

The Great Departure (*Mahabhinishkramana*) is one of the significant events of Shakyamuni Buddha's life that is represented on narrative panels in central, south, and north India (fig. 2.12-2.17). In the scene on the stupa of Sanchi, the prince is not depicted; and there is space on his horse's back, his presence implied by the umbrella. Works at Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda show a very similar composition, but figures in the scene of the Nagarjunakonda version are carved very shallowly. In the center the prince is Siddhartha on horseback, leaving to seek enlightenment. His groom Chandaka holds an umbrella above the prince. There are two figures ahead of the horse: the figure far from the horse expresses his joy by means of a dancing pose; the figure close to the horse leads it. The horse's hoofs are supported by Yakshas, so that people will not be awakened in the palace. The other figures are celestial beings that have come to witness his renunciation from the material world.

The Great Departure was one of the themes popular in Gandhara, the north of India, and there are many art works on this theme that exist today. On the Gandhara

a Dream in Southern India: Focusing on Lokapalas' Iconography)," *Bukkyo geijutsu (Ars buddhica)* 佛教藝術 226(1996,5): 85-115.

¹⁴² Hyangsook Kim, p. 108

¹⁴³ Vinay Kumar Gupta, *Buddhism in Mathura : A Detailed Study of Buddhist Tradition, Archaeology, and Art*, 1st ed. (Delhi: Bharatiya Kala Prakashan, 2009), figs. 9 and 40g.

works the composition is quite simple (fig. 2.15-2.17). Vajrapani at the back of the procession has just appeared in Gandhara. Two figures ahead of the horse look more serious than the Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda examples. The difference between the works in Southern India and Gandhara is that in the Gandharan works the figures are frontal. The prince on horseback in the center looks as if he is exiting the panel (fig. 2.17). However, a figure on the right side of the horse, which is ahead of the horse in Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda, wears armor and holds a bow. It is important to identify the figure in armor because he is central to the proposal by Tanabe Katsumi that the origin of Tobatsu Vaishnavana in armor was in Gandhara as discussed below.

Narrative panels of Buddha's life have some figures wearing armor and holding weapons, which have all been identified as Mara or his retinues. According to Buddhist sutras they appear in scenes of the Great Departure and Mara's Temptation. The fact that Mara and his retinues are only wearing armor with weapons and are not beautified with ornaments is probably because they are not deities. In the Indian idea, "only things covered with ornaments are beautiful," and "the simple appearance without ornament is poor, disgraceful and shocking, except in the case of an ascetic."¹⁴⁴ This idea is helpful in identifying the figure in armor as Mara rather than as Vaishnavana, taking into account that fully armed Vaishnavana imagery in later art works exhibits aspects of royalty, such

¹⁴⁴ Because "the jewels and ornaments served as amulets for protection," making an offering without decoration – which even in the first place had magical purpose – "would be an insult to the divinity." See Heinrich Robert Zimmer, Joseph Campbell, and Eliot Elisofon, *The Art of Indian Asia, Its Mythology and Transformations*, 2nd ed., 2 vols., Bollingen Series (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1968), 236.

as a cross-belt on the chest, the attribute of an ideal king, and crowns carved with an avian creature, as shown below.

Details of these scenes of the Shakyamuni Buddha's life, however, vary in their textual sources. For example, the figures who hold out a cloth for the infant Buddha and bathes him in the Nativity scene are sometimes Brahma and Indra and at other times Lokapala. In the scene of the Great Departure the figures who support the horse's feet are either Lokapalas or Yakshas.¹⁴⁵ In representations of the Great Departure, it is complicated to identify a figure ahead of the horse on which the prince is riding; it is also difficult to notice if the figure leads the horse or blocks it. The figure has been identified as Mara obstructing the prince's way, Indra leading the horse, or Vaishravana also leading the horse with Indra.

Identification of this figure as Mara initially was made by Foucher. He concludes that the warrior image holding a bow and arrow in the Great Departure scene in Gandhara is Mara, basing his discussion on the Great Departure chapter of the original version of *Lalitavistara* in Sanskrit and its translation in French.¹⁴⁶ Wibke Lobe questions Foucher's argument, identifying the figure as Indra. Lobe's claim is based on statements related to Indra's activities in *Lalitavistara*, such as "opening the palace gate and showing

¹⁴⁵ The reason that Yakshas are represented as supporting the four legs of Kanthaka on the scene of the Great Departure is that Yakshas play a role of bearers, or supports as bearers, of the their Lord. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, p. 8.

¹⁴⁶ A. Foucher, "Les Bas-Reliefs Gréco-Bouddhiques Du Gandhâra" (Thèse, Imprimerie nationale, E. Leroux, Univ. de Paris., 1905). informed by Tanabe 田辺勝美, *Bishamontenzō No Kigen 毘沙門天像の起源 (the Origin of the Vaiśravana Image)*, pp. 75-102. This identification is still used, for example, as seen in Indian Museum. and R. C. Sharma, *Gandhara Sculpture*, Album of Art Treasures (Calcutta: Indian Museum, 1987), pp. 5-6.

the way” or “guarding the prince.”¹⁴⁷ It is Tanabe Katsumi who identifies the figure as Vaishravana, based on a statement in the fourth fascicle of *Puyaojing* 普曜經 “Universal Glorious Sutra”: that when the prince departs his palace, “Indra and Pishamentian (Vaishravana) are in front and leading him.”¹⁴⁸

Yet it should be noted that previous scholarship on *Lalitavistara* does not seem helpful for Tanabe: As discussed in Chapter 1, it has been doubted that *Puyaojing* was translated from *Lalitavistara* whereas *Fanguang da zhuangyan jing* 方廣大莊嚴經 “Enlarged Great Ornament Sutra” is accepted as a translation. The chapter on the Departure, in the sixth fascicle of *Fanguang da zhuangyan jing*, also states that Brahma and Indra (Sakra) opened and showed the precious way. Furthermore, the passage from *Puyaojing* used by Tanabe – “Indra and Pishamentian are in front and leading him” – does not exist in *Lalitavistara* translated from the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit into English. There are only these passages: Vaishravana saying to the Yakshas, “I will go in front, you will lead the horse”¹⁴⁹; Sakra saying, “I will open the gates and show the way”¹⁵⁰; and “while ahead of him, Sakra and Brahma showed (him), ‘this is the way’”¹⁵¹ as Lobe cites.

¹⁴⁷ Wibke Lobo, “Der Bogenträger in Den Weltluft-Darstellungen Der Gandhara-Reliefs,” in *Zeitschrift Der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft Supplement* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1985), pp. 430-37.

¹⁴⁸ 天帝毘沙門天王而在前導 *Taishō Tripitaka* Vol. 3 No. 186, 0507b06 (http://www.cbeta.org/result/normal/T03/0186_004.htm). For more detail, See Tanabe 田辺勝美, “Bishamontenzō No Kigen 毘沙門天像の起源 (the Origin of Tobatshubishamonten/ Vaiśravaṇa Image),” p. 112.; *The Origin of the Vaisravana Image*, Tokyo: Sankibō-Busshorin, 2006. Masaaki 松浦正昭 Matsuura, *Bishamontenzō 毘沙門天像 (Vaishravana Image)*, Nihon No Bijutsu (Tōkyō: Shibundō 至文堂, 1992). Tanabe criticizes his argument as lacking in logic: his failure to consider the iconographical characteristics of the figure discussed, and his misunderstanding of literary evidence. For more detail, see Tanabe Katsumi Tanabe 田辺勝美, *Butsuzō No Kigen Ni Manabu Sei to Shi*, Shohan. ed. (Kyōto-shi: Yanagihara Shuppan, 2006), 111-13.

¹⁴⁹ Bijoya Goswami, *Lalitavistara*, P. 192

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, P. 193.

¹⁵¹ Ibid, P. 209.

Therefore it seems that Tanabe should first prove *Puyaojing* was a translation of *Lalitavistara* in order to give her argument firm ground.

The different identifications imply that it is not easy to identify deities represented in these scenes. However, there is one scene that is confirmed by Buddhist scriptures, in which only the four Lokapalas are involved: the Offering of the Alms Bowl by the Four Lokapalas (fig. 2.18). The scene is as follows. After Shakyamuni Buddha attained enlightenment following forty-nine days of fasting, two merchants wished to offer him food. At this moment each Lokapala offered a bowl for Buddha to receive the food.¹⁵² Buddha's bowl became one of his relics and was on display to be seen and touched in Gandhara, along with other relics such as the *uṣṇīṣa*, a portion of the skull of the Buddha.¹⁵³ Faxian (法顯, 337 – c. 422 C.E.), in his account *Foguoji* 佛國記 ("A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms") describes the scene: "Buddha's alms-bowl is in Purushapura....When it is nearly noon, before their mid-day meal, the monks bring out the bowl so that laymen may make every kind of offering." Faxian also writes about his companion pilgrims making offerings to the bowl and other relics of the Buddha.¹⁵⁴ Faxian's accounts indicate the importance of the Buddha's alms bowl in the Gandhara area. Many art works illustrating the Buddha's alms bowl in Gandhara also exhibit the

¹⁵² See footnote 74 in Chapter 1 of this thesis.

¹⁵³ Kurt A. Behrendt argues that shrines to store and display relics were important elements of Gandharan sacred areas, in which there is a shrine, an "openable stupa" to secure relics when they were not on display, and a high throne (platform) to display them. See Kurt A. Behrendt, *The Buddhist Architecture of Gandhāra*, Handbook of Oriental Studies Section Two, India, (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2004), 61-73.

¹⁵⁴ Faxian (Trans. Li Yung-his), "A Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms," (Beijing: Chinese Buddhist Association, 1957, 1957), pp. 27-29.

religious significance of the begging bowl.¹⁵⁵ It is not difficult to assume that this subject was preferred in the region.

In this scene the deities are paired on either side of the Buddha. They have naked upper bodies with pendants on their necks, wear “heavenly” silks, rich ornamented headdresses on their heads, armlets on their arms, bracelets on their wrists, and *dhoti* on their lower bodies. They look exactly like the Lokapalas that appear on the stupas at Bharhut and Sanchi. These iconic characteristics also can be found in images of the ancient Indian Yakshas and Yakshis on the Bharhut stupa.

The Lokapalas that appear on the narrative panels on Buddha’s life are divided into two groups: in one group the four deities share iconographic features with one another; in the other group one Lokapala is distinguished by wearing a headdress with a feather and clothing of the northern nomads or armor (fig. 2.17 and 2.18). The Offering of the Alms Bowl by the Four Lokapalas is dated to the early Kushan period: from the late second to third century. In the latter group there are few works extant today, and these were discovered only in Gandhara. Yet Phyllis Granoff considers them to be important. The figure on the right side of the Buddha (fig. 2.18), who wears a typical northern costume, is situated at the center of her proposal that the prototype of Tobatsu Vaishnavana was in the Kushan realm, and that an independent votive tradition developed within this realm. She argues that this iconography began to develop in the interest of

¹⁵⁵ According to Hyangsook Kim, the subject of 20 out of 25 panels extant today in Gandhara is the alms bowl. Kim 金香淑, "Indo No Shitenno No Zuzō Teki Tokuchō インドの四天王の圖像的特徴 (a Study of Four Lokapala Iconography in India) the Mikkyō Zuzō (the Journal of Buddhist Iconography)," p. 10.

depicting Pancika, a male deity of fertility and plenty who appears to be the Indian counterpart to Pharo, the Iranian deity representing “kingly glory.”¹⁵⁶

It should be pointed out that Mara and his soldiers were not the only figures wearing armor produced in Gandhara. The others are identified as *skanda*, a god of war, and doorkeepers, *dvarapalas*. For example, there is a stucco guardian figure (*dvarapala*) discovered at a Thareli site in Gandhara (fig. 2.19). The guardian seated on a lion, which is rarely paired with a guardian, is wearing armor, holding a mace in his right hand, and surrounded by a halo. This figure is one of a pair of guardians on either side of the entrance to cell II of the D60 mountain vihara. Ten coins of the mid-Kushan period were discovered in the vihara. The same kinds of coins had been excavated mostly in Mekhasanda site within the Gandharan basin where the Thareli site is located. Judging from the rate of excavated stone and stucco, excavated coins, and the style of stone images, Thareli is dated approximately to between years of 250 and 350 C.E.¹⁵⁷

Another example of a guardian figure in armor shows the same features as the above example (fig. 2.20). This figure has a bow slung across his chest. He is sitting on something that is now missing. The two examples of stucco guardians have armored upper bodies and armed skirt lower bodies, and are seated in the same posture. They are very similar in scale as well. The distinctive difference between them is in attributes.

¹⁵⁶ Granoff, "Tobatsu Bishamon: Three Japanese Statues in the United States and an Outline of the Rise of This Cult in East Asia," pp. 161-65.

¹⁵⁷ Even though Kurt A. Behrendt describes in his book *The Buddhist Architecture of Ghandāra* the figure holding a spear in his left hand, there is nothing identified as a spear from both a photo and a line drawing of the figure.

Their warrior status causes them to be regarded as protectors or war gods rather than as Buddhist deities.

There is another well-preserved warrior image, called *Skanda*, Hindu god of war (fig. 20). He wears a coat of mail and a bow on his chest, and holds two Skanda attributes: a spear in his right hand and a cock in his left hand. His divinity is emphasized by a halo behind his head and his larger size in contrast to the human devotee. Images of Skanda have also been found at some Buddhist sites.¹⁵⁸ It is interesting that the armor these deities wear is very similar to the armor that Mara and his soldiers wear in the scenes of the Great Departure and Mara's Temptation (fig. 2.22).

The idea that gods wear armor and hold bows, as seen above, seems to reflect pre-Buddhist Indian thought about the general characteristics of gods: they wear armor, wield strong bows, and concern themselves with the matter of people. According to the literature of *Grhya*, a Hindu religious manual dealing with domestic ceremonies, they pervade the different quarters, wearing armor, wielding bows and arrows, and concerning themselves with the matters of people.¹⁵⁹ Traditional Indian thought was reflected in the images mentioned above, but not in Buddhist Lokapala images in India.

Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, an art manual, also illustrates Lokapala as warrior-like in appearance: "Lokapalas should be represented on four sides carrying spears in hand: Viruda, Dhrtarastra, Virupaksa, and the powerful Kuvera, oh descendant of Yadu. They

¹⁵⁸ Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York N.Y.) and Kurt A. Behrendt, *The Art of Gandhāra in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 75.; Behrendt, *The Buddhist Architecture of Gandhāra*, 195.

¹⁵⁹ See Sri Alakh Niranjana Pande, "Role of the Vedic Gods in the Grhya-Sūtras " *Journal of the Gangnatha Jha Research Institute* 16, part1/2(Nov. 1958-Feb. 1959): p. 131.

should be armored, adorned by all auspicious ornaments, handsome and wearing dresses like the sun (i.e., Surya).”¹⁶⁰ There is still controversy about the date of the establishment of the *Purāṇa*. According to scholars, the upper date limit of the *Purāṇa* is the fifth century. An exception is C. Sivaramamurti, who postulates the fourth century.¹⁶¹ In this chapter, however, the date is not important, because seemingly there is no comparable Lokapala image produced by this manual.

The early Buddhist scripture *Lalitavistara* also describes Lokapala as wearing armor. Thus, in traditional thought, the Gṛhya literature, and *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, Lokapala should wear armor. Yet there have been no examples of warrior-type Lokapala discovered in Gandhara, even though there are good examples there of deities clad in armor, as mentioned above. The absence of armed Lokapala images in India simply suggests that there was no intention to depict Lokapala wearing armor. The lack of intention seems a result of the fact that Lokapala were not associated with “the matters of people,” but rather related only to the Buddha, even though in Indian literature they were described as protectors of the world.

¹⁶⁰ Kramrisch, *The Vishnudharmottara (Part Iii) a Treatise on Indian Painting and Image-Making*, 109. There is a slightly different rendering of the same Sanskrit text: “In the four directions the figures of Lokapālas, Virūḍhaka, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Virūpākṣa and Kubera should be made as holding a śūla in their hand, being of glorious form, auspicious, clad like the sun (images), wearing armours and adorned with auspicious ornaments.” See Agrawala, “The Kumbhanda Overlord Virudhaka,” 69. The original Sanskrit text is in *Lalitavistara*, ed. by P.L.Vaidya, III.84.11-12.

¹⁶¹ The main scholarly arguments on the date of the text are as follows. Stella Kramrisch (Kramrisch, *The Vishnudharmottara (Part Iii) a Treatise on Indian Painting and Image-Making*, p. 5.) and A.K. Coomaraswamy: between the fifth and seventh centuries C.E. C. Sivaramamurti: somewhere between the Kushan and Gupta periods. T.S. Maxwell: 5th century C.E. Priyabala Shah: 450-650 CE. Parul Dave Mukherji: between 500 and 900 CE. For more detail, see Panul Dave Mukherji, “Book Review: The Cītrasūtra of the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa. Parul Dave Mukherji, Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Center for the Arts, 2001, Pp. Xlv+293, Rs. 750,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* vol. 124, no. 3(Jul.-Sep. 2004): 569-72.

The passage from the *Purāṇa* above indicates that not only should the Lokapalas should be wearing armor, and that the model of wearing armor is the sun god, Surya, but also that they should be adorned in all auspicious ornaments and handsome, traits which do not correspond to the usual concept of armor. This aspect of armed Lokapala, though beautified with auspicious ornaments and handsome, corresponds especially to the early imagery in East Asia, which I will discuss in detail in the later chapter on Korea's Lokapala in the Three Kingdoms Period.¹⁶²

Although the text suggests that warrior-type images of Lokapala would have been made in India, it seems it was not popular to make Lokapala as a warrior in India, given the lack of images of warrior Lokapala. Warrior imagery of Lokapala in armor and holding weapons allows for the deities to be distinguished from other divinities or ordinary devotees, and makes the role of the deities, including protecting the world, clear. However, the deities as worshippers or attendants to the Buddha seem not to have necessarily taken a different appearance.

The image of Surya, god of the sun, which the author of the *Purāṇa* may have mentioned as a possible model for armed Lokapala, is possibly found in cave 31 of the Senmusaimu 森木賽姆 grottoes in Xinjiang (fig. 2.23). It has not been known when iconography of the Indic Surya turbaned or when a bare upper body changed into the Central Asian *udichyavesha*, with the dress of a northerner, in particular of the Kushana:

¹⁶² It is interesting that later Tantric texts describe them as fearsome deities.

a long coat-shaped garment and top boots in resemblance to Lokapala.¹⁶³ The date of the change, however, must be earlier than the fourth or fifth century because the cave mentioned above is dated to the fourth or fifth century.¹⁶⁴ An armed Surya image was a model for the armed Lokapala image in India as mentioned above, which means that the armed Surya image was formed earlier than the armed Lokapala. The armor-clad Lokapala is the form best known to the author of the *Purāṇa*. However, Lokapalas wearing long coat-type armor and top boots had already been represented in Central Asian arts in the fourth century C.E., before the *Purāṇa* was compiled. This situation also suggests that the iconography of armed Lokapala was a creation of Central Asia.

The fundamental iconographic change from noble into warrior, however, is not limited to Lokapalas and Surya. It is very interesting to note that other deities such as Naga, the serpent king,¹⁶⁵ had also been changed in this way in Central Asia. An example of a Naga king on the Bharhut rail post shows his Indic features; he stands with his hands joined at his chest to express his prayer or adoration to Buddha (fig. 2.24). He wears a double-knotted turban with a five-headed snake canopy, and a loincloth on his lower body. His upper body is naked, ornamented with a necklace, armlets, and bracelets. His calm attitude and his dress, with the exception of the Naga hood, are exactly the same as those of Lokapalas in ancient India. However, unmistakable iconography of this deity

¹⁶³ C. Sivaramamurti, *Chitrāsūtra of the Viṣṇu Udharmottara* (New Delhi: Kanak Publications, 1978), p. 27.

¹⁶⁴ Zhongguo bi hua quan ji bian wei hui, *Zhongguo Xinjiang Bihua Quanji 5: Sen Mu Sai Mu Ke Zi Er Ga Ha*

中國新疆壁畫全集 5: 森木賽姆克孜尔尕哈 (*Complete Works of Mural Paintings in Xinjiang, China*) (Tianjin: Tianjin ren min mei shu zhu ban she (天津人民美術出版社), 1995), p. 5.

¹⁶⁵ They were accepted to Buddhism as “devotees who often came to pay homage to the Buddha.” R. C. Sharma, *Bharhut Sculptures* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1994), 44.

was changed in Kizil. A Naga king on the left-hand front wall of the main chamber of cave 193, dated to the late seventh century or later,¹⁶⁶ wears armor (fig. 2.25).

There are even ruler images sometimes represented wearing armor in Central Asia. The fact that deities and ruler images came to be represented wearing armor in Central Asia suggests that wearing armor has a significant meaning, something like exhibiting the figure's quality as a king or divinity, even though the wearing of armor combined with a fearsome face and posture indicates a deity's wrathful manner later in East Asia. The long coat-shaped armor had been worn by Kushan rulers, according to their effigies on coins. I think these portraits of Kushan rulers influenced deity images made in Central Asia, as discussed below with the example of Vaishravana. I would like to examine here what kind of concept is involved in making these deities look like warriors by investigating their common iconographic characteristics.

It seems obvious that Lokapala were not objects of worship or prayer in Indian Buddhism, judging from the way they are depicted in art. Their subservient appearance as attendants or the pious guardians of Buddha in Indian art demonstrates their status in that area. They have never shown their independent presence as an object of worship there. The Four Maharajas are similarly portrayed without any iconographic distinction. This suggests that their individual religious functions did not need to be independent, even though each has its own name with a distinctive meaning. Yet an individual

¹⁶⁶ Zheng 王征 Wang, Qiuci : *Fo Jiao Shi Ku Mei Shu Feng Ge Yu Nian Dai Yan Jiu* 龜茲: 佛教石窟美術風格與年代研究 (*Kucha: Studies on Arts of Chinese Grottoes and Their Chronology*), Di 1 ban. ed., Xinjiang Shi Fan Da Xue "Li Zu Xinjiang Mian Xiang Zhong Ya Yan Jiu" Cong Shu (Beijing: Zhongguo shu dian, 2009), p. 102.

Lokapala does not have any signs such as attributes that show or symbolize its identity. They all look very similar to one another. Indian Lokapala images were far from the influence of Tantric scriptures, in which each Lokapala is described as holding his own attributes, as demonstrated in detail in Chapter 3. Lokapala iconography is different from that described in the Tantric texts because in India these figures did not exist for ordinary beings but for the Buddha, as his attendants, as mentioned earlier. They were not enshrined objects for the practice and rites of Buddhism. This should imply a major difference between the iconography and cult of Lokapala in India and those in East Asia, because iconography reflects regional characteristics of the cult.

In Hindu tradition, each Lokapala was an object along with other deities to whom people prayed. This can be observed in some scenes described in early Buddhist literature. One example is a scene in which Buddha rescues people who are in danger and who pray to devas they believe in. They call on Dharitarastra, Virudhaka, Virupaksa, and Vaishravana, along with other deities such as Siva, Skanda, Varuna, Yama, Sakra, Naga, Kinnara, Gandharva, Brahma or Indra, etc.¹⁶⁷ Another example is a traditional song of prayer that Buddha, according to legend, gave the two merchants after having had the honey with ghee that they offered, in which constellations and mythological persons appear. The Four Divine Kings are included in these songs as one among entities that

¹⁶⁷ Mahāvastu, *The Mahāvastu*, 3 vols., Sacred Books of the Buddhists (London, Luzac, 1949), 200 (vol. I), 71, 75, 81, 87 (vol. III).

people ask for protection. These songs show that in Indian folk religion people believed in Lokapala prior to Buddhism.¹⁶⁸

After being accepted into Buddhism, however, in their Indian homeland Lokapala were not yet objects of prayer and worship in Buddhism; they rather involved the worship of Buddha. They would wait to become objects of prayer and worship until they had their own cult outside northern India and became popular in East Asian culture. In contrast to their rank in India, Lokapala attained independent status in East Asian Buddhism as Mahayana Buddhism developed and Buddhist imagery became more elaborated. The iconographic change seems to link to the change of their status in Buddhism. However, in East Asia they still served as worshippers of Buddhas in scenes in which they were subordinate to the Buddha.

For these reasons I would rather say that imagery of warrior-type Lokapala clad in armor blossomed in countries where the Mahayana tradition flourished, rather than in India where the Hinayana tradition was preferred. Even though Mahayana Buddhism started in India, it flourished in East Asian countries. The iconographic difference of the Four Maharajas between India and East Asia could be explained by this difference in religious atmosphere. While India remained the authoritative inspirational source of teachings and iconography, East Asian Buddhists modified these traditions to adapt to their culture. However, the modification was not achieved in a single effort. It rather grew by additions with diverse and unerring creativity, as is proved by the iconographic changes of Lokapalas from bodhisattva-type to warrior-type through the ages in China.

¹⁶⁸ *The Mahāvastu*, 3 vols., Sacred Books of the Buddhists (London,: Luzac, 1949), 293-97 (vol. III).

3. Iconographic Sources of Armed Lokapala: Vaishravana

Representative iconography of Lokapala popular in East Asia is warrior-like appearance with armor and weapons. The reason for the first development with armor is easily imagined. Even though Lokapalas are divine beings, they are portrayed in Indian arts as human worshippers with joined hands in a reverential gesture to the Buddha, or holding weapons while on guard of sacred places such as stupas and temples, looking similar to other deities. In Hinayana Buddhism they were more like worshippers of the Buddha than guardians protecting ordinary beings. However, when they turned into Mahayana gods, gaining clear religious function as protectors of the world, they needed to change their appearance in order to be distinguishable from human devotees¹⁶⁹ and also from other deities in the new religious system. Their role as protectors made it easy for artists to select for their dress armor and weapons. There are no images of Lokapala armed with armor extant today in central India or northern India. The Lokapala cult in India seems not to have influenced a change in its iconography, because the deities' function is not distinct from the function of others there.

It thus seems likely that Lokapala images were created outside India according to the new way of faith in Lokapala, which is different from that in India. However, elements consisting of East Asian Lokapala iconography, such as armor and weapons, seem to have been brought from Indianized Iranian sources during the Kushan and Gupta periods. These attributes are directly related to attributes of ancient Indian Kings, who

¹⁶⁹ This idea is inspired by Miranda Eberle Shaw's opinion on the emergence of a new iconographic type of Pṛthivī, from one with the reverential hand gesture into one with a spherical vessel in her hands. See Miranda Eberle Shaw, *Buddhist Goddesses of India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 25.

were derived originally from the Iranian world, as demonstrated below. Of these elements, some are also described in Tantric literature: armor, and the attributes of stupa, spear, sword, and bow and arrow. Because the Tantric texts were written in India, it is possible that these elements were borrowed from contemporary or traditional Indian concepts. When the new iconography was created, it was essentially based on the texts; other elements that were not specified in the texts probably referred to contemporary images of Indian art, and yet originally came from Iranian sources.

The contemporary Indian images used by creators of the new iconography, who perhaps were from a Persian tribe, were possibly emperor portraits, as discussed below. They were models for Lokapala iconography, as the initial iconography of Lokapala in India was represented in the image of Indian Kings. The creators possibly followed this tradition, adapting the contemporary image of Kings. I do not want to discuss the origin of Tobatsu-type Vaishnavana in the present dissertation, but would like to demonstrate the diverse traditions that influenced the formation of armed Vaishnavana or Lokapala iconography. Thus I will discuss below what aspects of Indian Kings were involved in warrior-type Lokapala iconography. Even though the word ‘warrior’ is used here to describe characteristics of East Asian Lokapala because it facilitates comparison with the noble image of rulers, the warrior-like appearance of Lokapala is still linked to the ruler image rather than to the warrior of real life. In later Tantric texts their facial expression is described as ‘fearsome,’ corresponding to their appearance, which might be regarded as the second iconographic evolution of Lokapala.

1) Deified Rulers and Concept of Divinity

As mentioned above, the iconography of the single Vaishravana images independently worshipped in East Asia holds a key to help solve the problem of the provenance of the armed Lokapala. I would like to discuss here the sources of Vaishravana's iconographic elements. Independent Vaishravana imagery is stylistically different from the Indian figure, and different from imagery of the other three Lokapalas, as well. He still holds a spear, and a small stupa, and stands on one or two demons or dwarfs. However, among independent images of Vaishravana there is an example unlike the one described above. This type of Vaishravana wears a crown engraved with a bird or feathers, long coat-shaped armor, and a cross-belt on the chest, and is girt with short and long swords. Flames arise from both shoulders,¹⁷⁰ and he always holds a spear and a small stupa and stands on the hands of an earth goddess called the earth-and-heaven woman, or *Ditiannu* (Kr. Jicheonnyeo) 地天女 in Chinese, who is flanked by two dwarfs, *Nilanpo* 尼藍婆 and *Pilanpo* 毘藍婆 (fig. 2.26-2.28).

This appearance of Vaishravana and the names of the goddess and the two dwarfs are described in some Ritual Regulations.¹⁷¹ This iconography is unique for the shape of the armor and crown, the flame mandala, and the figure on which Vaishravana is mounted. The best example of this unique Vaishravana is the category of figures called Tobatsu Bishamonten 兜跋毘沙門天 in Japanese. The origin of its name has not been

¹⁷⁰ Flames are sometimes depicted like feathers, maybe because in representation, rising flames from both shoulders look like feathers. Accordingly, feathers instead of flames are a mistaken identification, judging from the meaning of flames.

¹⁷¹ *Mahe fei shi luo mo na ye di po he lou dutuoluoni yigui* 摩訶吠室囉末那野提婆喝囉闍陀羅尼儀軌 (*Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 21) translated by Banya koujinjieluo 般若口斤羯囉, *Beifang pishamentianwang suijun hufa yigui* 北方毘沙門天王隨軍護法儀軌 (*Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 21) translated by Bukong 不空, and *Oujiatuoyeyigui* 毗迦陀野義軌 (*Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 21) translated by Jingangzhi 金剛智

discovered. Studies on the source and meaning of ‘*Tobatsu*’ have been studied mainly in Japan, because the name has not been found in literature in Chinese. The typical Tobatsu Bishamonten image in Toji, Kyoto, dates to the late ninth or early tenth century C.E. (fig. 2.28).¹⁷² But an earlier image than the Toji figure is a drawing in *Daigoji zuzoshu* 醍醐寺図像集 “Catalogue of Iconography of Daigoji” (fig. 2.26), with a date of the twelfth year of Kōnin (821 C.E.). One was also unearthed from Qionglai City, Sichuan, and dated to the Tang dynasty (618-906) (fig. 2.27).

It is most probable that the oldest record of a depiction of the Tobatsu Vaishnavana image is *Tobatsu* Bishamon 都拔毘沙門 written under an entry of *Tamonten* 多聞天 (King of the North) in the *Besson zakki* 別尊雜記 “Assorted Notes on Classified Sacred Images,” which was edited by Shinkaku 心覺, a Japanese Buddhist monk, in 1180. In this book, five characteristics of Tobatsu Bishamonten are described: an earth-and-heaven woman under his feet, seven jewels decorating his body, a stupa in his left hand and spear in his right hand, a girded sword, and an expression of anger.¹⁷³ However, it is also said that the title ‘Tobatsu’ is connected with the place in which the iconography originated, instead of with its characteristics. In respect to this, there is an interesting record in Japan. According to an entry of *Tamonten* (King of the North)

¹⁷² For more information on this image, see Kanda Masaaki 神田雅章 Kanda, "JōMonro Ueno Bishamonten Nitsuite No Ich Kosatsu: Toji Tobatsu Bishamonten Ritsuzō No RajōMon Anchiwo Megutte 城門樓上の毘沙門天についての一考察: 東寺兜跋毘沙門天立像の羅城門安置をめぐって (a Study on Vaishnavana Images Enshrined on Wall Pavilion of City Gate)," *Bijutsushigaku* 美術史學 16(1994).

¹⁷³ Kazuko Ikawa 猪川和子, "Jitenni Sasaeru Bishamonten Chosō : Tobatsu Bishamontenzō Nitsuite No Ichkosatsu 地天に支えられる毘沙門天 彫像: 兜跋毘沙門天像についての一考察 (Vaishnavana Figure Supported by Earth Goddess: A Study on Tobatsu Vaishnavana Images) " *Bijutsu kenkyū* 美術研究 229(1963. 7): 54.

under ‘Tobatsu Bishamon’ in a Buddhist book, *Keiranshukishu* 溪嵐拾棄集, compiled by Mitsumune 光宗, a Japanese Tiantai monk, in 1311-1347, “a figure emerged from Tobatsu country in the east, wearing armor and a helmet, girding a large sword.”¹⁷⁴ Here, Tobatsu is explained as the name of a country; and Tobatsu Bishamonten is interpreted as ‘the form of Bishamonten in Tobatsu country.’¹⁷⁵

These sources support the possibility that the unique iconography of Vaishravana, so-called Tobatsu Vaishravana, was established in Khotan. This is because the term Tobatsu could be derived from a Khotanese word; it has been claimed that it is derived from *Tubbat*, which means “Khotan” in the ancient Turkic language.¹⁷⁶ With regard to this, we need to recall that the earliest Chinese translation of the name of the Northern King of Lokapala as Weishanwen 維睺文, whose ancient pronunciation was ‘jwi ɛiam’ mun,’ as discussed in Chapter 1. This transcription is in turn similar to the sound of the Khotanese Vrrīssamam.¹⁷⁷

Armed Lokapala in India were standardized around the fifth century in *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, and it does not appear that they are represented armed in images there, as discussed earlier. Moreover, the armed Vaishravana or Lokapala were

¹⁷⁴ "Jitenni Sasaeru Bishamonten Chosō : Tobatsu Bishamontenzō Nitsuite No Ichkosatsu 地天に支えられる毘沙門天 彫像: 兜跋毘沙門天像についての 一考察 (Vaishravana Figure Supported by Earth Goddess: A Study on Tobatsu Vaishravana Images) " *Bijutsu kenkyū* 美術研究 229(1963. 7): 55.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ R. A. Stein, *Recherches sur l'épopée et le Barde au Tibet*, Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1959, p. 283, informed by Phyllis Granoff. Stein is still quoted by researchers in this field. See Kanda, "JōMonro Ueno Bishamonten Nitsuite No Ich Kosatsu: Toji Tobatsu Bishamonten Ritsuzō No RajōMon Anchiwo Megutte 城門樓上の毘沙門天についての 一考察: 東寺兜跋毘沙門天立像の羅城門安置をめぐる (a Study on Vaishravana Images Enshrined on Wall Pavilion of City Gate)," p. 39 and footnote 31.

¹⁷⁷ See footnotes 22 and 23 in Chapter 1 of this thesis.

already established as early as the third to the early fourth century C.E. in Central Asia, according to the Rawak image (fig. 2.29). Lokapala images, two on each side inside the southeastern gate of the main enclosure wall, were discovered by Stein. Two of them had the bust of a female figure between their feet (fig. 2.30). As Marilyn Rhie points out, they are “rare early surviving guardian figures in the art of Central Asia.” Rhie dates these guardian images at the Rawak stupa to the third to early fourth century, at which time Mahayana had probably just begun to become strong in Khotan.¹⁷⁸ She explains that Rawak, whose stupa style appears to be associated with Mahayana developments, is in the outskirts maybe because of the coexistence of more powerful Hinayanists and less influential Mahayanists.¹⁷⁹

As for the establishment and development of Tobatsu-type Vaishravana iconography, Phyllis Granoff argues that it was established by merging the Indian deity of wealth and the Iranian deified king’s image in the Kushan dynasty in Central Asia.¹⁸⁰ She explains the iconography of Tobatsu-type Vaishravana in terms of royal attributes: and that he was regarded as “the source of the state’s monarchs and the power behind

¹⁷⁸ Marilyn M. Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China and Central Asia*, 2 vols., Handbuch Der Orientalistik Vierte Abteilung, China, (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1999), pp. 295, 314-15. There is a painting of a standing guardian figure discovered on the exterior of the wall by Trinkler, which Rhie dates to the fifth century with possibilities to the fourth century or the mid-sixth century. For the picture, see figs. 4. 83 a, b in her book.

¹⁷⁹ Marilyn Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China and Central Asia*, Leiden; Boston; Köln: Brill, 1999, p. 296.

¹⁸⁰ In agreement is Miyaji 宮治 昭 Akira, "Tobatsu Bishamontenno Seritsuwomegutte 兜跋毘沙門天の成立をめぐって—対立と交流による圖像の成立 (a Study of the Establishing Tobatsu Bishamonten)," in *TōYō Bijutsushi Ni Okeru Nishi to Higashi : Tairitsu to KōRyū : Dai 10-Kai Kokusai Shinpojiamu 東洋美術史における西と東：対立と交流：第10回国際シンポジウム (East and West in Asian Art History : Opposition and Exchange : Tenth International Symposium)* (Kyōto-shi: Kokusai Kōryū Bijutsushi Kenkyūkai, 1992), p. 64.

their rule”; the Indian god of wealth Pancika-Kuvera-Vaishravana was established in the Kushan period connecting Khotanese Vaishravana with the Iranian Pharo¹⁸¹; and finally, Khotan might be the place of origin of the fully developed iconographical form of Tobatsu Bishamon. Granoff regards the unique Vaishravana as the Khotanese Vaishravana. The deity was associated with a cult of deified kings in Central Asia. She finally suggests that a prototype of Tobatsu Bishamonten can be found in Kushan-period representation of Pahro-Kuvera-Vaishravana.

As for the reason that Tobatsu-type Vaishravana takes the image of a Kushana ruler, Tanabe Katsumi states that the perspective of the Kushan people in the second and third centuries C.E., when the Kushana ruled the Gandharan area, was reflected in the Kushan ruler-like Vaishravana image. She focuses on the fact that a representative Central Asian nomad in the north in the first through third century C.E. was Kushan. According to *Foshuo shieryou jing* 佛說十二遊經 “The Twelve Trips Sutra Preached by the Buddha,” there is Jin 晉 (China) in the east, Tianzhu 天竺 (India) in the south, Daqin 大秦 (Rome) in the west, and Yuezhi 月支 (Kushan) in the north. Also, in *Datang xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 “The Record of the Journey to the West,” Xuanzang states similar perspectives, and writes that in the northwest there is the nomadic Tianzhu 天主. Tanabe

¹⁸¹ Tanabe also illustrates that the single divinity of Vaishravana was created by assimilation of the Iranian deity Pharro into Buddhism in Gandhara. See Tanabe 田辺勝美, *Bishamontenzō No Kigen* 毘沙門天像の起源 (*the Origin of the Vaiśravana Image*), pp. 103-56.

states that because Vaishravana is the protector of the north, it was natural to combine this figure with the images of Kushan kings, the inhabitants of the north.¹⁸²

One of the reasons I think the armed Vaishravana image was created outside India is that the royal attributes adopted for these deities are related to Persian aspects.¹⁸³ Such images in fact did not have peculiarities of the individual appearances of Indian kings. Indian kings have never had peculiarity in early Buddhist art, maybe because of the teachings of the Buddha that everything is impermanent and things that we normally see do not exist as they appear. It is in Kushan coinage that the kings have a distinct likeness in their appearance, in face and posture.¹⁸⁴ Even though in Buddhism there is the *cakravartin*, the universal monarch, a concept rooted in traditional Indian culture,¹⁸⁵ the *cakravatin* imagery was never involved in the iconography of Vaishravana.

2) Posture and Armor

First I discuss the posture and the long coat-shaped armor, called Central Asian armor, which is closed in the center of the body and reaches almost to the ankle.¹⁸⁶ Sometimes the lower ends of the armor are open at both sides. A warrior figure in armor discovered in Central Asia shows this kind of armor very well (fig. 2.30). Because the

¹⁸² Tanabe (1979), p. 125. However, she thinks almost all features of Tobatsu-type Vaishravana were made based on iconography of Pharro

¹⁸³ Khotan may have been occupied by ancient Persians before the third century C.E. *The Silk Road: Trade, Travel, War and Faith*, edited by Susan Whitfield with Ursula Sims-Williams London: British Library, 2004, P. 34.

¹⁸⁴ John M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, California Studies in the History of Art, (Berkeley,: University of California Press, 1967), p. 174.

¹⁸⁵ *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, California Studies in the History of Art, (Berkeley,: University of California Press, 1967), p. 175.

¹⁸⁶ Even though it has been denied, there was a hypothesis by Matsumoto Bunzaburō that 'Tobatsu' was the name of the long-skirted garment, informed by Granoff, "Tobatsu Bishamon: Three Japanese Statues in the United States and an Outline of the Rise of This Cult in East Asia," p. 145.

way that the deity wears the armor is very similar to that of warrior images from Kizil, this type of armor is regarded to have originated in Khotan and then been transmitted to Tang China through Kizil.¹⁸⁷ In addition it was very popular for soldiers to wear Sasanid Persian armor in the Xinjiang area in the sixth to seventh centuries. This armor has a high collar open on both sides, is closed in the center of the body, reaches below the knees, and is unfurled like a skirt.¹⁸⁸

It is true that the iconographic origin of this deity is unclear, even though diverse opinions have been proposed. It is of interest to note that the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* specifically mention that Kuvera should wear an armored coat made of chain mail and hold a mace and a spear.¹⁸⁹ The fact that in the Indian homeland and north India there are no such images of Kuvera wearing a coat of mail, despite the manual, might suggest that as a matter of taste people in India preferred not to represent Kuvera or Lokapala wearing armor. However, this text might have influenced people who created the armed images of Vaishravana.

The identity of Vaishravana can be established with the aid of certain recurrent iconographical details – an elaborated costume of armor, and weapons in the hand. As mentioned above, the iconography of the independent Vaishravana is related to the ruler

¹⁸⁷ Minamoto 源豊宗, "Bishamontenzō No Kigen 毘沙門天像の起源 (Origin of Vaishravana Figure)," 45-46.

¹⁸⁸ Fuwei Shen 沈福偉, *Zhong Xi Wen Hua Jiao Liu Shi 中西文化交流史 (History of Cultural Exchange of China and West)*, 中國文化史論叢書 (東洋書局, 1989), p. 81.

¹⁸⁹ "The wealth-giver (Kuvera) should be made of the color of the lotus-leaf, having a man as his vahana, lovely eyes, with necklace resting on the belly, with a beautiful garment and a coat of mail... and in the right hand (of Kuvera), should be made a mace and a spear." (Kramrisch, *The Viṣṇudharmottara (Part Iii) a Treatise on Indian Painting and Image-Making*. p. 79.)

image. There are some reasons one can assume that a Kushana king's image was involved in the formation of the iconography. The frontal image of Vaishnavana clad in a long coat-like armor, holding a spear and a stupa, is reminiscent of the portraits of Kushan kings portrayed on coins, such as King Kanishka at a fire sacrifice on his gold coin (fig. 2.31). The frontal view of King Kanishka is also seen on his stone image, as Phyllis Granoff points out.¹⁹⁰ The costume that they are wearing and their rigid poses exhibit their power, and these features indicate that their origins are foreign.¹⁹¹

Today there are extant numerous coins minted during the Kushan and Gupta periods on which kings are portrayed. Normally a ruler image is on the obverse and a deity is on the reverse. In Indian coinage, the reverse was always a place for divinity, and a female figure is identified as a goddess from different religious sources: Greek, Iranian, and Indian. This application of gods from different religions indicates the eclecticism of the kings.¹⁹² This tradition of producing coins was brought into India by Bactrian Greeks, and deities on the reverse include Greek gods.¹⁹³ The Indo-Greek coins were used only in their Bactrian area, and they did not influence any Indian numismatics. Kushan gold

¹⁹⁰ Granoff also takes the Kushan statues of Kanishka as an example of parallels with Tobatsu Vaishnavana, in the aspect of his rigid standing posture, the A-shaped lower garment, the leg gear, and the position of the sword. See Granoff, "Tobatsu Bishamon: Three Japanese Statues in the United States and an Outline of the Rise of This Cult in East Asia," p. 164.

¹⁹¹ Madeleine Hallade, *Gandharan Art of North India, and the Graeco-Buddhist Tradition in India, Persia, and Central Asia* (New York,: H. N. Abrams, 1968), p. 29.

¹⁹² *Gandharan Art of North India, and the Graeco-Buddhist Tradition in India, Persia, and Central Asia* (New York,: H. N. Abrams, 1968), p. 30.

¹⁹³ Wilbraham Egerton Egerton, *A Description of Indian and Oriental Armour : Illustrated from the Collection Formerly in the India Office, Now Exhibited at South Kensington, and the Author's Private Collection, with a Map, Twenty-Three Full-Page Plates (Two Coloured), and Numerous Woodcuts, with an Introductory Sketch of the Military History of India*, New ed. (London: W. H. Allen & co., limited, 1896), 12.

coins had followed a Roman weight standard and the gold coins of the early Gupta rulers followed standards of Kushan coins.¹⁹⁴

Among Kushan coins, a coin of Kanishka discovered in Pakistan is very well known (fig. 2.31). On the coin, the Indo-Scythian king is standing in frontal view, with his face in profile. He is wearing a long coat-like garment, holding a spear in his left hand, and making an offering with his right hand at an altar.¹⁹⁵ Flames arise from his shoulders. His posture, except for the one hand at an altar, is just like that of a unique Vaishnavite image standing in frontal view, wearing long coat-like armor and holding a spear in one hand and a stupa in the other, with flames rising from the shoulders. It is also interesting to note that Kushan kings, in turn, on their gold coins made in the second and early third centuries, are portrayed in relation to a range of Near Eastern and South Asian deities, such as Shiva on the reverse of Vasu Deva I (r. 191 to 225 C.E.).¹⁹⁶

The more interesting example of imagery of Indian Kings on their coins is Vasu Deva I. His icon is directly related to the Vaishnavite image in terms of clothing and attributes (fig. 2.32). Vasu Deva I,¹⁹⁷ the last Kushan King, is depicted on his coin wearing a crown on his head, a coat of chain mail reaching to his ankle. He has a short curved dagger slung around his waist and a longer straight sword sheathed at his side, and

¹⁹⁴ Parmeshwari Lal Gupta and Sarojini Srivastava, *Gupta Gold Coins in Bharat Kala Bhavan* (Varanasi: Bharat Kala Bhavan, 1981), 3.

¹⁹⁵ One type of Gupta gold coins called 'standard type,' which is very similar to the archer type shown below, is regarded as a direct imitation of the later Kushan kings' effigies on their coins. *Gupta Gold Coins in Bharat Kala Bhavan* (Varanasi: Bharat Kala Bhavan, 1981), 5.

¹⁹⁶ <http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/99.35.3024>

¹⁹⁷ Bodiao 波調 in Chinese, the son of Huvishka, sent his envoy to present tribute to China in 229 C.E., and was granted the title of 'King of the Da Yuezhi Intimate with Wei,' according to the Chinese historical chronicle *Sanguozhi* 三國志.

holds a spear in his left hand and a trident in his right hand.¹⁹⁸ Aside from posture and armor, it is interesting that the Tobatsu-type Vaishnavana images also carry these two kinds of sword, in the same way that Vasu Deva I does.

3) Cross-belt and Bow

The figures called Tobatsu Bishamonten wear a cross-belt on the chest. It is worth pointing out the cross-belt taking into account that Lokapala iconography has traditionally taken a ruler's image. This is because the cross-belt was an attribute of the ideal King Rāma in India.¹⁹⁹ The earliest image of Rāma identified with an inscription in Brāhmī letters, dated to the fifth century, wears the cross-belt (fig. 2.33). This attribute, *channavīra* in Sanskrit,²⁰⁰ is "intended to hold other attributes e.g. a quiver behind the

¹⁹⁸ There are letters in barbarized Greek encircling the king: PAO NANO PAO BAZΔHO KOPANO; and on the reverse there is a Siva naked from waist upwards, holding a wreath and trident. (Egerton, *A Description of Indian and Oriental Armour : Illustrated from the Collection Formerly in the India Office, Now Exhibited at South Kensington, and the Author's Private Collection, with a Map, Twenty-Three Full-Page Plates (Two Coloured), and Numerous Woodcuts, with an Introductory Sketch of the Military History of India*, p. 12.)

¹⁹⁹ Phyllis Granoff is the only person who has paid attention to this ornament. Yet she focuses only on arcs, not the whole gear, and explains them as depictions of the sun and moon, which, in turn, are similar to the pendants on the chest of the Persian rulers represented on Sassanian silver vessels. See Phyllis Granoff, p. 146. However, the arcs appeared on the form of the cross-belt developed later. The original form has only a disc at the point at which the belt is crossed. Therefore Granoff's perspective on the origin and function of this gear is different from mine.

²⁰⁰ This is also interpreted as follows: "flat disc, worn on the chest and said to symbolize the warlike qualities of Krishṇa and Lakshmaṇa." (Robert Elgood, *Hindu Arms and Ritual : Arms and Armour from India 1400-1865* (Delft: Eburon, 2004), p. 238.) However, 'flat disc' here only refers to a disc at the place where the belt is crossed. The meaning of *channavīra* is unclear, and textual evidence about Rāma's wearing *channavīra* has not yet been discovered. P. Pal, "Rāma, Kāma, and the Archer Type of Gupta Coins," in *Investigating Indian Art : Proceedings of a Symposium on the Development of Early Buddhist and Hindu Iconography, Held at the Museum of Indian Art Berlin in May 1986*, ed. Wibke Lobo Marianne Yaldiz, and Museum für Indische Kunst (Germany) (Berlin: Museum für Indische Kunst : Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 1987), p.264. There are many Rāma images wearing this gear with a few variations, and holding a bow, from the fifth to seventh centuries. See Anand Prakash Gaur, *Rama in Ancient Indian Sculpture* (Delhi: B.R. Pub. Corp., 2006), plates 8-30.

shoulders,”²⁰¹ as the above Rāma image shows. There are a few warrior images from Gandhara that wear this gear, indicating that it was actually used in real life. However, an earlier example of a similar cross-belt, worn by a Yakshini, or a tree-spirit, on a Bharhut pillar in the second century B.C.E., shows the attribute as an ornament or as a symbol of divinity rather than as something functional (fig. 2.34). The cross-belt worn by Persian rulers who have a quiver girding on their horses also exhibits the fact that the belt is not for the quiver (fig. 2.35). Thus it can be assumed that the gear was chosen to symbolize the ideal kingship of Rāma and Sasanian rulers some hundred years later than the date the Yakshini imagery was created. I think this kind of cross-belt could also be an origin of the ornament called *yingluo* 璎珞 “jade or pearl necklace” for Bodhisattvas, as seen in images from Central Asia and East Asia (fig. 2.36).

It is easy to encounter Vaishnavana images wearing the cross-belt. While this attribute was never worn by Lokapalas in India, there are Lokapala images wearing the cross-belt on the chest in Central Asia. For example, a Lokapala is represented on the inner wall of a passageway in cave 30 of the Senmusaimu 森木賽姆 grottoes in Xinjiang, China, which is dated to the fourth or fifth century (fig. 2.37). Here iconography is shared with Indian Lokapalas: he has a naked upper body and is wearing a loincloth, an ornamented headdress, bracelets, and armlets, and in his right hand holds a weapon that looks like a mace. He holds his left hand with palm upward at his chest. The fact that an Indian-type Lokapala is wearing the cross-belt suggests that the idea of applying the gear

²⁰¹ Gösta Liebert, *Iconographic Dictionary of the Indian Religions : Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism*, Studies in South Asian Culture (Leiden: Brill, 1976), p.60.

for Lokapala began in Central Asia; the fact that the fairly early image of Lokapala in Central Asia shows the same features as the Indian Lokapala also seems to propose that the new iconography of the deity was created in Central Asia.

It is interesting to note that in Central Asia the cross-belt was worn by Lokapalas and also other deities. Lokapalas wearing the cross-belt wear armor or dhoti, but other deities wearing the cross-belt only wear armor.²⁰² For example, there are two deities represented in the main chamber of cave 172 of the Kizil Grottoes in Xinjiang, China (fig. 2.38). These deities are identified as Lokapalas or Vajrapani.²⁰³ They are on the left and right portions of the icon niche in the rear wall of the chamber; each wearing distinctive armor. They are seated across from each other and are holding the same implements in their opposite hands, making their pose symmetrical: the left deity is wearing simple armor and sandals, holding a vajra in his right hand and a vajramushti in his left hand;²⁰⁴ the right deity is attired in quite elaborated armor, holding a vajra in his left hand and an unidentified implement in his right hand. This cave is dated to the mid-sixth century to mid-seventh century. A Surya image dated to the fourth or fifth century in the

²⁰² However, Lokapalas made in China do not wear the gear; only the figure called Tobatsu Bishamonten does. This suggests that the Chinese postulated the gear as an attribute of the typical image.

²⁰³ Yeoung-ae 임영애 Im, "Seoyeok Kucha Jiyeok Geumgang Yeoksa-Ui Teukjing-Gwa Gue Uimi 서역 쿠차 지역 금강역사의 특징과 그 의미 (Characteristics and Meaning of Vajrapani in Kucha, Central Asia)," in *Misulsa-Ui Jeongnip-Gwa Hwaksan 미술사의 정립과 확산 (Establishment and Distribution of Art History)* ed. Hangsan An Hwi-jun gyosu jeongnyeon toim ginyeom nonmunjip ganhaeng wiwonhwoi (Seoul: Sahwoe pyeongnon, 2006). She takes the left image as an example of Vajrapani wearing a lion skin on his head (p. 338), and the pair of images as an example of a pair of Vajrapani (p. 341).

²⁰⁴ The implement that the deity is holding in the left hand has not been identified. I would like to identify it as *vajramushti*, 'diamond fist,' a knuckleduster-like weapon, the embodiment of warrior virtue. For the detail of it, See Elgood, *Hindu Arms and Ritual : Arms and Armour from India 1400-1865*, 266 and fig. 17.1. There are no such Vajrapani images wearing the cross-belt, but this weapon seems like an attribute of Vajrapani rather than of Lokapala, judging from later iconography of Vajrapani, which has features of martial artists.

Senmusaimu Grottoes (fig. 2.23) and Naga king images dated to the late seventh century in caves in Kizil also wear a cross-belt, as seen earlier (fig. 2.25).

Rāma, the hero of the great Indian epic *Rāmāyana*, was a model for “the Gupta emperor as a divine archer” because he was “the greatest archer and the ideal king in Indian mythology.”²⁰⁵ In sculpture Rāma clenches his left hand at his chest and raises his right hand, signifying reassurance. Even though his right hand does not reach upward, the implication of the act clearly recalls imagery of cakravatin, the ideal of Buddhist kingship, which always bears this gesture. Rāma is also holding a bow, another of his attributes, in his left hand. The reason that the archer image was chosen is that the bow is the most important weapon of the king. A poem of Kālidāsa, an ancient Indian poet, shows this: “Bowman” is used as a synonym for “king.” The fact that the bow also has political meaning has been inferred from Kālidāsa and also the epic *Rāmāyana*.²⁰⁶ By the Gupta period, representations of Rāma were common in art. In the coins of Indian Kings minted during the Gupta period, between the fourth and sixth centuries, there are kings portrayed as archers. This portrayal was created during the reign of Samudragupta (r. c. C.E. 335-76). It became the standard type for most Gupta rulers.²⁰⁷ Gupta emperors,

²⁰⁵ Pal, “Rāma, Kāma, and the Archer Type of Gupta Coins,” p. 264.

²⁰⁶ “Rāma, Kāma, and the Archer Type of Gupta Coins,” p. 262.

²⁰⁷ “Rāma, Kāma, and the Archer Type of Gupta Coins,” 261. Their effigies are classified into twenty types, including archer type. Archer type Samudragupta coins are coin numbers 37 through 40 in Gupta and Srivastava, *Gupta Gold Coins in Bharat Kala Bhavan*, pl. III.

successors of Sumadragupta, followed the archer type (fig. 2.39); but on the obverse of their gold coins they also used their portraits in various attitudes and postures.²⁰⁸

A bow and arrow are attributes of one among the four Lokapalas in East Asia. Masaaki Matsuura focuses on warrior images hold a bow and an arrow in the scene of the ‘Great Departure.’ He believes this figure is Vaishravana.²⁰⁹ However, bow and arrow are not attributes of the Tobatsu-type Vaishravana in East Asia. They were taken as attributes of one of the four Lokapalas, usually the King of the South, later in Tantric texts and East Asian Buddhist arts, maybe because these attributes are symbols of an ideal kingship. Rāma had been deified and was regarded “as the most ideal ruler of the past” and “an ideal man, a paradigm of noble conduct that should always be emulated.” For this reason, he would have been the model for the Gupta rulers.²¹⁰ Imagery of Rāma as the ideal king and ideal man seems to be reflected in Vaishravana iconography, and later on in iconography, images of Lokapala as the Gupta ruler took the Rāma image.

The cross-belt as an iconographic element suggests that the authorities responsible for creating new iconography for Lokapala or other deities must have been particularly conscious of the tradition in which Lokapalas took a ruler-like appearance.²¹¹ “All the

²⁰⁸ A female figure with various attitudes, attributes, and mounts is seen on the reverse of all the twenty types of Gupta gold coins, except one type. These goddesses are classified into nine groups. For more detail, see *Gupta Gold Coins in Bharat Kala Bhavan*, pp. 11-15.

²⁰⁹ Masaaki Matsuura 松浦正昭, *Nihon no Bijutsu: Bishamontenzō* 日本美術: 毘沙門天像 (Vaishravana Image), (Tōkyō: Shibundō 至文堂, 1992).

²¹⁰ Pal, "Rāma, Kāma, and the Archer Type of Gupta Coins," p. 263.

²¹¹ There are more examples of protective gods wearing armor and its cross-belt on wall paintings in caves, Xinjiang area. And the real king in armor is also represented as wearing the cross-belt. However, the Mara image from “the Subjugation of Mara” on the upper portion of the rear wall in the main chamber of cave 110 in Kizil wears the armor in which deities are clad, but does not wear the cross-belt (Xinjiang Weiwu'er Zizhiqu wen wu guan li wei yuan hui 新疆ウイグル自治区文物管理委员会; Baicheng Xian

Vedic texts stress that the duty of the king is to protect his people,” and “the king and the Kshatriya are constantly to practice with arms.”²¹² Even Buddhist legend tells us that the prince Siddhartha practiced with arms, in particular in archery. The function of ancient Indian kings was similar to that of Lokapala, and their practice with arms recalls the appearance of Lokapala. It is probable that iconographic elements such as armor, bow, arrow, spear, and cross-belt were an ideal choice for the symbolic emblem for Vaishnavana and finally Lokapala, the guardian deities. As mentioned above, Indian Kings were meant to be represented like gods (with the one exception of hair in *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, the manual of art).²¹³ This might be because kings in India were regarded as the great cosmic man, *mahapurusha*, beyond human beings. The following statement in the *Purāṇa* implies that kings were regarded as sages with auspicious marks: “All kings should be (made) endowed with the marks of Mahapurushas and all sovereign rulers should be (made) with webbed hands and feet.”²¹⁴

4) Avian Figures on the Crown

One of the iconographic features of the Tobatsu-type Vaishnavana is a crown engraved with a bird, or a helmet with feathers attached, as briefly mentioned above (figs. 26-28). There are many examples that show the bird on Vaishnavana’s crown. The devout pilgrim Xuanzang also reports a bird represented on a crown worn by a Great

拝城県(China); Kezi'er Qian fo dong wen wu bao guan suo キジル千仏洞文物保管所, *Kijiru Sekkutsu* キジル石窟, Shohan. ed., 3 vols., vol. 3, ChūGoku Sekkutsu (Tōkyō: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1983), pl.196.

This suggests a reason that the cross-belt was chosen for the heavenly beings, devas in Sanskrit.

²¹² Elgood, *Hindu Arms and Ritual : Arms and Armour from India 1400-1865*, p. 182.

²¹³ Kramrisch, *The Viṣṇudharmottara (Part Iii) a Treatise on Indian Painting and Image-Making..* In the same page, the *Purāṇa* also says that “the gods and *gandharvas* should be represented without crowns but with crests.”

²¹⁴ Ibid..

Divine King (*Dashenwang* 大神王) image,²¹⁵ which is presumably Vaishravana, in the *Record of the Journey to the West*. According to Xuanzang, there was a legend, in which there was a *Dashenwang* 大神王 image at the east of the south gate of a temple in Kapisa.²¹⁶ When a ferocious king was going to dig out the treasure stored under the feet of the image, a parrot on the crown of the image cried out, flapping its wings. Then the earth vibrated, and the king was driven out. The origin of the bird-engraved crown is not clear, but it is assumed that it was established as a crown for Vaishravana in Central Asia.²¹⁷ In the *Record of the Journey to the West* there is another Vaishravana image reported found in Balkh. According to Xuanzang, when the Xiongnu 匈奴 chief Yehhu tried to steal the treasures of the temple, Vaishravana appeared in his dream and pierced him with a spear to stop the theft. One recalls that the spear is another attribute of Vaishravana. Because Kapisa and Balkh were once a territory of the Kushan dynasty, it can be said that the Vaishravana cult was established in the Kushan realm, as Phyllis Granoff points out.²¹⁸ Granoff regards the avian figure on the crown to be the most important iconographic element that links the Kushan prototype and the later typical Tobatsu figure.²¹⁹

²¹⁵ (Xuanzang 玄奘, p. 43).

²¹⁶ This image is regarded as Vaishravana by most Japanese scholars (Granoff, p. 161), with the exception of Tanabe Katsumi. Tanabe denies this identification because the image was not at the north gate but at the east gate, while Xuanzang writes that it was at the east side of the south gate of the temple. Tanabe suggests that it would be better assumed as Surya (Tanabe, p. 125).

²¹⁷ Ikawa 猪川和子, "Jitenni Sasaeru Bishamonten Chosō : Tobatsu Bishamontenzō Nitsuite No Ichkosatsu 地天に支えられる毘沙門天 彫像: 兜跋毘沙門天像についての 一考察 (Vaishravana Figure Supported by Earth Goddess: A Study on Tobatsu Vaishravana Images) " 69.

²¹⁸ Phyllis Granoff, p. 163.

²¹⁹ Phyllis Granoff, p. 165.

With regard to the avian figures on the crown of Vaishnavana, the effigies of Gupta emperors on their coins are worth pointing out.²²⁰ On a coin of Candragupta II, for example, the king is seen standing to the right, holding a bow in his left hand and an arrow in his right hand (fig. 2.39). Behind the arrow there is a pillar, on top of which *Garuda*, a mythical bird, is represented. *Garuda* in the Gupta gold coins has great meaning because it was the royal insignia of the Gupta Empire and was used 'to authenticate the royal charters.'²²¹ The *Garuda* image appears on all the Gupta copper coins, as well. However, it is only represented on archer-type gold coins. For this reason, all the other types without *Garuda* are regarded to have been issued personally by kings who wanted to exhibit their activities, rather than issued nationally by the state.²²² This fact exhibits the symbolic importance of *Garuda* and also of the bow and arrow.

Birds are not used only for secular rulers but also for divine figures. *Garuda* carrying off anthropomorphous *naga* or *nagi* is a theme very frequently seen on the turban crests of Greco-Buddhist art.²²³ Phyllis Granoff discusses the feather on the turban crest of the prototype of Vaishnavana as having come from Pharro. This figure, which represents the Persian 'kingly glory,' is considered to be 'the embodiment of the powers of kingship, and a tutelary divinity of the reigning monarch and the legitimizing

²²⁰ There are 20 or 21 types of Gupta emperors on their coins, including archer type. For more detail about these types, See Gupta and Srivastava, *Gupta Gold Coins in Bharat Kala Bhavan*, pp. 5-11 and plates. Ellen M. Raven classifies them into twenty one types. See Ellen M. Raven, *Gupta Gold Coins with a Garuda-Banner : Samudragupta-Skandagupta*, 2 vols., Gonda Indological Studies (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1994).

²²¹ This was brought from one of the lines of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta (Line 24, Fleet, CII., III, no. 1, p. 8. cited by Gupta and Srivastava, *Gupta Gold Coins in Bharat Kala Bhavan*, p. 9.); before the *garuda*-standard, Gupta emperors adopted crescent-standard as the royal insignia.

²²² Raven, *Gupta Gold Coins with a Garuda-Banner : Samudragupta-Skandagupta*. p. 9.

²²³ Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann, "Head-Dresses with Figurines in Buddhist Art," *Indian Art and Letters* 21/2(1947): 81.

factor in his rule.²²⁴ Granoff regards the bird figure on the crown as one of the most important connections between the Tobatsu Vaishravana and its Kushana prototype wearing the winged cap.²²⁵ Tanabe Katsumi has the same view, probably following from Granoff's investigation.²²⁶ However, in Gandhara and Mathura avian figures such as *Garuḍa* and *Suparṇa* were applied to ornaments in the crests of divine figures as well.²²⁷ There are examples of *Garuḍa* in the turban crests of images identified as Bodhisattvas from the Mathura school in the Kusāna period. In the crest the *Garuḍa* stands in frontal view with wings spread out wide in a horizontal fashion (fig. 2.40 and 2.41). Thus it seems likely that it was very popular for the contemporary artists to put a bird image or feather on the turban crests of images of deities or princely figures.

Since ancient times birds have been considered to be spiritual creatures, and have had an important position in the folk religion in many regions. In addition they have symbolized good auspice, bright light, and justice. Thus they are symbolized as emanations of divine energy, indicators of the sun, or sacred objects that have the highest power.²²⁸ This is why birds are used for images of rulers and divine figures, and yet they are considered to be especially important as symbols of divinity and deified kings. Thus

²²⁴ Phyllis Granoff, p. 163

²²⁵ Phyllis Granoff, p. 165

²²⁶ Tanabe article, pp. 119-120.

²²⁷ Headdresses with different figurines of princely or divine figures are present both in Greco-Buddhist art and in the Kushan art. Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann introduces examples in Greco-Buddhist art examined by scholars such as M. Alfred Foucher and Ananda Coomaraswamy: Mallmann, "Head-Dresses with Figurines in Buddhist Art," pp. 81-82. For headdresses in the Kushan art of Mathura, see Vasudeva S. Agrawala, "Dhyani Buddhas and Bodhisattvas," *The journal of the Uttar Pradesh Historical Society* 11/2(1938): pp. 1-13.

²²⁸ Chuanming 芮傳明 Rui and Taishan 余太山 Yu, *Zhong Xi Wen Shi Bi Jiao 中西文飾比較 (Comparative Study of Chinese and Western Ornamental Design)* Di 1 ban. ed. (Shanghai: Shanghai gu ji chu ban she 上海古籍出版社, 1995), p. 127.

it is important to pay attention to headdress, such as that worn by Sanatraq II the Sasanian king (200-241 C.E.) in the third century, which is engraved with a bird (fig. 2.42).

Skanda, a god of war in India, has a cock as his attribute; and the cock is also an attribute of *Sraoda*, one of the sons of the supreme Ahura Mazda of Zoroastrianism.²²⁹ The avian figure is an important element that we should focus on because Persian Kings and tribal rulers and Gupta emperors, bear this creature in their effigies. This imperial feature may have influenced iconography in which Vaishnavana has a bird on his crown, as seen in typical Tobatsu-type Vaishnavana images. A bird engraved on the crown of Vaishnavana could be an indicator that the Vaishnavana figure originated from Persian iconography of deified kings. Lokapalas also wear winged crowns or helmets later in East Asia, a practice which seems to have succeeded from Vaishnavana's iconographic feature.

5) The Flame Mandorla

For ancient people, worship of fire was presumably close to worship of birds; there are extant art works that combine fire and birds showing a close relationship between fire and birds. For example, at the center of a sanctuary site excavated at Surkh Kotal there is a fire-worship altar at whose base large clay bird images remain (fig. 2.43). In addition, on a limestone relief is a scene of the 'receiving king's authority from God,' and next to this there is an altar representing a bird. Generally altars or incense burners decorated with birds can be seen in the Kushan and Partian periods.

²²⁹ Pratāpāditya Pāla; Los Angeles County Museum of Art, "Indian Sculpture / Vol. 1, Circa 500 B.C.-A.D. 700," ed. Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1986), p. 164.

One of the most characteristic elements of Vaishnavana iconography that originated from the Iranian world is the flame mandorla emerging from behind the deity's shoulders. There are Buddha images with flames issuing from his shoulders. The iconography of Buddha's shoulder flames, which is believed to be borrowed from many different sources in the Late Antique world, exhibits his divine luminosity; his light-emitting character is implicit in many Buddhist scriptures.²³⁰ However, the literary source of Vaishnavana's flame shoulder is not known.

The key to solving what kind of belief influenced this motif can be found in Xuanzang's *Datangxiyuji* 大唐西域記 ("Record of the Journey to the West"). According to this book's article on Jiabishiguo 迦畢試國 "Kapisi Kingdom" on the country Jiabishi, an evil dragon had lived in a pond on the top of the great snow mountain in this country. King Kanishka defeated it by means of bringing flame out from his shoulders. Through this legend, in which the evil dragon was defeated by flame, we can see that fire was considered to be a good force, which can drive away the devil. In support of this idea are the posture and motif of the flame-shoulders appearing on coins, standardized by a gold coin issued in the reign of the Kushan king Kanishka I. On the front side of this coin is represented a portrait of a king with a flame emerging from his shoulders, as described earlier (fig. 2.31). The king is putting his right hand on an altar, which is presumably a fire-worship altar. This motif was followed in the coins of many generations of kings up

²³⁰ Benjamin Rowland, "The Iconography of the Flame Halo," *Bulletin of the Fogg Art Museum* Vol. 11, No. 1 (Jan., 1949): 10-16.

until the Sasanian kings.²³¹ Phyllis Granoff explains that flames rising from the deity's shoulders are also a royal attribute, with examples of portrayals of Vima and Huvishka on these kings' coins.²³²

It is said that in Zoroastrianism, Ahura-Mazda, the god of bright light, made his son, Atar, the fire-divinity, fight with the evil spirit god. Atar caused a flame to defeat an evil dragon sent by the evil spirit. This legend makes us presume that a flame-shoulder motif in portraits of kings is closely related to the flame of the fire-divinity. Most likely this motif of the flame-shoulder reflects the traditional point of view of the kings of the ancient Iranian people. In the Persian world, people saw their king as a kind of fire divinity, which originally fell from heaven in a fire column.²³³ This is probably an explanation of why Persian kings worship the fire altar.

The Kapisi region, from which the Kanishka legend was transmitted, is present-day Begram of Afghanistan. The Buddhist sculptures excavated in this region had a new style, rather than inheriting the Gandharan style. Among them there are many examples using a flame-shoulder motif, which at this point was a new iconography in the region. For example, there is a sculpture depicting the Jataka story of Dipankara Buddha, *Randengfu* 燃燈佛, which is in a new style rather than the Gandharan style. Buddhist sculptures in the Gandharan style depict dramatic scenes of the Jataka tale. When

²³¹ Katsumi Tanabe 田辺勝美, "Kanishka Itse Kinka No Kokuo Ritzō Ko-Enken No Kigen to Igi カニシユカ 1 世金貨の國王立像考-焰肩の起源と意義 (a Study on the Standing Figure of King Kanishka I on His Gold Coins)," *Bukkyō geijutsu 佛教藝術 (Ars Buddhica)* 156(1984): 52.

²³² Granoff, p. 165.

²³³ Katsumi Tanabe 田辺勝美 (1984), 59-60.

compared with this style, the Buddhist sculpture of Kapisi seems stiff (fig. 2.44). In addition, whereas in Gandharan sculpture the Buddha and other figures are all on the same scale, in the Kapisi sculpture the Buddha image is the largest.

It is believed that this new iconography seen in the Buddha image of the Kapisi region reflects a traditional belief or thought that was not present in the Gandharan region. The new iconography of the flame-shoulders Buddha image is considered to be related to the Iranian iconography of kings that we see on the coin issued by the Kanishka I.²³⁴ All these traditional beliefs are most likely related to fire. A fire-worship altar, on which was practiced a ritual similar to an Iranian Zoroastrianism rite, was excavated from Surkh Kotal in northern Hindukushi. This site is thought to be the sanctuary site of Kanishka. According to the excavation, it can be presumed that fire had been worshipped in the traditional Kushan ritual.²³⁵ In Zoroastrianistic tradition a king worshipped at a small and circular fire altar. There is also an image of a Sasanian ruler offering on a fire altar on his

²³⁴ Yoko Motaidei モタイデイ 遙子, "アフガニスタン出土の練燈佛本生譚の諸類例 (Several Examples of Dipamkara Buddha Jataka Excavated in Afganistan)," *Bukkyō geijutsu 佛教藝術 (Ars Buddhica)* 117(1978): 36.

²³⁵ "アフガニスタン出土の練燈佛本生譚の諸類例 (Several Examples of Dipamkara Buddha Jataka Excavated in Afganistan)," *Bukkyō geijutsu 佛教藝術 (Ars Buddhica)* 117(1978): 37. In this article the author says that we cannot know how a flame-shoulder motif, which existed in Kushan religious tradition, was accepted into Buddhist art. However, she understands that when Kapisi was considered to be a political center of Kushan, the Kushan king may have used a flame-shoulder motif, a symbol of his own absolute authority, for a political rather than religious purpose. She concludes that thus the flame-shoulder Buddha 焰肩佛 can be considered a unique local style, which may have been created in relation to Persian thought associated with fire, the absolute authority of Kushan kings deified, and the development of Buddhist literature.

coin (fig. 2.45). This ritual of offering fire was very popular among the Iranian people during the first to third centuries.²³⁶

6) The Earth Goddess

The iconography described above was presumably formed somewhere in central Asia, in particular Khotan, even though there are no extant Vaishravana images having all these elements together in Khotan. However, I think that the most important symbol of Vaishravana signifying his Khotanese origin is the female figure who supports the soles of his feet. She is regarded as the most distinctive characteristic of Tobatsu-type Vaishravana.²³⁷ The iconographic elements of Vaishravana, as mentioned above, are related to the Iranian world. The application of an earth goddess, however, seems to be an Indian idea, in that “there is no motif more fundamentally characteristic of Indian art from first to last than that of the Woman and Tree.” It is even the case that in Southern India, all the local deities of villages are female.²³⁸

The earth goddess is a complex figure in Indian mythology. She is described as maternal bounty, constancy, absolute truthfulness, and potential ferocity. She is praised as a “patron of moral uprightness and veracity,” and as a “mighty guardian” who expels demons, “grants protection” from bad actions, and finally conveys “victory over enemies

²³⁶ Tanabe, "カニシュカ 1 世金貨の國王立像考 - 焰肩の起源と意義 (A Study on the Standing Figure of King Kanishka I on His Gold Coins)," 54

²³⁷ Kazuko Ikawa 猪川和子, 地天に支えられる毘沙門天 彫像: 兜跋毘沙門天像についての 一考察, *Bijutsu kenkyū* 美術研究 229, (1963, 7), pp.54-56.

²³⁸ Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, 32. It is also worth noting that all the local divinities of villages in Southern India are female deities (Coomaraswamy, p. 9).

and rivals.”²³⁹ In Buddhism the earth goddess is first present with Buddha Shakyamuni, legitimizing his enlightenment. Here there are two kinds of representations of her. One is with the bodhisattva Shakyamuni looking for a perfect spot for his final goal, enlightenment, in the scene of “Preparing the Vajra Throne.” The other is with the meditating bodhisattva who is challenged by Mara to produce a witness to the Bodhisattva’s claim, in the scene of “Temptation of Mara” (fig. 2.46). In the former she is emerging from the earth supporting the pedestal indicating the ‘perfect spot.’ The latter is famous, with the Bodhisattva’s right hand gesture touching the ground to summon the earth goddess; in response, her upper body emerges from the earth and expresses reverence with joined palms.²⁴⁰ In regard to the former, Kita Shinichi 北進一 discusses how the earth goddess symbolizes the Vajra throne as the center of the world, and grants Buddha, who is sitting there, imperium over the earth.²⁴¹ In regard to the Vaishravana iconography, however, her role as a “patron of moral uprightness and veracity” and “mighty guardian” who expels evils and gives protection from theft and evil actions, and finally ‘delivers victory over enemies,’ praised in Vedic texts,²⁴² seems to be incorporated directly into Vaishravana iconography.

²³⁹ *Buddhist Goddesses of India*, p. 18.

²⁴⁰ She was actually summoned twice by the bodhisattva right before his attainment of enlightenment. Following defeat at the first attack, Mara sent his daughters to tempt the bodhisattva. When this failed, Mara again attacked the bodhisattva with more ferocious troops, and the bodhisattva summoned the earth goddess again. Her reverberating sound finally forced Mara to the ground and made his armies powerless. *Buddhist Goddesses of India*, p. 20

²⁴¹ Shin'ichi Kita 北進一, "Bishamontenzō No Hensen 毘沙門天像の變遷 (Changes of Vaishravana Images)," in *Sekai Bijutsu Daizenshū tōYō Dai 15kan Chuyō Ajia* 世界美術大全集 東洋編第15巻 中央アジア (New History of World Art: Central Asia) (Tōkyō: Shōgakukan 小学館, 1999).

²⁴² *Buddhist Goddesses of India*, p.18- 19.

In the chapter on Dṛḍhā of the *Golden Light Sutra* an earth goddess, Dṛḍhā, also appears to support teachings of the sutra. She promises “in whichever region of the earth, Lord, the seat of the Law will have been provided for the monk who preaches the Law, wherever the preacher of the Law, having sat on that seat, shall expound in detail this excellent Suvarṇabhāsa, king of sutras, there I, dear Lord, the earth goddess Dṛḍhā, will come to those regions of the earth. Having gone up to the seat of the Law with my invisible body I will lean with my head upon the soles of the feet of the monk who is preaching the Law.”²⁴³ Application of the figure of the earth goddess under the feet of Vaishravana can be read as an iconic feature of the deity “as faithful devotee and protector of the Buddhist Law.”²⁴⁴

An interesting fact related to the earth goddess as a figure who saves the world “with milk from her golden breasts”²⁴⁵ is the legend of the establishment of Khotan. According to the *Buddhist Record of a Journey to the Western World*, the earliest Chinese word for Khotan is Yutian 于闐, but Khotan was known in Sanskrit as *Gostana*

²⁴³ R. E. Emmerick, *The Sūtra of Golden Light: Being a Translation of the Suvarṇabhāṣasūtra*, Sacred Books of the Buddhists (London; Boston: Pali Text Society; Distributed by Routledge & K. Paul, 1979), pp. 53-57.

²⁴⁴ Jia Yingyi argues that the earth goddess is one of the iconographic characteristics of Khotanese Buddhism by emphasizing that stucco images and murals, which include the earth goddess, have been discovered at Buddhist sites in Khotan such as Bugaiwuyulaike 布盖烏于來克, Tuopulukedun 托普魯克墩, Barawaste 巴拉瓦斯特, Rawak, and Dandan-uiliq. He also argues that iconography of the Khotanese earth goddesses is represented by the chapter on the earth goddess Dṛḍhā (堅牢地神品, Kr. Gyeonnoi jishinpum, ch. Jianlao dishenpin) in *Jingguangming jing* 金光明經 (“Golden Light Sutra”) and in *Jingguangming zhishengwang jing* 金光明最勝王經 (“The Supreme King of Golden Light Sutra”). See Jia Yingyi 賈應逸, “Ujeon bulgyo dosang-ui jishin (The Earth goddess in Iconography of Khotanese Buddhism),” *Jungang Asia-ui Yeoksa-wa Munhwa* 중앙아시아의 역사와 문화 (History and Culture in Central Asia), Seoul: Sol (2007), pp. 129-149:139-140.

²⁴⁵ Buddhist Goddesses of India, p. 18-19.

(*Gaustam* in Khotanese texts²⁴⁶), which means the ‘earth breast.’ Xuanzang reports that the Khotanese king descended from Vaishravana, and Vaishravana was worshiped as an ancestral god of the Khotanese royal family. Following is the legend, which has been transmitted in Khotan from generation to generation. A king, the founder of the kingdom of Khotan, had no son. Worried that his family line would break, the king prayed to a Vaishravana statue for the birth of a son, upon which the forehead of the image split in two; from there a baby was born. Yet the baby did not have any milk, and so the king prayed to the image once again. At this point the earth at the front of the image protruded like breasts. The baby grew up fed by the milk from the divine breasts. After he ascended the throne, his family line never died out, and Khotan thrived.²⁴⁷ For this reason, Vaishravana has been a protector of this kingdom, and Xuanzang said that the

²⁴⁶ *The Silk Road: Trade, Travel, War and Faith*, edited by Susan Whitfield with Ursula Sims-Williams. London: British Library, 2004, P. 34.

²⁴⁷ Xuanzang 玄奘, translated by Gwuen Deokju, *Daedang Seoyeokgi* 大唐西域記 (*Buddhist Record of a Journey to the Western World*), 日月書閣, Seoul: Ilwolseogak, 1983, pp. 355-356. There is a different version of the legend according to the *History of Khotan* written in Tibetan, which was translated into English by Ronald E. Emmerick and into Japanese by Enga Teramoto 史本婉雅, the prince was a son of the King Dharmāśoka but his biological father was the deity Vaishrava. Because the King was afraid of his throne being taken by the baby prince, the king abandoned the baby, who was raised by the milk of the earth breast and whose name was Sa-nu (earth-breast) or Qusadana 瞿薩怛那 (*Gaustam*). The prince was fled to China and became a son of a king of China but finally came back to his country and ascended to the throne. During establishing the country there was a fight between the prince and the minister Yaśas, Vaishravana and Shri Devi appeared and the fighting stopped. In the country Vaishravana and Shri Devi are worshipped as guardians of the country: R. E. Emmerick, *Tibetan Texts Concerning Khotan*, London Oriental Series, (London, New York etc.: Oxford U.P., 1967), pp. 17-21.; Enga Teramoto 寺本婉雅, *Utenkoku Bukkyoshi No Kenkyu*, 于闐佛教史の研究 (*Studies on Buddhist History of Khotan*) (Tōkyō: Kokusho Kankōkai 国書刊行会, 1974), pp. 16-18. For Khotanese history, culture, and language, See John E. Hill, "Notes on the Dating of Khotanese History," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 31(1988): 179-90.; Harold W. Bailey, *The Culture of the Sakas in Ancient Iranian Khotan* (Delmar; New York: Caravan Books, 1982).; F. W. Thomas, "The Language of Ancient Khotan," *Asia Major* 2(April 1925): 251-71., pp. 251-271; Edwin G. Pulleyblank, "The Date of the Stael-Holstein Roll," *The Date of The Stael-Holstein Roll* n.s., vol.4: 90-96.; Ronald E. Emmerick, *A Guide to the Literature of Khotan* (Tōkyō: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 1992).

Indian name of this kingdom, Kiu-sa-tan-na, meaning ‘the earth breast,’ became the name of Khotan. I consider this female figure to be both the visual metaphor of the earth breast, and evidence by which the Khotanese origin of Vaishravana can be proved.

Many stucco images with a female figure, dated to the fourth century, were excavated at the Rawak temple site, one of the most important Buddhist remains of Khotan (fig. 2.29). Even though these images are in fragment, I think they are Vaishravana, because there is a female figure beneath their feet. This female seems to signify the breast that rose from the earth in front of the Vaishravana statue, mentioned in the *Datang xiyu ji*.²⁴⁸ With regard to this there is another interesting example: a buxom woman excavated from the Rawak Stupa site (fig. 2.29-1). Even though this image has not yet been identified, it is not considered to be a high-ranked Buddhist deity because there are no known deities of this type of Buddhist iconography depicting a woman. Therefore, one possibility is that it is an Earth-and-Heaven woman supporting Vaishravana.

For evidence of Khotan as an origin of Tobatsu-type Vaishravana, with the Earth-and-Heaven woman signifying the earth breast, there is a picture of the Khotanese king Li Shengtian 李聖天 (fig. 2.47). This image was painted on the wall of Dunhuang Mogao cave no. 98 in 961 C.E., when Li Shengtian was appointed as the ruler of Khotan

²⁴⁸ Alexander Soper also interprets this female figure as the earth breast: “The outer gate guardians at Rawak in the Khotan vicinity, who were found standing each with the well-developed bust of a diminutive woman rising from the pedestal between his feet, represent an artist’s re-interpretation of this story. A shape like a breast, rising alone out of the earth, would have been a startling sight and one not easy to comprehend; how much better to convey the same idea by showing a traditional mother-figure, like an earth goddess.” For this, see *Alexander Coburn Soper and Seigai Ômura, Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China, Artibus Asiae Supplementum (Ascona, : Artibus Asiae, 1959), p. 240.*

by the Chinese emperor.²⁴⁹ Here the king stands on the same female figure as does the Vaishravana image. Thus this picture seems to be important evidence that the image of Vaishravana with the earth goddess originated in Khotan. Perhaps it emphasizes that it was the help of the earth breast that the family line of the Khotanese kings were carried on from generation to generation.

On the other hand, it seems to be a tradition in Central Asian countries originated from Khotan that rulers are portrayed with the female figure supporting them. This tradition is clearly exhibited in an image of a ruler as a devotee supported by a female, in Ziergaha Cave 孜爾尕哈 no. 14 in Xinjiang, dated to the sixth to seventh century (fig. 2.48). The king, wearing a long-skirted garment with a short dagger and a long sword, is standing as if he is afloat in the air, and the earth goddess, whose upper body emerges from the earth, is lightly supporting his soles. Thus it seems possible that one of the attributes of the secular king in Central Asia is a female figure supporting him.

If this is correct, it should be noted as a possibility that the image discovered in Rawak, which has been identified as Vaishravana, is a secular king rather than Vaishravana (fig. 2.29). The image is supported by a female figure, of which there remains only the upper body. This is because he is in a group of deity images and is wearing different armor than other Vaishravana images in Central Asia. The Tobatsu-type Vaishravana as supported by the earth goddess is usually made as an independent image, but the Rawak image is represented among a group of deities. The long-skirted

²⁴⁹ Eiichi Matsumoto 松本榮一, "Uten Kokuō RishōTen to BakukōKutsu 于闐國王李聖天と莫高窟 (Li Shentian, a Khotanese King, and a Mogao Cave)," *Kokka 國華* 35(1925): 14-15.

garment that the figure wears looks similar to the long-skirted armor Tobatsu Vishravana wears in terms of its length and its A-shaped contour. In addition, its texture does not look like armor, but looks like robes that the Central Asian local kings wear, as seen from a king image in Kizil (fig. 2.48). If the Rawak image is a secular king of Khotan who may be standing in the site as a devotee with other divinities, he could be one of the ancestors of Li Shengtian. In these portrayals of Central Asian Kings, the earth goddess could be indicative of sovereignty, or the symbol of royalty.

In conclusion, Vaishravana images are divided into two types. One is the usual style, which is similar to that of the northern Lokapala type. Another is mainly used for the independent Vaishravana image called Tobatsu. However, unique iconography of Vaishravana, Tobatsu was also adapted in the case of the northern Lokapala, even though such cases are rare. This unique image of Vaishravana seems to have been formed somewhere in the Iranian world. This seems to be the case because the iconographic elements of Vaishravana are closely related to the religion and belief of the Iranian people. For example, a flame mandala is associated with fire, worshipped by them. In addition, an Earth-and-Heaven woman can be interpreted as a metaphorical expression of the divine breast described in the legend of establishing Khotan, and thereby also as royal insignia. Also, the bow and arrow, which are attributes of southern Lokapala, and the bird figure on the crown of Vaishravana, reflect Iranian thoughts and traditional beliefs.

Chapter III. Iconography of Lokapala in East Asia

Early Buddhist art in India was solely the province of laymen; Buddhist monks discarded worldly life and regarded sensations as worthless, and thus they rejected art.²⁵⁰ This tendency passed into Theravada ethics and is still partially alive today in that tradition. Although many Buddhist sects started to gradually accede to stupa worship and Buddha image worship around the first century C.E., a transition to Mahayana was still ongoing into the fourth century in some regions in India, such as Nagarjunakonda.²⁵¹ Even as late as the fifth century C.E., painters in the older tradition were still classified as “purveyors of sensuous luxuries,” as is quoted by Heinrich Zimmer²⁵² from the *Visuddhimagga* (“The Way to Final Purification”) by Buddhaghosa.²⁵³

The Buddhist pantheon, therefore, was elaborated only as Mahayana and Vajrayana traditions developed. Buddhist literature is significant in identifying Buddhist images, since iconographic description in Buddhist scriptures gives the principle standard by which divinity can be identified. Tantric texts, for example, are more like manuals for creating images, in that they describe the appearance of worshipped deities based on ritualistic needs, in terms of the deities’ location on the altar or in the mandala, their clothing, their attributes, and their posture. Multifarious factors must have involved, in

²⁵⁰ Zimmer, Campbell, and Elisofon, *The Art of Indian Asia, Its Mythology and Transformations*, 231.

²⁵¹ Elizabeth Rosen Stone demonstrates with the help of studies of other scholars such as H. Sarka and Hirakawa Akira that Buddhist architectural forms at Nagarjunakonda reflect this transition, See Stone, *The Buddhist Art of NāGārjunakoṇḍa*, 13-20.

²⁵² Zimmer, Campbell, and Elisofon, *The Art of Indian Asia, Its Mythology and Transformations*, 231.

²⁵³ *Visuddhimagga*, which was composed in Ceylon, is regarded as the great commentary and encyclopedic treatise of Theravada Buddhism. The book, which is divided in three sections and twenty-three chapters, depicts the whole of the Buddhist system and explains all aspects of Buddhist practice. See Vyanjana and Buddhaghosa, *TheravāDa Buddhist Ethics with Special Reference to Visuddhimagga* (Calcutta: Punthi Pustak, 1992), pp. 144-48.

the process evolution of the concept underlying divinities. This process also must have been involved in the formulation of their iconography. However, it is not easy to trace out all these factors, due to a lack of images corresponding to literary evidence.

Lokapala images in East Asia have the appearance of warriors in terms of their postures and dress, whereas those in India and Southeast Asia have the appearance of local kings or bodhisattvas, as demonstrated in the previous chapter. In India they are beautified with ornaments such as heavy headdresses, earrings, arm bracelets, and wrist bracelets. These deities are ornamented even in arts of Buddhism, a tradition encouraging ascetic practice, likely because of the Indian idea that “only things covered with ornaments are beautiful” and that “the jewels and ornaments served as amulets for protection.”²⁵⁴ This pre-Buddhist Indian tradition is still alive in Tantric texts, in which Lokapala are described as beautified by jewels and gems, even though they are given in the image of warriors.

India was a source of inspiration for Lokapala iconography, and yet the situation there does not explain the changes in iconography from noble-like features to warrior-like features. There is no literary evidence that confirms when and where this change occurred. Fortunately, however, some Buddhist ritualistic texts translated into Chinese are extant today, while almost all their original Indian versions do not exist. These textual materials provide iconographic information on deities. It is true, though, that they are often hopelessly ambiguous. For example, texts describing the visual features of Lokapala make little distinction as to the details of clothing and attributes, as seen in

²⁵⁴ Zimmer, Campbell, and Elisofon, *The Art of Indian Asia, Its Mythology and Transformations*, 236.

<table 2>. Furthermore, Lokapala imagery in East Asian Buddhist art only partially corresponds to literary descriptions, contrary to expectations that they be made on the basis of the canonical descriptions on the part of Buddhas in some scriptures.²⁵⁵ This makes iconographic study difficult.

Lokapala imagery has been used in several religious contexts in India and East Asia: Lokapalas in visual form fulfill the role of assistant or worshipper of the Buddha, or they are objects of worship themselves. Whereas the first pair of roles is ordinarily observed in any Buddhist country, the role of object of worship is discovered only in East Asian countries. It is obvious that the idea of directional deities protecting the world originated in India. However, it was in East Asia that Lokapalas became objects of worship. Therefore it can be said that these contexts made for a regional difference in the spiritual status of Lokapala, even though their hierarchical rank in Buddhism cannot be changed. If we are to draw any conclusion from the above facts as to classification of the visual form of Lokapalas, we may say that the bodhisattva type must have been popular in Hinayana Buddhism, and the warrior type in Mahayana Buddhism.²⁵⁶ Warrior-type Lokapala imagery found in Tibet, a Buddhist country known for Vajrayana, also attests to this distinction.

In the previous chapter I examined various sources involved in the formation of new iconography of armed Vaishnavana and Lokapala. In the present chapter the goal is

²⁵⁵ For example, in the chapter on how to make images (Ch. *Chengxiangfapin* 成像法品) of the second fascicle of *Yizi fodinglunwang jing* 一字佛頂輪王經 (*Sutra on The Single Syllable of Buddha-Crown-Wheel King*), Buddha says that “images should be represented according to regulations in order to obtain accomplishments.”

²⁵⁶ Buddhism in China started with Mahayana. Even though there was a stream of the Hinayana tradition, it was not that popular and finally declined by Mahayanists.

to define the principle standard of iconography by which we can distinguish Lokapala from other armed deities in East Asia. To meet this goal, I will explore some Buddhist texts translated into Chinese. Religious iconography was expected to be made according to the canonical texts, and so I will determine descriptions of the iconic elements in those scriptures. Following from this I will analyze these iconographic elements in terms of their meanings in East Asian culture. In subsequent chapters on specific images of ancient Korea from the seventh through the fourteenth centuries, I will try to determine the procedure by which literary regulations were applied to imagery by analyzing art works that correspond to literary evidence.

1. Buddhist Texts as Iconographic Sources for the Four Heavenly Kings in East Asia

As discussed in the previous chapter, images of rulers or their attributes are reflected in images of Lokapala. In the Indic tradition, rulers were regarded as protectors of the world and of the people under their control. In this tradition divine beings had been regarded as protectors of the world, and in Buddhism Lokapala became representatives of protectors of the world. The people responsible for the composition of the ritual procedures of Tantra, in which the appearance of deities is described, knew the meaning of specific aspects and attributes; these people might have considered the ruler image to be suitable for Lokapalas due to the ruler's common role to protect the people. I think that due to this reason the image of Indic rulers was a model for the iconography of Lokapala as protectors of the world. In Buddhist arts in India, Lokapala are barely distinguishable in crowds of deities or human worshippers, for they all have the same

visual features. Lokapala obtained the warrior image outside their homeland, India. When their cult developed as an independent pantheon in East Asia, the warrior image seemed suitable for the deities. However, we should be careful in dealing with the iconographic difference between India and East Asia, because iconographic texts were written in India, even though there is doubt as to where some were written or compiled.

As discussed in Chapter 1, *The Golden Light Sutra* is considered to be the text dominant in the popularization of the Buddhist Lokapala cult in East Asia. Lokapala described in this sutra, however, do not have East Asian iconographic features such as armor and weapons. *The Golden Light Sutra* that was translated into Chinese by Tanwuchen 曇無讖 of Northern Liang in 414-426 C.E. describes the Lokapala as seemingly a bodhisattva who wears a jade or pearl necklace and has a naked upper body and folded hands (*namskara* mudra). In regard to this it should be noted that Lokapala images in the early phase of their cult in East Asia resemble the Indian images with the appearance of nobles, as will be discussed in the next chapter. This early phase is very important to the history of the iconography, because bodhisattva-like Lokapala appearing at this point could suggest possibilities that the warrior-type Lokapala was not transmitted directly from India but created somewhere outside India.

Buddhist scriptures in which the appearance of Lokapala is stated are mainly Tantric texts rendered into Chinese in the seventh and eighth centuries C.E., as seen in

<table 2>.²⁵⁷ The eleventh fascicle of *Foshuo tuoluonijijing* 佛說陀羅尼集經 (“Dharani Sutra Preached by the Buddha”) is one of the most famous sutras in relation to Lokapala iconography in East Asia. I will refer to this sutra by its abbreviated name: *Dharani Sutra*. According to the introduction of the sutra, it was rendered into Chinese from the year 653 through 654 at Huirisi 惠日寺 in Chang’an by an Indian monk, Atigupta or Atikuja (Ch. Adiquduo 阿地瞿多), who came to Chang’an in the year 652. From the time the sutra was translated, it was believed that it might have been written in China, because it was not considered to be a canonical text transmitted from India. However, Sasaki Daiju, a Japanese scholar, points out by quoting Yoritomi Motohiro that it is hard to determine that the sutra was fully composed in China because some elements mentioned in the text are clearly Indian.²⁵⁸

The scripture divides objects into five parts: Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Vajra family (*jingangbu* 金剛部), Divine beings (Skt. Devas), and mandala ceremonials for general assembly (Pujihuitanfa 普集會壇法). The sutra deals with the mudra (*yin* 印) and mantra (*zhou* 呪) of each, and also gives instruction in the making of images and altars and the making of offerings. It seems likely that iconography mentioned in the sutra influenced

²⁵⁷ Table 2 is based on a table (經軌における四天王の方位 持物 身色) by Osamu Takata 高田修, "Tōji Kōdō Shoson to Sono Mikkyō Te Imi 東寺講堂諸尊とその密教的意味 (Deities at the Lecture Hall in Toji and Esoteric Meaning of Them)," *美術研究 (The Journal of Art Studies)* 253(Sep., 1967): 39-76. and Dainobu 臺信祐爾, "Tonkō No Shitenno Zuzō 敦煌の四天王圖像 (an Iconographical Study of Lokapala Imagery in and around the Dunhuang Grottoes)," 5-150. I have added to these additional texts.

²⁵⁸ Sasaki Daiju 佐佐木大樹, "Daranishukeini Kansuru Shobunkenno Kosatsu 陀羅尼集經に關する諸文獻の考察 (a Study of Various Texts on Dharani Sutra)," *Taishō Daigaku Daigakuin Kenkyū Ronji* 大正大学大学院研究論集 (*Journal of the Graduate School, Taishō University*) 29(2005): 73.

Lokapala iconography not only in the contemporary production but also in later times.²⁵⁹ For instance, Lokapala appear on the Cloud Terrace of Juyong Pass (Juyongguan yuntai 居庸關雲臺) established in the year 1343 in Beijing. The arrangement of the Lokapala in this latter case matches a statement in fascicle nine of the *Dharani Sutra*,²⁶⁰ which is the same as a statement in fascicle one of *Yizi foding junwang jing* 一字佛頂輪王經 (“The Single Syllable Buddha’s Crown Wheel King Sutra”): that the King of the East is put in the northeast, the King of the South in the southeast, the King of the West in the southwest, and the King of the North in the northwest.²⁶¹ The fact that the *Dharani Sutra* is quoted in texts compiled later, such as *Zhongbian zhutianzhuan* 重篇諸天傳 (“The Repetition Compiling Commentaries on Various Divine Kings”) and *Fozutongji* 佛祖通記 (“The Record of the Lineage of the Buddha and the Patriarchs”), also indicates that this sutra exercised its influence for quite a long time.

In the *Dharani Sutra* there are various instructions on how to make Buddhist images, including Lokapalas, considering their location as mentioned above. Also the sutra mentions size, clothing, attributes, and postures for Lokapalas. Their size is one *zhou* 肘, which is the length of a forearm, and they wear various heavenly clothing. Their size and dress are all the same (table 2). The King of the East stretches his left arm

²⁵⁹ Seung-hee Lee 李承禧, "Goryeomal Joseoncho Sacheonwang Dosang Yeongu 高麗末 朝鮮初 四天王圖像 研究 (Iconography of Four Directional Guardians in the Late Goryeo and the Early Joseon Dynasties)," *Misulsa Yeongu* 美術史研究 (*Journal of Art History*) 22(2008): n. 8.

²⁶⁰ 東北角安提頭賴吒天王. 東南角安毘盧茶迦. 西南角安毘盧博叉. 西北角安鞞沙門天王. (T. 18, No. 901, 0865b17-19) http://www.cbeta.org/result/normal/T18/0901_009.htm

²⁶¹ Lee 李承禧, "Goryeomal Joseoncho Sacheonwang Dosang Yeongu 高麗末 朝鮮初 四天王圖像 研究 (Iconography of Four Directional Guardians in the Late Goryeo and the Early Joseon Dynasties)," n. 27.

down and holds a single-edged sword (Ch. *dao* 刀) with his left hand. He bends his right arm and holds a luminous jewel on his right palm facing upward. The King of the South holds a single-edged sword in the same posture as the King of the East. With his right hand he holds a spear pointing to the ground. The King of the West has the same pose with his left hand as the other Lokapalas, but he holds a spear, not a sword. He holds a red rein in his right hand. The Northern King holds with his left hand a spear pointing to the ground, and the right hand of his bent arm holds a stupa with.

In fascicle 11 of the *Dharani Sutra*²⁶² there is an explanation of how to make each Sacheonwang image, as follows. The (height of the) King of the East is one forearm length, and he wears various kinds of heavenly clothing. The decoration is very refined and matches his body well. He holds a sword in his left hand, with the arm stretched down. He bends his right arm and holds a jewel in his hand, with the palm facing upward. The jewel radiates light. The King of the South is identical in size and attire. His left hand holds a sword with the arm stretched, as with the previous Heavenly King. With his right hand he holds a spear pointing to the ground. The King of the West is identical in size and attire. His left hand is in the same position as that of the previous images, but he holds a spear. He holds a red rope in his right hand. The King of the North is identical in size and attire. He holds a spear pointing to the ground as do the previous figures. He holds a stupa in his right hand with a bent forearm (table 2). After the images are made

²⁶² The sutra was translated into Chinese in 653-4 by Adijuduo 阿地瞿多, a monk from India, in the Tang dynasty.

they are placed at the north, facing south. The presider of the rite sits at the south, facing north, and he is making mudras.²⁶³

It is important to notice that in this text the Lokapala are described wearing not armor but heavenly clothing, making the case very different from that of Lokapala images dominant in East Asian countries. It can be assumed that when the *Dharani Sutra* was written, Lokapala were still represented on the basis of Indic iconography of Lokapala, not in armor. The sutra could be considered as a text key to the origins of the warrior type of Lokapala in iconographic history. Attributes mentioned in this sutra are sword, jewel, spear, red rein, and stupa.²⁶⁴ The fact that all four deities hold attributes in both hands is characteristic, taken on in East Asian Lokapala images made in the seventh century. The *Dharani Sutra* was popular in Japan and images of the Four Divine Kings were produced in the Heian 平安 Period (794-1185/1192) on the basis of iconography instructed in the *Sutra*.²⁶⁵

The third fascicle of *Bukong jiansuo tuoluoni zizaiwang zhoujing* 不空羂索多羅尼自在王呪經 (“Infallible Lasso Dharani Unrestrained King’s Mantra Sutra”) mentions Lokapala wearing armor. It is also in this sutra that there is mention of Lokapala’s face and eyes as angry. However, Lokapala images in armor began to be produced before the date of its translation into Chinese, 693 C.E., and so the sutra is not the source of the

²⁶³ 作是像已。於道場北。面向南邊。作行安置竟。咒師南坐面向北方。即手作前法印。(T. 18, No. 901, 0879a25-0879a26).

²⁶⁴ The stupa, as an attribute of Vaishravana, appears for the first time among extant Buddhist texts translated into Chinese.

²⁶⁵ Satoshi Seyama 瀬山里志, "Daranishukeiniyo Shitennono Nihonniokeru Shuyouto Tenkai 陀羅尼集經樣四天王の日本における受容と展開 (Transmission and Development of the Four Lokapala in Dharani Sutra Style in Japan)," *Bukkyo geijutsu 佛教藝術 (Ars buddhica)* 239(1988): 73-93.

change in Lokapala iconography from the bodhisattva type to the warrior type. The sutra also indicates the location on mandala of deities guarding the gates of the four cardinal directions. The arrangement described here is important to the earliest Lokapala images in Korea, which I will discuss in the next chapter. Attributes are as follows: a double-edged sword for the King of the East, a mace for the King of the South, a bow and arrow or single-edged and double-edged swords for the King of the West, and tools and weapons for the King of the North. It is important to note that the sutra mentions deities as guarding gates.²⁶⁶

Yizi fodinglunwang jing 一字佛頂輪王經 (“The Single Syllable Buddha’s Crown Wheel King Sutra”) was translated into Chinese in 705 C.E. It is included in the ninth fascicle of *Kaiyuan shijiaolu* 開元釋教錄 (“Catalogue of Buddhist Scriptures of the Kaiyuan Era”), which was compiled by Zhisheng in the eighteenth year of Kaiyuan (730). This sutra states that Buddha Shakyamuni, who attained enlightenment under the Bodhi tree, is in great Samadhi. Presenting the Charavatin king’s mark, he preaches the single syllable crown wheel king’s mantra in response to the request of *Jingang mijizhu pusa* 金剛密跡主菩薩 (Vajra Secret-Traces Bodhisattva). The sutra has thirteen chapters dealing with how to make images, how to make an altar, how to make offerings, and how to protect the dharma, etc.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁶ As we have seen in the previous chapter, they served as gatekeepers in Indian Buddhist arts. For this reason it is hard to say that the Lokapala’s role of guarding gates is a Sinicized feature, which Youngae Lim argues in “Changes on the Faces of Chinese Guardians,” *Gangjwa Misulsa* (The Art History Journal) 26-1, 2006, pp. 259-280.

²⁶⁷ <http://dictionary.buddhistdoor.com/word/一字佛頂輪王經/>

As to iconographic characteristics, it is in this text that Lokapalas are described as wearing armor and seated in a half lotus posture, *banjiafuzuo* 半加趺坐.²⁶⁸ For attributes, they hold a spear and a vajra. The vajra appears as a Lokapala attribute here for the first time in a Buddhist text. All four Kings carry a spear in the left hand, and the Kings of the West and North hold a vajra in the right hand as well. Also mentioned is the arrangement of the Four Divine Kings. They are at the northeast, southeast, southwest, and northwest, in the order of the Kings of the East, South, West, and North.

Fascicle 12 of *Bukong juansuo shenbian zhenyan jing* 不空羂索神變真言經 (“Infallible Lasso's Mantra Supernatural Transformations: King of Ritual Manuals”) is one of the earliest tantric scriptures, composed before the *Darijing* 大日經 (“Great Sun Sutra”). It was composed from about sixty ritual texts and translated into Chinese by Bodhiruci 菩提流志 (Skt. Amoghapaśākalparāja) in 707-709 C.E. It was rendered into Tibetan as well. Its Sanskrit text was discovered by researchers from the Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism, Taisho University, Japan.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁸ There are several Lokapala images with the half lotus posture in China, mainly from the Tang and Five Dynasties periods. In Korea, standing Lokapala images were more popular in early times, and sitting was the dominant posture from the fourteenth century on. In Japan, standing seems to have been the preferred posture of Lokapala, judging from the fact that extant images dated to the Heian period are all standing.

²⁶⁹ Hisao Takahashi 高橋 尚夫, "FukūKenjaku Jinben Shingongyō No Bonpon Ni Tsuite 不空羂索神變真言經の梵本について (Infallible Lasso's Mantra Supernatural Transformations: King of Ritual Manuals in Sanskrit)," *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 (*Journal of Indian and Buddhist studies*) 40, No. 2(1992). pp. 891-888; Hideaki Kimura 木村 秀明, "FukūKenjaku Jinben Shingongyō Goma Anonhin Shusetusno Giki 『不空羂索神變真言經』「護摩安穩品」所説の護摩儀軌 (Homa Ritual Procedure Preached in Chapter of Homa's Calm and Steady of Infallible Lasso's Mantrānd Supernatural Transformations)," *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 (*Journal of Indian and Buddhist studies*) Vol. 53, No. 1(2004-2005). p. 443-437; Lin Li 李林; Takayasu Kimura 木村高尉; Taishō Daigaku Sōgō Bukkyō Kenkyūjo 大正大学綜合佛教研究所, *FukūKenjaku Jinben Shingongyō Bonbun Shahon*

In this text, attributes of Lokapala are a spear and a one-prong vajra. All the Lokapala carry a spear in the hand, and the Kings of the West and the North hold a vajra in the right hand. Posture and attributes are very similar to those of Lokapala depicted in the *Single Syllable Sutra* mentioned above. However, the arrangement for the Kings in this sutra is different from that given in the *Single Syllable Sutra*. In this scripture the Kings of the East, South, West, and North are respectively put at the southeast, southwest, northwest, and northeast. The sutra also describes the Lokapala as sitting with a half lotus posture. The most unique iconographic feature of the King of the West in this text is that he has the third eye between the eyebrows. Lokapala images with the third eye are hardly found in East Asian countries.

This sutra also mentions that the Lokapala's face and eyes are angry. In chapter 53, titled *Guangda mingwang moni mannaluo pin* 廣大明王摩尼曼拏羅品 ("Wide Illuminating King's Mani Mandala Chapter"), in fascicle 25 of the sutra, there is the statement: "At the four corners are the Four Divine Kings with wrathful expression on their face and holding vajra and spear. A flame of light goes around their bodies."²⁷⁰ In chapter 57, *Guangda mingwang tuxiang pin* 廣大明王圖像品 ("Image of the Wide Illuminating King chapter"), also in fascicle 25 of the sutra, it is stated that the Kings of the East and South hold tools and weaponry and are seated in a half lotus posture, and

Eiinban 不空羂索神變真言經梵文寫本影印版 (Tōkyō: Taishō Daigaku Sōgo Bukkyō Kenkyūjo, 1996-1997).

²⁷⁰ Other scriptures that describe Lokapala as taking a wrathful appearance are as follow: *Guangda bao louge shanzhu mimi tuoluoni jing* 廣大寶樓閣善住秘密陀羅尼經 ("Vast Precious Pavilion Well Dwelling Secret Dharani Sutra") translated by Bodhiruci 菩提流志 in 706; and *Fahua manduoluo weiyixingsefajing* 法華曼多羅威儀形色法經 translated by Bukong 不空 in 746-74 (table 2).

that the Kings of the West and the North hold a spear and a rope and are seated in a half lotus posture (table 2). Attributes of Lokapala stated in fascicle 25 of this sutra are slightly different from those stated in fascicle 12, which suggests that the iconography of Lokapala is flexible according to rites.

Other scriptures that mention the facial expression of anger are as follows (table 2): *Guagnda bao louge shanzhu mimi tuoluoni jing* 廣大寶樓閣善住秘密陀羅尼經 (“Vast Precious Pavilion Well Dwelling Secret Dharani Sutra”), translated by Bodhiruci 菩提流志 in 706 C.E.; *Banruoshouhu shiliu shanshenwang xingti* 般若守護十六善神王形體 (“Wisdom Protecting Sixteen Benevolent Spirit Kings’ Form”), translated by Jingangzhi 金剛智 in 723-36 C.E.; fascicle 2 of *Dabao guangbo louge shanzhu mimi tuoluoni jing* 大寶廣博樓閣善住秘密陀羅尼經 (“Greatly Precious Extensive Pavilion Well Dwelling Secret Dharani Sutra”) translated by Bukong 不空 in 700-774 C.E.; and *Fahua manduoluo weiyixingsefajing* 法華曼多羅威儀形色法經 (“Lotus Mandala’s Eminent Appearance Method Sutra”), translated by Bukong 不空 in 746-774 C.E.

The wrathful expression makes for quite a difference from Indian representations of heavenly beings, as suggested in *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*: “Those who live in heaven have always smiling faces and eyes, and look like (youths) of the age of sixteen.”²⁷¹ Texts mentioning the deity’s angry facial expression are mainly tantric texts translated by tantric monks such as Jingangzhi 金剛智 and Bukong 不空. Thus we can

²⁷¹ Stella Kramrisch, *The Viṣṇudharmottara (Part Iii) a Treatise on Indian Painting and Image-Making*. 2d rev. and enl. ed. Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1928, p. 41.

determine that the wrathful expression of the deities is a tantric creation. It is of interest, however, to note the fact that these texts also mention that ornaments beautify the deities. The adornment with precious jewels and gems is the same as that suggested in *Purāṇa*.²⁷² Lokapala are deities adopted into Buddhism from indigenous Indian deities. For this reason representations of the deities in Buddhism take the Indian expression or create some other aspects suitable for Buddhist practice.

Genben shuoyiqieyoubu pinaiye posengshi 根本說一切有部毘奈耶破僧事 (“Fundamental Sravastivada Vinaya on the Division of the Sangha Community”), one of the Vinaya (“Discipline”) texts, was translated into Chinese in 710 CE by Yijing 義淨.²⁷³ It is not a ritual text, but it describes attributes of each Lokapala as seen in table 2: When the bodhisattva to be born as Gautama Siddhartha, entered his mother’s womb from the Tushita heaven, Indra sent Lokapala to guard her; they hold a sword, rein, spear, bow, and arrow. However, the attributes of each possessor are not specified (table 2).

In *Puxian yanmingfa* 普賢延命法 (“Samantabhadra Prolonged Life Dharma”), chanted by Jingangzhi 金剛智, which is quoted in fascicle 5 of *Kojen zuzōshū* 興然圖像集 (“Catalogue of Iconography Compiled by Kojen”),²⁷⁴ attributes are a sword and rein

²⁷² Kramrisch, p. 41: “They should be drawn wearing auspicious strings of garlands and ornamented by crown, earrings, necklaces, bracelets, ornaments of the upper arm, long girdles reaching up to the ornaments on the feet, and sacred threads with ornaments for the head.”

²⁷³ One of the accomplishments of Yijing, who was very interested in precepts and discipline, was a great effort to translate Vinaya Pitaka transmitted into Sarvāstivāda. Jongcheol Lee 이종철, p. 141

²⁷⁴ Kojen (1121-1203) was a monk of the Japanese Shingon sect 真言; he made an effort to collect Ritual Procedures and compiled many catalogues of images, such as *Gojikkanshō* 五十卷鈔 (“Fifty-Fascicle Catalogue”) and seven fascicles of *Zuzōshū* 圖像集 (“Catalogue of Iconography”). Rikizan Ishikawa and

for the King of the West and a stupa and three-prong vajra for the King of the North. The sutra's root deity is the bodhisattva Puxian Yanming; it teaches how to get rid of obstacles to prolonged life. *Jingang shouming tuoluoni jing* 金剛壽命陀羅尼經 ("Vajra Life Span Dharani Sutra") should be recited during the ritual.²⁷⁵ *Puxian yanmingfa* teaches that the King of the West holds a sword or a rein in his left hand or is without attribute, and it describes his posture precisely as crossing his two hands, with the left hand pressing the right hand (table 2).

Banruo shouhu shiliu shanshenwang xingti 般若守護十六善神王形體 ("Wisdom Protecting Sixteen Benevolent Spirit Kings' Form") was translated into Chinese from 723 to 736 by Jingangzhi 金剛智. Attributes of Lokapala are enumerated in this text as a dagger and a spear for the King of the East, a vajra for the King of the South, a brush for the King of the West, and a mace and a stupa for the King of the North. This text is important to the iconographical study of Lokapala in particular in Japan, because the textual description of the King of the West as taking a posture of writing with a brush corresponds to images of the King of the West in Japan, which show him usually carrying a brush and a roll of scroll. The earliest image with these attributes is that in the Golden Hall at Horyuji, which dates to the mid-seventh century was made before this text was translated into Chinese.

Nihon Bukkyō Jinmei Jiten Hensan Inkai., *Nihon Bukkyō Jinmei Jiten* 日本佛教人名辭典 (*Biography Dictionary of Japanese Buddhism*), Dai 1-han. ed. (Kyōto-shi: Hōzōkan 法藏館, 1992), pp. 255-56.

²⁷⁵ '一切諸如來心光明加持普賢菩薩延命金剛最勝陀羅尼經、阿婆縛抄卷二一五諸法要略抄' p.5001 <http://dictionary.buddhistdoor.com/word/普賢延命法>

Azhapogou guishen dajiang shang fotuo tuoluoni jing 阿吒婆拘鬼神大將上佛陀羅尼經 (“Azhapogou Ghost-Spirit General Buddha Dharani Sutra”) states that Lokapala hold paper and a brush in the right hand and an ink-stone tray in the left hand (table 2). This scripture, whose translator is unknown, was already known as a text in the Liang dynasty (502-557 C.E.). It is possible, however, that images were made without literary basis, if iconographical information had been transmitted from neighboring countries such as Korea and China. However, there has been no discovery in these countries of such an image of the King of the West holding a brush.

Zunsheng foding xiuyujiafa guiyi 尊勝佛頂修瑜伽法軌儀 (“Ritual Procedure of Vijaya Uṣṇīṣa Practice Yoga”) was translated into Chinese by Shan Wuwei 善無畏 (637-735), a Tantric Buddhist monk, in the Tang dynasty. It is also called *Zunsheng foding zhenyan xiuyujiafa guiyi* 尊勝佛頂真言修瑜伽法軌儀 and abbreviated as *Zunsheng yigui* 尊勝儀軌 (“Vijaya Ritual Procedure”). The Uṣṇīṣa deity (佛頂尊) refers to the deified Buddha’s crown, and is one of the Tantric deities.²⁷⁶ The Uṣṇīṣa deity is conceptualized with Buddha’s wisdom. Uṣṇīṣa Buddhas 佛頂如來 are also called Uṣṇīṣa Wheel Kings 佛頂輪王. There are three, five, or eight Uṣṇīṣa Buddhas, including in *Yizi*

²⁷⁶ Ryūken Sawa 佐和隆研, *Mikkyō Jiten* 密教辭典 (*Tantric Buddhism Dictionary*) (Kyōto-shi Hōzōkan 法藏館, 1975), pp. 605-07.

jinjun foding 一字金輪佛頂 (“Uṣṇīṣa deity of Single Syllable Golden Wheel”) in *Yizi fodingjunwang jing* 一字佛頂輪王經.²⁷⁷

Uṣṇīṣa gods have one face and two arms, and different colors and symbols. The Eight Buddhas are as follows: Vajroṣṇīṣa (white-Bhūmisparśa), Ratnoṣṇīṣa (blue-Varada), Padmoṣṇīṣa (red-Dyāna), Visvoṣṇīṣa (green-Abhaya), Tejoṣṇīṣa (whitish-red-Sun), Dhvajoṣṇīṣa (reddish-blue-Cintāmani Banner), Tīkṣṇoṣṇīṣa (sky-green-Sword and Book), and Chatroṣṇīṣa (white-Parasol). According to Faxian, in Gandhara, the *uṣṇīṣa*, a portion of the skull of the Buddha, was the central object of veneration to be displayed on a specific place for pilgrims and devotees.²⁷⁸ This relic worship is well illustrated in Gandharan sculptures. Among Uṣṇīṣa deities (佛頂尊), Uṣṇīṣa Vijaya 佛頂尊勝 is the most popular in East Asia. It is called *Zunsheng foding* 尊勝佛頂 (“Vijaya Uṣṇīṣa”) because it is superb among all the Uṣṇīṣa deities, and it is also called *shechu* 捨除 (“abandoning and removing”) or *chuzhang* 除障 (“removing obstructions”) because it eliminates the ripening of all kinds of bad karma.²⁷⁹ The *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing* 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼經 (“the Uṣṇīṣa Vijaya Dharani Sutra”)-type scriptures, whose extant versions are of seventeen kinds, including sutras, ritual procedures, and commentaries

²⁷⁷ Youngdeok Kim 김영덕, "Buljeong Jonseung Daranigyeong Egwanhan Yeongu 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼經에 관한 연구 (a Study on Uṣṇīṣa Vijaya Dharani Sutra)," *Hanguk Bulgyohak* 韓國佛教學 25(1999): 299-300.

²⁷⁸ The alms bowl was another focal object, and there are further significant objects to be seen and touched, such as the eyeball, staff, and robe of the Buddha. Behrendt, Kurt A., *The Buddhist Architecture of Gandhara*, Brill, 2004, p. 61.

²⁷⁹ Shinkō Mochizuki, Zenryū Tsukamoto, and Sekai Seiten Kankō Kyōkai. [from old catalog], *Mochizuki Bukkyō Daijiten* 望月佛教大辭典 (*Mochizuki's Great Buddhist Dictionary of Buddhism*), 10 vols. (Kyōto-shi: Sekai Seiten Kankō Kyōkai, 1954-1958)., entry of 尊勝佛頂.

Three types of Uṣṇīṣa Vijaya Dharani Sutra are extant in Sanskrit, whose content is only Dharani.²⁸⁰

Zunsheng foding xiuyujiafa guiyi 尊勝佛頂修瑜伽法軌儀 (“Ritual Procedure of Vijaya Uṣṇīṣa Practice Yoga”) consists of twelve chapters within two fascicles, and explains how to recite Zunsheng dharani. It indicates how to expel obstacles and disasters and how to increase four kinds of recitation. It also teaches how to make a superb victory mandala, images put on great altars, and thirty-four kinds of accomplishments.²⁸¹ The second fascicle of this text describes the King of the East, who is put at the northeast of the east gate, who has four retinues, and who holds a lute. There is no description of the other three Kings. A fairly early image of Lokapala carrying a lute is represented in a sketch of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala made in the late ninth or early tenth century and discovered by Aurel Stein in cave 17 of Dunhuang.²⁸²

Other scriptures that mention the lute as an attribute of the King of the East are as follows: *Yaoshi liuli guang wang qifo benyuan gongdejing niansong yigui gongyangfa* 藥師琉璃光王七佛本願功德經念誦儀軌供養法 (“Recitation Ritual Offering Method on the Sutra of the Merit and Virtues of the Original Vows of Bhaisajiguru Vaidurya Prabharaja Seven Buddhas”), translated by Shaluoba 沙囉巴 in 1278-1290; and *Xiuyaoshi yigui butanfa* 修藥師儀軌布壇法 (“Ritual Procedure Altar Establishing

²⁸⁰ Youngdeok Kim 김영덕, (1999), pp. 300-303.

²⁸¹ Foguang dianzi da cidian 佛光電子大辭典 (<http://dictionary.buddhistdoor.com/word/62513/尊勝佛頂修瑜伽法軌儀>)

²⁸² The Silk Road: Trade, pl. 129

Method”) whose Chinese translation was supplemented by Awangzhashi 阿旺扎什 in 1824. The former, especially, is regarded as a text by which Lokapala images were made in late Joseon dynasty in Korea;²⁸³ it gives as attributes lute, sword, rein, and mongoose, for the Kings of the East, South, West, and North, respectively.

Besides the ritual texts there are also iconographical catalogues, compiled by Japanese Buddhist monks, such as *Zuzōshō* 圖像鈔 (“Catalogue of Iconography”), *Besson zakki zuzō* 別尊雜記 (“Assorted Notes on Individual Divinities”), and *Asabashō* 阿婆縛鈔 “Catalogue of Families of Buddha, Lotus, and Vajra”).

Zuzōshō 圖像鈔 (“Catalogue of Iconography”), ten fascicles in total, was compiled by Ejū 惠什, a monk of the Japanese Shingonshū 眞言宗. According to an ancient handwritten copy (kishahon 古寫本), one of the collections of the Narutaki Jōrakuin 鳴瀧常樂院 in Kyoto, Japan, its contents are divided into six parts: Buddhas, Sutra, Bodhisattva, Avalokiteshvara, Wrathful Deities, and Devas.²⁸⁴ This text is a kind of encyclopedic text that explains the Sanskrit names of gods, Tantric names, mudra and mantra, visual forms of deities, and mandala. It is also called *Son'yōshō* 尊容鈔 (“Image Catalogue”), *Ejūshō* 惠什鈔 (“Ejū’s Catalogue”), and *Jikkanshō* 十卷鈔 (“Ten Fascicle Catalogue”), according to its function, author, and composition, respectively. Fascicle 57

²⁸³ Myeongshin Nho 노명신, "Joseon Hugi Sacheonwangsang-E Daehan Gochal 朝鮮後期 四天王像에 대한 考察 (a Study on Four Divine Kings in Late Joseon Dynasty)," *Misulsahak Yeongu 미술사학연구 (Korean Journal of Art History)* 202(1994): 111.

²⁸⁴ Mochizuki Shinkō 望月信亨, *Mochizuki Bukkyō Daijiten* 望月佛教大辭典 (Mochizuki’s Great Buddhist Dictionary of Buddhism), 10 vols. (Kyōto-shi: Sekai Seiten Kankō Kyōkai, 1954-1958), Vol. 6, p. 5762.,

or 50 of *Besson zakki* 別尊雜記 (“Assorted Notes on Individual Divinities”) was composed by Jinka 心覺 (1148-1182), a Buddhist monk of Japan. It explains tantric deities in detail, the Sanskrit names of sutras, and 300 mandala drawings.²⁸⁵ *Asabashō* 阿娑縛鈔 is composed of 228 fascicles. It was compiled by Shōchō 承澄, a monk of the Japanese Tendai 天台宗. The character *a* 阿 stands for the Buddha category, *sa* 娑 refers to the Lotus category, and *ba* 縛 means seeds of Vajra category. These three characters symbolize the whole contents of this book.²⁸⁶

2. Iconographic Elements of Lokapala in East Asia

Daily practice of Tibetan Buddhism is based on *sadhanas* (“means of accomplishment”) which are not preached by the Buddha but compiled by authorities of specific tradition. This tradition belongs to Vajrayana, and in the center of this practice is Tantra. Two stages of Tantric practice are the generation and completion stages. In the generation stage, practitioners generate themselves as deities,²⁸⁷ and so they need to have a clear image of those deities. It is for this reason that *sadhanas* describe with much detail the appearance of the deities, such as how many faces and arms they have, the colors of their bodies, and their attributes.²⁸⁸ Scholars of Tibetan iconographic study

²⁸⁵ Shinkō Mochizuki 望月信亨, *Mochizuki Bukkyō Daijiten*, 10 vols. (Kyōto-shi: Sekai Seiten Kankō Kyōkai, 1954-1958). Vol. 3, p. 2801.

²⁸⁶ Ibid. vol. 4, p. 3653.

²⁸⁷ As for the Tantric practice in the Tibetan tradition, see Geshe Kelsang Gyatso, *Tantric Grounds and Paths : How to Enter, Progress on, and Complete the Vajrayana Path*, 1st ed. (Glen Spey, NY: Tharpa Publications, 2003).; *Clear Light of Bliss: The Practice of Mahamudra in Mahayana Buddhism*, 2nd ed. (Glen Spey, NY: Tharpa Publications, 2002).

²⁸⁸ Alfred Foucher ‘hunted out, so to say, a number of *sadhanas* from the manuscripts of the *Sadhanamala* and showed how remarkably they tallied with the actual representations of the deities in art.’ (Dipak

have thus emphasized the importance of the *sadhanas*.²⁸⁹ The East Asian tradition of Buddhism does not have this kind of accurate source for the iconography of Buddhist divinities, but the tradition does have Tantric scriptures preached by the Buddha, in which there are iconographical descriptions.

In ancient East Asia popular Lokapalas were portrayed as fully armed warriors, holding the Buddhist symbols of stupa and vajra, and weapons such as sword, spear, or bow and arrow. This martial outfit has been used for basic iconographic elements of Lokapala. I have tried to hunt out manuscript materials on iconography from various Buddhist scriptures, as in <table 2>. Armor is protective clothing, and arrows and swords are weapons for the battlefield; these are implements symbolizing battle with demons. However, I think there are two points to be considered for an understanding of the real meaning of the armor and weapons in Buddhist art. The first point is the fact that when Lokapala began to wear armor in Central Asia, some other deities also did so, as briefly mentioned in the previous chapter. The other point is the metaphor of armor and weapons in the Buddhist context.

It should be noted that in Buddhist art in Central Asia, local rulers are sometimes represented as wearing armor; I will discuss this in more detail in Chapter 4 in order to

Chandra Bhattacharyya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1974), p. 1.)

²⁸⁹ Two representative texts giving iconographic descriptions of Buddhist gods and goddesses in Tibetan Buddhist tradition are *Sadhanamala*, a compilation of 312 *sadhanas* composed by different authors from time to time, whose earliest manuscript bears a date equivalent to 1165 C.E., and *Nispannayogavali*, a work of Abhayakaragupta of the Vikramasila monastery, who flourished during the reign period of the Pala king Ramapala (AD 1084-AD 1130) (Dipak Chandra Bhattacharyya, 1974, pp. 2-3). *Sadhanamala* in two volumes and *Nispannayogavali* were edited and published by Dipak Chandra Bhattacharyya in 1925 and 1949, respectively.

properly address the first point. This circumstance shows that our view on armor is superficial. There must have been a cultural context symbolized by armor. East Asian emperors, kings and highly ranked officials had their own armor, not for battle but for special occasions. Armor was one of the costumes for ceremonies. Those who were responsible for creating new iconography might have wanted a certain group of deities such as Lokapala to have the appearance of kings, because kings are the highest beings in this ordinary world. Thus if deities are to be beautified, it is reasonable that they take the king's dress in the most noble way. This is a different way of thinking from the view that armor is only protective gear in war.

We are too much stuck in thinking of the literal meaning of Lokapala's function as protector. It is true that they are protectors, and that armor is a symbol of their function. In warrior figures of Buddhism including Lokapala, the function of protector is emphasized by the wearing of armor. However, what should be remembered is that these deities do not function in a physical way, because the real enemy of living beings is neither other living beings nor physical demons. The enemy is always within the mind of sentient beings. The deities do not fight with the enemy of a certain country, but they do fight in a gracious way with demons created by the delusions of living beings; Lokapala protect the world and sentient beings not by fighting physically but by guarding Dharma, the Buddha's teachings. We need to remember that when the Buddha attained enlightenment, he was able to subdue Mara and his army by merit that he accumulated in previous lives, and by single pointed concentration, not by physical power.

This leads to the second point, that armor and weapons are used for the metaphor of the virtues of compassion, concentration and wisdom. For example, the chapter on Maxue tianzi 馬血天子 (Maxue Son of Heaven) in fascicle 39 of *Zengyi ahan jing* 增一壹阿含經 (“*Increased by One Agama Sutras*”), translated into Chinese by Sengjia tipo 僧伽提婆 in the Eastern Jin (317-420), states that Lokapala wear armor of compassion, hold arrows of concentration in the hand, and have bows of wisdom.²⁹⁰ Armor also figured as wisdom and swords as compassion.

There are many other examples of the metaphor of this kind of virtues in Buddhism in general. In the fascicle 4 of *Fosuoxingzan* 佛所行贊 (*Buddhacarita-kāvya Sutra*, “Poetic Narrative of the life of the Buddha”), which was composed by Aśvaghoṣa 馬鳴 and translated into Chinese by Dharmarakṣa (414-421 C.E.), it says “With a bow of effort, an arrow of wisdom, heavy armor of mindfulness, should fight with the five desirous attachments.”²⁹¹ In fascicle 1 of *Fobenxing jing* 佛本行經 (Buddhapurvakarya-Sutra (Sutra of the Buddha's Deeds in His Reincarnations), which was translated into Chinese by Baoyun 寶雲 (376-449 C.E.) in the early Liu Song dynasty (420-479), it praises the virtue of the Buddha as follows: “wears firm armor of patience--- takes corrects views as sharp spears, correct thoughts as arrows --- and correct paths as arrows -- shoots an arrow of compassion fast.”²⁹² In fascicle 5 of *Fobenxing jing*, it says that “The Blessed one--- wears firm armor of patience, holds firmly a strong bow of

²⁹⁰ 著仁慈之鎧，手執三昧之弓、智慧之箭。T.2 No.0125, 0760b26.

²⁹¹ 當執精進弓，智慧鋒利箭，被正念重鎧，決戰於五欲。T04n0192, 0041c29-0042a01.

²⁹² 被忍辱牢鎧---以正見利鋒，以正思為箭---以正路為矢---放慈弓駛發。T04n0193, 0056a19-0056a24

compassion in his hand, releases and shoots a sharp arrow swiftly with (the bow) of wisdom.”²⁹³

(1) Armor, Headdress, and Ornaments

Many sutras describe the beautified abodes of Lokapalas, *Caturmaharajika*, as follows. They are surrounded by seven-layered fences and trees, and are decorated with seven jewels; many birds are singing there and there are numerous kinds of flowers, trees, and fruits making scent. Four Lokapalas reside in these beautiful places and their bodies are as beautified as are their abodes. The Sitianwang (Four Divine Kings) chapter of the *Foshuozhangahanjing* 佛說長阿含經 “The Longer Agama-Sutra, *Shiji jing* 世記經 “Sutra of Cosmology,” and *Jishi yinben jing* 記世因本經 “Sutra of Cause and Origin of Cosmology,” describe how they dress up when they get together in the *jiapiyanyantou* 伽毘延頭 garden: “They are adorned with jewels, gems, and *yingluo* 瓔珞 (jade or pearl necklace), and they ride their own chariots.” In scenes of Buddha’s sermon when the four Divine Kings express their respect to Buddha, they are described as exposing the right shoulder and kneeling with the right leg, as other assemblies do, which is the traditional Indian way of reverence. These descriptions thus prove that basically the Four Heavenly Kings are represented in a manner similar to other deities in Buddhist arts in India.

The earliest sutra that mentions Lokapala wearing armor is the *Lalitavistara Sutra*, Buddha Shakyamuni’s biography, whose completion dates to the third century C.E, as

²⁹³ 世尊無比聖, 以佛十種力, 坐於道樹下, 被牢強忍鎧. 以手堅執持, 大慈之強弓, 放引智慧發, 捷疾之利矢. T04n0193, 0096b04-0096b07

discussed in Chapter 2. In the sutra's scene of the Great Departure, the prince sees gods after resolving to depart. When he sees the four Lokapalas, they are described as "surrounded by groups of Yaksas, Raksasas, Gandharvas, and serpents, firmly armored and mail-clad, with swords, bows, arrows, spears, clubs, and tridents in their hands, playfully saluting Bodhisattva with their crowns and crests of jewels."²⁹⁴ However there have not been discovered representations of Lokapala in armor in the Indian homeland and Gandhara, as discussed in the previous chapter. Lokapalas are portrayed in India with the usual features of Indian deities, with the appearance of secular rulers. However, the Chinese version of Lokapala is characterized by the warrior in armor with weapons.

Among Buddhist sutras rendered into Chinese, the earliest is *Puyaojing* 普曜經 ("Universal Glorious Sutra"). In chapter 13 of fascicle 4 of the sutra, Lokapala are described as warrior-like in appearance: "Titoulaizha (King of the East) and numerous Gandharba wear armor and helmet, --- Piliulecha tianwang (King of the South) and numerous Khumbanda wear armor, ---Piliuluocha (King of the West) and numerous Nagas wear jewels and necklaces, --- and Tianwang Pishamen (King of the North) and numerous Yakshas hold flaming jewels that shine light and wear armor and helmets. --- Sakra and Pishamen lead the bodhisattva."²⁹⁵

²⁹⁴ Bijoya Goswami *Lalitavistara*, p. 198.

²⁹⁵ "提頭賴吒與無數億百千捷沓和,稽首被甲冑,從東方來,住東方界,稽首菩薩,鼓眾伎樂在於虛空.毘留勒叉天王與無數億百千鳩刀,皆被鎧甲,從南方來,住南方界,稽首菩薩,鼓眾伎樂在於虛空.毘留羅叉天王與無數億百千龍俱,各垂寶璣,從西方來,住西方界,稽首菩薩.北方毘沙門天王與無數億百千閼叉,手執焰光明珠威耀晃晃,身被甲冑" T.3 No. 0186, 0506c06-0506c14

There are sutras that describe iconographic features of Lokapala, such as *Fangguang da zhuangyan jing* 方廣大莊嚴經 (“Enlarged Great Ornament Sutra”²⁹⁶), translated into Chinese in the Tang dynasty. This sutra mentions that the Lokapala wears armor. The sutra is known as one of four different versions of Chinese translation of the *Lalitavistara Sutra*, and is considered to be very important among texts related to the biography of Shakyamuni, as mentioned in the previous chapter. In the sixth chapter of the Sutra, Chandaka tells Yashodar what he observed of the Great Departure of the Prince Siddhartha. According to Chandaka, “When the Prince left, many heavenly beings were following him. The King of the East and Lord of Gandharva, the King of the South and Lord of Khumbanda, the King of the West and Lord of the Great Nagas, and the King of the North and Lord of the Yakshas were all wearing diamond-like armor. Some are holding arrows and swords, some are holding lances and spears.”²⁹⁷ According to the passage the four Maharajas are clad in armor and helmet and hold arrow, sword, or spear, which corresponds exactly to Lokapala imagery frequently made in East Asia after the mid-sixth century. However, in the *Lalitavistara* rendered into English, the original Sanskrit version of this sutra, this passage is not included. The actual scene of the prince’s departure is a little bit different from what Chandaka describes above: only

²⁹⁶ *Fangguang* 方廣 is a Chinese translation of *vaipulya* in Sanskrit, whose Chinese transcription is *pifolue* 毘佛略, meaning large, spacious, expanded, or enlarged. *Vaipula* is applied to sūtras of an expanded nature, especially expansion of the doctrine; in Hīnayāna the Āgamas, in Mahāyāna the sutras of Huayan and Lotus flower (William Edward Soothill and Lewis Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*). <http://dictionary.buddhistdoor.com/word/30732/%E6%AF%98%E4%BD%9B%E7%95%A5>

²⁹⁷ T03n0187_p0578a03-0578a07 ”大妃！莫生如是酸切懊惱。所以者何？太子出時諸天翊從。東方天王及乾闥婆主。南方天王及鳩槃荼主。西方天王及大龍主，北方天王及夜叉主，其身悉被金剛鎧甲。或執弓刀，或持矛戟。”

Yaksas, Vaishravana's retinues, wear armor and helmet and hold weapons such as arrow, sword, and spear.

Tantric scriptures more frequently than sutras mention armed Lokapalas, as seen in table 2. Buddhist texts that describe the dress of Lokapalas as armor are *Bukong jiansuo tuoluoni zizaiwang zhoujing* 不空羂索多羅尼自在王呪經 ("Infallible Lasso Dharani Unrestrained King's Mantra Sutra"), *Yizi fodingjunwang jing* 一字佛頂輪王經 ("The Single Syllable Buddha's Crown Wheel King Sutra"), *Banruoshouhu shiliu shanshenwang xingti* 般若守護十六善神王形體 ("Wisdom Protecting Sixteen Benevolent Spirit Kings' Form"), and *Fahua manduoluo weiyixingsefajing* 法華曼多羅威儀形色法經 ("Lotus Mandala's Eminent Appearance Method Sutra").

Although the armor is basically protective gear, which reminds one of fighting with enemies, it is also suitable dress for deities. Some Tantric Buddhist texts mention armor as treasures. For example, in *Dasuiqiu damingwangwunengsheng datuoluo* 大隨求大明王無能勝大陀羅尼 ("Unbeatable Great Dharani of Great Protectress Great Bright King"), one of the Dharani sutras, the precious value of the dharani is figured as armor.

²⁹⁸ Also when Buddha explains the benefits of reciting this dharani, he says that the recitation generates *jingang shizhe* 金剛使者 (vajra emissaries), who wear armor on their bodies, emit shining lights, and all hold a sword, axe, rope, mace, and trident, compelling

²⁹⁸“大隨求大明王無能勝陀羅尼甲冑密言句”

all maras who are obstacles to Buddhas.²⁹⁹ In the *Dharani Sutra*, armor is enumerated as one of the objects decorating the altar, and measureless fortune and virtue are accrued in this decoration.³⁰⁰ This enumeration shows that armor is considered a precious implement in Buddhism in particular in the Tantric tradition.

The passage above implies that the supremacy of *jingang shizhe* is expressed through a martial image. This text does not specify who the vajra emissaries are. However, in other sutras, usually Lokapalas set the intention to help people who respect, read, copy, or teach a specific sutra. Thus, the emissaries could be Lokapalas. The circumstances may give an explanation of why Lokapalas wear armor.

Armor represented in art is an important iconographic element by which the date of art works can be traced. This can be done through analysis of the armor's form, which varies in region and time in the case of Lokapala imagery.³⁰¹ As I mentioned in the

²⁹⁹ 見彼如來一一毛孔.出無量俱胝百千那庾多金剛使者.身彼甲冑放大光明.各持刀劍鉞斧冑索杖棒三戟叉.各出如是言.捉縛惡魔摧惡心者.斬斷其命粉碎諸魔作如來障礙者.普遍光明清淨熾盛如意寶印心無能勝大明王大隨求陀羅尼經 (*Arya-mahapratishara-vidyarahni*) 卷下 (T. 20, No. 1153, 623a13- 623a16)

³⁰⁰ 佛說陀羅尼集經卷第十二, "甲冑金剛八軀(各高五尺莊嚴新好色者) 甲冑神王八軀(各高五尺莊嚴新好色者)" T.18, No. 0901, 0893c02-0893c03 http://www.cbeta.org/cgi-bin/goto.pl?linehead=T18n0901_p0893c02

³⁰¹ Shim 심영신, "Tongil Silla Sacheonwang Sang Yeongu 통일신라 사천왕상 연구 (a Study of the Representations of the Four Heavenly Kings in the Unified Silla Dynasty)," 25. Studies in which there is analysis of armor's form are as follow: Hong Yang 楊泓, "Zhongguo Gudaide Jiazhou 中國古代的甲冑 (Armor of Ancient China)," *Kaogu xuebao 考古學報 (Journal of Archaeology)* 1976 年 2 期. pp. 49-95; *Zhongguo Gu Bing Qi Lun Cong 中國古兵器論叢 (Treatises on Ancient [I.E. Ancient] Chinese Weapons)*, Di 1 ban. ed., Zhongguo She Hui Ke Xue Yuan Wen Ku, Li Shi Kao Gu Yan Jiu Xi Lie = the Selected Works of Cass History and Archaeology (Beijing: Zhongguo she hui ke xue chu ban she, 2007).; *Zhongguo Gubing Yu Meishu Kaogu Lunji 中國古兵與美術考古論集*, Di 1 ban. ed. (Beijing: Wen wu chu ban she, 2007).; Albert E. Dien, "A Study of Early Chinese Armor," *Artibus Asiae* Vol. 43, No. 1/2(1981): 5-66.. Akira Noguchi 野口 晃, "Hōryūji Kondō ShitenōZō No Yoroï Ni Tsuite 法隆寺金堂四天王像の鎧甲について (Armor of the Four Divine Kings at the Golden Hall of Hōryūji)," *Bijutsushigaku 美術史學 (Art*

previous chapter, Central Asian type armor is shown in deities from Khotan, Kizil, Bezeklik, and Dunhuang. The earliest form of armor for Buddhist deities was transmitted to China from Central Asia; it is called scale armor and was made of leather or metal. This type of armor was used in real life in Central Asia; some scales actually used for armor in the eighth and ninth centuries were excavated in Miran, which is situated in the Tarim Basin on the southern route of the Silk Road (fig. 3.1).

The representative Chinese armor is *tongxiukai* 筒袖鎧 (armor with tube sleeves), *liantang kai* 兩當鎧 (vest armor), and *mingguangkai* 明光鎧 (bright and shining armor). In addition there are other types of armor, called *heiguangkai* 黑光鎧 (dark light armor) and *huansuokai* 環鎖鎧 (ring armor), according to Cao Zhi 曹植 (192-232), a writer of the Cao-Wei 曹魏 (220-266 C.E.) in the Three Kingdoms period and a son of Cao Cao 曹操, Emperor Wudi 武帝 of Wei. From Cao Zhi we can tell that armor made a good gift.³⁰²

In chapter 16, Shiyifu 釋衣服 (“explanation of clothing”) of *Shiming* 釋名 (“Explanation of Terms”) a dictionary explaining the meaning of 1502 entries, compiled by Liuxi 劉熙 in the late Eastern Han (65-220 C.E.), it is written: “As for *liangdang* 兩當,

History) No. 14(1992): 1-36. Seiichiro Matsuda 松田誠一郎, "Bosatsu-Zo, Shinsho-Zo No Isho Keishiki No Tenkai 菩薩像, 神將像の意匠形式の展開 (Development of Ornament Design of Bodhisattva and Divine Warrior Figures) " in *TōDaiji to HeijōKyō: Nara No Kenchiku, ChōKoku 東大寺と平城京: 奈良の建築・彫刻 Nihon Bijutsu Zenshū 日本美術全集 (Japanese Art Collection)* (Tōkyō: Kōdansha 講談社), pp. 181-88.

³⁰² 曹子建集 卷八 20 上先帝賜鎧表, “先帝賜臣鎧: 黑光・明光各一領・兩當鎧一領・環鎖鎧一領・馬鎧一領. 今代以昇平, 兵革無事, 乞悉以付鎧曹自理.

one is suitable for the chest and the other is suitable for the back. *Liangdang* in the Han dynasty is a waistcoat in later dynasties. Cape (*pei* 帔) is *pi* 披 and the back shoulder of cape does not reach below. *Pei* is a shawl. Previous people understood their distinction began in the Jin dynasty (265-420). According to this passage, it can be understood that it already existed in the late Han.”³⁰³ Scale armor worn by Lokapala in the early phase in Buddhist art in China is different from contemporary armor worn by warriors in secular arts; this difference will be fully discussed in the next chapter.

In the previous chapter I argued that in the second through the third centuries in India, Vaishnavana images had birds on the crest of their headdresses. In Central Asia and East Asia as well, almost all single Vaishnavana images wear a crown. In East Asia, Lokapala also have a bird or a feather on their head gear. They usually wear a crown, helmet, or topknot on their head. This is in contradiction to a regulation mentioned in *Vishnudharmottara*, the artistic manual: Mārkaṇḍeya says that “the gods and *gandharvas* should be represented without crowns but with crests.”³⁰⁴ This *prana*, however, is one that was used in the Indian homeland.

In the *Lalitavistara* there is a scene right before the prince Siddhartha’s great departure in which a Lokapala wears armor. Upon making a resolution, the prince sees gods. When he sees the four Lokapalas, they are described as “surrounded by groups of Yaksas, Raksasas, Gandharvas and serpents, firmly armoured and mail-clad, with swords, bows, arrows, spears, clubs and tridents in their hands, playfully saluting Bodhisattva

³⁰³ 褊褊, 其一當胸, 其一當背也。漢代的褊褊, 相當於後代的背心。帔, 披也, 披之肩背, 不及下也。帔即披肩, 前人認為始於晉, 由此可見漢末就有了

³⁰⁴ In chapter 42, verses 1-84 of part III, p. 53.

with their crowns and crests of jewels.”³⁰⁵ Among Buddhist scriptures rendered into Chinese, the texts that mention Lokapalas as wearing a crown are *Dabao guangbo louge shanzhu mimi tuoluoni jing* 大寶廣博樓閣善住秘密陀羅尼經 (“Greatly Precious Extensive Pavilion Well Dwelling Secret Dharani Sutra”) and *Fahua manduoluo weiyixingsefajing* 法華曼多羅威儀形色法經 (“Lotus Mandala’s Eminent Appearance Method Sutra”), both of which were translated by Bukong 不空 (table 2).

Khotanese kings also wear “a gold crown shaped like a cock’s comb,” according to fascicle 5 of *Luoyang qielanji* 洛陽伽藍記 (“A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Luoyang”), written by Yang Xuanzhi 楊衒之.³⁰⁶ This is of interest because, as I argued in the previous chapter, kingship or a local king’s icon was involved in iconographic changes of Vaishnavism and Lokapala. In China, before the rise of Buddhist art there also already had been a variety of ornamented headgear with a bird. For this reason it might be easier to apply a bird to the headgear of Lokapala iconography in China.

The ancient Chinese headgear has three types: *guan* 冠 (crown), *jin* 巾 (turban), and *mao* 帽 (hat, or cap-like tops). Of the three, *guan* was used for adorning. It was ornamented with birds and animal horns.³⁰⁷ There are many historical accounts of names of crowns ornamented with animals: *yuguan* 鶡冠 (crowns with a common snipe-shaped

³⁰⁵ Bijoya Goswami, *Lalitavistara*, p. 198.

³⁰⁶ “---于闐國 王頭著金冠 似鷄幘頭後垂二尺生絹 廣五寸 以爲飾 ---,” Yang Xuanzhi; translated by Yit’ung Wang, *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-Yang* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, c1984), p. 220. “The king wore [on his head] a gold crown shaped like a cock’s comb (63: For the *chin-tse* 金幘, “golden crown,” see *Liang-shu* 54/33b 于闐國傳). In the back was suspended a piece of raw silk two Chinese feet in length and five Chinese inches in width for decoration.”

³⁰⁷ Chun ming Gao 高春明, *Zhongguo Fushi Mingwu Kao* 中國服飾名物考 (*Name and Objects of Chinese Costumes*) (Shanghai: Shanghai wenhua chubanshe 上海文化出版社, 2001), p. 190.

ornament), *heguan* 鵀冠, (crowns with a crossbill-shaped ornament), *junyiguan* 駿驥冠 (crowns ornamented with the feathers of pheasant),³⁰⁸ *Jiguan* 鷄冠 (crowns with a chicken-shaped ornament), *huguan* 虎冠 (crowns with a tiger-shaped ornament), *queweiguan* 鵲尾冠 (crowns with a magpie tail-shaped ornament), *fengguan* 鳳冠 (crowns with a phoenix-shape ornament), *zhiguan* 豸冠 (crowns with a mythical animal zhi-shaped ornament), *changuan* 蟬冠, (crowns with a cicada-shaped ornament) *diaoguan* 貂冠 (crowns with a marten-shaped ornament), *tuguan* 兔冠, (crowns with a rabbit-shaped ornament), *xiguan* 犀冠 (crowns with a rhinoceros-shaped ornament), and *diguan* 翟冠 (crowns with a long-tail pheasant-shaped ornament).³⁰⁹

There are several birds associated with crown ornaments: snipes with *yuguan* 鶡冠, crossbills with *heguan* 鵀冠, pheasants with *junyiguan* 駿驥冠 and *diguan* 翟冠, chickens with *jiguan* 鷄冠, magpies with *queweiguan* 鵲尾冠, and phoenixes with *fengguan* 鳳冠. The actual figures that wear such crowns are in art works frequently discovered from Tang tombs: both literati official figurines called *wenguan* *yong* 文官俑 and warrior figurines called *wuguan* *yong* 武官俑 or *tianwang* *yong* 天王俑. In India, an avian creature on the crest of the headdress began in the Kushan Empire, as demonstrated in the previous chapter, and was widely used for Buddhist deities in Central Asia.

³⁰⁸ 《汉书·佞幸传序》：“故孝惠时，郎，侍中皆冠駿驥，贝带。”颜师古注：“以駿驥羽毛饰冠，海贝饰带。駿驥，即鷺鸟也。”汉以后为近臣所著。严武《寄题杜拾遗锦江野亭》诗：“莫倚善题鸚鵡赋，何须不着鷄驥冠。”“鷄驥”即“駿驥。”

³⁰⁹ Chun ming Gao 高春明, *Zhongguo fushi mingwu kao* 中國服飾名物考 (Names and Objects of Chinese Costumes), 上海文化出版社, Shanghai: Shanghai wenhua chubanshe, 2001, p.191.

As repeatedly mentioned earlier, Lokapala images in East Asia are martial. Buddhist scriptures describe them as both Bodhisattva-like and warrior-like in appearance. The iconography of armor seemed to be created in Central Asia, judging from extant images and historic accounts. Even though the practice of putting armor into representations of deities began in Central Asia, other iconographic elements, such as the holding of weapons and beautification with jewels and gems, have Indian origins. Another iconographic element that shows Indian origin, I think, is a shawl worn by Lokapala over the shoulder. *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* says that “the linen scarf which the gods wear round the upper part of their body should (also) be executed beautifully.”³¹⁰ This linen scarf worn by Lokapala is found in China as early as in the early sixth century in Liang dynasty during the Southern and Northern Dynasties from steles discovered in Chengdu 成都, Sichuan Province (fig. 4.18, 4.18-1).³¹¹

It is easy to recognize that this shawl is a fabric, regardless of the materials from which the armor was made, metal or leather. This shawl is an important element that almost all Lokapala images always contain, from ancient times up until today. As demonstrated earlier even though armor is normally regarded as clothing used for fighting in war in order to protect a soldier's body, it also has a different notion in the context of East Asian culture and Buddhist tradition; in China armor may be the formal and ceremonial costume of rulers and high-ranking officials for special occasions.

³¹⁰ Kramrisch, p. 41.

³¹¹ For more detail about Lokapala images of Liang Dynasty, see Lena Kim 金理那, "Jungguk Sacheonseong Chulto Yangdae Bisang Cheukmyeonui Shinjangsang Gochal 中國 四川省成都出土 梁代 碑像側面の 神將像 高찰 (Guardian Figures on Both Sides of the Liang Dynasty Buddhist Steles Discovered in Chengdu, Sichuan Province, China)," *Misulsa Yeongu* 미술사연구 22(2008.12): 7-26.

Regardless of the type of armor, Lokapala usually wear a skirt underneath, a convention that continues even when the style of armor has been changed. The skirt indicates that the Lokapala is clad for ceremonial occasions rather than for real battles. The original form of the skirt seems to be a loincloth that Lokapala images wore in India. Aside from the skirt, the general form of Lokapala's armor in East Asia usually consists of several parts that protect the neck, shoulder, chest, belly, hip, and shin. In China the representative armor has two large arcs on the chest; the developed version of this is called *mingguangkai*. Armor popular in Tang China and contemporary neighboring countries has shoulder armor ornamented with an animal head, and a rectangular plate protecting the lower part of the frontal upper body underneath flower petal-shaped armor protecting the crotch. This form of armor, which is a criterion for distinguishing the old form from the new, appeared in Chang'an in the 660s, and was taken in images in the Fengxiansi cave in the late 670s, at which point Unified Silla also accepted it.

(2) Attributes

In the Indic tradition, attributes carried by various figures usually are important clues to the meaning and identification of those figures.³¹² Attributes of Lokapala that Buddhist scriptures mention are as seen in table 2: bow, arrow, sword, spear, precious jewel, vajra, or stupa. In descriptions in sutras of the four Lokapalas, whether they wear armor or heavenly silk, they hold weapons. The bow, arrow, sword, and spear were real-life weaponry and also religious objects in India,³¹³ and anywhere. Attributes other than

³¹² Huntington and Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India : Buddhist, Hindu, Jain*, 68.

³¹³ "The recent finds at Mohenjodaro and Harappa reveal a number of weapons of war in use in the Chalcolithic period. These are Bows and arrowes, axes, spears, daggers, maces, slings and catapults. The

real-life weapons – vajra, precious jewel, and stupa – were added as iconic symbols of Lokapala later in tantric scriptures.³¹⁴

The iconography of the Lokapala images, with clothing, specific pose, and attributes, corresponds with descriptions in the tantric scriptures as mentioned above, with variations. Among attributes of Lokapala, a votive stupa is very Buddhist. Others such as bows, arrows, spears, and swords are related to the pre-Buddhist Indian tradition; here even rulers have them in their portraits on coins and in statues. As mentioned in the previous chapter, images and attributes of Indian rulers are related to the iconographic origin of armed Lokapala, in particular Vaishravana.

The *Dharani Sutra* and *Bukongjuansuoduoluonizizaiwangzhoujing xia* 不空羂索多羅尼自在王呪經 (“*Infallible Lasso Dharani Unrestrained King’s Mantra Sutra*”) describe the King of the East holding a shining jewel and a sword, whereas a spear is his attribute in sutras translated into Chinese in the eighth century. He holds a long lance (槊 *shuo*) in *Bukongjuansuoshenbianzhenyanjing* 不空羂索神變真言經 (“*Infallible Lasso's Mantrā Supernatural Transformations*”) and *Yizibufodinglunwangjing* 一字佛頂輪王經 (“*The Single Syllable Buddha’s Crown Wheel King Sutra*”), and a spear (鉞 *mou*) in *Banruoshoushu shiliushanshenwan gxingti* 般若守護十六善神王形體 (“*Wisdom Protecting Sixteen Benevolent Spirit Kings’ Form*”) and *Fahuamanduoluoweiyi*

sword is however conspicuous by its absence.” V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, *War in Ancient India* (Madras etc.: Macmillan, 1948), 100, footnote 28.

³¹⁴ According to indigenous Chinese legend, the five weapons lance (矛 *mao*), spear (戟 *ji*), sword (劍 *jian*), shield (盾 *dun*), and bow and arrow (弓矢 *gongshi*) were created by Chiyu 蚩尤, a legendary creator of metalworking and weapons.

xingsefajing 法華曼多羅威儀形色法經 (“Lotus Mandala’s Eminent Appearance Method Sutra”).

1) Bow and Arrow

A bow is a weapon of destruction, and the motive power of the arrow. A bow, *chapa* in Sanskrit, as a Hindu iconographic device is frequently held by deities including Skanda, Brahma, Indra, and others.³¹⁵ The strength of the bow and arrow is figured as power of meditation, as *Vishnudharmottara* describes that with the bow and arrow of fire the Yogi hits the supreme target, namely, the object of contemplation.³¹⁶ As discussed in Chapter 2, archery is one of the important arts showing the ability of rulers in India. Indian rulers in the Kushan dynasty onwards were symbolized as archers. This may be because a bow and arrow are powerful enough to symbolize their kingship.

Chapter 23, *Shibing* 釋兵 (“Explanation of Weapons”), of *Shiming* 釋名, the oldest dictionary of the ancient Chinese language, explains the structures of bows and the names of their parts, but there is no particular mention related to religion or symbolism.³¹⁷ Buddhist scriptures that describe arrows and bows as attributes of Lokapalas are *Genben shuoyiqieyoubu pinaiye posengshi* 根本說一切有部毘奈耶破僧事 (“Fundamental Sravastivada Vinaya on the Division of the Sangha Community”), and *Bukongjuansuoduoluonizizaiwangzhoujing xia* 不空羼索多羅尼自在王呪經 (“Infallible

³¹⁵ Fredrick W. Bunce and G. X. Capdi, *A Dictionary of Buddhist and Hindu Iconography, Illustrated : Objects, Devices, Concepts, Rites, and Related Terms* (New Delhi: D.K. Printworld, 1997), 58.

³¹⁶ Kramrisch, p. 70

³¹⁷ 弓穹也，張之穹隆然也。其末曰簫，言簫梢也。又謂之弭，以骨為之，滑弭弭也。中央曰弣，弣，撫也，人所持撫也。簫弣之間曰淵，淵，宛也，言曲宛也。

Lasso Dharani Unrestrained King's Mantra Sutra"). In Tibetan Buddhism, the bow is known as a symbolic implement of mercy.³¹⁸

Examples of Lokapala holding a bow and arrow together are frequently found in Dunhuang and Xinjiang China, from the late Tang dynasty to the Northern Song dynasty. A bow and arrow as attributes of Lokapala in China were popular from the ninth through the eleventh century.³¹⁹ In Korea, the earliest work that has Lokapala holding these weapons is an image from Sacheonwangsa dated to 679 C.E. The bow and arrow seems not to have been popular in Korea: the King of the South holding a bow and arrow on the Five-Storied Stone Pagoda is the only such work of the Unified Silla dynasty, and there were just a few images in the Goryeo dynasty.

2) Swords

The common Sanskrit terms for sword are *khadga* and *asi*. *Khadga*, as a Buddhist and Hindu object, symbolizes enlightenment and spiritual wisdom. As an offensive weapon it is also a symbol of destruction.³²⁰ According to a Hindu legend, Khadga is the name of the first sword created by Brahma; the sword was created for "the protection of the world and the destruction of the demons who harass all beings."³²¹ The sword was handed down to the king, whose duty was also to destroy evil forces in the world.

³¹⁸ Fredrick W. Bunce, *An Encyclopaedia of Buddhist Deities, Demigods, Godlings, Saints, and Demons with Special Focus on Iconographic Attributes*, 2 vols., Emerging Perceptions in Buddhist Studies (New Delhi: D.K. Printworld, 1994), vol. 2, p. 1030.

³¹⁹ Seunghee Lee 이승희, pp. 122-123.

³²⁰ Fig. 385, p. 145 In the Hindu tradition, the sword's size and shape indicate its auspiciousness: the larger it is, the more auspicious it is. A sword with a bamboo leaf-shaped blade is highly desirable.

³²¹ Y. S. Walimbe, *Political and Moral Concepts in the Śāntiparvan of the MahāBhārata* (Delhi, India: Ajanta Publications : Distributors, Ajanta Books International, 1990), p. 166.

Emphasized here is the king's duty to protect the world from lawlessness.³²² Thus kings might be portrayed with a sword; kings on coins made in the Kushan period normally wear or hold a sword or a trident, or both.³²³ Asi is a proper name of the personification of the first sword created by Brahma;³²⁴ the word refers to a kind of sacrificial dagger or knife. In Indian tradition, the dagger is used to subdue or destroy the enemies of religion (Buddhism) or on monks who have broken their vows. It is frequently carried by wrathful deities. In representations of Buddha's life in India, the dagger is among weapons held by Lokapala; they do not use a long sword.

In India the bow and arrow are powerful weapons to symbolize kingship. However, this is not the case in China: Here, swords were the symbolic weapon of the emperor's authority. Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456—536), a great early practitioner of Daoism and alchemy, states in his *Gujin daojianlu* 古今刀劍錄 ("Record of Knives and Swords Ancient and Modern") that "not one of the kings and emperors has not cast *dao* 刀 ("knives) and *jian* 劍 (swords)."³²⁵ Sunzi 孫子 in *Xingewupien* 性惡篇 ("chapter on good and evil") also enumerates famous swords of ancient China: the *cong* 鏜 of Duke Huan in Qi 齊 (1046-221 B.C.E.), one of the vassal states of the Zhou dynasty; the *que* 闕 of Grand Duke Jiang 姜太公 of the Zhou state (1152-1056 B.C.E.); the *lu* 錄 of King Wen of the Zhou state (1152-1056 B.C.E.); the *hu* 習 of King Jiang of the Chu state

³²² Ibid, p.167.

³²³ Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, plates II-XIII.

³²⁴ In the Shantiparva section of Mahabharata (MBH 12.167.1-87 Vulgo; MBH 12.161.1-87 (Critical))

³²⁵ 夫刀劍之由出,已久矣。前王後帝,莫不鑄之,但以小事記注者,不甚詳錄,遂使精奇挺異,空成湮沒,慨然有想,遂爲記云。

(1030-202 B.C.E.); and the *ganjiang* 干將, *moxie* 莫邪, *juque* 鉅闕, and *bilu* 辟閭 of King Hele in the Wu 吳 state (?-473 B.C.E.).³²⁶ However, Tao Hongjing in his *Gujin daojianlu* 古今刀劍錄 (“Record of Knives and Swords Ancient and Modern”) did not include *ganjiang* and *moxie*, which is an oversight severely criticized by his medieval editor.³²⁷

According to <table 2>, two types of sword are found in Buddhist scriptures: *dao* 刀(knife) and *jian* 劍 (sword). In general it has been said that *dao* is short and has one edge and *jian* is long and has a double edge. The difference between *dao* and *jian*, which the scriptures accepted, is given in *Shiming* 釋名.³²⁸ Chapter 23, *Shibing* 釋兵, interprets five types of dao: *duandao*, a short dao; *peidao*, a dao worn at the waist; *jiandao*, a paper cutting dao; *shudao*, a carving dao; and *jiaodao*, a scissors dao. The end of a *dao* is called *feng*; its beginning is called *huan* – with the appearance of a ring (*huan* 環); its working unit is *xue*; and *xue* is adorned with a scabbard, *peng*.³²⁹

The function of *jian* is basically weapon, but from the Later Han it became also an ornament worn at the waist, among regulations on chariots and robes. According to the *Yufuzhi* 輿服志 (“Treatises of Chariots and Robes”) section in *Jinshu* 晉書 (“The

³²⁶ 桓公之蔥，太公之闕，文王之錄，莊君之習，闔閭之干將、莫邪、鉅闕、辟閭，此皆古之良劍也；然而不加砥厲則不能利，不得人力則不能斷

³²⁷ David B. Honey, "Before Dragons Coiled and Tigers Crouched: Early Nanjing in History and Poetry," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* Vol. 115, No. 1 (Jan. - Mar., 1995): p. 19 and n. 21.

³²⁸ Minao Hayashi, *Kandai No Bunbutsu* (Kyōto: Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo, 1976).

³²⁹ 刀,到也,以斬伐到其所刀擊之也。其末曰鋒,言若鋒刺之毒利也。其本曰環,形似環也。其室曰削,削,峭也,其形峭殺裹刀體也。室口之飾曰琫,琫,捧也,捧束口也。下末之飾曰琕,琕,卑也,在下之言也。短刀曰拍髀,帶時拍髀旁也。又曰露拍,言露見也/佩刀,在佩旁之刀也。或曰容刀,有刀形而無刃,備儀容而已/剪刀,剪,進也,所剪稍進前也/書刀,給書簡札有所刊削之刀也/封刀,鉸刀,削刀,皆隨時名之也

<http://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=41273>

Standard History of Jin”), swords are decorated with gold, silver and hawkbill, etc. In the chapter *Liuzhi* 禮儀志 (“The Treatise of Rituals”) in *Suishu* 隋書 (“The Standard History of Sui”) there is a rule that requires officials to wear a sword or jade at the waist, based on their rank.³³⁰ In this sense, swords in ancient China were a hierarchical symbol of success.

In fascicle 3 of *Azhaboju yuanshuai dajiang shang tuoluoni jing xiuxing yigui* 阿吒薄俱元帥大將上佛陀羅尼經修行儀軌 (“Ritual Procedure of Practicing Azhaboju Marshal General Azhaboju Buddha Dharani Sutra”), there is another name for sword: *futu* 伏突, described as an attribute of the King of the North. The entry for *Tujue* 突厥 (Turkic ethnic group) in chapter of *Yiyuzhuan* 異域傳 (“Historical Narrative of the Alien Land”) of the *Zhoushu* 周書 (“History of Zhou”) specifies that weapons are bows, arrows, whistling arrows, armor, lances, single-edged swords, and double-edged swords. *Futu* is also used for ornament pendent.³³¹ Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 (709-784) writes in his inscription of the epitaph for Li Guangbi 李光弼 (708-764 C.E.), *Linhuai wumuwang ligong shendaobei* 臨淮武穆王李公神道碑銘, that every time he went to battle, he kept a *futu* in his boot, which is proper action, not humiliating.³³²

In Buddhism, delusion is figured as demons; in that sense, wisdom eliminating delusion caused by ignorance can be figured as a sword. So in Buddhism, the sword, a

³³⁰ Jingyan Lu, *Zhongguo Gu Dai Bing Qi*, Di 1 ban. ed. (Xi'an: Xi'an jiao tong da xue chu ban she, 1993), 22.

³³¹ 兵器有弓矢鸣镝甲稍刀劍，其佩饰则兼有伏突。

³³² 每臨陣，嘗貯伏突於靴中，義不受辱

symbol of enlightenment, is often associated with Manjusri and his emanations, and also used by protective deities against enemies of Buddhism., For example there is the chapter on Buddha's bid to Chandaka to bring Kanthaka, the prince's horse, in fascicle 4 of *Puyaojing* 普曜經. Here there is mention of the wisdom of the prince Siddhartha as a sword, upon the prince's encountering a spirit called *benshi* 奔識 guarding five roads with a sword and a bow and arrow. Siddhartha says, "You are holding an ordinary sword, guarding with five soldiers. I am holding a large sword of endless wisdom, cutting off birth and death of five states of existence, and reaching to the primordial nothingness."³³³ Maybe from this association, arrows, swords, and vajras are used in rituals of esoteric Buddhism, as seen in Tantric texts such as the *Dharani Sutra*, which mentions the use of swords on the ground during prayer for stopping rain. Renunciation is the sword *Nandaka*. When there is cutting of the tie (of affection) by it, the ascetics delight (*nandanti*) so it is traditionally called *Nandaka*.³³⁴ Below I investigate iconographic elements of Lokapala images in East Asia with this notion.

Swords are ceremonial and religious implements as well in China, and are closely related to Daoism. Tao Hongjing, who compiled *Gujin daojianlu* 古今刀劍錄 ("Record of Knives and Swords Ancient and Modern"), a book on precious *dao* and *jian* made from mystical and historic emperors of China, took swords as symbols of spirits' will and

³³³ 卿持俗刀 五兵宿衛 吾執智慧無極大劍 斷五趣生死皆至本無. T.3 No.0186, 0507c28-0508a01 http://www.cbeta.org/result/normal/T03/0186_004.htm

³³⁴ Kramrisch, p. 70

power.³³⁵ In addition there are some stories about Li Bai 李白, a great poet of the Tang dynasty, who enjoyed learning swordsmanship. When he was young, he was absorbed in Daoism. Maybe for this reason he liked learning fencing.

3) Spear

The lance is a piercing weapon used to subdue or destroy the enemies of religion and frequently carried by wrathful deities.³³⁶ In Indian tradition there are several kinds of lance, such as *Amogha-shakti*, the magical spear of Indra; *Ayashula*, the iron-tipped spear of Shiva's manifestations; *Pattisha*, the long, iron-tipped spear of Chamunda and others; *Shakti*, a lance tipped with a broad, leaf-shaped blade; and *Shagti*, a lance tipped with a blade, used by the Dharmapala. As if in reflection, there are several kinds of lances found in Chinese translations of Buddhist scriptures, such as *shuo* 稍, *shuo* 槊, *ji* 戟, *mou* 鉞, and *cha* 叉 (table 2).

As demonstrated in Chapter 2, the spear was an attribute of Kushan emperors such as Kanishka I, and Vaishnavana took this image of kingship in his holding a spear and dressing like a king. This imagery is partly standardized in *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*: Here it is stated that “the spear is traditionally said to be the power, and the mace the administration of polity.”³³⁷ The stupa shows what Lokapala, as protectors of the world, serve for, whereas a fire altar shows what King Kanishka, an ordinary protector of

³³⁵ Jung-hoe Ku 구중회, *Pungsok Munhwaro Mannan Muryeong Imgeum Mudeomui 12gaji Bimil* 풍속 문화로 만난 무령 임금 무덤의 12 가지 비밀 (Twelve Secrets of King Muryeong's Tomb Met with Genre Culture) (Seoul: Seogyong Munhwasa, 2011), p. 50.

³³⁶ Bunce, *An Encyclopaedia of Buddhist Deities, Demigods, Godlings, Saints, and Demons with Special Focus on Iconographic Attributes*, vol. 2, p. 1034.

³³⁷ Kramrisch, P. 79.

the world, serves for. It is of interest to note that the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* specifically mentions that Kubera should wear an armored coat made of chain mail and hold a mace and a spear.

4) Votive Stupa

It is not easy to identify each Lokapala by relying upon textual descriptions in Buddhist scriptures, because these texts make little distinction as to which symbol is whose. Furthermore, artists do not exactly apply textual descriptions to the images. This ambiguity is the source of arguments such that about to whom the attributes of bow and arrow belong, the King of the East or the King of the South. However, because there is one exception from the ambiguity – that Vaishravana, the King of the North, has a stupa – Vaishravana could be a standard to identify the other three when it is possible to determine their directions based on that of Vaishravana.

Fanyī míngyì jí 翻譯名義集 (“Collection of Translated Buddhist Terms”), compiled circa 1150 C.E., clearly states that “the King of the North holds a Buddha’s sarira stupa” (table 2). The hand that holds the stupa, however, is different according to texts. In the Buddhist scriptures translated into Chinese in the seventh century, the king holds a stupa in his right hand, whereas in texts translated in the eighth century, he holds the stupa in his left hand. Maybe following from the eighth century texts, images of the King of the North made in the ninth century in East Asian countries usually show him holding a stupa in his left hand.

There are some writings that show the appearance of Vaishravana according to the ancient Chinese. In one of the important military treatises, *Taibaiyinjing* 太白陰經)“Classic of the Bright White Yin”), written by the Tang military governor Li Quan 李筌 during the reign of Emperor Daizong 代宗, it is stated that “(Vaishravana) holds a spear in his right hand and a stupa in his raised left hand.”³³⁸ Xu Dong 許洞 states in *Zhaipishamentianwangwen* 祭毗沙門天王文 (“Sacrificial Ode to Vaishravana”), in fascicle 20 of *Huqianjing* 虎鈴經 (“The Classic of the Tiger Seal”), a famous military treatise written in the Northern Song dynasty (960-1126), that (Vaishravana) “holds a stupa in his left hand and wields a spear in his right hand.”³³⁹

5) Vajra

The vajra is an attribute used for several deities of various religious traditions, such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Brahmanism, and Jainism.³⁴⁰ It is a thunderbolt, an implement used to destroy the enemies of religion. This masculine symbol represents indestructibility, or wisdom that destroys passion.³⁴¹ Vajra means “diamond” in Sanskrit texts, and has adamantine strength and luster. It cuts everything, but the vajra remains inscrutable. It is attributed to Indra, or Sakra, the king of the *trayastrimsa* heaven in Hindu and Buddhist mythology, and later to Vajrapani, Vajradhara, Vajrasattva,

³³⁸ 太白陰經卷七 祭文書藥方總序: “毗沙門神, 于闐城有庙, 身披甲, 右手持戟, 左手擎化塔, 祇从群诸, 殊形异状, 胡人事之。”

³³⁹ “左手擎塔---右手仗戈。”

³⁴⁰ Arundhati Banerji, "Origin, Morphology and Typological Evolution of Vajra in Indian Art," *Roopa-Lekha* vol.LII, No. 1-2 (1981)., p. 15

³⁴¹ Fredrick W. Bunce (vol. 2), p. 1037.

Vajratara, and Marichi in the Buddhist tradition.³⁴² It consists mainly of three parts: two symmetrical spikes on either side and a handle in the middle with concavity for an easy grip.³⁴³ The ends may be club-headed, pointed, straight, three- or multiple-pronged; when it has no prongs, the ends are not pointed.

The vajra is also an attribute of Lokapala in later Tantric Buddhist scriptures. *Bukong juansuo shenbian zhenyan jing* 不空羂索神變真言經 (“Infallible Lasso's Mantrā Supernatural Transformations”) 25 mentions it as an attribute of the four Lokapala. It is mentioned as a symbol of the Kings of the West and the North in other scriptures such as *Yizi fodingjunwang jing* 一字佛頂輪王經 (“Single Syllable Buddha's Crown Wheel King Sutra”) and Fascicle 12 of *Bukong juansuo shenbian zhenyan jing* 不空羂索神變真言經. In the latter the vajra is used also for the King of the South in *Qianshou guanyin zaocidifa yigui* 千手觀音造次第法儀軌 (“Ritual Procedures of Thousan-armed Avalokiteshvara Making Stages of Law”) and *Banruoshouhu shiliu shanshenwang xingti* 般若守護十六善神王形體 (“Wisdom Protecting Sixteen Benevolent Spirit Kings' Form”) (table 2).

There is a chapter on the making and function of vajra, *Foshuo bazheluo gongneng fashang pin* 佛說跋折囉功能法相品 (“Chapter on function and appearance of Vajra preached by the Buddha”), in fascicle 1 of the *Dharani Sutra*. According to this chapter, the presider of a ritual should hold a vajra in his right hand, count *mala* with his

³⁴² Banerji., p. 16, n. 8.

³⁴³ About the conceptual and formal origins and history of vajra in Indian art with different types and variants in later times, see Banerji, "Origin, Morphology and Typological Evolution of Vajra in Indian Art."; N.G. Majumdar, "Notes on Vajra,," *Journal of Department of Letters, University of Calcutta* (1924).

left hand, and recite mantras from his heart, until three mysterious clear lights appear: at that point vajra is getting warm, smoke is coming from it, and clear light is raying from it.³⁴⁴ The vajra became one of the basic implements at actual rituals in tantric practices, together with a bell played by presiders.³⁴⁵ It is also used as a motif decorating Buddhist objects such as mandala, sutras, and Buddhist paintings.

6) Reins and Club

The rein is another of the attributes for Lokapala mentioned in Buddhist scriptures. It is in Japan that it has been frequently used as an attribute of Lokapala images. The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* mentions the camel reins that Virupaksha, the King of the West, holds in his hand as a signature of worldly fetters.³⁴⁶ In Buddhist scriptures, reins appear as symbolic objects for the King of the West, as well, as in the *Dharani Sutra*. Later, reins are also described as attribute of the King of the West in *Yaoshi liuli guang wang qifobenyan gongdejing niansong yigui gongyangfa* 藥師琉璃光王七佛本願功德經念誦儀軌供養法 (“Reciting Ritual Procedures and Making Offerings to the Sutra on the Merits and Virtues of the Original Vows of Bhaisajyaguru Vaidurya Prabharaja Seven Tathagata”), rendered in 1278-1290 C.E., and in *Xiuyaoshi yigui butanfa* 修藥師儀軌布壇法 (“Teachings on Decorating Bhaisajyaguru Ritual Procedures and Altars”) (table 2). In the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, “the staff is

³⁴⁴ “咒師右手把跋折囉。左手搯珠。惟須盡力至心誦咒。限至現於三種光相。何為三相。一者其跋折囉自然而暖。二者煙出。三者放大光明。若煖相現。持杵行者。” (Taishō Tripitaka 18, No. 0901, 0804b20-23)

³⁴⁵ Masahide MORI 森 雅秀, "Kanseru Yu-Ga No Kan No Seiritsu Ni Kansuru Ich Kosatsu 完成せるヨガの環の成立に關する一考察 (a Study of the Composition of Niṣpannayogāvalī)," *The Mikkyō Zuzō* 密教図像 Vol. 15(Oct. 1996): 38.

³⁴⁶ In this *Purāṇa*, the camel is described as the vahana of Virupaksha. Kramrisch, p. 83

enumerated as an attribute of Virupaksha, King of the West.”³⁴⁷ The club, a weapon of battle and a symbol of Tantric manifestation, is used to subdue or destroy the enemies of religion (Buddhism) or on monks who have broken their vows. It is frequently carried by wrathful deities.³⁴⁸

7) Jewel

Chintamani is a Sanskrit word for jewel or gemstone. The term refers to a magical jewel that has the power to grant its possessor all wishes. It is one of the seven gems (*saptaratna*).³⁴⁹ Jewels, including flaming jewels, symbolize the preciousness of the teachings of Buddha, the perfection of the Law. In the Buddhist tradition, *chintamani* is the jewel that fulfills all wants and needs; it is also the vehicle of the divine essence.³⁵⁰ Its Chinese translation in Buddhist texts is *baozhu* 寶珠, sometimes called wish-fulfilling jewel, *ruyu baozhu* 如意寶珠, or sometimes *moni baozhu* 摩尼寶珠. *Ruyu baozhu* is a translation of *chintamani*, but *baozhu* in *moni baozhu* seems redundant of *mani*, because *mani* is known as gem in Hindu in India. Another Sanskrit word for jewel is *ratna*.

Because *chintamani* (or *cintamani*) is a term for wish-fulfilling jewel in both Hindu and Buddhist traditions, it is used to express the preciousness of the Law in Buddhist sutras such as *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論 (“Great Treatise on the Perfection of Wisdom”). It is assumed that the basic concept was established in the *Treatise* and

³⁴⁷ “Virupaksha has expanded-eyes, a majestic staff, a bright face, hairs erect, two hands, and a yellow beard. (He is) of limbs reddish-dark in color, with a dark garment, with all ornaments and with the hand holding staff and reins.” *Kramrisch*, P. 82

³⁴⁸ Fredrick W. Bunce (vol. 2), p. 1031.

³⁴⁹ Bunce, Fredrick W. *A dictionary of Buddhist and Hindu iconography, illustrated: objects, devices, concepts, rites, and related terms*, New Delhi: D.K. Printworld, 1997, p. 64.

³⁵⁰ Fredrick W. Bunce (vol. 2), p. 1033.

developed in other texts.³⁵¹ The names of *yeguangbi* 夜光璧 (luminous jade), *mingyuezhu* 明月珠 (bright moon pearl), and *yeguangzhu* 夜光珠 (luminous pearl) are found in ancient Chinese literature, such as *Chuceyi* 楚策一 (“The First Strategies of the Chu State”) in *Zhanguoce* 戰國策 (“Strategies of the Warring States”), *Xiyuzhuan* 西域傳 (“Records of Western Regions”) in *Hohanshu* 後漢書 (“The History of Later Han”), and *Soushenji* 搜神記 (“Records of Searching for Spirits”). These are introduced or figured as invaluable treasures, able to glow even in the dark as Buddhist *mani* is. There were mythical objects before the introduction of Buddhism into China, and they seemed not to influence on *mani*.

8) Lute

Zunsheng foding xiuyujiafa guiyi 尊勝佛頂脩瑜伽法軌儀 (“Ritual Procedure of Vijaya Uṣṇīṣa Practice Yoga”) describes a lute as an attribute of the King of the East. The lute is the only attribute for the King of the East in later scriptures such as *Yaoshi liuli guang wang qifoben yuan gongdejing niansong yigui gongyangfa* 藥師琉璃光王七佛本願功德經念誦儀軌供養法 (“Reciting Ritual Procedures and Making Offerings to the Sutra on the Merits and Virtues of the Original Vows of Bhaisajyaguru Vaidurya Prabharaja Seven Tathagata”) and *Xiuyaoshi yigui butanfa* 修藥師儀軌布壇法 (“Teachings on Decorating Bhaisajyaguru Ritual Procedures and Altars”) (table 2). Fascicle 52 of *Zhengfa nianchujing* 正法念處經 (“Sutra of Abiding in

³⁵¹ Heejung Kang 강희정, *Jungguk Gwaneum Bosalsang Yeongu: Nambukjo Sidae-Eseo Dang-Ggaji* 중국 관음보살상 연구: 남북조시대에서 당까지 (a Study on Avalokiteshvara: From the Southern and Northern Dynasties through Tang) (Seoul: Iljisa 일지사, 2004), p. 123.

Contemplation of True Law”), translated by Boreliuzhi 般若流支, states that one of the best sounds in the human world is that of the so-called lute. This is stated because celestial sound cannot be figured with anything, even with all the best sounds in the human world.³⁵²

(3) Pose and Vahana

In Buddhist art both Indian and East Asian, Lokapalas are represented holding weapons and sitting or standing. It is hard to determine the iconographic origin of sitting and standing, because these poses are not limited to deities. However, postures in which the symbolic objects are held, in particular in the standing position, are very similar to those represented in both Buddhist and non-Buddhist Indian art. For example, a posture taken by Lokapala in which they carry a sword or spear in one hand, with the other hand resting on the hip, is one of the typical postures taken by Indic deities, as seen on Bharhut stupa. When Lokapala are in a sitting pose, this always a half lotus posture, *banjiafuzuo* 半加趺坐 in Chinese, which is standardized in *Yizi foding lunwang jing* 一字佛頂輪王經 and *Bukong juansuo shenbian zhenyan jing* 不空羂索神變真言經 12 and 25 (table 2).

In terms of iconography it is characteristic for *Bukong juansuo shenbian zhenyan jing* 不空羂索神變真言經 12 to describe Lokapalas seated in a half lotus posture and the King of the West with the third eye between the eyebrows. Fairly early example of seated Lokapala are found from a stele found at the Wanfosi 萬佛寺 site in Chengdu 成

³⁵² T17n0721, p0305b15-0305b19, 不可譬喻.人世界中第一聲者.所謂琵琶.箏笛箏篴.齊鼓歌等.如是諸聲.一切和合.猶亦不如彼天之中莊嚴具聲.於彼天中莊嚴具聲.十六分中不及其一.如是天中所有音聲.不可譬喻.如是譬喻.

都, Sichuan Province, which was created in year 523, the 4th reign year of putong 普通 in Liang dynasty during the Southern and Northern Dynasties (fig. 4.18-1). The relief on bricks discovered at the Sacheonwangsa site, Gyeongju, Korea, is another early example in East Asia. While there are few examples of seated Lokapala images before the fourteenth century in Korea, there are several works in China from the Tang and Five Dynasties periods. It seems that in Japan, standing was the preferred posture for Lokapala, because the extant images dated to the Heian period (794-1185) are all standing. Lokapala images with the third eye, however, are hardly discovered in the East Asian countries.

In East Asia images of Lokapala present a wrathful manner in both face and body. This is one of the characteristics established in Tantric scriptures later. Of extant Tantric texts rendered in Chinese, it is in texts from the eighth century that Lokapala's face and eyes are described as angry. In Buddhist art, Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are always depicted in a calm, steady, and smiling manner, so that they exhibit concentration, love, and compassion, which are the values and goals of Buddhist practice. Wrath was taken as one of the manners of the deity for the first time in the tantric tradition. It is true, though, that the wrathful expression is milder on Lokapala than on other fearsome deities in tantric Buddhism such as Heruka and Mahakala.

This tantric aspect explains why *Vandada*, a respectful gesture of hands clasped that was frequently used for Lokapala in India, was not the usual posture for Lokapala in East Asia, judging from the extant examples. Even though Lokapala images of the East

Asian countries made as early as the fifth through the first half of the seventh century are the so-called bodhisattva type, these do not show the *vandada* pose. Lokapala images with hands clasped are represented on Weimo jing bianxiang tu 維摩經變相圖 (“Transformation Painting of Vimalakīrti Nirdeśa Sutra”) on the south wall of Dunhuang cave 138. Here, all three kings except for the King of the North press their palms together in front of the chest. In Korea this pose appears in the Buddhist paintings made in the fourteenth century of the Goryeo dynasty.³⁵³ Even though this pose is neither stated in Buddhist sutras nor described in textual descriptions of iconography for Lokapala, it is a basic pose for all beings except Buddha, expressing homage to Buddha.

Vahana refers to a vehicle mounted by deities. This vehicle beneath their feet distinguishes their characteristics from those of other deities in India. The device basically functions to indicate the identity of the figure mounting the *vahana*.³⁵⁴ The convention did not originate in India but rather was imported from Mesopotamia, whose art works including that device can be traced back to at least 1500 B.C.E.³⁵⁵ Lokapala images in East Asia also have *vahana* beneath their feet. Although the vehicle varies, it may include a lotus, an animal, a dwarf-like demon, a rock, or a heavenly silk hem worn by the guardians. The lotus flower and animal vehicle were used in earlier works of Lokapala (fig. 4.1-1, 4.1-2, 4.21-2). They almost disappeared after the mid-seventh century, as crouching dwarf-like demons became popular for Lokapala vehicles.

³⁵³ Seunghee Lee, table 1 of p. 121.

³⁵⁴ Heinrich Robert Zimmer and Joseph Campbell, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, Harper Torchbooks, Tb 2005 the Bollingen Library, 6 (New York,: Harper, 1962), p. 70.

³⁵⁵ It can be assumed that sea trade flourished between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers and the western coast of India. Zimmer (1962), p. 71.

Antecedents to dwarf-like demon vehicles in India can be traced back to a being trampled by a labeled guardian on a pillar of the North Gate of the Stupa at Bharhut, from the second century B.C.E.³⁵⁶ The guardian places his feet on the shoulders and head of the dwarf-like demon (fig. 2.1). This dwarfish type of demon, which might be called the “Hindu type – a long head with full round face, large eyes, and thick lips,”³⁵⁷ appears at Sanchi. “The dwarf capital appears on the west gateway at Sanchi, since the architrave represents the attack of the demons on the Bodhi-tree.”³⁵⁸

It is hard to find an iconographical description of these beings in Buddhist sutras. However, there may be a good reference in the chapter on the Earth Goddess Drdha in the *Golden Light Sutra*. In this chapter, the Earth Goddess Drdha says to Buddha that “Lord, along places where this sutra is distributed, if somebody who sets up a lion throne and teaches Dharma gives a sermon on this sutra, I hide under the throne and support the person’s feet with my crown....”³⁵⁹

In the *Dharani Sutra* where there is mention of how to draw five Yaksa images, there is the following: “Under each leg of the image, there is a spirit called *guishen* 鬼神.”

³⁵⁶ This Yaksa is one of the gatekeepers of the North Gate, and has an inscription describing him as Kubera Yaksa: “kupiyo yakho: bhadata-budharakhitasa satupādanasa dānaṃ—thabho,” translated, “the gift of the pillar by the reverend Buddharaksita, who has abandoned attachment.” (Gouriswar Bhattacharya, “Dāna-Deyadharma: Donation in Early Buddhist Records (in Brāhmī),” in *Investigating Indian Art: Proceedings of a Symposium on the Development of Early Buddhist and Hindu Iconography Held at the Museum of Indian Art Berlin in May 1986* (Berlin: Museum für Indische Kunst : Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, c1987), p. 41.

³⁵⁷ Albert Gruenwedel, Agnes C. Gibson, and James Burgess, *Buddhist Art in India. Translated from the 'Handbuch' of A. Gründwedel* (London: B. Quaritch, 1901), 35.

³⁵⁸ James Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship, or, Illustrations of Mythology and Art in India in the First and Fourth Centuries after Christ, from the Sculptures of the Buddhist Topes at Sanchi and Amravati* (Delhi: Oriental Publishers, 1973), pl. xviii.

³⁵⁹ 金光明經 堅牢地神品

Even though the five Yaksas with flame-colored hairs pointing upward and large snakes on top of their heads look very different from Lokapalas,³⁶⁰ we again can glean some ideas about the dwarfish creatures under the feet of Lokapala.

Prithvi, a goddess of *vahana* for Vaishravana, is not found in any Buddhist texts except for *Zhongbian zhutian zhuan* 重編諸天傳 (“Revised Edition of Commentaries on All Deities”) which was compiled by Xinting 行霆 in the Southern Song dynasty (1127-1279). Here it is stated that the origins of several deities enshrined in Tiantai monasteries and arrangements of the temple were standardized by *jinguangming chanfa* 金光明懺法 (Golden Light Confession ritual).³⁶¹ *Zhongbian zhutian zhuan* describes Vaishravana on the shoulders of a woman.³⁶² Because this is quite a late compilation that simply shows what images of all deities normally look like, it does not give the original source of the goddess.

It is of interest, however, to note that in *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* it is stated that the earth goddess is shown between the legs of Vāsudeva, the father of Krishna in the Hindu tradition. Between his legs the earth should be shown with the appearance of a woman, tawny like the emblic myrobalan and with a middle beautified by the wavy *trivalī* (i.e., the three folds above the navel of a woman regarded as a mark of beauty). The god Janārdama should have his feet placed a *tāla* apart, with the right foot slightly

³⁶⁰ *Dharani Sutra*, p. 388 (http://ebti.dongguk.ac.kr/h_tripitaka/v1/search.asp)

³⁶¹ Mochizuki 望月信亨, *Mochizuki Bukkyō Daijiten*, Vol. 7, p. 6298.

³⁶² 令身被金甲而足踏女人之肩下.作雲以擁之,或云乃其母也.其手中執捉與前亦同.於其左右羅列八部.卅 Xuzangjing 續藏經 Vol. 88, No. 1658, 0425a18-0425a19
http://www.cbeta.org/result/normal/X88/1658_001.htm

stretched, upon the hands of that (earth-goddess). The earth should be made with glances (as if) surprised at the sight of the god and the god should be rendered with his waist-cloth extending to the knee.³⁶³

There is a metal Vishu image made in the fourth century, now at the Museum für Volkerkunde, Berlin, that corresponds to the Vishnu image with garments, attributes, and a circular crest jewel described in *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*. As discussed in the previous chapter, some local king images in Central Asia are depicted with an earth goddess supporting the king's feet with her two hands. It is possible that local king iconography in Central Asia used part of the deity's Indian iconography, but at the present moment this cannot be certain.

In *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* it is stated that “the Earth-goddess (Mahi) should be made the color of the parrot, adorned with divine ornaments, --- in the hand of Bhu (earth goddess) should be held a jewel-vessel, a corn-vessel, a vessel full of medicinal plants, and a lotus.”³⁶⁴ It is of interest to note that according to the iconography of Jianlao dishennu 堅牢地神女 (Prithvi earth-goddess) in *Besson zakki zuzō* 別尊雜記 she holds a bottle (fig. 5.17); there is an image of the earth goddess holding a bottle from the Tang dynasty. This work itself does not exist today. However, there is a poem of Ouyang Jiong 歐陽炯 that describes her. He writes in his *Tijinghuanhua yingtiansi bi tianwang ge* 題景煥畫應天寺壁天王歌 (“In praise of the bright lustrous wall painting of Tianwang in Yingtian monastery”): “---how brilliant the great Pisha figure is, flying in

³⁶³ Kramrisch, P. 110.

³⁶⁴ Kramrisch, P. 85.

clouds with a large stupa in his hand. The earth goddess matches him, holding a precious bottle and wearing a cloth woven in gold thread.”³⁶⁵

In this chapter I have discussed iconography of Lokapala defined in Buddhist scriptures. The appearance of warrior-type Lokapala is described in Tantric scriptures. In Buddhist sutras that belong to the Mahayana tradition, armor and weapons of Lokapala are metaphors for virtues that Buddhism values. The equipment of Lokapala with armor and weapons does not indicate that a warrior fights an external enemy, but rather that an internal warrior encourages practitioners to enhance virtues such as wisdom and compassion, which are real protection. In the next chapters I will analyze Lokapala images produced in Korea from the seventh to thirteenth centuries in order to examine the religious meaning reflected in commissioned imagery of the deities.

³⁶⁵ 全唐诗 卷七六一:”--- 毗沙大像何光辉,手擎巨塔凌云飞.地神对出寶餅子,天女倒披金缕衣.”

Chapter IV. Lokapala Images of the Three Kingdoms Period

The seventh century in East Asia was a period of mixture of change and diversity in culture and politics, moving forward to the prosperity of the eighth century. Baekje (18 B.C.E.-660 C.E.) and Goguryeo (37 B.C.E.-668 C.E.), two of three old kingdoms with a long history in the Korean Peninsula, were conquered by the Silla kingdom (57 B.C.E.-935 C.E.), the last of the three, in 660 and 668, respectively. Silla finally accomplished unification by allying with the Tang military and then expelling them from the Korean peninsula, and developed Korean culture rapidly. In China, the Sui dynasty (581-618 C.E.) ended its very short history, and the alternative Tang dynasty (618-907 C.E.), the strongest empire in Chinese history, began its dynastic history and prepared to reach its height. Throughout the seventh century, Japan in the Asuka period developed a new culture based on Buddhism transmitted in the sixth century from Baekje; its capital was moved from Asuka to Naniwa, and the Taika Reform was established in the year 645; Japan tried to be a systematic state through the law system called Ritsuryō 律令 (“criminal and administrative codes”).

It is interesting to note that it was in the seventh century that all three East Asian countries were ruled by queens for the first time in their history: in Asuka Japan, Suiko Tennō 推古天皇 (Empress Suiko, r. 593-628 C.E.) and Kōgyoku Tennō 皇極天皇 (Empress Kōgyoku, r. 642-645 C.E.), who also reigned later as Saimei Tennō 齊明天皇 (Empress Saimei, r. 655-661 C.E.); in Silla Korea, Seondeok Yeowang 善德女王 (Queen Seondeok, r. 632-647 C.E.) and Jindeok Yeowang 眞德女王 (Queen Jindeok, r. 647-654

C.E.); and in Tang China, Wu Zetian 武則天 (Empress Wu, r. 690-705 C.E.), who designated Buddhism as China's state religion in the year 691. These female rulers offer a new snapshot of East Asian portraits in the seventh century that drew changes and diversity in history and culture.

It has been seen that development in representation of guardian deities in East Asia in general underwent a complex process until the mid-seventh century: Vajrapani in armor and in dhoti with martial pose, and bodhisattva-type and warrior-type Lokapala coexisted. This circumstance makes iconographic study of guardian deities in East Asia difficult. Because armor is regarded to be a representative feature of Lokapala, Vajrapani in armor is sometimes identified as Lokapala. Because Vajrapani in armor even share attributes, vajra and sword, with Lokapala, identification becomes more complicated. However, as discussed in Chapter 2, not only Lokapala but also other deities began to wear armor in Central Asia. Armor and weapon attributes were shared by these two divinities until the mid-seventh century in East Asia. It was after the mid-seventh century that each deity had its own main line of development: Vajrapani came to be represented with a naked upper body, in a martial pose, paired on either side of an entrance gate; Lokapala took off Central Asian-style armor and was settled as a warrior image in armor, in particular Tang armor.

In terms of the iconographic history of Lokapala, the seventh century in East Asia might also be called a period of diversity. Diversity means a variety of trials to replace the conventional representations, and thereby also means coexistence of old and new, or foreign and domestic style as shown through images coming along with Indian, Central

Asian, and Chinese traditions together. Hand-held attributes were created not in Central Asia but in India, which has a rich tradition as far as attributes are concerned. For this reason it is the dress code of the deities that strongly reveals the mixture of the traditions: Indian dhoti, feminine garment-type Central Asian armor, and manly Tang Chinese armor. In Central Asia old and new iconography coexisted as well in the creation of new iconography of deities' armor: Lokapala started to wear armor but still appear to be Indian Lokapala, their attitude of softness unchanged. The attempt to change iconography from dhoti to armor, however, somehow portends the fundamental change of Lokapala not only in iconography but also in cult. The iconographic changes show the process by which the deities entered into the Mahayana pantheon.

According to the extant works today, the first Chinese attempt to change armor from Central Asian to Chinese was in 604 C.E., during the Sui dynasty, in Yaoxian 耀縣, near Chang'an, the dynastic capital.³⁶⁶ In comparison to the Sinicization of the Buddha's robe in the late fifth century and the early sixth century,³⁶⁷ this attempt seems quite late. In addition, it took more time for the trial to be established into a standard in East Asia: Lokapala images made in Korea and Japan in the mid-seventh century, in which Tang armor as Lokapala's armor became popular around the capital in China, still show the

³⁶⁶ It would not be possible to make this statement without recent research by Songran Lee and Daenam Park, in "Jungguk Su Insu sa-nyeon Shideoksa Sarigu Yeongu 중국 수 인수 4년 신타사 사리구 연구 (A Shendesi Stone Casket and Buddhist Reliquaries of Sui Dynasty in Tongchuanshi Yaozhou District Museum)," *Hanguk Godaesa Tamgu* 한국고대사탐구 (Sogang Journal of Early Korean History), as demonstrated below.

³⁶⁷ For more detail about scholarship on the Sinicization of the Buddha's robe in the Northern Wei, see Kyungwon Choe 崔耕苑, "Bugui bulsang bokje-ui junggukhwa-e daehan yeongusa-jeok gochal 北魏佛像服制의 中國化에 대한 研究史的 考察 (Consideration of Scholarship on the Sinicization of the Buddha's Robe in the Northern Wei)," *Misulsa Yeongu* 미술사연구 (Journal of Art History) 8, 1994, pp. 251-268.

Central Asian-type armor and rhythmic posture. The Tang Chinese-style Lokapala was finally transmitted into Korea and Japan in the late seventh century, and took unchangeable status that has lasted up until today in East Asia, with the variation of the Tibetan style introduced during the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368 C.E.).

Lokapala, who traveled a long way from the Indian homeland through Central Asia, gradually transformed into East Asian deities by changing their dress to Tang armor and by taking menacing poses in the seventh century. The change of their clothing into armor can be called a kind of “clothing reform.” The basic change occurred in Central Asia in the third or fourth century, in which the Buddhist pantheon was richer in terms of deities with Indic features, compared to the pantheon in China; the reform was not limited to Lokapala but happened also with the other Indic deities, as demonstrated in Chapter 2. In terms of results, the change from noble to warrior seems epochal. However, the epochal change did not occur at one point, but was gradually developed.

When the deities began to wear armor in Central Asia, the artists seemed not to have the intention to make the deities look like warriors – in contradiction to the belief of modern scholars. It seems likely that people who were responsible for the new iconography in Central Asia thought that armor could reveal the divine status of Lokapala and other deities. This assumption can be explained by the fact that the armor of these deities in Central Asia was shared with other high-status humans such as kings and queens.

The second reform of deities’ clothing occurred in the early seventh century in China, finally causing the characteristic changes of the deities, a process that cannot be

properly explained without taking into consideration Tantric practice. In the second reform the deities were finally established as Mahayana deities who have the Bodhisattva intention to help all living beings and who interact more with humans. Lokapala iconography appearing in tombs in China exhibits that the deities were basically perceived by the contemporary people as “protectors” of the world and of living beings. In this chapter I will demonstrate the procedure of these changes with specific images produced in Central Asia, China, Korea, and Japan in the seventh century. An understanding of this process will provide a sensible explanation of the features of the Lokapala cult in Korea.

1. Iconographic Features of Armed Lokapala in the Early Phase of Development in East Asia

(1) Bodhisattva-type

The Four Divine Kings appear “in most Buddhist settings, including temples, gates, pagodas, portable reliquaries,”³⁶⁸ and ritual implements. This multiple presence of the deities exhibits not only a variety of image settings but also their multiple functions. Art media in which the deities appear varies in time, region, and most likely religious function. As discussed in the previous chapter, the religious function of Lokapala in Buddhist sutras is described as follows: as one among the assemblies in attendance of Buddha’s preaching, as protectors of the world, as inspectors of the conduct of living beings, and as deities being asked by Buddha to protect the Dharma after his passing away. Protecting the Dharma is the very fundamental function, as it is the only way that

³⁶⁸ Robert E. Fisher, "Noble Guardians: The Emergence of Lokapalas in Buddhist Art," *Oriental Art*, 1995, vol. 41 no. 2, p. 17.

the deities can protect the world and living beings. Later in Tantric scriptures Lokapala are present as objects of worship and of prayer for the happiness of living beings.

According to the history of Lokapala's role, their cult in Korea seems not to have had only the one aspect called the "state-protecting" role, which has been given attention by particularly Korean and Japanese scholars. It seems to be so when it is seen only by resultant aspects; and yet the causal principle seems quite different from those aspects. Even though the deities aspire to protect lands and kings, there is one condition to be accomplished in order to get the deities' help, which is that these lands and kings have to bring about the flourishing of Buddha's teachings beforehand. Otherwise prayers to the deities are powerless. This is because the deities aspire to help people wherever Buddha's teachings flourish. Therefore the best way for people to invoke the deities is to have faith in the Dharma and to put it into practice as the Buddha instructs in scriptures. Thus there should be care in interpreting art works of these deities because the art works probably are closely related to the deities' functions.

In order to investigate the function of Lokapala in East Asia, in particular functions seen through images, it is instructive to focus on their armor: what it really meant when they started to wear it in Central Asia in the first place. As mentioned in Chapter 2, it seems that Lokapala were supposed to wear armor according to Indic tradition such as *Gṛhya* literature and *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* and Buddhist scriptures such as *Lalitavistara*. Even though Lokapala are not represented as warriors in armor in India, those texts probably gave good sources for people responsible for creating new iconography of Lokapala in Central Asia. However, judging from images in which armor

is worn in Central Asia, it seems Lokapala wear armor because it is a special clothing to indicate heavenly status for the Divine Kings rather than a protective gear for the protectors of the world. Therefore, before discussing the images of the Four Divine Kings in Korea, I first demonstrate the real meaning of armor in Central Asia.

In China, there are not only records but also an actual oeuvre of Lokapala images remaining from the Southern and Northern dynasties (420-589 C.E.). Of these, Lokapala images from the Northern Dynasties found on the Mogao 285 cave mural in Dunhuang are invaluable research data (fig. 4.1, 1-1, 1-2). These are significant because included are inscriptions, which tell that the cave was created in the years 538 and 539, or as the inscription reads, "the fourth and fifth year of Datong 大同 of Western Wei 西魏." Thus the four armored Lokapala represented in cave 285 are the oldest works with clear dating in East Asia. In the respect that armor is an implement by which Lokapala are reborn as Mahayana deities, it is also worth pointing out that Mogao cave 285 is the oldest cave in East Asia in which Buddhist paintings based upon Mahayana scriptures had begun to appear.³⁶⁹ The cave with Mahayana doctrine recalls Rawak, whose stupa area has Lokapala images, from a time in which Mahayana had started to become strong in that area.

Two Lokapala figures are placed on each side of the main terracotta Buddha statue at the western wall of cave 285 (fig. 4.1-1, 2). All four stand on lotus pedestals, wear a crown with a ribbon fluttering on either side, have a round halo around the head,

³⁶⁹ Ishida, Hisatoyo 石田尚豊著. *Shōtoku Taishi to Tamamushi no zushi: gendai ni tou Asuka Bukkyō* 聖徳太子と玉虫厨子: 現代に問う飛鳥仏教 (Prince Shotoku and Tamamushi Shrine: Inquiry into Asuka Buddhism in Modern Times), 東京美術, Tōkyō : Tōkyō Bijutsu, 1998. P. 24

and wear a fluttering heavenly shawl around the shoulders. All four hold spears, while the figure situated close to the left side of the Buddha holds a stupa. They wear armor beautifully colored blue, green, and brown. Golden color added along contours of the armor makes it more colorful, and strengthens its distinction. The armor consists of several parts: v-shaped collar, breast armor with two plates left and right, belly part, fluttering silky skirt under hip armor that has a frilled hem, and half-length sleeves with morning glory-shaped cuffs.

Even though clothing that the deities wear is called armor, it seems to be made with refined and delicate fabric rather than metal or leather, the more common materials for armor.³⁷⁰ All these aspects of shape, color, and material of the armor make the deities look more like bodhisattvas than warriors, an impression strengthened by the rhythmic and soft posture. For this reason the armor seems not to be a protective gear but rather special clothing for divinities. This assumption is supported by the image of a divine being clad in exactly the same armor as the Lokapala mentioned above; the deity is on the far left of the Buddha on the same wall as the Lokapala.³⁷¹ The fact that the type of armor is shared by Lokapala and the other deity indicates that the armor is not limited to Lokapala.

³⁷⁰ The material of armor is also regarded as leather, and the armor is observed as *liantang kai* 兩當鎧 (“two-piece armor” or “vest armor”). See Chanxue Tan 譚蟬雪; Dunhuang yan jiu yuan 敦煌研究院, *Dunhuang shiku quanji 24: Fushi huajuan* 敦煌石窟全集 24 服飾畫卷 (Complete Works of Dunhuang Grottoes 24: Paintings of Clothing), Xianggang: Shang wu yin shu guan 商務印書館, 2005, p. 22.

However, as I will discuss below, the vest armor has only two plates for the front and back.

³⁷¹ Wenjie Duan 段文杰; Jianping Liu 劉建平; Jinshi Fan 樊錦詩, *Zhongguo Dunhuang bihua quanji 2 Xiwei* 中國敦煌壁畫全集 2, 西魏 (Collections of Dunhuang Chinese Mural Paintings 2, Western Wei), Tianjin: Tianjin renmin meizhu chubanshe 天津人民美術出版社, 2002, pl. 106

This type of armor is also found in other contemporary or even earlier sculpture. For example, there is a figure in armor on the left side of the Buddha on the east side of the main pillar of the West cave at Jintasi 金塔寺 in Jiuquan 酒泉, Gansu, Northern Liang (397-439 C.E.) or Northern Wei (386-534 C.E.) (fig. 4.2).³⁷² Because the figure is standing beside the Buddha with a Bodhisattva on the opposite side, it can be identified as not a Lokapala but a Vajrapani who has been represented holding a vajra, since he always attended the Buddha very closely in Gandhara. As I mentioned in Chapter 2, not only Lokapala but also other divine beings such as Vajrapani, Surya, and Naga changed their iconography by wearing armor in Central Asia. Therefore the Jintasi figure in armor is a fairly early example of Vajrapani in armor in China. The other figures in a similar style of armor are found in Binglingsi cave 169 in Yongjing, Western Jin (265-317 C.E.) to Northern Wei (386-534 C.E.), and in Mogao caves 257 and 263 in Dunhuang, Northern Wei (fig. 4.3-5). They are in the same composition as that

³⁷² Opinions on dates for the Jintasi cave are divided in two groups: Northern Liang and Northern Wei. For more detail on arguments about the Northern Liang, see Doucheng Du 杜斗城, *Guanyu Hexi zaoqi shikude niendai wenti 關於河西早期石窟的年代問題* (Dates of Early Cave Temples in the Hexi Region), *Dunhuang xue ji kan 敦煌學輯刊* 26, 2994.2, pp. 101-111; Bai Su 宿白 *Liangzhou shiku yijiyu Liangzhou moshi 涼州石窟遺迹與“涼州模式”* (Cave Temple Ruins in Liangzhou and Liangzhou Style), *Zhongguo shikusi yanjiu 中國石窟寺研究* (Cave Temples in China), Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe: Xinhua shudian jingxiao 文物出版社: 新華書店經銷, 1996, pp. 45-48; Eungyeng Yang 양은경, *Gamsukseong Geumtapsa Seokgului Gaechak Yeondaewa Bukryang Bulgyowaui Gwange 甘肅省金塔寺石窟의 개작년대와 北凉불교와의 관계* (Date of Jintasi Cave in Gansu province and Its Relationship with Northern Liang Buddhism), *미술사학* 20, 2006.8, pp. 143-175. In regard to the Northern Wei, see Haruo Yagi 八木春生, *Unkō sekkutsu mon'yō ron 雲岡石窟文様論* (Patterns Applied to Yungang Cave Temples), Kyōto-shi: Hōzōkan 法藏館, 2000, pp. 48-62.

mentioned above, with a Vajrapani flanking the Buddha on one side, and a Bodhisattva or a Buddha's disciple on the other side.³⁷³

Armor that the Jintasi and Binglingsi figures wear is slightly different from armor that Lokapala wear in Mogao cave 285, in that the former has a distinctive collar covering more of the front neck. It is of surprising interest to note that armor of the stucco deity in Mogao cave 257 (fig. 4.4) is exactly the same as armor that the deities wear in cave 285 (fig. 4.1-1,1-2), with the same color tones: breast armor with blue, hip armor with green, and belly armor and the frill of the hip armor with beige or brown. What is indicated by the fact that not only the form but also the color is the same between paintings and sculpture? At that time, iconography was transmitted through black ink

³⁷³ Controversial discussion has not yet taken place on the identification of these figures as Lokapala or Vajrapani. However, it may be noted that in catalogues of Chinese Caves they are introduced as Lokapala or Vajrapani. I had identified the Binglingsi figure as Lokapala in my M.A thesis, Yeoung Shin Shim 沈盈伸, "Tongil silla sidae Sacheonwang sang yeongu 統一新羅時代 四天王像 研究 (A Study of the Representations of the Four Heavenly Kings in the Unified Silla Dynasty)," *M.A. Thesis*, Graduate School of Hongik University, 1993. Haruo Yagi identifies this type of figure in Northern Liang as Vajrapani. See Haruo Yagi 八木春生, *Chūgoku Nanbokuchō jidai ni okeru Kongō Rikishi ni tsuite 中國南北朝時代における金剛力士について* (Vajrapani in Southern and Northern Dynasties China), *Chūgoku Bukkyō bijutsu to Kan minzokuka : Hokugi jidai kōki o chūshin to shite 中國佛教美術と漢民族化-北魏時代を後期中心として*, Kyōto-shi: Hōzōkan 法藏館, 2004, pp. 13-16; Youngae Lim identifies the figures as Vajrapani in Im, "Seoyeok Kucha Jiyeok Geumgang Yeoksa-Ui Teukjing-Gwa Gue Uimi 서역 쿠차 지역 금강역사의 특징과 그 의미 (Characteristics and Meaning of Vajrapani in Kucha, Central Asia)." Also see footnote 97 of Chapter 2 in this dissertation. It follows from this identification that Lim argues that armed Vajrapani in armor is characteristic of Vajrapani images in Central Asia (p. 338). In contradiction, Song Li 李淞, *略論中國早期天王圖像及其西方來源*, Chang'an yishu yu zongjiao wenming 长安艺术与宗教文明 (Arts and Religious Civilization of Chang'an), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中华书局, 2002, pp. 105-141. Dainobu Yuji also identifies the single image of the armed figure in cave 257 in Dunhuang as a Lokapala; see Yuji Dainobu 臺信祐爾, *Donko no Shitennozō 敦煌の四天王像* (An Iconographical Study of Lokapala Imagery in and Around the Dunhuang Grottoes), *Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan kiyō 東京國立博物館紀要* (Proceedings of the Tokyo National Museum), Vol. 27, 1991, pp. 5-150: 40.

sketches; it is well known that this kind of sketch was discovered in Dunhuang.³⁷⁴

However, because it is impossible to indicate colors in a black ink sketch, a possible explanation for the same color pattern is that the paintings and images were produced according to actually existing object, not by ink sketch. The actual object here means something in use in real life. If this colorful armor was actually in use, the possibility that it was used for a military purpose decreases.

In Central Asia this type of armor used for divine beings as seen in Mogao cave 285 was also worn by ordinary but high ranking people, judging from art works extant today. In Mogao cave 254, Northern Wei, there are two groups of figures present in the Jataka tale of King Sivi, in the middle row of the north wall in the cave (fig. 4.6). The scene illustrates that King Sivi offers his flesh to a hawk in pursuit of a dove, in order to save the dove's life. However, the whole story turns out to be a test, a measure of the king's compassion, performed by Indra. In the scene, divine beings are depicted on either side of the middle row, expressing reverence to compassionate King Sivi with palms joined together. Among them, deities on the right side of the King wear clothes similar to the colorful armor mentioned above.

It is of even more interest to note that three wives of the King, on his the lower right side, also wear the same clothing that the above deities wear. Judging from these examples, it seems this type of armor may be called a noble costume of Central Asia; queens or daughters of the rich wearing this type of clothing are frequently represented in

³⁷⁴ Wutian Sha 沙武田, *Dunhuang huagao yanjiu* 敦煌画稿研究 (Studies on Dunhuang Sketches) Beijing: Minzu chubanshe 民族出版社, 2006; Sarah E. Fraser, Formulas of Creativity: Artist's Sketches and Techniques of Copying at Dunhuang, *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 59, No. 3/4 (2000), pp. 189-224.

Dunhuang. One example is found in the scene “Attack of Mara,” on the south wall of the antechamber in Dunhuang cave 254, Northern Wei period, late fifth century (fig. 4.7).

On either side of the Buddha, seated in the center, are soldiers of Mara falling to the ground or putting their hands together in gestures of supplication. To the lower left of the Buddha are Mara’s daughters, trying to seduce the Buddha, but they have turned into bodhisattvas to the right of the Buddha on the same level.³⁷⁵ Mara’s seductive daughters and the bodhisattvas wear the same clothes as queens, the three wives of King Sivi. In the Dunhuang caves there are more paintings of the same scene, with the same composition and the same clothing.³⁷⁶

Following from Julia K. Murray’s interpretation of the identity of the two groups in Mogao cave 254 – that one group on the left side of the Buddha is Mara’s daughters and the other group on the right side of the Buddha is Bodhisattvas transformed from the daughters – it can be assumed that this type of armor is worn even by bodhisattvas. However, there is also an alternative explanation of these two groups: that the three on the right side of the Buddha are Mara’s daughters seducing him, while on the left of him are old hags transformed from the daughters.³⁷⁷

This armor may be compared to that represented in Kizil caves, which is more like Central Asian armor in that it is closed in the center with a long skirt (fig. 4.8, 2.38).

³⁷⁵ Julia K. Murray, “Buddhism and Early Narrative Illustration in China,” *Archives of Asian Art*, Vol. 48 (1995), pp. 17-31: 23.

³⁷⁶ Illustrations of Jataka tales on the Attack of Mara, with women in the same clothing, are in the antechamber of cave 260 and cave 263. Other Jataka tales with women in the same clothing are in cave 257. See Dunhuang wenwu yanjiusuo 敦煌文物研究所, *Chug ōku sekkutsu Tonkō Bakukōkutsu* 中國石窟 敦煌莫高窟 1, Tōkyō: Heibonsh 平凡社, 1982, pls. 61, 51, and 44.

³⁷⁷ Patricia E. Karetzky, *Early Buddhist Narrative Art: Illustrations of the Life of the Buddha from Central Asia to China, Korea and Japan*, Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 2000, P. 77

This style of clothing is actually typical clothing of Kucha women:³⁷⁸ the feature of a naked waist also shows characteristics of Uyghur clothing in Gaochang 高昌. The fact that this clothing for women with high status is also used for deities recalls the fact that deities in India shared their appearance with kings. The armor-like clothing shows Central Asian influence in Dunhuang. Chinese painting styles of the early Dunhuang caves, Five Barbarians and Sixteen States (304-439 C.E.) and the early Northern Wei, are mixed with styles of India and Central Asia.³⁷⁹ This mixture reflects ethnic diversity during the fourth through sixth centuries at Dunhuang.³⁸⁰ Julia K. Murray notes that therefore there should be care in using the early Dunhuang paintings, some of whose sources probably were non-Chinese traditions, in order to elucidate early Chinese painting.³⁸¹ Women wearing armor might seem strange, but there is literary evidence that informs us that women actually wore armor: Yufuzhi 輿服志 (“Record on State Chariots and Robes”) in *Jinshu* 晉書 (“History of Jin,” 260-420 C.E.) tells that “in the late Yuankang era (291-299 C.E.), women wore two-piece armor above crossed collar.”

³⁷⁸ Xiao'en Zhu 竺小恩, *Dunhuang fushi wenhua yanjiu*, 敦煌 服飾文化 研究 (Clothing and Adornment in Dunhuang), Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue chubanshe 浙江大学出版社, 2011, p. 45. A girl in the scene of a novice monk committing suicide to keep precepts, in Dunhuang cave 257, also wears the same clothing. p. 73

³⁷⁹ Xiao'en Zhu 竺小恩, *Dunhuang fushi wenhua yanjiu*, 敦煌 服飾文化 研究 (Clothing and Adornment in Dunhuang), Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue chubanshe 浙江大学出版社, 2011, p. 43

³⁸⁰ Julia K. Murray, “Buddhism and Early Narrative Illustration in China,” *Archives of Asian Art*, Vol. 48 (1995), pp. 17-31: 25. The sources of her argument are as follow: Wolfram Eberhard, “The Origin of Commoners in Ancient Tun huang,” *Sinologica* 4(1956): 141-154; Xinru Liu, *Ancient India and Ancient China: Trade and Religious Exchanges A.D. 1-600* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1988); E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959), pp. 59, 68. Another useful general discussion is Du Jiwen, “The Multi-Ethnic Character of Chinese Buddhism and the Characteristics of Its Various Schools,” translated by Chen Guansheng, *Social Sciences in China* 15(1) (Spring 1994): i47~i7i.

³⁸¹ Julia K. Murray, p. 26. She also argues that a variety of modes are new techniques of narrative illustration imported by Buddhism, but that they did not destroy the indigenous Chinese mono scenic mode.

³⁸² Even though this account is not Central Asian, but rather Chinese, it supports the possibility that this armor was actually worn by women in Central Asia. Yet it is in the form of refined fabric rather than heavy metal.

The proposition that Bodhisattvas wear armor as seen in the scene “Attack of Mara” in Mogao cave 254 could be controversial. However, as far as a Bodhisattva image in armor is concerned, there is a decisive example on the ceiling of Bezeklik cave 14. The image is quite late, dating to around the mid-tenth to the mid-eleventh centuries, during the height of the Uyghur Kingdom, and the Bodhisattva wears Tang Chinese armor. He is labeled with “pusa mohesa 菩薩摩訶薩” in front of his body, which means “bodhisattva the great being” (fig. 4.9). Pusa refers to bodhisattva in Sanskrit: pu refers to bodhi meaning the truth; sa refers to sattva meaning beings. Mohe refers to maha in Sanskrit meaning great. A Bodhisattva image in armor contributes to an understanding of the meaning of armor in the Mahayana tradition, in which clothing reform of deities occurred, because the Bodhisattva is the core figure symbolizing Mahayana doctrine.

In the chapter on metaphor (*biyupin* 比喩品) in the *Lotus Sutra* Shakyamuni Buddha says:

If a living being listens to and believes in the Law, diligently practices, seeks omniscient wisdom, Buddha’s wisdom, natural wisdom, wisdom attained without teacher, Buddha’s knowledge and fearlessness, compassionate countless living beings and comfort them, and wishes to liberate all beings in order to benefit

³⁸² “元康末, 婦人衣襦褙, 加於交領之上”

heavens and human beings, this (person) is named as Mahayana Bodhisattva and as Mahasattva (“great being”) because he seeks for this vehicle (Mahayana).³⁸³

In the chapter on the Pure Land (Jingtupin 淨土品) of fascicle 26 of *Mohe bore boluomi jing* 摩訶般若波羅蜜經 (“The Great Prajna-Paramita Sutra”), the Buddha teaches about the path of bodhisattva Mahasattva. Here, the paths for the Mahayana bodhisattvas are as follow: six perfections, thirty-seven laws aiding the paths, eighteen emptinesses, eight liberations, nine degrees of concentration, ten powers of the Buddha, eighteen distinctive characteristics of the Buddha, and all phenomena.³⁸⁴

It seems for these reasons that values of the Mahayana tradition such as compassion, patience or wisdom are figured as armor by the Buddha.³⁸⁵ The meaning and function of armor seen through images in Central Asia seems not to be limited to protectiveness or defense. As mentioned earlier, armor in Central Asian Buddhist art is more like a symbolic garment to exhibit the role of Mahayanist deities. In the Buddhist hierarchical system, Lokapala are lower status gods but they deserve to be called beings with a Bodhisattva intention to benefit all living beings by protecting the Dharma. Armor that Bodhisattvas and deities with bodhisattva intention wear symbolizes the doctrine.

³⁸³ T.09 No.0262, 0013b24-0013b28 ”若有眾生，從佛世尊聞法信受，勤修精進，求一切智，佛智，自然智，無師智，如來知見，力，無所畏，愍念，安樂無量眾生，利益天人，度脫一切，是名大乘菩薩，求此乘故，名為摩訶薩”

³⁸⁴ “六波羅蜜是菩薩摩訶薩道，三十七助道法是菩薩摩訶薩道，十八空是菩薩摩訶薩道，八解脫，九次第定是菩薩摩訶薩道，佛十力乃至十八不共法是菩薩摩訶薩道，一切法亦是菩薩摩訶薩道。” (T.8, No.0223, 0407b13-16); Nagarjuna also makes this clear it in his 淨佛國土 of 大智度論釋, “六波羅蜜是菩薩摩訶薩道，三十七助道法是菩薩摩訶薩道，十八空是菩薩摩訶薩道，八背捨，九次第定是菩薩摩訶薩道，佛十力乃至十八不共法是菩薩摩訶薩道，一切法亦是菩薩摩訶薩道。” (T.25, No.1509, 0705b26-29)

³⁸⁵ Footnote 42 in Chapter 3.

The Bezeklik bodhisattva image with the label clearly shows Mahayana Buddhism symbolically reflected in the armor. According to the label it seems the local artist wanted to emphasize the Mahayanistic feature of bodhisattvas by applying armor. There are more examples of figures with a bodhisattva intention wearing armor, through which the value of armor in the Mahayana tradition is revealed. They are bodhisattvas, and kings and queens in paintings named gongyanghua 供養畫 (“paintings on making offerings to the Buddha”) or shiyuanhua 誓願畫 (“paintings on aspirations to be a Buddha”) in the Bezeklik caves (figs. 10, 11). In the center of each painting stands a large Buddha who is one of the past Buddhas, around whom are a Vajrapani, a Bodhisattva, monks, kings and queens.³⁸⁶

The figures clad in armor at either side of the Buddha on the bottom are kings who are the same person (figs 4.10, 11). In each scene the queen standing right behind the kneeling king also wears armor. It is worth pointing out that the kings are not ordinary kings but actually Shakyamuni Buddha in his previous lives. The kings express reverence and make offerings to the past Buddha in order to receive from him the

³⁸⁶ For more detail on these lost murals, see Shinkan Murakami 村上真完, *Seiki no Bukkyō: Bezekuriku seiganga kō* 西域の仏教: ベゼクリク誓願画考 (Buddhism in Central Asia: A Study on the Aspiration Paintings in Cave Temples in Bezeklik), Tōkyō: Daisan Bunmeisha 第三文明社, 1984; Kumagai Nobu 熊谷宣夫, *otani korekushon no 大谷コレクションの誓願畫資料* (Paintings of Prāṇidhi Scenes in the Ōtani Collection), *Bijutsu Kenkyū* 美術研究 (The Journal of Art Studies) 218, 1991.9, pp. 1-26; Hirano Shinkan 平野真完, *bezekuriku daikyūgō kutsuji meibun ni yoru seiganga kō no kōsatsu* ベゼクリク第九號窟寺銘文による誓願畫の考察 (A Study on the Prāṇidhi Scene According to the Inscriptions of the Cave Temple No. 9 Bāzāklik), *Bijutsu Kenkyū* 美術研究 (The Journal of Art Studies) 218, 1991.9, pp. 27-46; Meng Fanren 孟凡人, *Xinjiang Baizikelike kusi liusi yuwai bihua shulüe* 新疆柏孜克里克窟寺流失域外壁畫述略 (Summary on the Lost Paintings from Bezeklik Cave Temples in Xinjiang), *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古與文物 1981.4, pp. 43-61; Meng Fanren 孟凡人, *Xinjiang Baizikelike kusi liusi yuwai bihua* 新疆柏孜克里克窟寺流失域外壁畫 (Lost Paintings from Bezeklik Cave Temples in Xinjiang), *Tulufan Baizikelike shiku* 吐鲁番柏孜克里克石窟 (Bezeklik Cave Temples in Turfan) ed. Xinjiang Weiwu'er Zizhiqu bowuguan 新疆维吾尔自治区博物馆 etc., Urumchi: Xinjiang renmin chubansha, 1990.

prophesy that the king will attain Buddhahood in his future lives to benefit all beings. In other paintings the previous Shakyamuni Buddha receiving prophesy appears as a bodhisattva and also as a merchant.³⁸⁷ Thus the armor worn by these figures, who have a bodhisattva intention to aspire to be a Buddha in order to benefit sentient beings, may simply symbolize the Mahayana path. These circumstances can also explain why Lokapala began to wear armor in Central Asia. It can be deduced that Lokapala and other deities in armor might be considered to be important in Central Asia as deities with a bodhisattva intention. The iconic difference between regions reflects the religious status of the divinity in each area.

The wearing of armor by bodhisattvas appears not to be limited to Central Asia. For example, even though they date as late as the Five Dynasties (907-960 C.E.), there are bodhisattva images in armor in Wanfodian 萬佛殿 (“A Great Number of Buddhas Hall”) at Zhenguosi 鎮國寺 in Pingyao 平遙, Shanxi 山西 Province (fig. 4.12). It is of interest to note that the armor they wear is similar to the Kuchan-type armor discussed above, with breast plates left and right (fig. 4.1-1, 1-2, 4, 5).

In Gandhara, Vajrapani used to be represented with a naked upper body, in attendance on the Buddha. However, in Central Asia and in China they wear armor when they are close to the Buddha. In China the iconography of a pair of Vajrapani who guard the entrance was established as beings with fists in a martial posture from the sixth

³⁸⁷ See other paintings of plate 8, 15, 16 in *Tulufan Bozikelike shiku* 吐鲁番伯孜克里克石窟 ed. Xinjiang Weiwu'er Zizhiqu bowuguan 新疆维吾尔自治区博物馆 etc., Urumchi: 新疆人民出版社 Xinjiang renmin chubansha, 1990. In plate 12 of the book, the king wears armor but the king sometimes is represented wearing the traditional Uyghur clothing, such as in plate 13.

century onward and became with naked upper body in the eighth century.³⁸⁸ Yet even after this, in Central Asia they wear armor when attending the Buddha (figs. 4.10, 11). Even though the Bezeklik paintings mentioned above show Chinese influence, such as type of armor, Vajrapani is still represented in the Central Asian way of wearing armor. The fact that Vajrapani wears armor shows the Central Asian tradition which caused clothing reform for deities. These Vajrapani in armor in attendance of the Buddha, in comparison to Vajrapani with a naked upper body in a martial pose on either side of the entrance gates of temples, also supports the assumption mentioned above that armor may be a symbolic costume, not just protective gear in war.

It is of interest to note that the armor that the deities wear is different from that worn by soldiers in actual life at the same time in China. For example, there are representations of soldiers wearing armor in the scene “Jataka Tale on Five Hundred Thieves’ Attaining Buddhahood” on the south wall of Mogao cave 285, which is the cave in which the Western Wei Lokapala are depicted (fig. 4.13). Soldiers in armor riding on armored horses fight thieves. The armor that the soldiers wear is called *liantang kai* 兩當鎧 (“two-piece armor” or “vest armor”). The vest armor was originally the clothing of northern ethnic minority groups, used for both man and woman, and changed into

³⁸⁸ According to Youngae Lim, single Vajrapani became paired at the entrance of cave temples in China in the late fifth century, as seen in those in Yung caves no. 8, 9, and 10. For more detail, see Youngae Lim, “Jungguk Seokgului Geumgan yeoksa-Bukwui hugi geumgang yeoksau se gaji byeonhwareul jungshimeuro 中國石窟의 金剛力士-북위 후기 금강역사의 세 가지 변화를 중심으로 (Vajrapani in Chinese Buddhist Caves - Focused on Three Changes in Vajrapani During the Late Period of Northern Wei),” *Gangjwa Misulsa* 강좌미술사 (The Art History Journal) 32, 2009, pp. 275-302. In her writings, including this one, Youngae Lim often argues that when the single Vajrapani is represented with the Buddha, Vajrapani protect the Buddha. In my view the Buddha, the object of refuge for all living beings, protects all living beings. He is not the object of protection but the subject of protection. The single Vajrapani with the Buddha may attend upon or follow the Buddha to be ready to give service.

military clothing. It does not need sleeves, and consists of two pieces, one each for the front and back of the upper body. The vest armor worn by women included colorful embroidery and adornments.³⁸⁹ This type of armor was widely used for the contemporary secular arts of China, such as tomb figurines of warriors (figs. 4.14, 15).

According to Yufuzhi 輿服志 (“Record on State Chariots and Robes”) of *Jiutangshu* 舊唐書 (“History of Tang”), compiled by Liu Xu 劉昫 in 945 C.E. during the Later Jin 後晉 of the Five Dynasties, guides and followers of Emperors and Kings should wear the vest armor and also trousers called kuxi 袴褶.³⁹⁰ There is an image corresponding to the literary evidence: Figures in the vest armor who guide and follow the emperor are found in the scene “Emperor Xiaowen 孝文 and His Court,” which was originally in the Central Binyang Cave in Longmen, Northern Wei dynasty (386-534), and is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 4.16, 16-1). These figures show that armor is not only for fighting soldiers. The difference between armor that the Buddhist deities wear and that used in real life shows that the Chinese modification of armor, which I would call the second reform of clothing of Lokapala, has not yet been applied to the images. Below I will discuss the process of the Chinese modification, and what kind of faith or idea was involved in.

(2) Transition into Warrior-type

³⁸⁹ Zhu Heping 朱和平, *Zhongguo fushi shigao* 中国服饰史稿 (History of Chinese Apparel), Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe 中州古籍出版社, 2001 P. 172.

³⁹⁰ “稱帝王導從必著 兩當袴褶” 187

Lokapala iconography made in China from the Southern and Northern dynasties through the Sui dynasty (581-618 C.E.) shows bodhisattva-like and warrior-like characteristics at the same time, in terms of facial expression, dress, handheld attributes, and posture. However, in the late seventh century the iconography was settled as a manly warrior semblance, fully dressed in Tang armor and holding weapons, and started the long history of the representative appearance of Lokapala images lasting until today in East Asia.

In fascicle 11 of the *Dharani Sutra*, it is stated that Lokapala “wear all kinds of heavenly clothing and are adorned with extreme refinement and delicacy.”³⁹¹ This statement occurs in the same passage in which their attributes are described (table 2). Many other sutras describe Lokapala as seemingly bodhisattvas, wearing a jade or pearl necklace, with hands clasped, and with a half lotus posture, as well. For example, in the chapter on the Four Divine Kings in *Zhang ahan jing* 長阿含經 (“The Longer Agama-Sutra”), *Shiji jing* 世記經 (“Sutra of Cosmology”), *Jishi yinben jing* 記世因本經 (“Sutra of Cause and Origin of Cosmology”), and *Jishi jing* 起世經 (“Sutra of Cosmology”), there is description of how the deities dress up when they get together in the *jiapiyanyantou* 伽毘延頭 garden with their retinues and all the beings of the Four Divine Kings’ Heaven (Shitianwang tianzhong 四天王天衆): The deities are adorned with all kinds of jewels, gems, and *yingluo* 瓔珞 (“jade or pearl necklace”), and ride their own chariots.³⁹² In scenes in scriptures of Buddha’s sermon in which the four Divine Kings

³⁹¹ “身著種種天衣.嚴飾極令精妙”

³⁹² Taishō Tripitaka. Vol. 1, No. 24, 340b18 – 340c19.

express their respect to Buddha, they are described as exposing the right shoulder and kneeling with the right leg, as other assemblies do, which is the traditional Indian way of expressing reverence. Thus these descriptions prove that basically the Four Heavenly Kings wear something similar to other deities as represented in Buddhist art in India. This appearance of Lokapala is more like the Indic than the East Asian warrior-type Lokapala.

The bodhisattva type of images suggests that they were preferred before the establishment of the warrior-type iconography with menacing posture. Even though the images wear armor, they still can be called bodhisattva-type because of the characteristics of armor they wear, which was worn by women in Central Asia, and also because of their calm features and smile, respectful hand gesture, and rhythmic body posture. It can be assumed that in the early phase of iconographic development of Lokapala in Central Asia, armor was for the first time added to the the Indic representation of Lokapala with naked upper body, and the wrathful appearance was developed later in China as written in Tantric scriptures such as *Bukong juansuo shenbian zhenyan jing* 不空羂索神變真言經 (“Infallible Lasso's Supernatural Transformation Mantra”). In other words, the iconographic features of armed Lokapala were developed in the Mahayana tradition, in which the Lokapala cult became diverse.

As demonstrated above, even though in Central Asia Lokapala were equipped with armor and weapons, there they still had the aspect of traditional Indic deities. The armor they wear is more like female garments than defense gear, making their presence more feminine and their subtle posture more rhythmic with fluttering heavenly clothing.

This bodhisattva-like aspect was carried on in China as well until the mid-seventh century. In terms of iconography, it appears that in China there was even a return to the complete Indic tradition during the Northern and Southern dynasty, in particular in the Northern Qi (550-577 C.E.) and Liang (502-557 C.E.) dynasties.

This is shown well in, for example, four figures probably found in Shandong and now housed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City (fig. 4.17). These figures were put on two out of four entrances of a stone stupa. They have a naked upper body, wear dhoti rather longer than the Indian version, stand on a crouching animal, and hold a spear (fig. 4.17-1). The reason that the Indic representation of Lokapala appears in the Northern Qi and Liang dynasties, in which armor had already become a common garment for Lokapala, can be explained by the cultural exchange performed between China and Southeast Asian countries.³⁹³

Indian influence on Chinese Buddhist sculpture from the beginning continued to the Tang dynasty. However, the frequency of cultural exchange through the usual Central Asian route decreased in the mid-sixth century, a phenomenon that seems related

³⁹³ For Southeast Asian motifs seen through sculpture made in the Liang and Northern Qi dynasties, see Ye-Kyung Chung 정예경, (Yang Bukje Jogakgwa Dongnam Asia Jogakgwau Gwalryeon Munje 梁·北齊彫刻과 동남아시아 조각과의 관련문제 (The Relationship Between the Liang and Northern Qi Dynasties in China and Southeast Asia), *Munhwasahak* 文化史學 (Cultural History Journal) 9, 1998.6, pp. 111-134; Ye-Kyung Chung 정예경, *Jungguk Bukje Bukju Bulsang Yeongu* 중국북제 북주 불상 연구 (A Study on the Buddha Images in Northern Qi and Northern Zhou China), Seoul: Hyeon, 1998. In the history of Buddhist sculpture in China, the new style appeared in the Northern Qi and Northern Zhou in the late sixth century; this phenomenon cannot be interpreted as improvement from Chinese art itself. Previous scholarship such as that by Osvald Siren, Alexander Soper, Michael Sullivan, and Okada Ken argues that the origin was the Gupta style of middle India. However, Ye-Kyung Chung in this book demonstrates that the origin of the new style is the Southern Indian, and that the style was transmitted into China through Southeast Asian art.

to two historic facts: the Hephthalites' rule of all of Central Asia around 520 C.E.,³⁹⁴ and the frequent fights over controlling the route toward Central Asia around the sixth century in the Northern Qi and Northern Zhou.³⁹⁵ Under these circumstances China perhaps exchanged culture with India through Southeast Asia, and thereby Southeast Asian influence appears in art works in Northern Qi. As demonstrated in Chapter 2, in Southeast Asia Lokapala is represented in the Indic type, with naked upper body and dhoti. The Indic-type Lokapala appearing in Northern Qi³⁹⁶ through China's relationship

³⁹⁴ Shōshin Kuwayama 桑山正進 *Kāpishī gandāra shi kenkyū* カ-ピシ-ガンダ-ラ史研究 (A Study on History of Kapisi and Gandhara), Kyōto: Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo 京都大学人文科学研究所, 1990, pp. 140-149.

³⁹⁵ Ye-Kyung Chung 정예경, p. 37.

³⁹⁶ “Monks came from many regions, including India, to congregate in Northern Qi, facilitating the exchange of ideas between the Northern Qi and India.” Su bai, “Buddha Images of the Northern Plain, 4th-6th Century,” *China: Dawn of Golden Age, 200-750 AD*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004, pp. 79-87: 84. Shandong has drawn attention from art historians studying early Korean Buddhist art, due to the geographic proximity between Shandong and the Korean peninsula. Studies on exchange between Buddhist imagery in the Three Kingdoms Period Korea and Buddhist sculpture found in Shandong since the 1970s are as follows: Dong Seok Gwak 郭東錫, “Geumje ilgwang samjon bulsangui gebo-Hangukgwa Jungguk Sandong jibangeul jungshimeuro 金銅製一光三尊佛의 系譜-韓國과 中國山東地方을 中心으로 (Lineage of Gilt-Bronze Triads in a Mandorla: Focused on Korea and Shandong in China),” *Misul Jaryo* 美術資料 51 (1993); Choon Sil Kim 김춘실, “Jungguk Sandongseong bulsanggwa Samguk shidae 中國山東省 佛像과 三國時代 佛像 (A Comparison of the Buddhist Sculptures of Shandong Province in China with Those in the Period of Korea's Three Kingdoms Period),” *Misulsa Nondan* 美術史論壇 (Art History Forum) 19 (2004); Eun-gyeng Yang 梁銀景, “Jungguk Tasan seokgul bulgyo jogake daehan gochal 中國 駝山石窟 佛教彫刻에 대한 考察 (A Consideration of Buddhist Sculptures in Ta Shan Stone Caves in China),” *Bulgyo Misul Yeongu* 佛教美術研究 2 (1995); Eun-gyeng Yang, “Jungguk Shandong jiyek bulsanggwa Hanguk Samguksidae bulsangui gyoryu gwange 중국山東지역 불상과 한국 삼국시대 불상의 교류 관계 (Relationship between Korean Buddhist Sculpture of the Three Kingdoms Period and Chinese Sculpture in Shandong),” *Gangjoa Misulsa* 강좌 미술사 (The Art History Journal) 26 (2006); Onishi Shuya 大西修也, “Santō-shō Seishū shutsudo sekizō hankazō to Kankoku hankazō 山東省青州出土石造半跏像と韓國半跏像 The Pensive Bodhisattva Sculpture Discovered in Qingzhou, Shandong Province, and the Korean Pensive Bodhisattva Sculpture,” *Hobul Chung Young-ho gyosu jeongnyeon toim ginyeom nonchong* 豪佛鄭永鎬教授停年退任紀念論叢 (Collection of Articles Commemorating the Retirement of Professor Young-ho Chung), Seoul: Hanguk Munhwasa Hakhwai 韓國文化史學會 (Korean Society of Cultural History), 1999; Myung Dae Moon, “Goryeo geumdong bulsanggwa Jungguk Sandong geumdong bulsang gyoryu 고구려 금동불상과 중국 산둥 금동불상 교류 (Exchange between Gilt-Bronze Buddhist Sculpture in Goguryeo and in Shandong China),” In Myoung Dae Moon 문명대 et al., *Goguryeo bulsanggwa Jungguk Sandong bulsang* 고구려

with Southeast Asian countries surely is not pure Indic but Southeasternized Indic. Scholars interested in the relationship between China and Southeast Asia have focused in particular on Southeast Asia's relationship with the Liang and Northern Qi dynasties in China.³⁹⁷

Other examples in the Liang dynasty also exhibit different aspects from those of Lokapala in Northern China. The Indic tradition of Lokapala is represented with naked upper body with variation of local headdress and local dhoti. Lokapala figures of stone steles that were discovered in Chengdu 成都, Sichuan Province, are good examples: Two steles were found at the Wanfosi 萬佛寺 site and one on the Xi'an road. According to inscriptions on each stele from the Wanfosi site, these were made in 523, the fourth reign year of Putong 普通, and in 533, the fifth reign year of Zhongdatong 中大通, in the Liang dynasty during the Southern and Northern dynasties. The third stele, the Triad Buddha stele without inscription from the Xi'an road, is also presumed to have been made in the Liang dynasty.³⁹⁸

불상과 중국 산동 불상 (Buddhist Sculpture in Goguryeo of Three Kingdoms Period of Korea and in Shandong China), Seoul: Northeast Asian History Foundation 동북아역사재단, 2007).

³⁹⁷ Hee-jung Kang argues that the new sculptural style that appeared in the sixth century in the eastern region of China, such as in Shandong and Hebei provinces, was originally Indian Sarnath style, which was modified in the local style in Southeast Asia, in particular in Funan, and then transmitted into China. For more detail, see Hee-jung Kang 강희정, 동남아시아의 고대 불교조각: 남방해로를 통한 인도 불교미술의 동진 東轉 (Buddhist Sculptures in Ancient Southeast Asia: The Eastward Spread of Indian Buddhist Art through the Southern Sea Route), Dongnam Asiaui bulgyeo jogak 동남아시아의 불교조각 (The Buddhist Sculptures of Southeast Asia), Seoul: 국립문화재연구소, 2011, pp. 200-215 in Korean; 216-232 in English. For more detail on Buddhist sculpture in Funan, see Hee Jung Kang 강희정, "Funan (Bunam) Bulgyo jogakui yeonwongwa jeongae 푸난扶南 불교조각의 연원과 전개 (The Origin and Development of Funan's Buddhist Sculptures)," *Misulsawa Shigak Munhwa 미술사와 시각문화 Art History and Visual Culture* Vol. 8 (2009), pp. 40-63.

³⁹⁸ Buddhist sculpture and steles have been discovered in Chengdu, Sichuan province, since the 1950s. These images discovered in Chengdu are valued as representative images that exhibit characteristics of the Southern dynasty's style. The images have draw the attention of art historians in the field of ancient

In the center of the Putong stele is a standing Buddha flanked by two bodhisattvas on each side (fig. 4. 18). Behind them there are two monks on each side, situated between the Buddha and the bodhisattvas. On the lowest part of the stele are six figures playing music; these are found only on the Chengdu steles.³⁹⁹ Tianwang figures in this case are placed one platform lower than the group of Buddha and bodhisattva figures, and stand on lotus pedestals held up by demons. The Tianwang to the left side of the Buddha holds a stupa in his right hand; that to the right side, which has a damaged face, wears a shawl over the shoulders and holds a mace. This is the earliest Chinese example of Lokapala wearing a shawl and holding a stupa. On each side of this stele is another set of Lokapala seated in half lotus posture with clasped hands. These Lokapala wear a crown and shawl as well (fig. 4. 18-1).

It is interesting that they wear a shawl. As discussed in Chapter 3, *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* says that “the linen scarf which the gods wear round the upper part of their body should (also) be executed beautifully.”⁴⁰⁰ The shawl, or linen scarf, worn by Lokapala over the shoulder is one of the iconographic elements that probably show Indian, Southeast Asianized origin. This argument is supported by the fact that the Liang dynasty often exchanged Buddhist culture with Southeast Asia, as demonstrated

Korean Buddhist art due to their relationship with contemporary Korean Buddhist art, judging from the close relationship between Baekje and the Southern dynasty of China. Lena Kim 金理那, *Jungguk Sacheonseong Chulto Yangdae Bisang cheukmyeonui Shinjangsang Gochal* 中國四川省成都出土 梁代碑像側面の神將像 高찰 (Guardian Figures on Both Sides of the Liang Dynasty Buddhist Steles Discovered in Chengdu, Sichuan Province, China), *Misulsa Yeongu* 미술사연구 (Art History) 22, 2008.12, pp. 7-26. In this article Lena Kim investigates guardian figures including Lokapala and Spirit Kings (神王 Kr. Shinwang, Ch. Shenwang) from Buddhist sculpture discovered in Chengdu.

³⁹⁹ Lena Kim 金理那 (2008), p. 10.

⁴⁰⁰ Kramrisch, p. 41.

above, and the fact that the earlier example of the shawl is not witnessed in Northern China, where Indic elements were transmitted through the silk route.

The shawl is also worn by a standing figure holding a mace on each side of a stele, identified as Spirit Kings (神王 Kr. Shinwang and Ch. Shenwang), created in 525, the sixth reign year of Putong.⁴⁰¹ Even though the upper body of the figure to the left is damaged, it can be assumed that the figure is similar to the figure to the right. As Lena Kim points out, the face is not Chinese but Southeast Asian. The natural posture, soft facial expression, and round modeling of other figures on the same stele are different from contemporary images made in the Northern Wei, which are frontal and somewhat stiff.⁴⁰²

The other set of Lokapala wearing the same crown and garment as the Putong Lokapala is found on either side of the Zhongdatong stele, but here they stand and hold with two hands a sword pointed to the ground (fig. 4.19). The armor-like garment is also worn by other Lokapala images discovered in Chengdu. One example is found on the Three-Buddha stele. These figures, however, wear a different crown and do not hold an attribute.⁴⁰³ In addition, the detail of modeling is somewhat rough in comparison to the previous Lokapala on the Putong and Zhongdatong steles. This type of garment, which is characterized by a high collar and a shawl, is also worn by a single Lokapala with a beard discovered at the Wanfosi site.

⁴⁰¹ Lena Kim 金理那 (2008), table 1, fig. 2-2.

⁴⁰² Lena Kim 金理那 (2008), p. 11-12. Lokapala figures on stone steles discovered in Chengdu, examined here by Lena Kim, are different in style from those of contemporary Northern China. She values the importance of these Liang-dynasty Lokapala images, in whose extended line are both Baekje art in Korea and Asuka art in Japan.

⁴⁰³ Lena Kim 金理那 (2008), table 1, fig. 6-3, 6-4.

This single image is a straight standing statue, with the two legs stretched together (fig. 4.20). The two hands are missing but the arms are both stuck to the body and there is no movement. Instead of an assembled type of armor that can be divided into chest, stomach, and back pieces, this figure is wearing a short and very fit armor with a belt at the waist. On the lower part of the body are two skirts, one short and one long. Wide and high neck armor wraps around the neck while another piece of armor wraps the shoulders like a shawl.

Apparel features such as neck armor that runs all the way up to the chin, short coat-shaped armor along with a belt and two differently lengthed skirts can also be witnessed in warrior images of Southern Dyansty tombs at Danyang 丹陽, China. The garment that the Chengdu Lokapala wears, in particular the high round neck and shawl, is similar to that worn by Korean inscribed Lokapala on a sarira box discovered in the foundation stone of the Hwangnyongsa Pagoda in Gyeongju (fig. 4.24) and also to that worn by Japanese Lokapala images in the Kondō Hōryūji (fig. 4.33) and at the front gate of the Tamamushi no Zushi 玉蟲廚子 Shrine (fig. 4.40), both of which are in Hōryūji.⁴⁰⁴ The difference between Chinese images and both Korean and Japanese images are that the latter wear scale armor, while the former is not definitely armor.⁴⁰⁵ Out of the many features of Sacheonwang imagery, armor is significant because it leads to the exact dating of the image. Though not a Sacheonwang image, the warrior painted at the tombs wears

⁴⁰⁴ Because Baekje introduced Buddhism into Japan and some Buddhist images made in contemporaneous Japan are linked to those in Baekje and in turn to the Southern dynasties of China, the Chengdu Lokapala are probably directly connected to Baekje Lokapala, which are not extant today. Lena Kim 金理那 (2008), p. 23

⁴⁰⁵ Lena Kim presumes that this might be a garment that was popular in Sichuan at that time, or a traditional garment for warriors. Lena Kim 金理那 (2008), P. 14.

armor that has factors in common with armor portrayed on Sacheonwang images, and such similarity allows for a deduction of an armor trend that must have been popular in China during the Nanbeicao.

Lokapala on steles from Chengdu, however, bring into question location or composition, as follows: The Putong stele has four Lokapala, but one set is on the front and the other set is on the side; Lokapala on the Zhongdatong and Triad Buddha steles are on the side while two Vajrapani are on the front. This is because iconographic development of divinities including Lokapala and Vajrapani is complex and mingled one with another until the iconography settled in the late seventh century, as shown so far.

The feminine aura and lack of armor of the four figures on the Metropolitan Museum stupa and Liang steles make observers hesitate to call them Lokapala, even though all four are placed properly in relation to the Buddha. There is another example of the same scene, however, that confirms they are the Four Divine Kings. This other work, in which Lokapala are labeled, was found on a stone sarira casket from Shendesi 神德寺. It was produced in 604 C.E during the reign of Wendi (541-604) in the Sui Dynasty (581-618). Here, one feminine Lokapala is represented together with three other armed manly Lokapala, all with inscribed labels (fig. 4.21-1, 21-2).

According to documents such as *Guang hongming ji* 廣弘明集 (“Further Collection of Essays on Buddhism”), *Ji shenzhou sanbao gantong lu* 集神州三寶感通錄 (“Collected Records of Miraculous Responses to the Three Jewels in China”), *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 (“Precious Grove of the Dharma Garden”), and *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (“Continued Biography of Eminent Monks”), more than 110 sarira stupas were

commissioned by Sui Wendi to be built in 108 provinces (zhou 州) three times during the Renshou era (601-604).⁴⁰⁶ The stupas are called Renshou Sarira Stupa (*Renshou Shelita* 仁壽舍利塔); caskets and sarira reliquaries in the stupas are called Renshou Sarira Caskets (*Renshou Sheliqi* 仁壽舍利器); a variety of adornments related to making sarira offerings are called Renshou Sarira Adornments (*Renshou Sheli zhuangyan* 仁壽舍利莊嚴).

There is a legend that tells why Sui Wendi built the sarira stupas after he unified China in 581 C.E. The story found in the article on the virtue of the Buddha (佛德篇 Fodepian) in fascicle 17 of *Guang hongming ji* 廣弘明集 (“Further Collection of Essays on Buddhism”) is as follows:

Zhixian 智仙, a mysterious Buddhist nun, said (because) Buddha’s Law will be destroyed in the future, all spirit clarity has already gone to the West. If you became a compassionate father (under) the universal heaven and made Buddha’s Law flourish again, all the spirit clarity would come back. After that, the Zhou clan destroyed the

⁴⁰⁶ Because the Renshou Sarira Reliquary commissioned by Sui Wendi has plenty of documentation and is important in Chinese political history, it has drawn attention and much scholarship since as early as the 1920s. (周旻美, *Jungguk bulsari jangeomgui yeongu hyunhwanggwaja gwaje* 中國佛舍利莊嚴의 研究現況과 課題 (Research status and future subjects on the Chinese Sarira Establishment, *Chungguksa yongu* 中國史研究 26, 2003, 10, pp. 348-349). According to Kyeongmi Joo, *Jungguk Godae Bulsari Jangeom Yeongu* (*A Study on the Buddhist Reliquaries in Ancient China* (Seoul: Iljisa, 2003), 96-148, the following scholarship is important in reliquary studies: Hasegawa Michitaka 長谷川道隆, *Hokugi zuidaio toki to shutsudo shari yōki – indo sutūpa wo dōnyū shite* 北魏隋代の塔基と出土舍利容器 – インドストゥーパを導入して, *Kobunka dansō* 古文化談叢 28, 1992; Du, Doucheng 杜斗城, *Sui wendi fen sheli jianta de yiyu ji youguan wenti* 隋文帝分舍利建塔的意義及其有關問題, *Renwen Zazhi* 人文雜誌 1993, pp. 32-36. Kyeongmi Joo, *Jungguk Godae Bulsari Jangeom Yeongu* (*a Study on the Buddhist Reliquaries in Ancient China* (Seoul: Iljisa, 2003), 96-148. As for a recent study with detailed information, there is Songran Lee and Daenam Park, “Jungguk Su Insu Sa-Nyun Shindeoksa Sarigu Yeongu (Study on the Shendesi Sarira Reliquary Made in the Fourth Year of China Renshou Era,” *Hanguk-godaesa-tamgu* 6, (December, 2010): 201-249.

Buddha's Law, and the Sui (imperial) household received the mandate and made it flourish again.⁴⁰⁷

Because Sui Wendi thought he himself made the Law flourish, he commissioned the stupas to be built all over the country to commemorate the achievement. Having thought that political justification was guaranteed by Buddhism, he established the stupas; the sarira cult was sometimes politically used by other Chinese emperors, as well, in particular those who achieved dynastic revolutions, such as Wudi 武帝 (r. 557-559) in the Chen 陳 dynasty and Wu Zetian 武則天 (r. 690-705) in the Tang dynasty.⁴⁰⁸

The stupas were established in a complete set with sarira reliquaries, offering artifacts and a stone inscription called *tazhi* 塔誌, on which the causes of establishment of the stupa are written. Yet there are no sets of these objects extant today. There are not even sarira reliquaries and epitaphs extant, let alone stupas. This is why the Shendesi 神德寺 reliquary set, one of the sarira adornments produced in the Renshou era, is considered important; it is the only reliquary extant as a set with *tazhi* and a stone sarira casket.

⁴⁰⁷ “神尼智仙言曰. 佛法將滅. 一切神明今已西去. 兒當為普天慈父重興佛法. 一切神明還來. 其後周氏果滅佛法. 隋室受命乃興復之.” T52n2103, 0213c02-0213c05 Translation in the body is with help from a part translated by Hanjeong Lee in The Tripitaka Koreana http://ebti.dongguk.ac.kr/h_tripitaka/v1/search.asp.

⁴⁰⁸ Joo, Kyeong Mi 周旻美, Sumunje-ui insu sari jangeom yeongu 隋文帝의 仁壽舍利莊嚴 研究 (A Study on the Buddhist Relic Cult in the Renshou Period of Sui Wendi, *Jungguksa Yeongu* 中國史研究 (The Journal of Chinese History) 22, 2003, 2 pp. 81-127:96 and 118; Joo, Kyeong Mi 周旻美, *Jungguk godae hwangshil balwon bulsari jangeom-ui jeongchi-jeok seonggyeok* 中國 古代 皇室發願 佛舍利莊嚴의 정치적 성격 (The Imperial Buddhist Relic Cult as Political Propaganda in Ancient China), *Dongyanghak* 東洋學 33, 2003.2, pp. 363-382.

The reliquary was discovered in Yaoxian 耀縣 (today's Yaozhou district 耀州區 in Tongchuan City 銅川市), Shanxi Province 陝西省, in 1969.⁴⁰⁹ However, it has not been known where it was for several decades until it was rediscovered in 2010 by two Korean art historians, Songran Lee and Daenam Park, at Yaozhou District Museum 耀州區博物館 during their field research.⁴¹⁰ According to their study and previous scholarship, sarira and its reliquaries were given by Sui Wendi; outer cases, into which the sarira reliquary was put, and offerings were made by local authorities who received the Buddha's relics and reliquaries.

On the occasion of the sarira-receiving ceremony the authorities put these precious materials into the stupa with offerings made by people from diverse classes. In the *tazhi* inscription they wrote the wish that the people would obtain enlightenment by worshipping and having faith in the Buddha's Law. The inscription gives information that Buddhist monks as emissaries called *chishi* 勅使 were dispatched from the central government. The lid of the stone case of the sarira is very similar to the form of an epitaph. This is probably because the craftsman who was in charge of making epitaphs made the stone case.⁴¹¹

According to the documents listed above, the sarira reliquary is composed of four layers in the following order, with a smaller container going into a larger: a golden bottle

⁴⁰⁹ Zhu Jieyuan 朱捷元 · Qin Bo 秦波, Shanxi Chang'an he Yaoxianxian faxian de Bosi sashan chao yinbi 陝西長安和耀縣發現的波斯薩珊朝銀幣 (Persian Sassanid Silver Coins Discovered from Chang'an and Yaoxian in Shanxi), *Kaogu* 考古 1974.2, pp. 126-130.

⁴¹⁰ Songran Lee and Daenam Park, "Jungguk Su Insu Sa-Nyun ShindeOksa Sarigu Yeongu (Study on Shendesi Sarira Reliquary Made in the Fourth Year of China Renshou Era," *Hanguk-godaesa-tamgu* 6(December, 2010): 201-49.

⁴¹¹ Songran Lee and Daenam Park, pp. 218-220.

in which the sarira is put, a glass box, a copper box, and a stone casket. This is a composition different from that used in the Northern Wei, in which not layers but the single sarira reliquary was made.⁴¹² Glass bottles, golden and silver bottles, and stone caskets had been already made from the Southern and Northern dynasties (420-589 C.E.), but the four-layered composition was a regulation created for the first time.⁴¹³ However, it is impossible to confirm through extant objects⁴¹⁴ whether the Renshou Sarira Reliquaries were really four-layered as indicated in documents, because of the lack of extant Renshou Sarira Reliquaries. The Shendesi reliquary, the only confirmed Renshou Sarira Adornment, does not include the golden bottle, and the other finding from Pingyin 平陰 in Shandong 山東 province is the only outer stone casket, and it does not have any other objects.⁴¹⁵

The Shendesi reliquary consists of the outer stone cube casket, 119 cm in height; a glass bottle; two gilt bronze boxes, one of which includes the glass bottle; and offering goods – all of which are put inside the outer casket. There are inscriptions on the lid of the casket, which is characteristic of Renshou Sarira Adornments, read as “Dasui huangdi sheli baota ming” 大隋皇帝舍利寶塔銘 (“Great Sui Emperor Precious Sarira Stupa Inscription”). The Lokapala of the Shendesi reliquary appear on two surfaces of the outer

⁴¹² Songran Lee and Daenam Park, p. 244.

⁴¹³ Joo, Kyeong Mi 周旻美, su munje-ui insu sari jangeom yeongu 隋文帝의 仁壽舍利莊嚴 研究 (A Study on the Buddhist Relic Cult in Renshou Period of Sui Wendi, *Jungguksa Yeongu* 中國史研究 (The Journal of Chinese History) 22, 2003, 2 pp. 81-127; 88-89.

⁴¹⁴ Joo, Kyeong Mi 周旻美, “Sumunje-ui Insu Sari Jangeom Yeongu 隋文帝의 仁壽舍利莊嚴 研究 (A Study on the Buddhist Relic Cult in Renshou Period of Sui Wendi, “*Jungguksa Yeongu* 中國史研究 (The Journal of Chinese History) 22, 2003, 2 pp. 81-127; 103.

⁴¹⁵ Qiu Yuding 邱玉鼎; Yang Shujie 楊書杰 Shandong pingyin faxian dashui huangdi sheli baota shihan 山東平陰發現大隋皇帝舍利寶塔石函 (Stupa Casket for Sui Wendi’s Sarira Discovered from Pingyin, Shandong), *Kaogu* 考古 1986.4, pp. 375-376.

stone cube casket. They normally do not appear on the Buddha's Parinirvana scene; on this Shendesi stone case they are represented separately on a different panel from the nirvana scene.

According to Songran Lee and Daenam Park, on two surfaces of the casket four Lokapala appear. They are divided into two paired groups: the Kings of the East and South are on one side, and the Kings of the West and North are on the other (fig. 4.21-1, 21-2). The names of the Lokapala are given with Sanskrit pronunciation; in Chinese they read as *nanfang piloulecha tianwang* 南方毗婁勒叉天王 ("Piloulecha King of the South"), *dongfang ditoulaituo tianwang* 東方提頭賴吒天王 ("Ditoulaituo King of the East"), *xifang piloubocha tianwang* 西方毗婁博叉天王 ("Piloubocha King of the West"), and *beifang pishamen tianwang* 北方毗沙門天王 ("Pishamen King of the North").⁴¹⁶ Lokapala images from the Shendesi casket can be confirmed as the Four Divine Kings through the labeled names; they are the best examples to demonstrate the iconographical development of Lokapala in East Asia.

In the center of each scene is an incense burner of the type known as *boshan* 博山, and space is filled with two trees, flowers, and vegetation. Songran Lee and Daenam Park explain that this background with vegetation and *huasheng* 化生 ("manifestations of beings") symbolizes a Buddhist land, and the Four Divine Kings are represented as national patrons.⁴¹⁷ However, the flowers recall the scene described in *Daban niepan*

⁴¹⁶ This Chinese translation with transcription appears in the chapter on the Four Divine Kings of the *Golden Light Sutra*, as well as in other sutras, as mentioned in Chapter 1.

⁴¹⁷ Songran Lee and Daenam Park, p. 234.

jing 大般涅槃經 (Sk. Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra, “Great Complete Extinction”). When the Buddha went into nirvana, all kinds of Bodhisattvas, divine kings, and kings and queens tried to make offerings to the buddha, but he did not take them because it was not the time. The Four Divine Kings also tried to make offerings to him; offerings of various kinds of flowers, whose names are listed in the scripture. If the flowers on the casket represent offerings made by Lokapala, the role of the deities in the casket becomes clear: it is not as national patrons to protect the state, but as divinities attending the Buddha’s nirvana. As demonstrated in Chapter 1, the deities aspire that they will follow the Buddha and appear wherever he is from his birth to his death.

The Eastern and Southern Kings stand inside a circle on the ground, whereas the King of the West tramples a dwarf and the King of the North stands on a seated deer. In his right hand the Southern King holds a sword with its blade resting on his right shoulder. He holds a spear in his left hand. The Eastern King holds a sword pointing upward in his left hand and makes a mudra with his right hand. Around them are two trees with blooming flowers and plants. The King of the West holds with his right hand a sword resting on his right shoulder, and the King of the North holds a stupa in his left hand at the level of his chest. The Shendesi Lokapala of the South and North hold attributes in each hand, a common aspect shared by East Asian Lokapalas produced in the seventh century and described in the *Dharani Sutra* (table 2). Because the sutra was translated later than the Shendesi sarira reliquary, it can be assumed that the iconic features of Lokapala were made in Central Asia based on the sutra translated into a Central Asian language, and transmitted into China.

The most interesting fact here is that the King of the South looks very different from the other three kings. While the other three kings wear Chinese armor called *mingguangkai* 明光鎧 (“bright shining armor”), the Southern King wears a dhoti or skirt graciously. This bodhisattva-like semblance of the Southern King makes him look like a female deity, not a manly deity. As Lee and Park comment, the mixture of two different types of Lokapala image in one setting indicates a transition from earlier bodhisattva-type to warrior-type Lokapala.⁴¹⁸ For these reasons, the Shindesi Lokapala images are very important in the East Asian history of Lokapala iconography. In order to be reborn as warrior-like protectors of the world, which is believed to be a typical aspect of East Asian Lokapala, they waited for China to be reunited after eight hundred years’ longing, from the first unification of China in 221 B.C.E. by the First Emperor of Qin. The matter of the unification of China is relevant here because the Shendesi casket is one of the Renshou Sarira Caskets (*Renshou Sheliqi* 仁壽舍利器) built by Sui Wendi to commemorate Buddhism, following from the belief that the regime was legitimated by Buddhism.

The *mingguang* armor worn by Shendesi Lokapala is Sui-style armor; Sui *mingguangkai* is basically the same as *mingguangkai* of the Northern and Southern Dynasties.⁴¹⁹ This armor is slightly different from previous armor: the neck armor covers both shoulders completely and also the upper part of the arcs. These features are only found in Sui *mingguangkai*, such as a Lokapala image on the east wall of cave 380

⁴¹⁸ Songran Lee and Daenam Park, p. 235.

⁴¹⁹ Yang Hong, *Weapons in Ancient China*, New York: Science Press, 1992, p. 250.

in Dunhuang (fig. 4.22), besides Shendesi Lokapala. Because this Sui-type *mingguang* armor is worn by Lokapala and also by tomb figurines, it can be assumed that it is used both in the Buddhist art and the secular art at this time.

The Chinese armor was applied to Lokapala on the Shendesi casket in 610 C.E. In comparison to Buddha's robe, which was Sinicized in the late fifth century to early sixth century,⁴²⁰ the Sinicization of Lokapala's armor is quite late. The earliest examples of the Chinese armor, represented by Tang armor, appear in the following Buddhist images: two Lokapala images of Da tang sanzang shengjiao xubei 大唐三藏聖教序碑 (Stele of Introduction to the Sacred Teachings of Tripitaka of the Great Tang) dated to 653 C.E. at the Wild Goose Pagoda at Ciensi 慈恩寺 in Xi'an (fig. 5.1-1, 5.2-1) and Da tang sanzang shengjiao xujibei 大唐三藏聖教序記碑 (Stele of Notes on the Introduction to the Sacred Teachings of Tripitaka of the Great Tang), dated to 672 C.E. at Beilin 碑林 ("Forest of Steles") in Xi'an (fig. 5.3-1); two Lokapala images on Daodesi bei 道德寺碑, dated to the fourth year of the Xianqing 顯慶 Reign (658), at Beilin in Xi'an (fig. 5.4-1); and two Lokapala in a niche dated to the first year of the Longshuo 龍朔 Reign (661), at the Jingshansi 敬善寺 cave, Lungmen (fig. 5.19). As for warrior figurines excavated from the Tang tomb near Xi'an, Southern and Northern dynasty-style *mingguangkai* appears up until the time of the tomb of Dugukaiyuan 獨孤開遠 – the sixteenth year of the Zhenguan 貞觀 Reign (642) (fig. 5.20-1); but warrior images made in the third quarter of the seventh century onwards wear the Tang armor, as seen in images from the

⁴²⁰ Footnote 1 of this chapter.

Zheng Rentai 鄭仁泰 tomb made in the first year of the Linde 麟德 Reign (664)⁴²¹ and from the Li Shuang 李爽 tomb made in the first year of the Zongzhang 總章 Reign (668).⁴²² I will discuss in greater detail the armor worn in these images in Chapter 5.

2. Lokapala Iconography of the Three Kingdoms Period

(1) Materials from Documents and Excavation

Armed Four Divine Kings figures are the most free and dynamic of all East Asian Buddhist sculptures, and their vigor is expressed through iconic features such as the form of armor, posture, symbolized items placed in the hands, and demon-shaped pedestals. However, images produced before the settlement of this iconography of armed Lokapalas show quite a different form from that of armed Lokapala figures as discussed earlier. Instead of portraying dynamic energy through rather exaggerated threatening postures, these images show softness in the style of a Bodhisattva figure. Some images wear armor and others do not. Such softness of form and the different kinds of armor are the common iconic features that can be witnessed in Lokapala images of all East Asian countries, before the armed iconography was established.

Next I examine the forms of Lokapala images before the advent of armed Lokapala iconography. It has been said that there are no Three Kingdoms-period Lokapala images extant today, but there are some images that could be identified as

⁴²¹ Shanxisheng bowuguan Liquanxian wenjiaoju Tangmu fajuezu 陝西省博物館 禮泉縣文物局 唐墓發掘組, "Tang Zhengrentai mu fajue jianbao 唐鄭仁泰墓發掘簡報 (A Brief Report on the Zhengrentai Tomb in the Tang Dynasty)," *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics) 1972 年 7 期, 33-44+.

⁴²² Yang Hong, *Zhongguo gubingqi luncong* 中國古兵器論叢, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe 文物出版社, 1980. (田誠一郎 p.185)

Lokapala in terms of iconography. Furthermore, because there were cultural exchanges made between Korea and neighboring countries without much time lapse,⁴²³ it seems possible that Lokapala images of the Three Kingdoms period could be deduced with the help of works from the neighboring countries. Toward this end, images with labeled inscriptions will be a perfect reference. Because these works show how the contemporary people understood the Lokapala's appearance, the works make Lokapala iconography clearer.

Fortunately there are some Lokapala images made with inscriptions in the seventh century in China and in Japan: Sitianwang images on the Sarira casket from Shendesi 神德寺 in China as discussed earlier; and Shitennō figures with inscription at the Kondō 金堂 of Hōryūji 法隆寺 in Japan, which I will discuss later in the present chapter. The Japan figures are represented in Central Asian style and are presumed to have been created in the mid-seventh century. Not only are these statues a complete set of four; they are significant in that the inscriptions of these two sets of images reveal their dating and name. Particularly because in Korea no actual works verified as Sacheonwang figures from the Three Kingdoms period exist, those in China and Japan are very meaningful because formal characteristics of the Three Kingdoms period's Sacheonwang figures can be presumed through them. It is possible to deduce the iconographic

⁴²³ Tae Shik Kim demonstrates that there was no time gap in the exchange of culture between the ancient East Asian countries, using two coins called *changpingwuzhu* 常平五銖, which were minted only for 24 years from 553 to 577 in China. They were discovered from a timber stupa site at Wangheungsa, a Baekje monastery established in the same time as the coin's circulation period. He argues that the Chinese coins excavated in a Baekje monastery site proves that the ancient Korean culture was developed in close association with the mainland Chinese culture, as King Muryeong's Tomb with abundant excavated artifacts of Liang dynasty shows in 1971. See "A Study of the King Chang-wang Inscriptions on Sarira Case in the Wangheungsa Temple," *Munhwasahak* 文化史學 (Journal of Korean cultural history) 28, 2007, 39-65; 63-64.

characteristics of Lokapala images of the Three Kingdoms period in a broad perspective, using the images from China and Japan.

The popularity of Buddhist Lokapala worship brought with it vast production of related images. Korea was no exception of such a trend, and since the Unified Silla period, numerous Lokapala images have been produced. Most of these figures that survive to this day in Korea are armed images; they are posed in dynamic postures, and have rather threatening faces, wear armor, and hold weapons such as swords and spears,. Of these armed Sacheonwang figures, the earliest date back to the late seventh century, in the Unified Silla period. Some prime examples would be the bricks with Lokapala images from the year 679 C.E. that were excavated from the Sacheonwangsa site in Gyeongju,⁴²⁴ and the Sacheonwang figures on the exterior box of the Sarira reliquaries that were excavated from the east and west stupas of the Gameunsa site in which was built in 682 C.E.

It has been said that the Lokapala cult in East Asia is based on the *Golden Light Sutra*. Even though the cult is closely related to the sutra, there are other sutras that state the role and appearance of Sacheonwang, as discussed in Chapters 1 and 3. There were Lokapala images produced even before the *Golden Light Sutra* was compiled in India. Following from the Buddhist universe system and Buddhist beliefs in East Asia, it is not that difficult to assume that the Lokapala cult was transmitted into Korea with the

⁴²⁴ As I will discuss in the next chapter, excavation of the site clarified some doubts such as the location of placement for the bricks but also brought us several new issues. Images on the bricks are of only three kinds, not four, making their identification difficult. Because their appearance in terms of iconography makes them look just like Lokapala, I would like to include them in Lokapala iconography even though we are not sure of their identity for now.

introduction of Buddhism. In addition, as Taeshik Kim demonstrates, there is no great time lapse in Korea's exchanging culture with neighboring countries.

And so while oeuvres verified as Sacheonwang figures date only as far back as the Unified Silla period, it can be assumed that Sacheonwang worship was introduced early on with Buddhism itself. While there is not much documentation to support the religious aspects of the Three Kingdoms period, there is a record of a Cheonwangsa 天王寺 (“Divine Kings Monastery”) having existed in Baekjae, as discussed in Chapter 1.⁴²⁵ Although the date of this monastery's construction cannot be verified, the record is significant in that it is clear evidence of Sacheonwang worship having existed in ages as early as the Three Kingdoms period. Also there are roof tiles with inscriptions of *cheonwang* 天王 (“divine king”) discovered from a temple site in Gua-ri 舊衙里, and from a building site whose foundation was constructed with layered fragments of roof tiles at Mt. Geumseong in the Baekje area.

According to documentation and actual oeuvres, it is the Southern and Northern dynasties (439-589) in which China began creating Lokapala figures.⁴²⁶ Taking into account that Baekjae had a close relationship with the Liang of China's Southern

⁴²⁵ ‘風雨暴至震天王道壤二寺塔又震白石寺講堂’ (三國史記 卷28 百濟本紀 6 義慈王 20年 5月條).

⁴²⁶ According to records, between the years 518-519 C.E., during the era of Wudi in China's Liang, Wudi's brother Prince Shixing 始興王 created and prayed to the Lokapala figure, as discussed in Chapter 1. Also, according to fascicle 7 of *Kaiyuan shijiaolu* 開元釋教錄 (“List of Chinese Buddhist Sutras Compiled in Kaiyuan Reign”), there existed a temple named Sitianwangsi 四天王寺 in Chang'an during Northern Zhou's Wudi (武帝, r. 561-572), whose name was Yuwenyong (宇文邕, 543-578), when Dunajueduo 闍那掘多 and a monk Yeshejueduo 耶舍掘多 translated three *Golden Light Sutras* in Sitianwangsi and Guishengsi 歸聖寺 for Yuwenhu 宇文護, the Dazhongzai 大冢宰 (“counselor-in-chief”) of Northern Zhou. Informed by Jojun Deguchi 出口常順, Shitennō shinko no tenkai 御手因緣起 - 四天王信仰の展開, *Bukkyō Geijutsu* 佛教藝術 (Ars Buddhica) 56, 1965, p. 12.

Dynasty⁴²⁷ and was very enthusiastic in adopting Buddhist culture, Korea presumably started creating Sacheonwang figures during the Three Kingdoms period. The Shitennōji in Ōsaka was built in the year 593 in Japan,⁴²⁸ and of having prayed for strong rain by enshrining Sacheonwang statues in the year 642 C.E. Because Japan was introduced to Buddhism by Baekje, and because the construction of Shitennōji and the introduction of Buddhism happened with a minimal time difference, it can be assumed that Lokapala worship was also passed on by Baekjae and that Sacheonwang worship and production of the Four Divine Kings images were present in Baekjae.

It is assumed that Sacheonwang worship was prevalent in Silla as well. Although no oeuvre exists today, a pedestal at the Golden Hall of the Hwangnyongsa 皇龍寺 site in Gyeongju presumed to be that of a Three Kingdoms period's Sacheonwang figure is interesting in relation to such an assumption. Hwangnyongsa is a famous monastery where monks prayed for the welfare of the nation and kings of Silla visited. The monastery is well documented in both remains and records. It was first designed as a royal place. According to a legend, however, its plan was changed into that of a

⁴²⁷ Yiliang Zhou 周一良 (trans. By Seonuk Kim 金善昱), “Baekje-wa jungguk namjo-wau gwange-e daehan myeotgaji gochal 百濟와 中國 南朝와의 關係에 對한 몇 가지 考察 (Some Consideration on the Relationship Between Baekje and China’s Southern Dynasty),” *Baekje Yeongu Chongseo* 백제연구총서 (Baekje Research Series of Books) 3, 1993, pp. 219-230; Jae-Yun Chung 정재윤, “5-6 segi baekje-ui namjo jungshim wogyo jeongchaekgwa geu euimi 5~6세기 백제의 남조(南朝) 중심 외교정책과 그 의미 (Baekje’s Diplomatic Policy with Southern Dynasties and its Significance in the 5th and 6th century AD),” *Paekche Munhwa* 백제문화 (Paekche Kingdom’s Culture) 41. 2009 pp.173-198

⁴²⁸ In the year 587 (second year of Yomei tenno 用明天皇), there was a civil war between the Soga 蘇我 clan and the Mononobe 物部 clan, and the Mononobe clan lost. In 593 (first year of Suiko), Prince Shotoku built a Shitennō temple with the collapsed Mononobe clan's resources. The temple was built on Mononobe land, and half of what used to be the clan's slaves and land became the property of the temple.

monastery because a yellow dragon appeared on the intended site.⁴²⁹ Thus its name Hwangnyongsa 皇龍寺, which means “Imperial Dragon Monastery”. Its construction commenced in the fourteenth year of King Jinheung’s reign (553 C.E.), and the main establishments are as follows: *Jangryuksang* 丈六像 (“Sixteen-Foot Statue”) in the thirty-fifth year (574 C.E.) of King Jinheung’s reign; the Golden Hall in the sixth year of King Jinpyung’s reign (584 C.E.); a nine-story timber pagoda in fourteenth year of Queen Seondeok’s reign (645 C.E.); and a metal bell in the thirteenth year (754 C.E.) of King Gyeongdeok’s reign. The Jangryuk Buddha statue and the nine-story timber pagoda, along with King Jinpyung’s *Cheonsaokdae* 天賜玉帶 (“Jade Belt Bestowed by Heaven”), have been regarded as Silla’s three jewels.

According to records, King Asoka of India had not fulfilled his dream of creating *Jangryuksang* 丈六像, and instead shipped away fifty thousand *geun* 五萬七千斤 of yellow iron 黃鐵, and thirty thousand *bun* 三萬分 of yellow gold 黃金 in hopes that his envisioned Buddha Shakyamuni Triad image could come to life in another meaningful land. The triad image built out of Asuka's ingredients is believed to have been enshrined at Hwangnyongsa.⁴³⁰ The pedestal stone believed to be that of this triad image has been placed at the northern backside of Hwangnyongsa Golden Hall (fig 4.23).

⁴²⁹ “新羅第二十四眞興王卽位十四年癸酉二月 將築紫宮於龍宮南 有黃龍現其地 乃改置爲佛寺 號黃龍寺 至己丑年 周圍墻宇 至十七年方畢,” chapter of Hwangnyongsa Jangnyuk 皇龍寺 丈六 in *Samgukyusa* 三國遺事 (“Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms”); “春二月 王命所司 築新宮於月城東 黃龍見其地 王疑之 改爲佛寺 賜號曰皇龍,” chapter of King Jinheung 眞興 in Records of Silla 新羅本紀, in *Samguksagi* 三國史記 (“History of the Three Kingdoms”).

⁴³⁰ Chapter of Hwangnyongsa Jangnyuk 皇龍寺 丈六 in *Samgukyusa* 三國遺事 (“Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms”), and chapter of King Jinheung 眞興 in Records of Silla 新羅本紀, in *Samguksagi* 三國史記 (“History of the Three Kingdoms”).

Along each of the two sides that run east and west of this stone are five pedestal-stones, and toward the southeast are two pedestals, while another two are situated toward the frontal center. The ten pedestals placed at the east and west of the triad presumably belong to Shakyamuni's ten major disciples, while the two at the center are believed to be those of Brahma 梵天 and Indra 帝釋天. Then the remaining four – the southern two and the northern two – would belong to Sacheonwang.⁴³¹

Construction of Hwangnyongsa began in 553 C.E. (the fourteenth year of King Jingheung's reign) and was completed in 569 C.E. (the thirtieth year of King Jingheung's reign), and the initial format of the monastery was sustained until 574 C.E. (the thirty-fifth year of King Jingheung's reign). Between the year 643, when construction of the nine-story wooden stupa began, and the fourteenth year of Queen Seondeok's reign (645 C.E.), when the construction was completed, there was a change to the initial format of the temple, and this second form is presumed to have existed until 754 C.E. (the thirteenth year of King Gyeong-Deok's reign).⁴³² If the four pedestals are for Lokapalas, it is possible to say that Lokapala images were produced in the late sixth century in Korea.

⁴³¹ Woo-bang Kang, “Sacheonwangsa culto chaeyu Sacheonwang bujosang-ui bokwon-jeok gochal-obangshin-gwa Sacheonwangsang-ui johyeong-jeok seuphap hyeonsang 四天王寺址 出土彩釉四天王浮彫像의 復元の 考察-五方神과 四天王像의 造形の 習合現象 (Syncretic Phenomena between Five Directional gods and Four guardians: Metamorphoses of Gods – In Connection with Restoration of Four Guardians from the Temple Site, Sacheonwangsa),” *Misul Charyo* 美術資料 (Art Data) No. 25 (Dec., 1979), pp. 1-46. However, Young-ae Lim interpreted these stones as pedestals for two Vajrapani and two lions, at the “Forum on Reconstruction of the Hwangnyongsa Temple,” held on February 28, 2012, in Gyongju. She argued that there were no model images of Lokapala in East Asia prior to the Lokapala images, which may have been in Hwangnyongsa Golden Hall, but that there are four Lokapala images made in 538-539 in Mogao cave no. 285 in Dunhuang.

⁴³² Munhwajae Yon'guso 文化財研究所 (National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage), *Hwangnyongsa yujeok balgul josa bogoseo* 皇龍寺 遺蹟發掘調査報告書 (Hwangnyongsa Site Excavation Report), seoul: Munhwajae Gwalliguk 文化財管理局, 1984, pp. 371-378.

Not only is Hwangnyongsa portrayed in detail in much ancient literature – such as *Samgukyusa* 三國遺事 (“Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms”), *Samguksagi* 三國史記 (“History of the Three Kingdoms”), and *Goryeosa* 高麗史 (“History of Guryeo”) – but also excavation research had revealed the history of the site. Such research has shown that Hwangnyongsa was a temple of significantly high class.

While it has been the prevalent understanding that there exists no example from the Three Kingdoms period, there are two kinds of images called spirit warrior 神將 (Kr. *shinjang*, Ch. *shenjiang*) from which it is possible to deduce the formal characteristics of Sacheonwang images of that era. First of all, the gilt bronze pieces found at the foundation stone of the nine-story wooden stupa site at the Hwangnyongsa site (fig. 4.24) and in possession of the Pyongyang Museum in North Korea (fig. 4.25) are considered to be resources in showing the Sacheonwang iconography of the Three Kingdoms period. The two aforementioned bronze pieces have *shinjang* images on them. Because each piece has just two images, it is not easy to say that they are Lokapala. Yet there are many examples with only two Lokapalas. In addition, they are good material by which we can at least deduce what Lokapala images looked like in the Three Kingdoms. These bronze images show iconic features similar to those of Sacheonwang images that prevailed before the settlement of the iconography of armed Lokapala in Chinese armor, such as the Lokapala images from China's Southern and Northern dynasties and the Hōryūji KondōLokapala in Japan.

(2) Warrior Image Inscription on the Sarira Reliquary of Hwangnyongsa

According to a legend, Abiji, a famous Baekje architect, was commissioned to build the nine-story timber pagoda. While building the pagoda, Baekje fell. It was initially Jajang 慈藏, a Silla Buddhist monk, who advised that the pagoda be built; this was in 643, when Jajang returned to Silla from China where he studied Buddhism. He brought with him a variety of relics of the Buddha, such as his skull teeth, and sarira. Among these relics a part of the sarira was placed inside the timber pagoda in Hwangnyongsa.⁴³³ It has been known that the number nine signifies nine neighboring countries of Silla; the pagoda was built to seek Silla's security from the threats of these countries. The pagoda was destroyed in 1238 C.E., when the Mongols invaded. Only its stone foundation remains today. The spiritual warrior image inscribed on the gilt bronze inside the upper part of this foundation stone is a resource from which the form of the Three Kingdoms period's Sacheonwang images could be deduced.⁴³⁴

The gilt bronze piece seems to be a sarira reliquary that was placed inside the base stone (Kr. *simchoseok* 心礎石). Two warrior images are inscribed on each thin bronze

⁴³³ That Jajang brought the skeleton and teeth of the Buddha from China may show that the Tang Imperial cult of skeleton and tooth type of the Buddha's sarira exercised an influence on the Silla royal household for the first time; see Kyeongmi Joo Hwangnyongsa gucheung moktapui sari jangyeom jaego 皇龍寺九層木塔의 舍利莊嚴 再考 (Reexamination on the Buddhist Reliquaries from the Pagoda of Hwangnyongsa), Yeoksa Gyeoyuk Nonjip 역사교육논집 (History Education Review) 40, 2008, pp. 277-318: 281. Joo argues that the skull and teeth of the Buddha were probably placed inside a white porcelain small jar, discovered in the lower part of the foundation stone of the timber pagoda. Kyeongmi Joo 周旻美 (2008), pp. 287-289.

⁴³⁴ Munhwajae Yeonguso 文化財研究所 (National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage), *Hwangnyongsa yujeok balgul josa bogoseo* 皇龍寺 遺蹟發掘調査報告書 (Hwangnyongsa Site Excavation Report), Seoul: Munhwajae Gwalliguk 文化財管理局, 1984, pp. 350-351. Also, sarira adornments were discovered from underneath the foundation stone. According to Kyeongmi Joo, these adornments, offering goods for sarira, are similar to tomb burial items in the aspect of their composition and characteristics; this way of placement of offerings is also Silla's modification based on influence from the Southern dynasty of China and Baekje; see Kyeongmi Joo (2008), pp. 293-297, 311. Studies on sarira reliquaries and adornments from Hwangnyongsa are pivotal in understanding the sarira cult in the Silla dynasty onwards. For more detail, see Kyeongmi Joo 周旻美, (2008), pp. 277-318.

plate, but the lower parts are missing due to corrosion. On each of the four sides of the square box are inscribed two images about 23 cm tall, but their unfortunate condition prevents us from closely reading the details. The legs are corroded and the pedestal is unidentifiable, but the warriors can be seen holding symbolized items such as sword, arrow, and spear in their hands, and are standing a bit sideways (fig. 4.24).

The hair is tied at the top of the head and the armor is fairly simple. Compared with the armor of Unified Silla's Lokapala images, the neck armor that wraps around the neck is unique. The neck armor wraps around the neck, rises from the shoulders all the way up to the chin, and flares like a morning glory. Such is an ancient form of neck armor, unseen during the Unified Silla period. The form can be witnessed in the Goguryeo tomb murals. On the western entry of chamber 2 of Samshilchong 三室塚 (“Three-room Tomb”), a fifth century tomb, is a painting of a warrior carrying a round headed sword (fig. 4.26). This particular warrior and another painted on Anak Tomb no. 2 (fig. 4.27) are both portrayed wearing this kind of armor. I believe the inscribed images on the sarira reliquary of Hwangnyongsa mentioned above are a fine Korean application of real-life armor onto Sacheonwang iconography transmitted from China.

In fact, it is very interesting that armor of the fourth and fifth centuries excavated in Korea actually bears this form (fig. 4.28). The situation is distinct from that of China, where the armor of Lokapala is different from the armor of real life. It has been reported through excavation research that ancient Korean armor mostly dates to the era of the fifth and sixth centuries, and it was all excavated in the Gaya region and recently in Silla and

Goguryeo.⁴³⁵ Armor excavated from tombs in Busan Bokcheondong, Hapcheon Okjeon, and Goryeong Jisandong, Korea, show this particular form, as well.⁴³⁶ It seems likely that the ancient Koreans were very skillful in making armor, and that the Chinese liked it.⁴³⁷

Also unique to the bronze images of Hwangnyongsa are the expression of two vertical lines beneath the neck armor, the skirt running under the armor that protects the

⁴³⁵ A set of Goguryeo iron scale armor was excavated from a site in Yeoncheon, Gyeonggi Province, on May 19, 2011. http://app.yonhapnews.co.kr/YNA/Basic/article/ArticlePhoto/YIBW_showArticlePhotoPopup.aspx?content_s_id=PYH20110519117900005&from=search; Gwon Hyeoknam 권혁남, Lee Jeongmin 이정민, Yu Dongwan 유동완, Yeoncheon Mudeung-ri chulto chalgap-ui suseup mit gwahak-geok bojon 연천 무등리 출토 찰갑의 수습 및 과학적 보존 (A study of the on-site collection and conservation of Armour, excavated from Mudeung-ri, Yeoncheon), *Gomunhwa* 古文化 第80號, 2012.12, 91-105. According to the conservation examination, the armor consists of more than 500 scales. The examination identified a helmet, which is completely reconstructed, neck armor, hip armor, and forearm armor, pp. 100, 102.

⁴³⁶ Useful information on armor made in the fifth to sixth century and excavated in Korea includes Gyeongchul Shin 申敬澈, “五-六世紀代の甲冑の諸問題 (Several Issues on Armor from Fifth through Sixth Century),” *Higashi Ajia no Godai Bunka* 東アジアの古代文化 (Ancient Culture of East Asia) vol. 83 (spring, 1995), pp. 26-28; 啓明大學校博物館, Goryeong Jisandong Gobungun: Keimyung Daehakgyo Bangmulgwan Yujeok Josa Bogo Jeiljib 高靈池山洞古墳群: 啓明大學校博物館 遺蹟調查報告 第1輯 (Ancient Tombs of Goryeong Jisan-dong: Report of Archaeological Research of the Keimyung University Museum) (1981), pp. 33-38; Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 東京國立博物館; Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 京都國立博物館; Fukuoka Kenritsu Bijutsuka 福岡縣立美術館; Fukuokaken 福岡縣; Kankoku Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 韓國國立中央博物館, *Kaya bunkaten: yomigaeru kodai ōkoku* 伽耶文化展: よみがえる古代王国 (Kaya, ancient kingdoms of Korea) Tōkyō : Asahi Shinbunsha 朝日新聞社, 1992, figures no. 331 - 347.

⁴³⁷ There are the following records regarding armor during the Three Kingdoms period: "Goguryeo's General Gallo 葛盧 and Maengguang 孟光 went into Yongseong Fortress 龍城, had the allies take off their uniforms, seized and shared among themselves the elaborate weapons from Yan 燕's armory, enjoying a grand pillage," from the chapter on the twenty-fourth year of King Jangsu's reign in Goguryeojon 高句麗傳 ("Records of Goguryeo"), *Samguksagi*; "out of Tang's plunder from Goguryeo, the amount of armor adds up to ten thousand ryeong," from the chapter on the fourth year of King Bojang's reign in Records of Goguryeo, *Samguksagi*; "there is armor in that land," from Dongyiyeoljeon 東夷列傳 ("Records of East Barbarian") and Records of Goguryeo in *Lingshu* 梁書 ("History of Liang"), *Zhoushu* 周書 ("History of Zhou"), *Nanshi* 南史 ("History of Southern Dynasties"); "when sending envoys to Tang, sent bright shining armor (明光鎧, Kr. *myungguanggae*, Ch. *mingguangkai*) as tribute" and "when sending envoys to Tang, sent iron armor as tribute," from the chapter on the thirty-eighth year of King Mu's reign in Records of Baekje, *Samguksagi*; "when sending envoys to Tang, sent golden armor as tribute," from the chapter on the fourth year of King Mu's reign in Records of Baekje, *Samguksagi*. Informed by Chung Gwon Ho 許重權, "Samguk sidae byeonggi-e gwanhan yeongu 三國時代兵器에 관한 研究 (A Study on Weapons in Three Kingdoms Period)," *Munhwa Sahak* 文化史學 (Journal of Korean Cultural History) 6-7, 1997, 6. pp.556-557.

femoral all the way down to the ankles, and the heavenly shawl that flows in two spreads at the front and then lies on the arm. Faces devoid of anger, rhythmical poses without any grand movement, and the flowing heavenly shawl finely demonstrate soft formal features that are more reminiscent of a Bodhisattva image.

Since the sarira reliquary with the Sacheonwang image inscriptions was placed inside the foundation stone of the stupa, this image is dated to the mid-seventh century, around the years 645-646, when construction of the stupa began and finished. This deduction is also supported by not only the style of the warrior image inscribed on the bronze, but also the carving technique and form of the square box.⁴³⁸ The manner of the image inscriptions is soft, even though the deities are wearing armor. According to a Korean art historian who saw this reliquary in person, it is very fine craftsmanship with a higher quality than we expect from the drawings in the excavation report.⁴³⁹ The style of representation of the figures, whose faces with a beard are oval and their vivid line drawing technique are similar to features of figures depicted on murals in the tomb of Lourui 婁叡 in the Northern Qi.⁴⁴⁰

Representations of Lokapala on the surface of sarira reliquaries or stupas are important because the presence of Lokapala implies the presence of the Buddha inside the reliquaries and stupas. The presence of the Buddha is pivotal to Buddhist teaching and practice. This is because the Buddha does not disappear with his parinirvana,

⁴³⁸ Munhwajae Yon'guso 文化財研究所 (National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage), *Hwangnyongsa yujeok balgul josa bogoseo* 皇龍寺 遺蹟發掘調査報告書 (Hwangnyongsa Site Excavation Report), Seoul: Munhwajae Gwalliguk 文化財管理局, 1984, pp. 352-353.

⁴³⁹ Personal conversation in December, 2011 (Name of the scholar cannot be revealed for request of the scholar)

⁴⁴⁰ Kyeongmi Joo 周旻美, (2008), p. 300.

according to his fundamental teaching on emptiness; and he is always here, as he states in the *Lotus Sutra*. Thus, in ages in which there is no physical presence of the Buddha, the sarira is a significant medium by which Buddhists link to him. Even though the sarira itself is not to be seen, stupas, which are considered to contain sarira, imply that a sarira is put inside, no matter what the stupas actually contain; and so the stupas in turn indicate the Buddha's presence. On the other hand, Lokapala, who vowed to be always attendant on him from his birth to his nirvana, are a symbol certifying the Buddha's presence. The role of Lokapala images on sarira reliquaries and stupas is not only to keep these sarira-containers from being harmed, but also to symbolize the presence of Buddha, who is receiving the worship of Lokapala.

According to the iconography of the Lokapala images produced before the late seventh century in China, mentioned above, and in Japan, which I will discuss below, these warrior images, which are inscribed on the sarira reliquary excavated from the foundation stone of the nine-storied timber stupa at Hwanyongsa, are Lokapala. However, there is a problem to be considered in the fact that they are eight not four, the usual set of Lokapala. They may be a combination of Lokapala and Vajrapani.

As discussed above and in Chapter 2, Vajrapani are represented as warriors in armor with a vajra and/or a sword in their hands. For this reason, this type of image, such as warrior images in Kizil (fig. 2.38), Jintasi (fig. 4.2), Binglingsi (fig. 4.3) and Mogao caves (fig. 4.4), are regarded as Vajrapani. This combination of four Lokapala and four Vajrapani is not found in Central Asia, but in China. The stone stupa in the Metropolitan Museum discussed above had eight images on the four sides (fig. 4.17). Now it has only

six images due to the absence of images from one side: four Lokapala and two Vajrapani remain. Yet it is easy to assume that on the last side would have been two Vajrapani. Lokapala and Vajrapani all have naked upper bodies and wear only dhoti.

The National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage identifies the deities as the Four Divine Kings.⁴⁴¹ Myung-Dae Moon identifies them as the early type of *palbujung* 八部衆 (“Eight Devas”), retinues of Sacheonwang, basing this identification on commentaries of *Ginguangming jing* 金光明經 (“Golden Light Sutra”) and *Renwang bore jing* 仁王般若經 (“Benevolent King’s Wisdom Sutra”).⁴⁴² However, it is too early to identify them as the Eight Devas, and as demonstrated below it is more reasonable to identify them as the Four Divine Kings, in view of the sarira cult.

Lokapala are also placed with other divine kings, comprising in total eight images. For example, in fascicle 3 of *Bukong jiansuo tuoluoni zizaiwang zhoujing* 不空羂索多羅尼自在王呪經 (“Infallible Lasso Dharani Unrestrained King’s Mantra Sutra”), there is mention of where to put Lokapala on an altar, as follows (table 2):

On the outer side of the east gate of the altar, two Divine Kings protecting the gate are depicted. On its left side should be King of the East (Chiguo tianwang) depicted and on its right side should be King of the South (Zengzhang tianwang) depicted. They all are wearing armor, and tools and weaponry (Ch. *qizhang*) are rigorous and pure. They have wrathful faces and eyes are shining red. Chiguo

⁴⁴¹ Munhwajae Yon'guso 文化財研究所 (National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage), Hwangnyongsa yujeok balgul josa bogoseo 皇龍寺 遺蹟發掘調査報告書 (Hwangnyongsa Site Excavation Report), Seoul: Munhwajae Gwalliguk 文化財管理局, 1984, p. 353.

⁴⁴² Myung-Dae Moon, Silla Sacheonwangsa Sacheonwang•Palbujungsangui Seongrip Munjewa Seokguram Sacheonwang•Palbujungsangui Dosang Byeonhwa 신라 사천왕사 사천왕·팔부중상의 성립문제와 석굴암 사천왕·팔부중상의 도상 변화 (Problems with the Foundation of Silla’s Statues of Four Guradian Kings and Eight Devas in Sacheonwang Temple and Changes in the Iconography of the Statues of the Same Figure in Seokguram), Gangjwa Misulsa 강좌미술사 (The Art History Journal) 39, 2012, 9-49: 27, 33

tianwang holds a double-edged sword (Ch. Jian) in the hand. Zengzhang tianwang holds a mace in the hand.

On the outer side of the south gate of the altar, two kings protecting the gate should be depicted. On its left side King of the West (Choumu tianwang) should be depicted and on its right side Red-eyed Spirit King (Chimu shenwang) should be depicted. These two kings all have black faces. They all have red golden rigorous bodies and are wearing armor. With the hands they hold a bow and an arrow, a single-edged sword and a sword.

On the outer side of the west gate, two yaksa kings protecting the gate are depicted. On its left side *Monibadaluo yaochawang* should be depicted. On its right side *Bulinabadaluo yaochawang* should be depicted. These two kings should be the same as its original color and are wearing armor on the diversely beautified bodies. With the hands they are holding an axe and large rope (Ch. *fu suo*).

On the outer side of the north gate, two Divine Kings protect the gate. On its left side Vaishnavana should be depicted. On its right side should be Gingangshou tianwang. These two kings are depicted according to the original color of their own. (They are) beautified by a multitude of treasures and are holding tools and weaponry in the hand.

The Korean Sacheonwang cult has been interpreted with the idea of *hoguk* 護國 (“protecting states”), because Korean Buddhism has been basically explained with political perspective, as discussed in Chapter 1. Studies on the nine-storied timber pagoda in Hwangnyongsa have been conducted from a political perspective, with the pagoda surmised to have been built basically for the purpose of securing the state. This argument stems from the fact that the monastery is a representative place where Silla kings performed religious practice with political purpose.⁴⁴³ However, as Myungdae Mun points out, Lokapala images on sarira reliquaries are not directly related to the idea

⁴⁴³ Dong-shin Nam specifies this activity conducted by Silla kings as *hobeop* 護法 (“protecting the law”) in the **entension** [examination?] of the relationship between establishment of stupas for sarira and the Chakravatin idea. Dong-shin Nam 南東信, 新羅 中古期 佛教治國策과 皇龍寺 (Buddhist Policies of Ruling States in Medieval Silla), *Silla Munhwaje Haksul Nonmunjip* 新羅文化祭學術論文集 22, 2001.3, pp. 7-31; Jeong-Seok Yang 양정석, *Hwangnyongsai joyeonggwa wanggwon* 皇龍寺의 造營과 王權 (Establishment of Hwangnyongsa and Regal Power), Seoul: Seogyung Munhwasa, 2004:

of protecting states.⁴⁴⁴ From a Buddhist perspective, Sacheonwang representations on sarira reliquaries must be related to the sarira cult. Especially judging from the fact that the Hwangnyongsa pagoda was built for the purpose of placement of the Buddha's *jinshin sari* 眞身舍利 ("real physical relics of the Buddha Shakyamuni"), the relationship between Sacheonwang and sarira becomes more clear.

Sacheonwang represented on containers into which the Buddha's relics are put are reminders of the aspiration of these figures to follow the Buddha from his birth to nirvana, as in *Laritavistara*.⁴⁴⁵ Even though the Buddha's nirvana is mentioned, what is really meant is 'always' in Mahayana tradition. The Buddha declares in the "Lifespan of the Tathagata" chapter of the *Lotus Sutra*, "Although I am always here without extinction, through the power of skillful means I manifest extinction and nonextinction. If there are any sentient beings in other worlds who respect and believe in me, I will also teach them the highest Dharma."⁴⁴⁶ Following from this, it can be seen that Sacheonwang depicted on the sarira reliquaries exhibit their aspiration to follow the Buddha always. Also Sacheonwang make the offering of praise to the Buddha, and thereby a patron of the establishment can make an offering of praise to the Buddha through Lokapala. Such an

⁴⁴⁴ Moon argues that Lokapala images on sarira reliquaries are related to protecting the sarira, and that Seongjeon 盛典 Monasteries cannot be directly related to these images on the reliquaries; see Myung-Dae Moon 문명대, "Silla Sacheonwangsa Sacheonwang•Palbujungsangui Seongrip Munjewa Seokguram Sacheonwang•Palbujungsangui Dosang Byeonhwa 신라 사천왕사 사천왕•팔부중상의 성립문제와 석굴암 사천왕•팔부중상의 도상 변화 (Problems with the Foundation of Silla's Statues of Four Guradian Kings and Eight Devas in Sacheonwang Temple and Changes in the Iconography of the Statues of the Same Figure in Seokguram)," *Gangjwa Misulsa 강좌미술사 (The Art History Journal)* 39(2012): 34.

⁴⁴⁵ Footnote --- in chapter 1.

⁴⁴⁶ Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, *THE LOTUS SUTRA*, translated from the Chinese of Kumārajīva by Tsugunari Kubo and Akira Yuyama, Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2007, pp. 228-229.

offering comes from the mind that admires the compassion of the Buddha, who is believed to enter nirvana but actually always teaches in this world, without decaying, in order to lead living beings to Buddhahood.⁴⁴⁷

The sarira cult of Silla, which I will fully discuss in the next chapter, is very important because it might define one of the characteristics of ancient Korean Buddhism, which has been characterized only by hoguk bulgyo. Also, it is possible that Silla invented its own sarira cult and a way to secure and place the sarira, even though the manner of adorning sarira placed in the timber pagoda in Hwanyongsa was influenced by Baekje.⁴⁴⁸

(3) Openwork Carving of a Lokapala Image on Gilt Bronze

A spirit warrior image excavated in Pyeongyang, North Korea, and currently in the Pyeongyang Museum (fig. 4.25), is another piece of evidence of Korean Sacheonwang images during the Three Kingdom period: images that were calm and reserved bodhisattva-like warrior images rather than fiercely aggressive in pose. Despite the small size of 6.3 cm in length, close examination reveals iconic characteristics that

⁴⁴⁷ Kazu Uehara 上原和, *Tamamushi no zushi: Asuka, Hakuhō bijutsu yōshiki shiron* 玉虫厨子: 飛鳥・白鳳美術様式史論 (Tamamushi Shrine: History of Art Style in the Asuka and Hakuhō Periods), Tōkyō : Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1991, p. 88. For this reason Kazu Uehara argues that Sacheonwang depicted on the doors of the Tamamushi Shrine are Sacheonwang who follow the Buddha and praise him (p. 86), and also that the subject of the painting on the front of the pedestal of the Tamamushi shrine, which has been regarded as a representation of offering sarira, is a representation of offering praise to the Buddha. pp. 86-89.

⁴⁴⁸ Kyeongmi Joo 周旻美, Hwangnyongsa gucheung moktapui sari jangyeom jaego 皇龍寺 九層木塔의 舍利莊嚴 再考 (Reexamination of the Buddhist Reliquaries from the Pagoda of Hwangnyongsa), Yeoksa Gyeoyuk Nonjip 역사교육논집 (History Education Review) 40, 2008, pp. 277-318:282.

overlap with those of the Hwangnyongsa images. First of all, there is the neck armor that spreads like morning glory petals at the round Mandorla and holds up the chin.

The image is far too small to discern the details, but the coat-shaped long armor and the long sleeves, along with flowing heavenly silk, spear and sword at the hands, and the rhythmical pose on a lotus pedestal, are iconic features in common with the forementioned images. The tenderness of these Sacheonwang forms finely portrays the bodhisattva-like formal features of the Three Kingdoms period's images, very different from the angry and threatening Sacheonwang images of the Unified Silla period. This piece is a gilt bronze openwork carving, and in North Korea is introduced as a Vajrapani image. However, because Lokapala is always on a vehicle such as a lotus pedestal or a dwarf-like creature, a fundamental distinction between Loakapala and Vajrapani, even when they share armor and attributes in iconography, this image standing on a lotus pedestal cannot be identified as Vajrapani.

In both cases of Hwangnyongsa and the image in the Pyeongyang Museum, two figures are paired in a group. Such grouping of Sacheonwang images was prevalent in China and Japan, as seen in images such as those in Dunhuang cave no. 285 (fig. 4.1-1, 1-2) and on the front door of the Tamamushi shrine (fig. 4.40). According to the *Yizi fodinglunwang jing* 一字佛頂輪王經 (“The Single Syllable Buddha’s Crown Wheel King Sutra”), two Sacheonwang figures are to be placed at each of the four cardinal gates. Of course, the Chinese translation of this sutra in 705 came much later than the production of the images, but the iconography could have been introduced earlier than the sutra.

Also, Lokapala holding its symbolized item in each hand is a unique feature that can hardly be witnessed after the mid-seventh century. A Lokapala figure holding the symbolized items in both hands is interesting in that such a form is mentioned in the *Dharani Sutra*, which was translated into Chinese in 654. The feature seems to be another iconic characteristic of this period's Sacheonwang images, along with the bodhisattva-like form.

(4) Lokapala Images on a Buddhist Stele at Biamsa

Then there is a piece that carries on the tradition of Baekje, one of the three Kingdoms, despite its having been created in the late seventh century during the Unified Silla period. This stone stele was found at Biamsa in Yeongigun of Southern Choonchung Province, Korea. According to the inscription at the back that reads "己丑年 (Kr. *Gichuknyeon*, Ch. *Jichounian*)," it was created in 689. Although it was produced in the late seventh century, its iconography of Sacheonwang is based on iconography popular until the mid-seventh century.⁴⁴⁹ Two Sacheonwang figures are symmetrically situated beside the bodhisattva figures that stand on each side of the main Buddha (fig. 4.29). The Sacheonwang have a skirt wrapped around the lower body, while a long heavenly shawl

⁴⁴⁹ In Korea there are only seven Buddhist steles, including that mentioned above, discovered in Yeongigun, now Sejong-si. Inscriptions on one of them, Amitabha Buddha Stele with *Geyu* inscriptions (National Treasure no. 108), patronized by the Jeon clan 癸酉銘全氏阿彌陀佛碑像, housed at the Cheongju National Museum, have recently been deciphered through RTI (Reflectance Transformation Imaging), a new technology for deciphering stone inscriptions. According to the museum, it is clear that the stele exhibits that its patron was related to Baekje residents in Silla after the fall of the state, because official ranks of Silla and Baekje are used together in the inscriptions, even though they were produced in the early Unified Silla dynasty. (An article by Taeshik Kim on April 12, 2013, Yonhap News Agency, Seoul <http://www.yonhapnews.co.kr/bulletin/2013/04/12/0200000000AKR20130412093300005.HTML>)

is draped and a large stupa is placed in the hand.⁴⁵⁰ They stand on the lotus in a symmetrical composition. It is evident that these images derive from a tradition very different from that of the stereotyped armed Sacheonwang images of Unified Silla.

This sort of form can be compared with that of the Cheonwang image on a stone stele found at the Wanfosi 萬佛寺 site in Chengdu 成都, Sichuan Province (fig. 4.18). According to an inscription on the lower part of its back, this stele was created in 523, the fourth reign year of Putong 普通, in the Liang dynasty during the Southern and Northern dynasties. In comparison to the Biamsa stele, not only the Lokapala's formal feature of standing on a lotus while dressed in a skirt and heavenly shawl, but also the cubic and complex layout of images and the soft formal features are similar.

Taking into account that the region from which the Biamsa stele was excavated belonged to Baekje, and that Baekje had been very close with the Yang of China's Southern Dynasty and very enthusiastic in adopting Buddhist culture, it can be said that this stele follows the Baekjae tradition that was probably carried on by offspring of Baekjae people.⁴⁵¹ In this perspective, the Sacheonwang figures on the stone stele at

⁴⁵⁰ Youngae Lim doubts identification of the figures as Sacheonwang because the attributes they hold are not stupa but *cheongung* 天宮 ("heavenly palace"); both of the two figures hold the *cheongung*. Youngae Lim 임영애, bukbang damuncheon-ui botap dosang haeseok: dosang hyeongseong wonin-gwa won-goryo ijeon-ui yangsang 북방 다문천의 보탑 도상 해석: 도상 형성 원인과 원·고려 이전의 양상 (Analysis of the Stupa Icons of Vaiśravaṇa: The Origin and Development of the Iconography of Vaiśravaṇa Holding a Stupa before the Yuan and Kōryō Dynasties), *Misulsawa Shigak Munhwa* 미술사와 시각문화 (Art History and Visual Culture), 9, 2010, pp. 86-115:n. 54. It is true that it is hard to identify them, because as discussed earlier in the chapter and the previous chapter, development of iconography of Lokapala and Vajrapani was very complex until the late seventh century. Therefore we need other contemporary works from neighboring countries.

⁴⁵¹ Lena Kim 金理那 "Tongilsillashidae Jeongiui Bulgjojogak Yeongu 統一新羅時代 前期의 佛教彫刻 樣式 (Style of Buddhist Sculpture in the Early Unified Silla Dynasty)," *Gogo Misul* 考古美術 (Archeology and Arts) vol. 154 • 155, 1982, 6, pp. 61-95; *Hanguk Godae Bulgyo Jogaksa Yeongu* 韓國古代佛教彫刻

Biamsa are crucial data from which the formal features of the Three Kingdoms' Sacheonwang images, especially those of Baekjae, can be deduced.

Pairs of Sacheonwang images that hold a large stupa as on the Biamsa stele are found in China from the seventh century. One example is *Tang biqu falu niza xiang* 唐比丘法律泥造像 (“Clay image commissioned to be made by a monk, Falu, in Tang”) with the inscription of *yonghui* 永徽 (650-655). Another is the votive tablet of the *Shanyeni duobaota xiang* 善業泥多寶塔像 (“Prabutaratna (Jeweled) Stupa Image”), which has on the back an inscription presumably made in the mid-seventh century; it reads, ‘*Suchangshi deng gongzuo* 大唐蘇常侍等共作 (“Suchangshi and others of the great Tang had [this votive tablet] made.”) (fig. 4.30). These two Tang steles are very similar in terms of composition, allotment, and the frontal representation of figures.⁴⁵²

These steles illustrate the following scene from the “Appearance of a Jeweled (Prabutaratna) Stupa” chapter of the *Lotus Sutra*: At the moment that the Buddha Shakyamuni preaches the *Lotus Sutra*, a Prabutaratna stupa comes from the earth and floats in the air. Prabutaratna Buddha, seated inside the stupa, confirms that what the Buddha Shakyamuni preached is truth; Shakyamuni enters the stupa and sits next to the Prabutaratna Buddha. In the center of the steles is a Prabutaratna three-storied stupa with a seated Buddha image on top and on the third and second level, and with seated Buddha Shakyamuni and Prabutaratna Buddha on the first level. The *Lotus Sutra* was the most

史研究, Seoul: 一潮閣, 1989, p. 154; 黃壽永, *Hanguk Bulsangui Yeongu* 韓國佛像의 研究, Seoul: 三和出版社, 1973, pp. 135-174; Lena Kim 金理那 (2008), p. 11.

⁴⁵² Angela Falco Howard; Pingnan He 何平南; Guoli lishi bowuguan (China) 國立歷史博物館, *Zhongguo gudai shidiao yishu* 中國古代石雕藝術 (Chinese Buddhist Sculpture from the Wei through the T'ang Dynasties), Taipei: Zhonghua minguo guoli lishi bowuguan, minguo 72 [1983], p. 152.

popular in the Six Dynasties (229-589 C.E.),⁴⁵³ and those Prabutaratna stupa steles were made on the basis of the sutra.

The two Tang steles are similar to the Biamsa stele in terms of representation of Cheonwang, complex composition of figures, depth between figures, and soft modeling. However, the Tang steles were probably made from popular faith in the *Lotus Sutra*, which is different from the situation of the Biamsa stele. In the “Appearance of a Jeweled (Prabutaratna) Stupa” chapter of the *Lotus Sutra*, the Buddha says, “After the (Prabhutaratna) Buddha had perfected the path and immediately before his parinirvāṇa, he addressed the monks among the great assembly of devas and humans, saying: After my parinirvāṇa anyone who wishes to pay me homage should build a great stupa!”⁴⁵⁴ Following from this, faith in the sutra inspires people to establish a Prabutaratna stupa rather than the stupas for sarira, a faith shown very well in Yungang caves, where the offering of establishment of a stupa was popular in the Northern Wei (386-534 C.E.).⁴⁵⁵

(5) Japanese Lokapala Images in the mid-Seventh Century

In the case of Japan, there is no record of exactly when Four Heavenly Kings worship began, or when the *Golden Light Sutra*, which is believed to be the source of the

⁴⁵³ Zenryū Tsukamoto 塚本善隆, *Shina bukkyōshi, hokugi hen* 支那佛教史, 北魏篇 (History of Chinese Buddhism, Northern Wei), Tōkyō: Kōbundō 弘文堂, 1942, pp. 520-23. Devotion to the Prabutaratna Buddha was popular limited to the period of propagation of the Lotus Sutra. See Hou Xudong, “The Buddhist Pantheon,” in *Early Chinese Religion* Part 2 vol. 2, Leiden: Brill, 2009, pp. 1095-1168: 1103-1105.

⁴⁵⁴ Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, *THE LOTUS SUTRA*, translated from the Chinese of Kumārajīva by Tsugunari Kubo and Akira Yuyama, Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2007, P. 168.

⁴⁵⁵ Kazu Uehara 上原和, p. 88.

Lokapala cult, was introduced.⁴⁵⁶ However, because Japanese Buddhism was transmitted by Baekje, and ancient Japanese Buddhism developed in close relationship with the three kingdoms of Baekje, Goguryeo, and Silla, Japanese scholars have been waiting for studies on early Sacheonwang images in Korea.⁴⁵⁷ It is, however, as in Korea, presumed that Sacheonwang worship began in Japan with the initial introduction of Buddhism. Alongside documentation regarding the construction of Shitennōji 四天王寺 (“Four Divine Kings Monastery”), there in addition exist in Japan Lokapala figures. Even though the earlier painting in 623 C.E. of the Four Divine Kings on the surfaces of the seat of the Shakyamuni triad in the Golden Hall⁴⁵⁸ is the earliest work of the Kings, the paintings are faint and hard to describe (fig. 4.31-1, 31-2).

The Shitennō image in the Kondōat Hōryūji 法隆寺, presumably created in the mid-seventh century, is one prime example (fig. 4.32). On the altar at the Kondōof Hōryūji, a Buddha Shakyamuni Triad figure resides at the center while Bhaishyajaguru and Amitabha are placed at its east and west, respectively. Sacheonwang images are situated at the four cardinal directions to guard the altar. The very first documentation of this Lokapala image appears in *Shichidaiji nikki* 七大寺日記 (“Diary of Seven Great Monasteries”), written in 1106 by the monk Oe no Chikamichi 大江親通, and according

⁴⁵⁶ It is in the year 676 (fifth year of Tenmu 天武 reign) that the title of the *Golden Light Sutra* appears in *Nihonshoki* 日本書記 (“The Chronicles of Japan”). Imagi Simjo 今城甚造, *Nihon ni okeru shitennōzō no kigen* 日本における四天王像の起源 (Origins of Shitennō Imagery), *Bukkyō geijutsu* 佛教藝術 (Ars Buddhica) 59 (1965, 12), p. 4.

⁴⁵⁷ Imagi Simjo 今城甚造, *Nihon ni okeru shitennōzō no kigen* 日本における四天王像の起源 (Origins of Shitennō Imagery), *Bukkyō geijutsu* 佛教藝術 (Ars Buddhica) 59 (1965, 12), pp. 1-19.

⁴⁵⁸ According to inscriptions on the back of the main Buddha’s mandorla, the Buddha Shakyamuni Triad figure was made in the year 623, but there is some doubt as to the credence of the inscriptions. Machida Kōichi 町田甲一, *Jōdai chōkokushi no kenkyū* 上代彫刻史の研究 (Study on the Early Period Sculpture), Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1977, p. 178.

to this, there are “life-sized Shitennō figures” (等身四天王像) in the Golden Hall.⁴⁵⁹ He also writes that “these Four Divine King’s images are imitated images at Shintennoji.”⁴⁶⁰ It is noteworthy that these Lokapala images are not listed in the official inventory list of *Hōryūji Shizaichō* 法隆寺資財帳 (“Inventory List of Hōryūji”), which was written as a report to the government in 747 (the nineteenth year of Tenpyō 天平).⁴⁶¹ It is thus most likely that they were moved to Hōryūji from their initial home after 747 and before year 1106, which is when the *Travel Diary* was written. However, because there is a record of a “Shitennō division” (‘四天王分’) in the *Inventory*, some believe that the Lokapala images were already in Hōryūji in the mid-eighth century.⁴⁶²

Out of the four Sacheonwang images, the West Guardian and North Guardian, have votive inscriptions on their mandorlas and, on each of them are documented names of two people (fig. 4.32).⁴⁶³ The inscriptions may be interpreted as: “Yamaguchi no

⁴⁵⁹ 岩田 茂樹, “Hōryūji Kondō Shitennōzō no Shomondai 法隆寺金堂四天王像の諸問題 (Some Issues of the Four Divine Kings at the Golden Hall of Hōryūji),” *Kokuhō Hōryūji Kondō ten* 國寶 法隆寺金堂展 (National Treasures from the Golden Hall of Hōryūji Temple) edited by Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 奈良国立博物館, Hōryūji 法隆寺, Asahi Shinbunsha 朝日新聞社, Nara: Asahi Shinbunsha, 2008, p. 53.

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.* *Kokon mokuroku shō* 古今目録抄 (“Catalogue of Ancient and Modern Lists”), compiled in 1131 to 1192 C.E., also indicates that Lokapala images at Shitennōji and Hōryūji are the same. These statements may be regarded as accurate because in 別尊雜記 there are sketches of Lokapala at Shitennōji. The drawings exhibit that the Lokapalas at these two monasteries are very similar. Kuno, Takeshi 久野 健, *Hōryūji no bijutsu* 法隆寺の美術, *Genshoku Nihon no bijutsu. 2. Hōryūji* 原色日本の美術 2 法隆寺 (Colorful Arts in Japan 2, Hōryūji), Tōkyō: Shōgakusan, 1966, p. 182.

⁴⁶¹ Yamada, Isoo 山田磯夫, *Kondō Shitennōzō* 金堂四天王像 (Four Divine Kings in the Golden Hall), *Hōryūji bijutsu: ronsō no shiten* 法隆寺美術: 論争の視点 (Arts in Hōryūji: Perspectives of Controversy) ed. 大 Katsuaki Ōhashi 橋一章 Tōkyō: Gurafusha, 1998, pp. 152-170:154. Therefore there has been controversy regarding the question of whether the Kondō Shitennō were initially there or moved in later. Isoo Yamada introduces more detail on the controversy.

⁴⁶² Kuno, Takeshi 久野 健 (1966), p. 181.

⁴⁶³ The inscription of the West Guardian reads 「山口大口費上而次/木(こ)門(ま)二人作也」 「筆」, while that of the North Guardian reads 「片文皮臣」 「藥師德保上而/鐵師手(ま)古(こ)二人作也」. The characters of the latter inscription are very thick and soft, whereas the former are thin and strong. Because it is obvious that they were written in two separate hands, it is presumed that Tokuhō (德保) and Oguchi

Oguchi no Atai 山口大口費 is the leader; Ski no Komaro and two people made the statue” on the West King and “Kusushi no Tokuho 藥師德保 is the leader, Tetsushi Maroko and two people made the statue” on the North King.⁴⁶⁴

The inscriptions include names, such as Yamaguchi no Oguchi no Atai 山口大口費 and Kusushi no Tokuho 藥師德保, but any information regarding dates is lacking. The images cannot be dated solely by way of names. However, there is a record of the name 漢 山 口 直大口 in fascicle 25 of *Nihon shoki* 日本書記 (“The Chronicles of Japan”). According to this document, in the year 650 (the first year of Hakuchi 白雉), the emperor Kotoku 孝德 ordered production of one thousand Buddha images, and 漢 山 口 直大口 is mentioned as the producer.⁴⁶⁵ The name 山口 大口 費 inscribed on the West Guardian, therefore, is thought to be the same person as 漢 山 口 直大口, thus placing the creation date of this image around the year 650, which is older than the

(大口) each inscribed their words. If there are two different producers there should be some difference in technique and style. However, there is no difference whatsoever between these two groups of images done by Tokuho and Oguchi. Therefore, some assume that one person, such as Yamaguchi no Oguchi no Atai 山口大口費, would have overseen the whole process, along with 藥師德保 using assistants for metal craft such as openwork carving. At present, it is most natural to regard the images as collaborations between a high ranking artist and another.

⁴⁶⁴ Kuno, Takeshi 久野 健 (1966), p. 181.

⁴⁶⁵ “<白雉元年 是歲> 是歲, 漢山口直大口奉詔刻千仏像.” It was Ryōkun 良訓 (1742-?) who was a monk at Horyūji and compiled *Kokon ichiyōshū* 古今一陽集 (“Collection of Old and New One Sun”) in the early eighteenth century, relating the account to Kondō Shitennō for the first time; he briefly introduced the inscription of the Kondō Shitennō. Later it was introduced in detail and well known through *Kokyō ibun* 古京遺文 (“Writings on Ancient Capitals”) by Karya Ekisai 狩谷棧齋 (1775-1835). For more detail, see Yamada, Isoo 山田磯夫, *Kondō Shitennōzō 金堂四天王像* (Four Divine Kings in Golden Hall), *Hōryūji bijutsu: ronsō no shiten* 法隆寺美術: 論争の視点 (Arts in Hōryūji: Perspectives of Controversy) ed. 大 Katsuaki Ōhashi 橋一章 Tōkyō: Gurafusha, 1998, pp. 152-170:153.

Shakyamuni triad at the Hōryūji Kondō.⁴⁶⁶ The Lokapala images of Hōryūji are thus a complete set of four that can be fairly accurately dated. These Hōryūji images are, therefore, crucial data that can act as criteria for research on other Sacheonwang images from similar periods.

The torso of the Lokapala is made from one *kusunoki* 樟木 (“camphor tree”). On the head is not a helmet but an openwork crown, and attached to it is a circular mandorla (fig. 4.33). Neck armor runs up to the chin, and a *liangdangkai* 兩當鎧-type short coat of armor is finished off with a belt around the waist. Underneath the armor that shields the femoral is a short wrinkled skirt. Underneath the skirt is another longer skirt, inside of which are trousers with wrinkles at the ankles. On the wrists are also double layers of long and short sleeves.

The East Guardian and the South Guardian each hold a sword and spear, while the West Guardian carries a brush and scroll, and the North Guardian a stupa and spear. They each stand on a demon that is crouched on a rocky mountain that is expressed as a band around a square platform. The demons lie face down, supporting their weight with feet and elbows while holding their hands upwards. The way the backsides of the demons are all covered with something looking like thin leaves is unique (fig. 4.33). While the armed Lokapala figures of later ages are posed as fierce and angry through dynamic gestures such as stomping on the demons, these Hōryūji images are expressed

⁴⁶⁶ This account also shows that Yamaguchi no Oguchi no Atai 山口大 費 was a Buddhist artisan working for the court. Kuno Takeshi 久野 健 (1966), p. 181. Kuno also argues that the Hōryūji Golden Hall Lokapala are similar to images in the Northern Qi and Northern Zhou of China, especially images of Spirit Kings on the outer wall of --- (the North Cave of North Xiangtangshan?) in the North Xiangtangshan cave, and are earlier than the Shakyamuni triad at the Golden Hall and Guse-kanno of the Hall of Dreams. P. 82.

with column-like bodies that entrap their energy within. The demons underneath the deities are also portrayed as more timid and submissive, with their arms held up.

It is fairly obvious that Lokapala iconography was passed on to Japan through Korea during the Three Kingdoms period. Taking into account the close relationship between Baekjae and Japan at the time, I believe it is natural to assume that out of the three kingdoms, transmission occurred through Baekjae.⁴⁶⁷ It is of course impossible to make an accurate comparison since no Sacheonwang image of Baekjae is known to exist today. However, the Lokapala image of Hōryūji's Golden Hall hints at the possibility of such a comparison. Hōryūji's Sacheonwang figures stand on demons and the demons crouch on mountains expressed as a band. Such formal features of the pedestal are similar to the mountains described on Baekjae's bricks with a mountain design (fig. 4.34).

The North Guardian of Hōryūji's Kondō holds in its hand a stupa that consists of three founding platforms, one body, and a roof. On that roof are five pillars (fig. 4.33-1). This style of stupa can be witnessed from representation of votive stupas in Southern Dynasties and Eastern Wei's mandorlas (fig. 4.35, 36). A similar stupa can also be witnessed on the mandorla of Hōryūji's Guse-Kannon enshrined at the Hall of Dreams (fig. 4.37), also from a similar era.⁴⁶⁸ As such, the stupa carried by the Northern Guardian of Hōryūji's Kondō was popular in seventh-century Japan, as well. This style of stupa is also witnessed on the backside of Biamsa's stone stele, hinting at a connection

⁴⁶⁷ According to *Nihon shoki*, Japan invited several masters (寺工・鑪盤工・瓦工・畫工) from Baekjae in the year 588 and started constructing Asukadera 飛鳥寺, the very first temple of Japan. In 592 they started constructing the building and corridors, and in 593 enshrined sarira in the base stone. And there is record that proudly documents how in 593 the Goryeo king sent gold to adorn the Buddha statue and building.

⁴⁶⁸ The form of the crown and patterns on it are similar to those of the Avalokiteshvara image at the Hall of Dreams, Kuno Takeshi 久野 健 (1966), p. 182.

between Hōryūji Kondō Lokapala images and Korean Buddhist artifacts of the Three Kingdoms period (fig. 4.38).

In regard to the iconic features of the Sacheonwang images at Hōryūji's Kondō, there is noteworthy content in *Shichidaiji nikki* 七大寺日記, where it is said that Hōryūji's Sacheonwang images are similar to with those of Lokapala at Shitennōji, Osaka (fig. 4.39). While the actual figures do not remain today, there is a picture of the Sacheonwang figures of Osaka Shitennōji in *Betsusonsatki* 別尊雜記 “Miscellaneous Records of Classified Sacred Images.”

Hōryūji's and Osaka's Lokapala figures have many features in common. They both face forward and stand erect on top of demons crouched on square platforms. Additional common factors are the East and West Guardians' symbolized items, sword and spear, and the West Guardian's symbolized items, stupa and spear, along with brushes. The two sets do however differ in that while Hōryūji's West Guardian carries a scroll in his left hand, Shitennōji's figure carries a spear. The outer periphery of the mandorla for the Shitennōji figure is adorned with flame patterns, but on the head is a crown, and the neck is wrapped with neck armor, while another piece of armor is wrapped around the shoulders like a shawl and tied beneath the neck. Such adornments are similar to those in the Hōryūji images. All four demons of Shitennōji hold the base of the spears with their left hands while holding the sheaths with their right hands. Hōryūji's demons have holes in their upheld hands. These holes are the size of the sheaths, thus leaving room for a possible connection between the two. According to records, it was the Prince Shotoku's wish to pray to the Lokapala figures that brought forth the construction

of Shitennōji. Because the images of Shitennōji's Sacheonwang in *Betsusonsatki* are so similar to those of Hōryūji's Kondō, Japanese scholars believe that the *Betsusonsatki* image is in fact true to the initial image of Shitennōji.

In regard to the aforementioned rhythmical postures of Sacheonwang figures, which were found in Korea's Three Kingdoms period, similar examples can be found at Hōryūji. The images in question were created around the same period as were the Kondō images. At the front gate of the Tamamushi no Zushi 玉蟲厨子 shrine in Hōryūji are two Lokapala images (fig. 4.40). As discussed above, these images depicted on the doors of the shrine show the idea that Lokapala follow the Buddha and praise him.⁴⁶⁹ On each side of the gate is one Lokapala. These images wear armor with a high and round collar and carry a spear and sword in each hand, and are posed as if in motion, each standing on a demon, with their heads tilted to profile. Their armor, expression of ornaments, and fabric wrinkles are very similar to those of Korean, Chinese Nanbeichao, and Kondō Lokapala images. These Tamamushi no Zushi images are especially often compared with images of the Hwangnyongsa pagoda in terms of not only the soft bodhisattva-like features such as the rhythmic posture, but also detailed expressions such as the style of flowing hair ribbons and heavenly silk, which is draped in two rows in front of the body, not to mention the simple armor and symbolized items. This similarity may derive from

⁴⁶⁹ Kazu Uehara 上原和, *Tamamushi no zushi: Asuka, Hakuho bijutsu yōshiki shiron* 玉虫厨子: 飛鳥・白鳳美術様式史論 (Tamamushi Shrine: History of the Art Style in the Asuka and Hakuho Periods), Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1991, p. 86.

the fact that these two sets of Lokapala are in a kind of painting in which fluid line drawings are used.⁴⁷⁰

During conservation work done in 1991, it was revealed that Sacheonwang images had been painted in groups of two, in ink, on each side of the pedestal of the triad at Hōryūji 's Kondō (fig. 4.31-1, 31-2).⁴⁷¹ Today, the details are hard to read due to severe effacement of the surface, but it is presumed that the images were painted when the triad was created in 623. This gives the painting great significance as the source of the oldest remaining Lokapala images in Japan. The shape of the armor is hard to discern, and it is also not possible to identify each figure through its symbolized items, but these images also seem to be the soft bodhisattva-type Shitennō images.

As above, examples of Chinese and Japanese Sacheonwang images that share iconographic similarities with those of the Korean Three Kingdoms period either all stand erect like columns if they are independent figures, or if expressed pictorially like the fluid lines of inscriptions, are portrayed as soft bodhisattva-like forms with flowing wrinkles or heavenly silk.

3. Conclusion

I examined in the present chapter the Lokapala iconography that was prevalent during the Korean Three Kingdoms period, Chinese Nanbeicao, and the Japanese Asuka period, all before the furious, armed Lokapala imagery became popular. Having

⁴⁷⁰ Yeoung Shin Shim 沈盈伸, *Tongil silla sidae Sacheonwang sang yeongu* 統一新羅時代 四天王像 研究 (A Study of the Representations of the Four Heavenly Kings in the Unified Silla Dynasty), *Misulsa hakyeon* 미술사학연구 (Korean Journal of Art History) 216, 1997.12, pp. 5-47: 9.

⁴⁷¹ *Kokuhō Hōryūji Kondō ten* 國寶 法隆寺金堂展 (National Treasures from the Golden Hall of Hōryūji Temple), edited by Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 奈良国立博物, Hōryūji 法隆寺, Asahi Shinbunsha 朝日新聞社, Nara: Asahi Shinbunsha, 2008, p. 182

compared Korean images with the Lokapala images of China's Nanbeicao and especially those of Hōryūji Kondō, Japan, I come to the conclusion that the warrior images found on the sarira reliquary from Hwangnyongsa and the gilt bronze openwork carving at the Pyeongyang Museum are in fact Lokapala images. Judging from the images of the three countries discussed above, bodhisattva-type Lokapala images with calmness and peace, which are related to the Indic Lokapala, were made first, before the warrior type was settled. The fact that most of the bodhisattva-type images hold an attribute in both hands, an indication stated in the Dharani Sutra, is characteristic of Lokapala images that predate the warrior type in East Asia.⁴⁷²

Lokapala figures from the early seventh century – in the Three Kingdoms period of Korea, Nanbeicao of China, and mid-seventh century Japan – share common features in terms of posture and armor. These figures, unlike the armed Sacheonwang figures, wear ancient short coat-like armor and carry symbolic items in both hands while standing in very rhythmical postures. Although Lokapala figures are considered to be the most free and dynamic of all Buddhist sculptures, such was not the case in times before the advent of armed Sacheonwang iconography clad in Tang *mingguang* armor. Early Sacheonwang images bore the soft features of bodhisattva figures.

Taking note of these iconographic features, I believe it is possible to call these aforementioned Lokapala images the "Bodhisattva-type Sacheonwang images," and that they can be read according to the tradition of early Indian Lokapala images that prevailed before the armed Sacheonwang iconography settled. Early Sacheonwang figures of India

⁴⁷² Yeoung Shin Shim 沈盈伸, Tongil silla sidae Sacheonwang sang yeongu 統一新羅時代 四天王像 研究 (A Study of the Representations of the Four Heavenly Kings in the Unified Silla Dynasty), *Misulsahak Yeongu* 미술사학연구 (Korean Journal of Art History) 216, 1997.12, pp. 5-47: 9-10.

did not wear any armor, and were instead portrayed as noblemen wearing only a loincloth with headdress and ornaments. Of course the Lokapala images studied above are very different from such Indian images in that they all wear armor and carry weapons as their symbolized items. However, I speculate that the bodhisattva-type Sacheonwang images that were popular in the early seventh century were created from iconography derived from the tradition of India's noble-type Lokapala images.

Chapter V. Lokapala Images from the Unified Silla through Goryeo Dynasties

After unifying the Three Kingdoms, Silla created its indigenous culture by developing tradition formed from old Silla, Goguryeo, and Baekje, and by drawing from the international culture dominant in contemporary East Asia. It was during the reigns of King Munmu 文武 (r. 661-680), King Shinmun 神文 (r. 680-691), and King Hyoso 孝昭 (r. 692-701) that Silla moved into its cultural peak. Buddhist sculpture in the late seventh century C.E. formed a new style in accordance with the new unification, with a mix of traditional Korean sculptural style and foreign iconographic elements transmitted from Tang China, Central Asia, and India. From the 670s, Tang style is recognizable in Unified Silla sculpture. At this time, political and social systems were stable, and Buddhist monks who had gone to China to study Buddhism returned to Silla.⁴⁷³ The Tang style can be seen in works of art from Sacheonwangsa built in 679; Gameunsa in 682; and Anapji in ca. 680.

Of sculptures produced at this time, however, there are extant today no single images of Buddhas or Bodhisattvas. For this reason Lokapala images from Sacheonwangsa and Gameunsa are identified as pivotal works reflecting the contemporary sculptural style.⁴⁷⁴ These images also played a significant role in the

⁴⁷³ Lena Kim 金理那, "Tongil Silla Jeongiui Bulgyo Jogak Yangshik 統一新羅時代前期의 佛教彫刻樣式 (Buddhist Sculpture Style in the Early Unified Silla Dynasty) " in *Hanguk Godae Bulgyo Jogak Yeongu* 韓國古代佛教彫刻研究 (*Study on Ancient Buddhist Sculpture in Korea*)(Seoul: Iljogak, 1989), pp. 166-167.

⁴⁷⁴ Lena Kim 金理那, *ibid.*

Buddhist art history of Korea as typical iconography; thereby they became a basic model for Sacheonwang images until the Tibetan iconography was newly transmitted through art of the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368) in the late Goryeo period (918-1392). East Asian countries were closely related to one another in cultural exchange particularly in the seventh through eighth centuries, and so the Sacheonwang images produced in those times exhibit well the international style of East Asia.

As the late Goryeo ceded to the early Joseon dynasty, Confucianism became respected while Buddhism became more suppressed. This was not only political and social but also a religious crisis for Buddhism. It was at this time that a diversity of Lokapala iconography in terms of attributes and arrangement appeared. This change arose due to reception of new iconography made in Southern Song China and Tibet, with influences from Liao and Jin. It was woodblock prints of that introduced the new iconography from the Hangzhou region of the Southern Song dynasty to Korea, in the late Goryeo.⁴⁷⁵ In the fourteenth century Sacheonwang is represented on Buddhist paintings such as *Yeongsan hoisangdo* 靈山會相圖 (“Painting of Assembly Shakyamuni Preaching on Massed Vultures Mountain”), *Amitabul hoisangdo* 阿彌陀佛繪圖 (“Painting of the Paradise of the Buddha Amitabha”), *Jijangshiwangdo* 地藏十王圖

⁴⁷⁵ Seung-hee Lee 李承禧, "Goryeomal Joseoncho Sacheonwang Dosang Yeongu 高麗末 朝鮮初 四天王圖像 研究 (Iconography of Four Directional Guardians in the Late Goryeo and the Early Joseon Dynasties)," *Misulsa Yeongu* 美術史研究 (*Journal of Art History*) 22, (2008).

(“Painting of Kshitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell”), *Mireuk hasaeng byeonsangdo* 彌勒下生變相圖 (“Illustration of Descended Buddha Maitreya Preaching”).⁴⁷⁶

As demonstrated in the previous chapter on the inscribed images unearthed in the foundation stone of the nine-story Hwangnyongsa timber pagoda, the first imagery of Sacheonwang is related to a sarira reliquary. From old Silla through Goryeo, Sacheonwang imagery is mostly related to sarira⁴⁷⁷ in that pagodas were established for sarira even though they do not actually bear sarira; as Myungdae Moon points out, Sacheonwang on sarira containers are not directly related to hoguk 護國 (“state-protecting”).⁴⁷⁸ Lokapala on stupas are in turn directly related to sarira. The sarira cult, then, seems to be a key to understanding the Sacheonwang cult in Korea.

Korean features of the Sacheonwang cult stand out in comparison to those of the cult in China. Lokapala are represented on works of art related to sarira in China, as well, but here they show a different aspect of faith from that evident in Korea. In China, a stupa was usually regarded to be a tomb of the Buddha and a sarira casket his coffin;

⁴⁷⁶ Sacheonwang is represented in eleven out of one hundred sixty Buddhist paintings in the fourteenth century in Korea. Seung-hee Lee, pp. 119-120.

⁴⁷⁷ Moon 문명대 Myungdae, "Silla Sacheonwangsangui Yeongu – Hanguk Tap Bujosangui Yeongu 新羅四天王像의 研究-韓國塔浮彫像의 研究 2 (a Study on the Images of the Four Divine Kings in the Silla Dynasty – a Study on Korean Reliefs on the Surface of Stupas I)," *Bulgyo Misul 佛教美術 (Buddhist Art)* 5, (1980): 18.

⁴⁷⁸ Moon argues that Lokapala images on sarira reliquaries are related to protecting the sarira and that therefore Seongjeon 盛典 Monasteries cannot be directly related to these images on the reliquaries. In Myung-Dae Moon 문명대, "Silla Sacheonwangsa Sacheonwang•Palbujungsangui Seongrip Munjewa Seokguram Sacheonwang•Palbujungsangui Dosang Byeonhwa 신라 사천왕사 사천왕•팔부중상의 성립문제와 석굴암 사천왕•팔부중상의 도상 변화 (Problems with the Foundation of Silla's Statues of Four Guardian Kings and Eight Devas in Sacheonwang Temple and Changes in the Iconography of the Statues of the Same Figure in Seokguram)," *Gangjwa Misulsa 강좌미술사 (The Art History Journal)* 39, (2012): 34.

there are many examples of coffin-shaped caskets made in China. Thereby, Lokapala apparently represented on sarira caskets were believed to be protectors of sarira. This belief explains why in the Tang dynasty Lokapala figures were placed in tombs as tomb guardians. In Korea, on the other hand, sarira caskets were produced in the form of Buddhist halls from the late seventh century. This form of sarira containers indicates that the stupa was perceived as the symbolic place in which the Buddha resides and teaches always without decaying, rather than as the Buddha's tomb. It is thus most likely that Lokapala represented on sarira caskets were believed to be protectors of the Dharma who praise the living presence of the Buddha teaching always in this world.

In this chapter I examine the Lokapala cult in Korea as it is seen through image settings from the late seventh century through the thirteenth century, during which cult and iconography of Lokapala had developed in a coherent line. In order to do so I compare this cult to its Chinese counterpart whose characteristics are seen through the process of development of Lokapala iconography, which became dominant in East Asia countries. In the tenth to thirteenth centuries, faith in Lokapala and its iconography in Korea changed in relation to historical beliefs and exchange with neighboring countries. Art works of Sacheonwang related to sarira, stupas of the Buddha and of Buddhist monks, and stone lanterns, which lead to a better understanding of the development of the Sacheonwang cult in Korea, will be included in this examination.

1. Dominant Iconography of Lokapala in East Asia

(1) Changes of Armor in China in the Seventh Century

Around the mid-seventh century, Lokapala iconography changed gradually in Chang'an, the contemporary international cultural center. The iconography formed with Tang-type armor at this time spread to Longmen cave temples in Luoyang, and in the late seventh century to Korea and Japan, where the Sinicized iconography became the prevalent iconography. It was dominant until new iconography influenced by Tibetan Lokapala was established around the thirteenth century.

The earliest examples of Tang armor in Buddhist art are found on steles, as follows: *Datang sanzang shengjiao xu* 大唐三藏聖教序 (“Introduction to the Sacred Teachings of Tripitaka of the Great Tang”) at Ciensi 慈恩寺 in Xi'an, composed by Tang emperor Taizong 太宗 (fig. 5.1-1); *Datang sanzang shengjiao xuji* 大唐三藏聖教序記 (“Notes on the Introduction to the Sacred Teachings of Tripitaka of the Great Tang”) at Ciensi, which is also called *Datang huangdi shu sanzang shengjiao xuji* 大唐皇帝述三藏聖教記 (“The Great Tang Emperor's Notes on the Sacred Teachings of Tripitaka”), composed by the crown prince, later Tang emperor Gaozong 高宗 (figs. 5.2,2-1); *Datang sanzang shengjiao xu* 大唐三藏聖教序 at Beilin 碑林 (“Forest Steles”) in Xi'an (figs. 5.3, 3-1); and *Daodesi bei* 道德寺碑, dated to the third year of the *Xianqing* 顯慶 era (658 C.E.) of Gaozong, at Beilin 碑林 (“Forest Steles”) in Xi'an (figs. 5.4, 4-1).⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁹ The tablet was unearthed in Liangjia village 梁家庄 in the west suburb of Xi'an in 1950. Shishan Lushi 十善律師, a monk at Daodesi, established the stele to commemorate his two teachers Shanhui 善惠 (536-611 C.E.) and Xuanyi 玄懿. The stele introduces activities of the two nuns and Shishan Lushi from the late Eastern Wei through the early Tang, and the process of establishment of Daodesi. It is important material

Both *shengjiao xu* 聖教序 steles were composed to commemorate the translation project completed in 642, the sixteenth year of the *Zhenguan* 貞觀 era, by Xuanzang 玄奘 (602-664 C.E.),⁴⁸⁰ who translated 74 volumes into 1335 fascicles of Buddhist scriptures under the patronage of Taizong. The writings were calligraphed by Chu Suiliang 褚遂良 and made in the form of a stele in the fourth year of the *Yonghui* 永徽 reign (653 C.E.). When the stupa was reconstructed in the Chang'an era (701-705 C.E.), the steles were placed in a niche on each side of the entrance of the *Dayanta* 大雁塔 (“Great Wild Goose Pagoda”) at Ciensi in Xi'an.

On the surface of the top part of each stele is represented the same composition of Buddhist images: a seated Buddha in the center flanked by his disciples and bodhisattvas and a Lokapala carved on the far end of each side (fig. 5.1). This kind of composition of a Buddha in the center flanked by bodhisattvas or/and his disciples and Lokapalas on both far ends might have become a standard in Tang art, judging from the fact that the same composition is found at steles and cave temples. such as *Daodesi bei* 道德寺碑 at the *Dalushena xiangkan* 大盧舍那像龕 (“Great Vairocana Image Shrine”), or Fengxiansi 奉先寺 cave (fig. 5.5), which was made in 672-675 C.E.⁴⁸¹; the gable-

that shows the Chinese emperor's close relationship with Buddhism and provides information on nuns' lives. For more detail, see 樊波, 唐道德寺碑 考述, 碑林集刊 第五辑, 西安碑林博物馆, 1999; 曹旅宁, 读〈道德寺碑〉论杨隋皇室的佛教信仰, 佛学研究 第九期, 中国佛教文化研究所, 2000.

⁴⁸⁰ Xuanzang went to India to study Buddhism from 627 to 641, and he brought back to China 657 volumes of Buddhist scriptures, 150 pieces of sarira, and eight images of Buddha. His famous Buddhist travel diary is *Datang xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 (“Record of the Journey to the West”).

⁴⁸¹ Yucheng Wen 溫玉成, "Ryūmon Tōdai Kutsugan No Hennen 竜門唐代窟龕の編年 (Chronology of Tang Niches at Longmen Cave Temples)," in *Chūgoku Sekkutsu Ryūmon Sekkutsu 2* 中国石窟 竜門石窟 (Chinese Cave Temples: Longmen) 2(Tōkyō: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1988), p. 190.

shaped lintel of the entrance of Dayanta, made in 701-705 C.E. (fig. 5.6); and the Dunhuang caves of the eighth century. In China Lokapala are frequently represented in pairs, while in Korea and Japan this formation is not popular. It seems to be the above stele example that caused the preference in Chinese Buddhist art for two Lokapala rather than four.

Lokapala images at the steles of *shengjiao xu* and Daodesi wear Tang-type armor, which features neck armor, animal head-shaped shoulder armor, symmetrical two-dimensional breast armor, hip armor closing at the front of the body, and a variety of ornaments.⁴⁸² The representative armor worn by Chinese Lokapala before the Tang style was *liangtang kai*, as demonstrated in Chapter 4. From the Tang dynasty onward, only *mingguang* armor was used for Lokapala in East Asia. The above steles' Lokapala stand with one knee raised on a vehicle, with the exception of deities on one side of the *shengjiao xu* stele at Beilin on which Lokapala stand with two legs on the ground in frontal view. Even though there is the argumen that this kind of pose originated in Chang'an,⁴⁸³ it looks similar to the one popular in the Southern and Northern dynasties, such as in Mogao cave no. 285 (fig. 4.1-1, 4.1-2), and initially comes from the pose of deities in India.

⁴⁸² Hong Yang argues that this Tang armor is elaborately modified from Six Dynasties *mingguangkai* 明光鎧 (Kr. Myunggwanggae, "bright shining armor "). Hong Yang 楊泓, "Zhongguo Gudaide Jiazhou 中國古代的甲冑 (Armor of Ancient China)," *Kaogu xuebao* 考古學報 (*Journal of Archaeology*) 1976 年 2 期: 76-79.

⁴⁸³ Ken Okada 岡田 健, "Ryūmon Sekkutsu Tōdai Zōzōron-Sono San Kōsō Kōki- 龍門石窟唐代造像論-その三 高宗後期- (Sculpture in Longmen Cave Temples in the Tang Dynasty – Part 3 Early Gaozong Reign)" *佛教藝術* (*Ars Buddhica*) 196, (1989): 97-98.

Figures on another stele for *shengjiao xu* 聖教序, now at Beilin 碑林 (“Forest Steles”) in Xi’an, wear the same armor as the figures on the stele at Dayanta (fig. 5.3-1). There are twelve figures in total on the surface of four sides of the stele’s pedestal (fig. 5.3). The stele was made with the calligraphy of Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (307-365 C.E.) by Huairen 懷仁, a monk at Hongfuxi 弘福寺, in 672, the third year of the *Xianheng* 咸亨 reign.⁴⁸⁴ Dwarf-like creatures on these steles at Ciensi and Beilin hold the deity’s shin; these creatures had not been represented before. Even though armor the deities wear is the Tang type, the fact that the steles were established after Xuanzang’s returning from India suggests that the deities were presumably made on the basis of new iconography brought from Central Asia.⁴⁸⁵

Locations of the deities on the pedestal of the *shengjiao xu* stele at Beilin, and also the fact that they number twelve, might bring into doubt their identity. The arrangement and number of the images are important matters in regard to the first Lokapala figures in Korea’s Unified Silla; I will discuss this below. Earlier figures on pedestals are found in Gongxian cave temples from the sixth century, on the surface of the stylobate of the main pillar at caves no. 1, 3, and 4, and on the east wall of cave no. 4. However, the pedestal figures are not Lokapala but *Shenwang* 神王 (“Spirit Kings”). The earliest Shenwang images to appear at cave temples in China are found at the Middle

⁴⁸⁴ While *shengjiao xubei* 聖教序碑 by Chu Suiliang is only carved with the *xu* and *xuji*, on the stele made by Huairen with characters of Wang Xizhi there is addition to the original *xu* and *xuji* as follows: Xuanzang’s appreciation remarks, the response of Taizong and Gaozong to Xuanzang, the *Heart Sutra*, four officials who were involved in embellishment, and two craftsmen who carved the stele. At the top of the stele seven Buddhas are carved.

⁴⁸⁵ Yeoung Shin Shim, thesis, p. 39.

Binyang cave (505-523 C.E.), but the Gongxian cave has a greater quantity of images and more variety of iconography than the Middle Binyang cave.⁴⁸⁶

It is interesting that Lokapala are named as Shenwang in inscriptions in Longmen caves. For example, there is the Huijian cave located south of the Wanfo cave, commissioned by Huijian 惠簡, a monk involved in the establishment of the Great Vairocana Image Shrine, Fengxiansi 奉先寺 cave.⁴⁸⁷ According to the inscription near the entrance of Huijian, a Maitreya niche with two bodhisattvas together with other deities were produced for the emperor, empress, crown prince, and prince Zhou in the fourth year of Xianheng era (673 C.E.).⁴⁸⁸ At the center of the cave is a seated Maitreya with pendant legs flanked by a disciple and a bodhisattva on each side, and at each

⁴⁸⁶ According to Dalsong Kang's research, the special function of the Gongxian cave as an imperial shrine distinctive from other Buddhist temples brought about a number of Shenwang images at this location. Dalsong Kang 강달송, "Bugui Gonghyeon Seokgalsa Sabyeok Habuwa Jungshimju Gidanui Bujosang 北魏鞏縣石窟寺四壁下部와中心柱基壇의浮彫像 (the Relief Figures in the Bottom Tiers of Four Walls and Central Pillars at the Gongxian Caves of the Northern Wei Dynasty)" (Seoul National University, 1996), pp. 44-52. Shenwang images on the pedestal of both sides and the back of *Luoziguan deng qushiren zaoxiang* 駱子寬等七十人造像 ("Image (stele) patronized by 70 people including"), with dates of the first year of the *Wuding* 武定 reign (543), at the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston, are the only example with the label Shenwang. For more detail about the stele's inscription, see Edouard Chavannes, "Six Monuments de la Sculpture Chinoise," *Ars Asiatica* II (1914), pp. 13-19. For more about Shenwang images at the Chinese cave temples in the sixth century, see Qing Chang 常青, "Beichao Shiku Shenwang Diaoke Shulüe 北朝石窟神王彫刻述略 (Brief Summary on Shenwang Sculpture at the Cave Temples in the Northern Dynasties)" *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology) (1994, 12)..

⁴⁸⁷ Jaeho Bae, *Dangdae Bulgyo Jogak* 唐代佛教彫刻 (Buddhist Sculpture in Tang Dynasty) (Seoul: Iljisa, 2003), n.8 in p. 68.

⁴⁸⁸ "大唐咸亨四年十一月七日, 西京法海寺僧惠簡, 奉爲皇帝皇后太子周王, 敬造彌勒像一龕二菩薩神王等 并得成就, 伏願皇帝聖化無窮, 殿下帝王福延萬代." Longmen shiku yanjiusuo 龍門石窟研究所, *Longmen shiku yanjiu* 龍門石窟研究, Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe 書目文獻出版社, 1995, p. 65. The crown prince is Gaozong's fifth son, and the prince Zhou is Gaozong's seventh son, later Emperor Zhongzong. Because Gaozong's sixth son was not Wuzetian's, he is not mentioned in the inscription, which suggests that Wuzetian's political power was strong in the first half of the 670s. In regard to this information, Jaeho Bae values the importance of the inscription as a historic account. Jaeho Bae, p. 71. The full translation of the inscription in English is in Amy McNair, *Donors of Longmen: Faith, Politics, and Patronage in Medieval Chinese Buddhist Sculpture* (Hawaii'i: University of Hawaii'i Press, 2007), p. 178.

sidewall of the cave there are a Lokapala and a Vajrapani. Another contemporary example of Lokapala named as Shenwang is found in the inscription of the Great Vairocana Image Shrine in Longmen.⁴⁸⁹ It is possible that people responsible for making these caves were confused by the names of Lokapala and Shenwang. In Buddhist scriptures, sometimes Lokapala and Shenwang are mentioned separately and sometimes Lokapala are mentioned as Shenwang.

Identification of the pedestal deities on the Buddhist pedestals in China is important to the Korean history of Buddhist sculpture. Warrior images on bricks excavated at Sacheonwangsa in Gyeongju, Korea, are subject to the concerns that pertain to the deities, as discussed below. For this reason I address here further details about possible identification of the deities. The twelve figures are different from the Spirit Kings in that they wear armor, hold attributes of Lokapala, and stand on dwarves. The earlier images carved on pedestals with Lokapala iconography are found in a Buddha image in Liang (502-557 C.E.) of the Southern dynasties, unearthed at the Wanfosi site (fig. 5. 7). On the pedestal of the Buddha is a group of figures each with a halo; each stands on a dwarf, but the figures do not wear armor (fig. 5.7-1). Judging from Liang's relationship with Southeast Asia, as discussed in Chapter 4, there is no such image found in the Northern Dynasties, and they do not wear armor. This type of composition, then, might have been adopted from Southeast Asia.

⁴⁸⁹ Longmen shiku yanjiusuo 龍門石窟研究所, *Longmen Shiku Yanjiu 龍門石窟研究 (Studies on Longmen Grottoe)* (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe 書目文獻出版社, 1995). English translation is in McNair, p. 177., p. 177.

It seems to be in the Tang dynasty that the pedestal figures in armor became popular, in particular in Longmen cave temples in the seventh and eighth centuries. For example, there are figures on the pedestal of the main Buddha at the Great Vairocana Image Shrine. The Vairocana image has on its pedestal guardian images in martial dress. The I-shaped pedestal consists of lower, middle, and upper parts; it has five sides and a back, which is a wall. Its middle part has guardians on the five sides. Seated and standing images are alternately represented (fig. 5.8). In the center of each side is a guardian seated on a dwarf whereas guardians on the left and right of the middle guardian are standing and supporting the pedestal with two arms or sometimes with shoulders (fig. 5.8-1). Therefore each side has three guardians; their total from the five sides is eleven. Contemporary Lokapala images are also found on the pedestal of the main Buddha at North Binyang (fig. 5.9), Wanfosi cave (fig. 5.10), South Leigu 擂鼓 (fig. 5.11) and Middle Leigu caves in Longmen. At the back wall of Fengxiansi there are many guardian images on pedestals of standing Buddha images from the eighth century (fig. 5.12).

There is another example of Lokapala on a pedestal of the Buddha image, discovered in the main hall of Foguangsi 佛光寺 in Mt. Wutai (fig. 5.13, 13-2). The painting is located at the back (east side) of the seat of the central Buddha. It is painted on the broadest and most indented section (fig. 5.13-2). Statues in the main hall were repainted multiple times since the Tang Dynasty; it is very fortunate that this section remained in its original status. Its preservation owes to a later addition to the seat, which blocked access to the image. The remaining three sides of the seat are now covered by

later coarse black and white decoration, as seen in the picture. The older painting was discovered after the tearing down of the additional part.

On this painting, a Lokapala seated on two dwarves wears armor and holds a sword in his right hand. Right next to him is Jixiangtian 吉祥天, or Shri-mahadevi (fig. 5.13). Marilyn Rhie only briefly mentions the identification of the deity as Vaishravana, based on the fact that Shri-mahadevi is Vaishravana's wife according to *Butsuzō zuten*.⁴⁹⁰ According to the modern scholarship the deity cannot be Vaishravana due to the absence of a stupa, which is his distinctive attribute. Because the deity is depicted on the west side of the pedestal of the Buddha, he should be the King of the West. He looks similar to a depiction of Lokapala of the West dated to 890 C.E., which was found in Dunhuang, now in the British Museum (fig. 5.13-1). Even though the Dunhuang Lokapala is labeled as the King of the North and the hand holding the sword is different from that of the Foguansi Lokapala, these two images share forms of armor, seated posture on two dwarves, and an attribute of a sword. It is not clear whether Rhie made a correct identification because she does not give basis for it. However, the presence of the Shri-mahadevi supports the possibility that the male deity is Vaishravana.

The images of stele mentioned above do not include any Lokapala who holds a stupa. Modern scholars normally believe that a stupa is only an attribute of the King of the North. For this reason the King of the North is identified only by a stupa. However, as discussed in Chapter 3, the Northern King's attributes stated in Buddhist scriptures

⁴⁹⁰ Marilyn M. Rhie, *The Fo-Kuang Ssu: Literary Evidences and Buddhist Images* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1977), p. 94.; Ryūken Sawa 佐和隆研, *Butsuzō Zuten 仏像図典 (Illustrations of Buddhist Images)* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunka 吉川弘文館, 1962), p. 137.

translated until the Tang dynasty are a stupa, a long lance, a vajra, and a mace.

According to these texts the King of the North can hold any of these attributes. There are examples including the King of the North holding a symbolic item other than a stupa in Korea and Japan, as demonstrated below. It is very interesting that a Lokapala who holds a stupa is only seen at Fengxiansi in Longmen cave.⁴⁹¹ Why a stupa is not chosen as an attribute of the Northern King seems related to the location of the images and the symbolism of the stupa.

The images on the pedestal show postures of supporting Buddha images or steles of his sacred teachings. Holding a stupa is a symbolic act that exhibits reverence and worship to the Buddha and his teachings. According to *Hakuhosho* 白寶抄, Vaishravana holds a stupa when he protects the Buddhism, which means Dharma, and other implements when he protects this world.⁴⁹² It is obvious that he can hold a stupa and any other implements to protect Buddhism and this world. The deities on the pedestals with implements other than a stupa actually exhibit that they protect both Dharma and the world by supporting with their bodies the Buddha image or Dharma-related stele, holding other implements. This explains why Vaishravana can hold attributes other than a stupa and why Lokapala particularly on pedestals usually do not hold a stupa. Because they already show their function by physically supporting the pedestals, an attribute for the King other than a stupa would be better.

⁴⁹¹ Wen 溫玉成, p. 191.

⁴⁹² “護佛法時持塔婆. 護世間時持器械也,” *Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai* 大正一切經刊行會, *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō: Zuzōbu* 大正新脩大藏經: 圖像部 (*Taishō Tripitaka: Collection of Illustrations*), vol. Vol. 9 (Tōkyō: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai 大正一切經刊行會, 1924-1934), p. 1069.

Furthermore there are represented several types of Vaishravana, the King of the North, in Buddhist iconographic collections of *Taishō Tripitaka*: as seen at Foguangsi, Vaishravana paired with the Shri-mahadevi (fig. 5.14); Vaishravana not holding a stupa (fig. 5.15); twin Vaishravana;⁴⁹³ and four-armed Vaishravana holding a stupa, vajra, bow, and arrow.⁴⁹⁴ Regarding the King of the North holding a bow and arrow, in *Besson zakki zuzō* 別尊雜記 (“Assorted Notes on Classified Sacred Images”), a collection of images of Buddhist divinities, which was composed in Japan by Jinka 心覺 (1148-1182), there is a painting in which Vaishravana is shooting an arrow. An exorcism painting called *Kujae* 驅邪絵 from the twelfth century, now in the Nara National Museum, has five deities who drive out devils.⁴⁹⁵ One of them is Vaishravana, who shoots an arrow (fig. 5.16). According to *gotobagaki* 詞書 (“explanation of paintings”), an explanation written on the same canvas as the painting, “Vaishravana is depicted as a good deity who protects practitioners of the Lotus Sutra. Similar representations of Vaishravana holding a bow are also found from works of the Chinese Tang and Song dynasties.”⁴⁹⁶ According to the *gotobagaki*, Vaishravana holding a bow or an arrow was represented also in Tang China. *Asabashō* 阿娑縛鈔 “Catalogue of Families of Buddha, Lotus, and Vajra”), iconographic

⁴⁹³ *Taishō Tripitaka Zuzōbu* Vol. 12, supplement fig. 40.

⁴⁹⁴ Bishamentenzō (2), Fascicle 54 of Besson zakki zuzō 別尊雜記, *Taishō Tripitaka Zuzōbu* Vol. 3, fig. 288.

⁴⁹⁵ It has been known that *Kujae* was commissioned by the emperor Goshirakawa 後白河 (1127-92, r. 1155-58) as a part of *Rokudō emaki* 六道繪卷 (“Six Path Painting Scroll”) in the late Heian period, and had been housed at the *Renge Ōin* 蓮華王院. It was initially a scroll and now is cut into five parts. http://www.emuseum.jp/detail/100247/004?word=&d_lang=ko&s_lang=ja&class=1&title=&c_e=®ion=&era=&cptype=&owner=&pos=1&num=7&mode=detail¢ury=

⁴⁹⁶ 毗沙門天在此描繪成作為守護法華經信眾的善神。類似圖中持弓的毗沙門天的表現也可見于中國唐宋的作品。Ibid website.

collection of Tiantai, says that Vaishravana who holds a bow and arrow is especially called Tobatsu Bishamonten.⁴⁹⁷

The number of Lokapala on pedestals of the *shengjiao xu* stele at Beilin is neither four nor two, the number preferred by the ancient Chinese; there are still questions about this fact. The same circumstance is also witnessed in Vajrapani represented in variation of numbers such as one, two, four, and eight. Therefore it seems safe to say that the number of the deities is determined by local modification.

Regarding the identity of the images on pedestals, there is another possibility. As discussed in Chapter 2, in the Dṛḍhā chapter of the *Golden Light Sutra* the deity Dṛḍhā appears to support teachings of the sutra, saying:

In whichever region of the earth, Lord, the seat of the Law will have been provided for the monk who preaches the Law, wherever the preacher of the Law, having sat on that seat, shall expound in detail this excellent Suvarṇabhāsa, king of sutras, there I, dear Lord, the earth goddess Dṛḍhā, will come to those regions of the earth. Having gone up to the seat of the Law with my invisible body I will lean with my head upon the soles of the feet of the monk who is preaching the Law.⁴⁹⁸

Application of the figure of the deity under the seat of the Buddha or stupas can be interpreted to indicate that the deity is a faithful devotee and protector of the Buddhist Law. Dṛḍhā is translated into Chinese as Jianlao dishen 堅牢地神 (“Jianlao Earth God”). It is interesting that there are representations of a male Jianlao Earth God in illustrations of The Taishō Tripiṭaka. A male Jianlao Earth God is seated on a dwarf and holds a

⁴⁹⁷ *Taishō Tripiṭaka Zuzōbu* Vol. 9, p. 418.

⁴⁹⁸ R. E. Emmerick, *The Sūtra of Golden Light: Being a Translation of the SuvarṇabhāSottamasūTra*, Sacred Books of the Buddhists (London; Boston: Pali Text Society; Distributed by Routledge & K. Paul, 1979).

sword while a seated Earth Goddess arising from the cloud holds a bottle (fig. 5. 17). The male earth god looks as if he is a Lokapala, with the corresponding armor, sword, and vehicle. Another Earth God wears armor, as well, stands on the ground, and folds his hands at his chest (fig. 5.18). What links the earth god link to the figures on pedestal is the aspiration made by the earth god in the *Golden Light Sutra*, quoted above.

It seems possible that a group of earth gods is represented here, according to the *Huayan Sutra*. In the World Pure Eyes chapter of fascicle 1 of *Dafang guangfo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經 (“Vast Buddha Flower Adornment Sutra”), it says that there are numerous earth gods, some of whose names are listed.⁴⁹⁹ Further literary evidence needs to be investigated in order to ensure that the images on pedestals of the Buddhist establishments are the earth god. However, it is clear at least that there is Sinicized iconography of a male *Dr̥dhā*, as opposed to the female *Dr̥dhā*, who is originated from India.

Lokapala are not represented at Yungang caves, but they are frequently represented at cave temples in Longmen from the mid-seventh century when Lokapala began to wear Tang *mingguangkai*. The earliest examples are found in Tenglan 騰蘭 cave made in 646 C.E., in North Binyang 賓陽 in 650 C.E., and in Qianxisi 潛溪寺 cave.⁵⁰⁰ Lokapala in the Tenglan cave wear armor but do not have vehicles and

⁴⁹⁹ “復與佛世界微塵數諸地神俱，其名曰淨華光神、善思光明神、雜華莊嚴神、散寶焰神、隨時樂觀神、金眼勝神、毛孔散香神、應時和音神，如是一切，皆同德本，於過去佛所普修願行。” T09 N0278, 0395c24-27.

⁵⁰⁰ Hong Yang argues that Lokapala armor in Qianxisi produced before the 650s is representative of the earliest type of Tang *mingguangkai*, which is somewhat similar to Sui *mingguangkai* but which has new

attributes.⁵⁰¹ However, there is another opinion that Lokapala images at the Longmen caves began to appear 660 C.E., as seen in Hanshidong 韓氏洞, which is located north of Jingshansi, and was established in 661, the first year of the Longshuo 龍朔 era.⁵⁰² One of two Lokapala figures in a niche called *Yangshi zao Lushena xiangkan* 楊氏造盧舍那像龕 (“Vairocana Buddha niche patronized by Lady Yang”) on the south outer wall of the Lotus cave, with inscription of the second year of the Longshuo 龍朔 era (662 C.E.), has a shawl over the shoulders and stands on a crouching cow. The shawl is the first example represented in Longmen.

Two Lokapala in a niche dated to the first year of the Longshuo 龍朔 Reign (661), at the Jingshansi 敬善寺 cave, Longmen, show that Lokapala iconography with Tang *mingguang* armor, weapon attributes, and a vehicle began to be settled in Longmen (fig. 5.19).⁵⁰³ According to an inscription on the upper wall of a Vajrapani figure at the north wall of the cave, the cave was patronized by Jiguotaifei 紀國太妃 Lady Wei 衛.⁵⁰⁴ While the newly appeared form of armor has shorter sleeves than before, the Jingshansi

elements such as cross-tying armor on the chest and armor draped over each thigh. Yang 楊泓, "Zhongguo Gudaide Jiazhou 中國古代的甲冑 (Armor of Ancient China)," p. 78.

⁵⁰¹ Yucheng Wen argues that the North Binyang cave was established in 650, the first year of the Yonghui 永徽 reign, on the basis of the observation that the Tengan Lokapala is stylistically earlier than the North Binyang Lokapala: The Tengan figure does not have vehicle and attributes. Wen 溫玉成, pp. 179-180.

⁵⁰² Jaeho Bae believes that Lokapala in Qianxisi 潛溪寺 and in North Binyang 賓陽 also date to the 660s. Bae, p. 99.

⁵⁰³ The iconography of Lokapala combining a *mingguangkai* sword and a creature vehicle also appears in Gongxian caves, as seen in the Thousand Buddha niche. Henan Sheng wenwu yanjiusuo 河南省文物研究所, *Kyō-Ken Sekkutsuji* 鞏縣石窟寺 (Tōkyō: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1983), figs. 253-254.

⁵⁰⁴ Wenru Yan 閻文儒; Qing Chang 常青, *Longmen Shiku Yanjiu* 龍門石窟研究 (*Longmen Cave Temples*) (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe 書目文獻出版社, 1995), p. 59. Because the Lady Wei, mother of prince Ji 紀 (Li Shen 李愼, ?-687 C.E.), is Taizong's concubine and died in 665 C.E., the cave was established at least in 665 or prior to the year. Dates of establishment of the cave are in the late 650s and in Longshuo 龍朔 (661-663). See Bae, pp. 98-99.

Lokapala wear an old form of armor with long sleeves. Lokapala hold a sword in one hand and support the blade of the sword in the other hand, which had not been represented before. The Jingshansi Lokapala look slightly different from those at Chang'an in terms armor and the posture of holding attributes. In addition, the Jingshansi Lokapala in bas-relief is more like paintings with fluid lines. These Lokapala suggest the possibility of a different line of iconographic development from the one formed in Chang'an.

The most distinctive Lokapala not only in Longmen but also in Tang art are images in Fengxiansi 奉先寺 cave. A Lokapala figure at the south wall only partially remains, but a figure at the north wall is preserved very well. The latter deity, 10.5m in height, stands on a creature, holds a three-storied stupa in his right hand, and has his left hand on his hip (fig. 5. 5-1). His armor has an animal-faced ornament in front of the abdomen, flower petal-shaped armor worn over the hip armor, and rectangular plate-like armor draped below the abdomen. These elements are new to Longmen, but they had already appeared in Chang'an, such as in the steles of shengjiao xu 聖教序.⁵⁰⁵ This style of Lokapala also appears in Wanfo cave, dating to 680 C.E.

(2) Mixed Iconography with Zhenmuyong in China

Refined changes applied to armor of Lokapala in the mid-seventh century in China also occurred in the armor of tomb figurines. According to the Tang tombs excavated near Xi'an, Southern and Northern Dynasties-style *mingguangkai* appears until

⁵⁰⁵ Hong Yang 楊泓, *Zhongguo Gubingqi Luncong* 中國古兵器論叢 (*Collection of Papers on Ancient Chinese Weapons*) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe 文物出版社, 1980).

the time of the tomb of Dugukaiyuan 獨孤開遠 – the sixteenth year of the Zhenguan 貞觀 Reign (642 C.E.) (fig. 5.20-1); warrior images made in the third quarter of the seventh century onwards wear the Tang armor, as seen in images from the Zheng Rentai 鄭仁泰 tomb, made in the first year of the Linde 麟德 Reign (664 C.E.) (fig. 5.20-2),⁵⁰⁶ and from the Li Shuang 李爽 tomb, made in the first year of the Zongzhang 總章 Reign (668 C.E.) (fig. 5.20-3).⁵⁰⁷

One of the delicate changes in armor seen in the Tang iconographic transformations of Lokapala is the fact that they began to wear a helmet. This simple feature implies a complicated process of Lokapala's iconographic development in China. Because Lokapala had not worn a helmet before they were transmitted into China, the feature likely came from the influence of traditional Chinese culture, which is precisely the iconography of *Zhenmuyong* 鎮墓俑 ("tomb quelling figurines").

Traditionally there had been an indigenous burial culture prior to the introduction of Buddhism into China, in which *Zhenmuyong*, who wear armor, were placed inside tombs. Even though Lokapala and tomb guardians alike wore armor, they had been distinctive in that tomb guardians in armor held a shield⁵⁰⁸ and usually wore a

⁵⁰⁶ Shanxisheng bowuguan Liquanxian wenjiaojuzi Tangmu fajuezu 陝西省博物館 禮泉縣文物局 唐墓發掘組, "Tang Zhengrentai Mu Fajue Jianbao 唐鄭仁泰墓發掘簡報 (a Brief Report on the Zhengrentai Tomb in the Tang Dynasty)," *Wenwu* 文物 (*Cultural Relics*), (1972. 7).

⁵⁰⁷ Hong Yang 楊泓, *Zhongguo gubingqi luncong* 中國古兵器論叢, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe 文物出版社, 1980. (田誠一郎 p.185) For more detail about Tang armor see Yang 楊泓, "Zhongguo Gudaide Jiazhou 中國古代的甲冑 (Armor of Ancient China)," 73-81.

⁵⁰⁸ Holding a small shield is one of characteristics of the earliest tomb guardians, who also wear a flat cap or helmet that is variously described such as "cone-shaped hu cap," or "segmented cone helmet." Albert E. Dien, "A Study of Early Chinese Armor," *Artibus Asiae* Vol. 43, No. ½, (1981): 17-18.

helmet,⁵⁰⁹ while Lokapala always stood on a vehicle such as a dwarf-like creature. As the Lokapala cult was popular in the Tang dynasty, iconography of Lokapala in armor and on a vehicle was also used in tomb art. This trend started in the Sui dynasty, however, as seen in carved images on the stone coffin of Li He 李和. A Lokapala in vest armor on each side of a carved gate stands on a “demon-faced crouching creature,”⁵¹⁰ holds in his right hand a spear taller than he, and has his left hand on his hip (fig. 5.21)⁵¹¹ – exactly the Lokapala’s posture as described in - *Asabashō*. The Lokapala have the same posture as that seen in iconography of Lokapala in the Southern and Northern dynasties. However, the helmet they wear is a completely new element for Lokapala, presumably adopted from *Zhenmuyong*. Because helmets match armor, it was easy to combine the two, and finally the helmet was applied to Lokapala in Buddhist settings on earth.

It seems likely that Lokapala images put into tombs exercised influence not only in the helmet feature but also in all later important changes of both Lokapala and tomb figurines. Once inside tombs, the iconography of the two categories came to be mixed, and finally brought into being Tianwangyong (“[tomb quelling] figurines of Divine Kings”), which wear armor and a helmet, hold a spear, and stand on a vehicle such as a crouching animal or dwarf-like creature. From this point there is no presence of a shield, which *Zhenmuyong* used to hold. In this sense it seems obvious that the two categories share similar iconography underground and at the same time on earth;

⁵⁰⁹ Hong Yang, *Weapons in Ancient China* (New York: Science Press, 1992), p. 250.

⁵¹⁰ Mary H. Fong, "Antecedents of Sui-Tang Burial Practices in Shaanxi," *Artibus Asiae* vol. LI, (1992): 191.

⁵¹¹ "Lihe Mu Qingli Jianbao 李和墓清理简报 (Brief Report on Excavation of Lihe's Tomb) " *Wenwu 文物* (Cultural Relics), (1966. 1).

iconography of Lokapala mixed with that of Zhenmuyong was transmitted into Korea and Japan and finally became the dominant iconography of Lokapala in East Asia.

A Tianwangyong excavated from Astana tomb 206 in Turfan, Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region, in 1973, shows that Tianwangyong with thoroughly equipped iconography of Lokapala had already spread to Central Asia in the late seventh century. The figure wears armor, tramples a dwarf-like creature, and takes a pose holding a spear, which has by now disappeared. (fig. 5.22). The deity was excavated from tomb 206, whose occupants are identified by a burial inscription as Zhang Xiong 張雄 (584-633) and his wife, Lady Qu 麴 (607-688), who was buried in 689 C.E. The Qu clan ruled the Gaochang 高昌 kingdom (500-640), and Zhang Xiong was a cousin of Qu Wentai (r. 624-640), one of the kings of Gaochang.⁵¹² This type of Tianwangyong as a protector of tombs is placed outside the tomb chamber in order to ensure the tomb occupant's security. Gaochang was known as Xizhou and was under Tang jurisdiction from 640 to 803. Because there were no Zhenmuyong and Tianwangyong in tombs during Gaochang, this figure exhibits an influence from Mainland China.⁵¹³ The Tianwangyong has been examined as the only Buddhist statue found during the excavation of the Turfan Astana

⁵¹² Janet Baker, "Sui and Early Tang Period Images of the Heavenly King in Tombs and Temples," *Oriental Art* Vol. 30 no. 4, (April, 1999): 54. For more about Turfan Buddhism and the Astana graveyard, see Valerie Hansen, "The Path of Buddhism into China: The View from Turfan" *Asia Major THIRD SERIES* Vol. 11, No. 2, (1998)..

⁵¹³ Xinjiang Weiwu'er Zizhiqu bowuguan 新疆维吾尔自治区博物館, *Xinjiang Weiwu'er Zizhiqu Bowuguan 新疆维吾尔自治区博物館* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe 文物出版社, 1991), p. 211. However, Janet Baker argues that this figure's unusual high quality of workmanship and its material, wood, which was easier to transport to a distant location, suggests that it was created in an imperial workshop of China and bestowed upon Zhang Xiong in posthumous recognition of his loyalty to the Tang government. Janet Baker, pp. 56-57.

graves.⁵¹⁴ However, this figure, which was found in a tomb, not in a Buddhist temple, seems like a hybrid figurine mixed with indigenous Chinese funerary imagery rather than a purely Buddhist deity.

Before Lokapala, there had been Buddhist art in tombs. When Buddhism first came to China, the divinity of the Buddha and his teachings were not fully understood, and so Buddha images were used in tomb art. However, because Buddhism in China was already fully developed in the Southern and Northern dynasties, it does not seem that Buddhist deities are misused in the Sui and Tang dynasties. Now, therefore, I will examine the kinds of thought that caused contemporary Chinese Buddhists to place Lokapala in tombs.

One of the roles of Lokapala as protectors of Buddhism and of the world, illustrated in Mahayana scriptures, is to prevent living beings from conducting bad actions by inspecting these beings, as demonstrated in Chapter 1. In order to get the help of these deities it is necessary to bring about the flourishing of the Dharma, as they proclaim in sutras such as the *Golden Light Sutra*. However, the fact that the Four Divine Kings were put into tombs implies a slightly different aspect of faith.

As mentioned earlier, Buddhist stupas were initially established as tombs of the Buddha, and sarira reliquaries were containers of his relics. This original concept seems to have affected the Chinese awareness that stupas were the Buddha's tombs and sarira caskets were his coffins, and thereby Lokapala represented on sarira caskets were

⁵¹⁴ Valerie Hansen, "How the Chinese Converted to Buddhism (or Did They?): What the Turfan Graves Reveal About Religious Change," in *Proceedings of the Third Silk Road Conference at Yale University, July 1998*, informed by Janet Baker, p. 54.

believed to be protectors of the tomb and its occupants, now sarira. There is some evidence that whatever Buddhist concept or faith was involved in the stupa and sarira settings, Lokapala with these objects were believed to be protectors of the stupa and sarira in the sense that *Zhenmuyong* protect a tomb and its occupants: sarira caskets were placed into a place called *digong* 地宮 (“underground palace”) underneath the stupa, which was built using architectural structure;⁵¹⁵ there are many examples of sarira caskets made in the form of coffins.

According to fascicle 11 of *Xugaosengzhuan* 續高僧傳 (“Continued Biography of Eminent Monks”), a coffin-shaped stone casket had been unearthed from the remains of Yong’ansi in Xuanzhou, at which Renshou sarira adornments was conducted by Sui Wendi in the second year of the Renshou era; and the casket was buried again with sarira adornments.⁵¹⁶ This is only one account that describes the shape of sarira caskets and an early example of a coffin-shaped sarira container. As literary evidence it suggests that sarira containers were presumably made in the form of coffins in real life in the Sui dynasty. However, among extant coffin-shaped sarira caskets, there is no example in the Sui dynasty, and it seems that in the early Tang the coffin shape was

⁵¹⁵ Wei Han 韓偉, *Famensi Taji Yu Sheli Yimai Zhidu* 法門寺塔基與舍利瘞埋制度 (*Famensi Stupa Foundation and Sarira Burial System*), ” *Moyan Shugao: Han Wei Kaogu Wenji* 磨硯書稿: 韓偉考古文集 (*Moyan Manuscripts: Collection of Wei Han’s Archaeological Articles*) (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe 科学出版社, 2001), pp. 286-290.

⁵¹⁶ 仁壽二年.文帝感瑞.廣召名僧用增像化.敕侃往宣州安置舍利.既奉往至統敘國風陶引道俗.革化歸法者數亦殷矣.初孟春下詔之日.宣州城內官倉之地.夜放光明紅赤洞發.舉焰五丈廣一丈許.官人軍防千有餘人一時奔赴.謂是火起.及至倉所乃是光相.古老傳云.此倉本是永安舊寺也.至于明日永安寺擬置塔處.又放光明.如前無異.眾並不委其然也.季春三月侃到宣州權止公館.案行置所通皆下濕.一州之上不過永安.既預光待因構塔焉.又令掘倉光之處.果得石函.恰同棺樣.不須繕造.因藏舍利.T. 50, Vol. T. 2060, 513b09-21

the dominant form of sarira containers.⁵¹⁷ Sarira adornments commissioned by the common people in the late Tang, particularly from the ninth century onward, usually remain only in part: that of the outer casket, which is made in the form of a coffin with a variety of lid. This late-Tang form of coffin-shaped container continued to be made until the Song dynasty.⁵¹⁸ For these reasons, there is a possibility that people who were responsible for making tombs or tomb figurines might have overlapped Lokapala images in armor with tomb warriors who also wore armor. In addition, the fact that Lokapala images are represented on the coffin-shaped sarira caskets put into tomb-like structure might strengthen this similarity.

2. Lokapala Images in Korea from Late Seven through Thirteenth Century

As far as the number of Lokapala images extant today is concerned, the Lokapala cult in Korea was the most popular in the Unified Silla dynasty. In total more than forty sets of images from the dynasty are extant:⁵¹⁹ nine sets of Lokapala on the sarira reliquaries, fourteen sets on the Buddha stupas, nine sets on the stupas for Buddhist monks, and five sets on stone lanterns.⁵²⁰ In the Goryeo dynasty almost all Lokapala images appear on the monk's stupas, from which fifteen sets of Lokapala have been found. Other than that there have been discovered from Goryeo a set of wall paintings in

⁵¹⁷ Kyeong-mi Joo, 156-159.

⁵¹⁸ For more detail about coffin-shaped containers in the late Tang, see Kyeong-mi Joo, pp. 320-325.

⁵¹⁹ Kang-Mi Kwon 권강미, "Tongil Silla Sacheonwang Sang Yeongu 統一新羅 四天王像 研究 (a Study on the Four Guardian King Statues in the Unified Silla Dynasty)" (Dong-A University, 2001).

⁵²⁰ In 1980 Myung-Dae Moon counts twenty-two images of the dynasty. In Myungdae Moon 文明大, "Silla Sacheonwangsangui Yeongu 新羅 四天王像의 研究 (a Study on the Images of the Four Divine Kings in Silla Dynasty)," *Bulgyo Misul 佛教美術 (Buddhist Arts)* 5, (1980): 18. Since his research new images have been found through excavations such as two sets of sarira reliquary were discovered in 1996 from the east stupa at Gameunsa and the Five-Storied Stone Stupa at a temple site in Nawon-ri, North Gyeongsang province.

Josadang in Buseoksa and a set of paintings depicted on gates of a Buddhist shrine in Mt. Myohyang in North Korea.

Regardless of the iconographic change of Lokapala in China in the mid-seventh century, contemporary Lokapala images produced in Korea and Japan did not yet change, and show a different aspect from Chinese images in dress code and posture, as discussed in Chapter 4. It was in the late seventh century that Lokapala was represented with the new iconography similar to that in Tang China, with Tang-type refined *mingguang* armor. The earliest images with *mingguangkai* in Korea are those on bricks excavated from Sacheonwangsa (fig. 5.23-4,5,6) and those on sarira reliquaries excavated from stupas at Gameunsa in Gyeongju (fig. 5.24-1,2,5). These Lokapala are related to images made in Chang'an and at caves of Fengshansi and the Wanfo cave in Longmen in terms of armor and posture. According to date, the Biamsa stone stele founded in Yeongi County, South Chungcheong Province, belongs to this period, but images on that stele also have old features that are shown in the Southern and Northern dynasty (420-589 C.E.), as demonstrated in the previous chapter.

Images made in the eighth century are those at Seokgulam Grotto, those on twin stupas at Wonwonsa, and those on the stupas at Hwaomsa in Gurye, South Jeolla Province. These images continue to have major characteristics of the seventh century, such as dwarfs, armor, and attributes of sword and stupa. The eighth-century images are different from those of the seventh century in the detail of their armor, posture, and style. Sacheonwang images on stupas at the Wonwonsa site are clearly connected to the seventh-century images in full appearance, such as armor style, pose with attributes, and

style of dwarfs. However, Seokgulam Lokapala are more related to the Lokapala at the Jingshansi cave in Longmen in terms of armor, posture, and the way that they are represented in fluid lines (fig. 5. 19). In addition, because both are in very low relief, they look more like paintings than carvings.

Sacheonwang images at the Seokguram Grotto, which were made after the establishment of consistency mentioned below, are a good example for tracing the consistency or for considering where or how to place the four Lokapala in a space that does not have the typical four sides of a canvas for four figures. The problem is resolved by making a path to the main chamber, by which the Buddha's world is separated from the desire realm gods, and by enshrining two deities on each side of the path. This arrangement may be contrasted with the Chinese resolution of two Tianwang in a composition in which a Lokapala is put on each side of the entrance of open space, such as at the Fengxiansi 奉先寺 cave in Longmen (fig. 5.5).

The most distinctive characteristics of Lokapala images in the ninth century are that they appear on the surface of stupas for monks conventionally called *Budo* 浮屠 in Korea. It seems that the monks' stupas appeared to be Seon (Ch. Chen and Jp. Zen), a sect that became popular in Korea. The style of Sacheonwang on the monks' stupas is different from that used in the previous centuries in aspects of the armor's form, the appearance of attributes, and the posture in which they hold attributes. Lokapala images in this century are also different from those in China and Japan, and so this style may be called the Korean style. Sacheonwang images on the monks' stupas are one of the

mainstreams until the eleventh century, at which point the practice of establishing stupas for monks temporarily stopped.

In this sense Lokapala images from the late seventh century to the thirteenth century in Korea can be examined in the divided time frame of seventh, eighth, and ninth through thirteenth centuries, considering characteristics of each period and differences between centuries. The common style in East Asian countries and the indigenous style of Korea can be determined by comparing examples from Korea with examples from China and Japan. However, because this type of investigation through iconographic and stylistic approach has already been done by several Korean researchers,⁵²¹ in the present chapter I consider characteristics of the Lokapala cult in Korea revealed through images.

(1) Lokapala Cult Featured by Sarira Cult in Korea

⁵²¹ Ubang Kang 姜友邦, "四天王寺址 出土 彩釉四天王浮彫像의 復元的 考察-五方神과 四天王像의 造形的 習合現象 (Review for Reproducing the Sacheonwang Image on Green Glazed Tile Excavated at the Sacheonwang Temple Site – Five Directional Deities' Absorption into the Sacheonwang Image)," *Misuljaryo 美術資料 (Art Data)* 25, (1979. 12). pp. 1-46 also in Ubang Kang 姜友邦, *Wonyunggwa Johwa: Hanguk Godae Jogaksaui Wolli 圓融과 調和: 韓國古代彫刻史의 原理 (Infinite Interpenetration and Harmony: The Principle of Ancient Korean Sculpture)* (Seoul: Yeolhwadang, 1990), pp. 159-201.; Myungdae, "Silla Sacheonwangsangui Yeongu – Hanguk Tap Bujosangui Yeongu 新羅四天王像의 研究-韓國塔浮彫像의 研究 2 (a Study on the Images of the Four Divine Kings in the Silla Dynasty – a Study on Korean Reliefs on the Surface of Stupas II)." pp. 1-55; Keisabro Mizuno 水野敬三郎, "感恩寺西塔舍利具의 四天王像 (Four Heavenly King Images on Sarira Reliquary Excavated from the West Stupa at Gameunsa)," *Bukkyo Geijutsu 佛教藝術 (Arts of Buddhism)* 188, (1990. 2). pp. 70-79; Yeoung Shim 沈盈伸, "Tongil Silla Sidae Sacheonwangsang Yeongu 統一新羅時代 四天王像 研究 (a Study on Sacheonwang Imagery in the Unified Silla Dynasty)" (Hongik University, 1993).; Wonyoung Jo 曹元榮, "Silla Hadae Sacheonwang Bujosangui Joseonggwa Gue Baegyeong 新羅下代 四天王浮彫像의 造성과 그 배경 (Production and Context of Loakapala Images in Late Unified Silla), " *Yeoksawa Segye (History and World)* 19, (1995.6)., 171-211; Yeoung Shin Shim 沈盈伸, "Tongil Silla Sacheonwang Sang Yeongu 통일신라 사천왕상 연구 (a Study of the Representations of the Four Heavenly Kings in the Unified Silla Dynasty)," *Misulshak Yeongu 미술사학연구 (Korean Journal of Art History)* 216, (1997.12).; Kwon 권강미.; Lina Kim 김리나, "Tongil Silla Jeongi Sacheonwang Sange Gwanhan Yeongu 통일신라전기 사천왕상에 관한 연구 (a Study on Sacheonwang Imagery in the Early Unified Silla Dyansty)" (Kyungju University, 2001).

From the seventh through the thirteenth century in Korea, Sacheonwang imagery is mostly related to sarira, the Buddha's relic, as briefly mentioned earlier. Sacheonwang images on stupas are in turn directly related to sarira in that the stupas were established for sarira even though they did not actually bear sarira. Therefore, features of the Korean Sacheonwang cult can be investigated by way of the sarira cult. Sarira is valuable to Buddhist devotees because the Buddha's historic existence had to do with it and related worship. Since his relics were put into the original eight stupas in India, sarira and stupas have enjoyed absolute divinity as symbolic objects directly related to the Buddha.⁵²²

Gregory Shopen argues that stupas were central objects in Buddhist monasteries from early times, and that sarira put into stupas were regarded as the living presence of the Buddha.⁵²³ The practice of applying Lokapala representations to sarira containers or stupas in Korea seems to be directly linked to the practice far back in India. The most distinctive Korean concept of sarira can be revealed by the fact that the sarira containers were regarded as Buddha halls, as opposed to in China where they seem to have been regarded as coffins.

⁵²² Juhyung Rhi 이주형, "Indo Chogi Bulgyo Misului Bulsanggwon 인도 초기불교미술의 불상관 (the Concept of Buddha Images in Early Indian Buddhist Art) " *Mishulsahak* 美術史學 15, (2001.8): 89-90.

⁵²³ Gregory Shopen, "Burial Ad Sanctos and the Physical Presence of the Buddha in Early Indian Buddhism: A Study in the Archaeology of Religions," *Religion* 17, (1987).; Gregory Shopen, *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks: Collected Papers on the Archaeology, Epigraphy, and Texts of Monastic Buddhism in India* (Hawaii Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), pp. 114-147. Informed by Rhi 이주형, "Indo Chogi Bulgyo Misului Bulsanggwon 인도 초기불교미술의 불상관 (the Concept of Buddha Images in Early Indian Buddhist Art) ": n. 13.

Evidence that shows this concept is Bulguksa Seoseoktap Jungsu Hyeongjigi 佛國寺西石塔重修形止記 (“Reconstruction Report of the West Stone Pagoda of Bulguksa”), in which the Gold Bronze outer casket of sarira (fig. 5.24-6) discovered in the pagoda now called Seokgatap is called “Geumdang 金堂.”⁵²⁴ Geumdang literally means “Golden Hall,” indicating the main building of ancient Buddhist monasteries in East Asia. It was a symbolic building for the Buddha; thereby Buddhist images were placed into that building; rituals and rites were performed there. Even though the report was written in the early eleventh century, the name “Geumdang” exhibits well the symbolic meaning of Buddha’s stupas and sarira. That containers made for placement of the Buddha’s sarira were called Geumdang indicates that stupas were considered places where the Buddha resides,⁵²⁵ and sarira were regarded as the living presence of the Buddha.

Joung Ho Han argues that the twin pagodas that emerged with the replacement of the twin Geumdang implies that a new concept of pagodas, in which they were

⁵²⁴ Joung Ho Han 한정호, "Goryeo Jeongjong Sanyeon Bulguksa Seoseoktap Jungsu Hyeongjigiwa Seokgatap Sari Jangeomgu 고려 정종 4 년 불국사서석탑중수형지기와 석가탑 사리장엄구 (Reconstruction Report of the West Stone Pagoda of Bulguksa in the Fourth Reign Year of King Jeongjong of Goryeo and Sarira Adornments of Seokga Pagoda) " *Silla Munhwa 신라문화 (Silla Culture)* 32, (2008): 96. Two documents on the reconstruction of the Seokgatap at the Bulguksa were discovered with other relics in 1966 when the stupa was reconstructed. For more detail about the documents, their value, and recent reconstruction with disassembly of the stupa in progress, see news articles by Taeshik Kim at Yonhapnews on 2005/09/14, <http://blog.yonhapnews.co.kr/ts1406>; on 2012/09/27, <http://www.yonhapnews.co.kr/bulletin/2012/09/27/0200000000AKR20120927005000005.HTML?from=se arch>; on 2013/04/02, <http://www.yonhapnews.co.kr/bulletin/2013/04/01/0200000000AKR20130401179900005.HTML?from=se arch>

⁵²⁵ Joung Ho Han 한정호, "Silla Ssangtap Garamui Chulhyeongwa Sinangejeok Baegyeong 신라 쌍탑가람의 출현과 신앙적 배경 (Advent of Monasteries with Twin Pagodas in Silla and Background of Its Faith) " *Seokdang Nonchong 石堂論叢* 46, (2010): 204. Han also suggests in his article that 三身分別品 and 捨身品 of 合部金光明經 served as textual grounds for the twin pagodas: pp. 207-208.

considered places in which the Buddha resides, was added to the conventional concept of pagodas, in which they were regarded to be tombs of the Buddha. The transformed concept is manifested by a new form of sarira containers – Buddhist building-shaped containers called *Buljeonhyeong Sarigi* 佛殿形舍利器 – as seen in a sarira reliquary excavated from Brick Stupa at Songnimsa and in twin stupas at Gameunsa (fig. 5.24-2,24-4), both from the late seventh century, in which the twin pagodas emerged.⁵²⁶

It is not easy to be sure, though, if “the new concept” was really new, regardless of changes of reliquaries from six-sided cases to Buddhist building-shaped objects. As demonstrated earlier, excavations show that stupas were believed in China to be Buddha’s tombs rather than Buddha’s abodes. In my opinion “the new concept” actually was conventional in Korea because regardless of the close relationship with China, sarira containers were not affected by the coffin-shaped Chinese form. Also, the space in which the containers were placed had never taken the form of a tomb structure; it is different from the Chinese tomb-like *digong*.

In Korea the sarira cult is also viewed from the perspective of *hoguk bulgyo* 護國佛教 (“state-protecting Buddhism”), in which ancient Korean people believed that their state was secured by the mysterious power of sarira.⁵²⁷ In that perspective, however,

⁵²⁶ Joung Ho Han 韓正浩 (2010), p. 203

⁵²⁷ For example, Yongchul Shin argues that the sarira cult was based on *hoguk bulgyo* in the Three Kingdoms period, and around late seventh century was changed into the belief that establishing stupas brings merits on the unification of Silla; *Jotap gongdeok gyeong* 造塔功德經 (“Sutra on Merit of Establishments of Stupa”) and *Mugu jeonggwang daedarani gyeong* 無垢淨光大陀羅尼經 (“Non-defilement and Pure Light Great Dharani Sutra”) support the merit-related stupa establishments. Yongchul Shin 申龍澈, “Tongil Silla Sidaewi Tappa 統一新羅時代の塔婆 (Stupas in the Unified Silla Dynasty) ” *Danguk Daehakgyo Seokjuseon ginyeom Bangmulgwan Giyo* 檀國大學教 石宙善紀念 博物館紀要

sarira are believed only to be objects with mysterious powers on which people rely. The sarira cult is basically based on the cult of Buddha Shakyamuni and of his teachings. Faith in Buddha Shakyamuni and his teachings is basic to all Buddhists, but the way in which they relate to these sacred objects of worship varies slightly according to region. This is why sarira is an important object in Buddhist practice: Its cult shows the devotees' relationship with the Buddha, as seen in the difference between Korean and Chinese situations.

A different attitude toward the Buddha Shakyamuni makes for a slightly different faith in the Buddha. The relationship between the Buddha and his devotees can be distinctively seen from Hinayana and Mahayana traditions in general: In Hinayana Buddhism the Buddha is regarded as more like a human spiritual teacher who finally entered into nirvana; in Mahayana the Buddha is regarded as an eternal being who stays in this world, not decayed, and is worshipped as a savior of all beings. This difference brings about the difference in Lokapala's attitude to the Buddha as well. In Hinayana Buddhism, Lokapala are more like beings praising and making offerings to the Buddha. Even though this aspect of Lokapala's role is still carried on in Mahayana Buddhism, the role is slightly different from that in the Hinayana tradition. One Mahayanistic aspect is revealed through construction of the Lokapala monastery, which is the best way to invoke these deities and to show them that devotees are making an effort to bring about the flourishing of the Buddha's teachings. Different aspects of the sarira cult in Korea and

China, as demonstrated below, show that local devotees can have different kinds of faith in the Buddha even within the same Mahayana tradition.

The archaeological fact that *digong* took tomb architectural structure and sarira containers took the form of a coffin reveals a fundamentally distinct attitude to the Buddha Shakyamuni. It implies that there was in China an acceptance of the Buddha's death. On the other hand, the practice of putting the Buddha's relics into "Geumdang" implies that in Korea people perceived the Buddha to be a living presence always preaching in this world. The Chinese aspect of faith seems to be what the Buddha describes in the *Lotus Sutra*, as underlined below. However, the Korean aspect of faith in the Buddha, revealed from the sarira cult, shows that Koreans considered a relationship with the living presence of the Buddha to be important.

By tactful methods I reveal nirvana, yet truly I am not [yet] extinct but forever here preaching the Law. I forever remain in this [world], using all my spiritual powers so that all perverted creatures, Though I am near, yet fail to see me. All looking on me as extinct, everywhere worship my relics, all cherishing longing desires, and beget thirsting hearts of hope. [When] all creatures have believed and obeyed, In [character] upright, in mind gentle, wholeheartedly wishing to see the Buddha, not caring for their own lives, then I with all the Samgha Appear together on the Divine Vulture Peak. And then I tell all creatures that I exist forever in this [world], by the power of tactful methods revealing [myself] extinct and not extinct. [If] in other regions there are beings reverent and with

faith aspiring, again I am in their midst to preach the supreme Law. You, not hearing of this, only say I am extinct.⁵²⁸

Buddhist sutras emphasize that Buddha's life span is limitless; this is seen, for example, in the chapter on the Span of the Tathgata's Life of the *Golden Light Sutra*. In this chapter there is a scene in which a bodhisattva rejoices by believing and understanding the limitlessness of Buddha's life span.⁵²⁹ In *Muryangsugyeong* 無量壽經 ("Infinite Light Sutra"), the Buddha says that there is nothing more meritorious than belief in the Buddha; if you delight in hearing the Buddha's name, that is, if you believe his teachings and feel joy in them even for a moment, you are the very person who gets tremendous merits. According to the passage, belief in the Buddha has the same meaning as belief in his teachings. Therefore activities arising from belief in the Buddha such as the Korean-type sarira cult became related to activities arising from belief in his teachings such as Dharma sarira. Korean features of the sarira cult also can be discerned in the practice of putting sutras into stupas.⁵³⁰

⁵²⁸ Bunno Kato (trans.), *The Threefold Lotus Sutra* (New York: Weatherhill, 1975), pp. 160-161.

⁵²⁹ “爾時信相菩薩摩訶薩,聞是四佛宣說如來壽命無量,深心信解歡喜踊躍,說是如來壽量品時,無量無邊阿僧祇眾生,發阿耨多羅三藐三菩提心,時四如來忽然不現”T16n0663, 0336b06-09.

⁵³⁰ The cult and adornment of Dharma sarira based on *Mugu jeonggwang daedarani gyeong* 無垢淨光大陀羅尼經 began in eighth-century Silla and was carried on to the Goryeo dynasty. The earliest examples found in China are small votive stupas of Dharma sarira based on *Mugu jeonggwang daedarani gyeong*, excavated in Qingzhou baita 慶州白塔 in 1049 C.E. of the Liao dynasty, in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous region. Hsueh-Man Shen, who wrote on Liao sarira reliquaries for the first time, argues that sarira adornments conducted by the Liao dynasty in the eleventh century are related to Korea and Japan rather than mainland China. The source is informed by Kyeongmi Joo 周旻美, "Jungguk Bulsari Jangeomui Yeongu Hyeonghwanggw Gwaje 中國佛舍利莊嚴의 研究現況과 課題 (Previous Studies and Further Research on Chinese Buddhist Reliquaries)," *Jungguksa Yeongu* 中國史研究 Vol. 26, (2003): pp. 362, 366.

A variety of items put into stupas and images are classified as relics. Of two legacies, physical relics and teachings of the Buddha, his teachings have located the absent Buddha either in his physical remains or in his words.⁵³¹ Putting Dharma sarira into stupas can be a solution to the problem that the Buddha's relics were in short supply. However, the fact that the practice of putting both physical and dharma relics in stupas and images was already established in India suggests that depositing various relics is a resolution not only of the physical problem but also of the spiritual aspect.

Sutras placed into stupas are called Dharma sarira. Buddhist sutras often state merits that accumulate by building a stupa. In *Bopyeon gwangmyeong cheongjeong chiseong yeouiibo inshim muneungseung daemyeongwang daesugu darani gyeong* 普遍光明清淨熾盛如意寶印心無能勝大明王大隨求陀羅尼經 (Ch. Pubian guangming qingjing chicheng ruyibao yinxin wunengsheng damingwang dasuiqiu tuoluoni jing), one of the Tantric scriptures rendered into Chinese by Bugong 不空 (705-774), it is stated that sentient beings will get all they want if they put the sutra container wrapped with refined colorful silk into a stupa or in a banner shrine and then make offerings to and worship it.⁵³² Lokapala are represented on arts related to sarira because, it seems obvious, they follow the Buddha and praise him with joy of the living presence of the Buddha.

⁵³¹ In Tibet, various types of relics also came to be used for sacralizing stupas and images. Yael Bentor, "On the Indian Origins of the Tibetan Practice of Depositing Relics and Dharmas in Stupas and Images," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* Vol. 115, No. 2 (Apr. – Jun., 1995).

⁵³² “纏裹經夾安於塔中。或置幢刹。以種種音樂歌詠讚歎。旋遶供養虔誠禮拜。彼等有情心所思惟。所希求願皆得滿足。” T20n1153, p0621c15-17; Tripitaka Koreana, trans. by Okyoung Yu 유옥영 on http://ebti.dongguk.ac.kr/h_tripitaka/main.html, p. 23.

It seems likely that the concept of Dharma sarira was not known in China up through the mid-seventh century, when *Fayuan zhulin* was composed, judging from the fact that the Sarira chapter of *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 (“Precious Grove of the Dharma Garden”) does not include Dharma sarira. It was in the tenth century that Buddhist sutras were regarded as one of the forms of sarira and placed into stupas. From this period there is, for example, the *Lotus Sutra* discovered in the Feiying stupa 飞英塔 in Huzhou, Zhejiang province, in 1986. The stupa was built in the late Tang dynasty and the Dharma sarira adornments were patronized by an Empress Dowager 太后 in Wuyue (吳越, 907-978), a kingdom of the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms.⁵³³

The Sutra placed in the Feiying stupa is the earliest example of Dharma sarira in Chinese history.⁵³⁴ However, in the Dharma Teachers chapter of the *Lotus Sutra* in Sanskrit there is discussion of placement of sarira of the Buddha in stupa establishments and of placement of Buddhist scriptures in caitya in which Buddhist scriptures. In addition, according to the following facts there might be earlier examples of Dharma sarira placed in stupas, even though it is not clear if these examples were exactly Dharma sarira: Buddhist sutras that were brought from India by Xuanzang were put into Dayanta; and in Sitaji 寺塔記 of Youyangzazu 酉陽雜俎 by Duan Chengshi 段成式 (803-863) in the Tang dynasty, it is stated that one thousand bu 部 of the *Lotus Sutra* was put in the

⁵³³ Xinger Lin 林星儿, "Huzhou Feiyingta Faxian Yipibizang Wudai Wenwu 湖州飞英塔发现一批壁藏五代文物 (Artifacts of the Five Dynasties Excavated at Feiying Stupa in Huzhou)," *Wenwu* 文物, (1994.2)..

⁵³⁴ Kyeongmi Joo, p. 334.

Tuan stupa 團塔 in Zishengsi 資聖寺, Chongrenfang 崇仁坊 which was built in 663 C.E.⁵³⁵

The construction of stone lanterns was popular in the Unified Silla in the ninth century, when the Seon sect was about to spread in Korea. Lokapala are also represented on stone lanterns in Korea. If it is said that sarira and Lokapala represented on its reliquaries exhibit the way that ancient Korean Buddhists related to the Buddha, stone lanterns are objects suitable for showing the worship of dharma in ancient Korea. The practice of making stone lanterns carried on through the early Joseon dynasty, with variation of their forms. Two hundred eighty stone lanterns have been reported to be extant, but among these only about sixty are well preserved with all compartments. Twenty-four of sixty are from the Unified Silla dynasty.⁵³⁶ Stone lanterns are normally put in front of the Buddha hall or the stupa, both of which are the main location for worship in a monastery.

The stone lanterns consist of three parts: foundation, pillar, and body (figs. 5.25-27). Lights are placed inside the body. The ground plan of the stone lantern's body is a criterion for judging dates. It is basically octagonal (fig. 5-25). The body of stone lanterns produced in the Unified Silla period is eight-sided, and it has variation with four

⁵³⁵ “崇仁（一作聖）坊資聖寺---團塔院 ---團塔上菩薩，李異（一作真）畫。四面花鳥，邊鸞畫。當藥上菩薩頂，茂葵尤佳。塔中藏千部法華經。”段成式，西陽雜俎/續集 卷 5 (trans. Hwanguk Jeong, *Yeokju Yuyang Japjo* 역주 유양잡조 (*Translation with Annotations of Yuyang Japjo*) (Seoul: Somyeong Chulpan, 2011), p. 188.

⁵³⁶ National Research Institute Cultural Heritage 國立文化財研究所, *Seokdeung Josa Bogoseo I: Ganjuseokpyeon* 石燈調查報告書 i: 竿柱石篇 (*Report on Stone Lanterns: Pilla*) (Seoul: NRICH, 1999), pp. 348-355.

or six sides in the Goryeo dynasty.⁵³⁷ There is variation in the form of the pillar. Sometimes it has the form of twin lion images (fig. 5.26), such as at the Yeongamsa site, and sometimes the form of a traditional Korean drum, such as at the Cheongnyangsa site (fig. 5.27).⁵³⁸ Only in one example is the pillar in the form of a human figure: the lantern in front of the Four Lion Stupa at Hwaeomsa, Gurye, South Jeolla province. In particular the stone lanterns produced from the ninth century, in which monks' stupas were frequently made, have Lokapala or bodhisattva images on the body,⁵³⁹ as seen in lanterns at Beopjusa, the Cheongnyangsa site, and the Yeongamsa site (figs. 5-25-27).

Carving the deities on the body of the stone lanterns is an important symbolic activity. The stone lanterns at once symbolize the Dharma and are monuments for commemorating Dharma. In Buddhism, light is used as a metaphor for the teachings of the Buddha, Dharma, because Dharma saves living beings from the darkness of ignorance. For this reason, offerings of light are very important, and even today Buddhist temples and monasteries leave lights on all night.⁵⁴⁰

⁵³⁷ Myeong-Ho Chung 정명호, 韓國 石燈史 研究 (a Study on Stone Lanterns in Korea), Ph.D. Dissertation, Danguk University, 1992.

⁵³⁸ This stone lantern was presumably made in the late ninth century. It is known as the first example of the change from the typical eight-sided pillar into the traditional Korean drum-shaped pillar. See National Research Institute Cultural Heritage 國立文化財研究所, *Seokdeung Josa Bogoseo I: Ganjuseokpyeon 石燈調查報告書 i : 竿柱石篇 (Report on Stone Lanterns: Pilla)* (Seoul: NRICH, 1999), p. 70.

⁵³⁹ The stone lantern's body and roof are very similar to those of monks' stupas in terms of structure. Gy-Pyo Eom argues that this is because the structure of stone lanterns influenced that of monk's stupas. See Gi-Pyo Eom, *Sillawa Goryeo Sidae Seokjo Budo 신라와 고려시대 석조부도 (Stone Stupas Dedicated to Buddhist Monks in the Unified Silla and Goryeo Dynasties)*, Seoul: Hakyeong Munhwasa, 2003, p. 181-182.

⁵⁴⁰ For more about Buddhist sutras with statements on the offering of light and merits that accumulate from the offering, see Yun-Seo Jung 정윤서, *Tongil Silla Seokdeung Yeongu 통일신라 석등 연구 (A Study on Stone Lanterns in Unified Silla)*, *Munmul Yeongu* 文물연구 14, 2008, pp. 3-61: 7-8.

The appearance of Lokapala on Monks' Stupas from the ninth century shows further Korean characteristics of the sarira cult. Lokapala are represented on these stupas, with few examples of the deities on the Buddha's stupas. In the Seon sect, the Buddha was regarded to be a tool for attaining enlightenment and renowned Seon monks replaced the Buddha's status.

(2) Lokapala Images on Stupas and Sarira Reliquaries

The presence of Sacheonwang Monastery is pivotal in a study of the cult and art of Sacheonwang, as its name implies. Sacheonwangsa is relatively well documented by (abundant) remains and historic records, such as those in *Samgukyusa* 三國遺事 ("Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms"), though this text was written long after the events happened and possibly based on legendary material by Ilyeon, a Korean Buddhist monk, in 1281 C.E. Sacheonwang Monastery in Gyeongju is exceptional among early monasteries in the Unified Silla dynasty (668-935 C.E.) for several reasons: It is the very first example in the monastic history Korea of construction in the new layout with twin pagodas; Tantric practice was performed here on the verge of Tang's invasion of Silla in 670-671 C.E. and continued to be practiced in the Goryeo dynasty (935-1392 C.E.); it was one of the monasteries where Seongjeon ("state administrative organization for important monasteries") was established; and it is a remarkable repository of Lokapala images made in the late seventh century.

The earliest among Lokapala images extant today in Korea are found depicted on green glazed bricks, made in 679 C.E., excavated from the Sacheonwangsa

site. Among early Unified Silla monuments the glazed tiles of Lokapala are exceptional, because there are hardly any known independent images of Buddhas and bodhisattvas dating to the late seventh century. The Sacheonwang tiles are thus important in that they reflect the style of sculpture produced around 680 C.E. in Gyeongju, which was the capital of Silla. Sacheonwangsa is the earliest temple with two wooden stupas in front of the main Buddha Hall, and its layout was a prototype for later monasteries in the Unified Silla (fig.5.23-1). In studies on architecture, art, and culture of Buddhism, this monastery is regarded as standard along with Gameun Monastery, established in 682, which has twin stone pagodas, and from which two extraordinary sarira reliquaries with Lokapala images were excavated.

Korea's National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage, abbreviated as NRIC, launched excavation at the site of Sacheonwangsa in April of 2006, and the excavation is in progress. This excavation has been a great help in solving many questions or mysteries concerning the monastery. From the excavation conducted so far, the temple's layout has been revealed as Buddha Hall, east and west wooden stupas, corridor, stone lantern, and two stone foundations assumed as altar. According to excavations of the two wooden stupas, they were built on bases of bricks, whose foundations were stones. This way of building wooden architecture has never before been reported in Korea.

The excavation thus yielded a previously unknown way of building wooden architecture, and an answer to a question about where Lokapala images were placed in stupas. Before the excavation there were only hypotheses about locations where

Sacheonwang tiles were placed. The excavation revealed that they were used as tiles along the sides of the foundation of stupas. (fig.5.23-2, 23-3) At the same time the excavation has brought about some new questions. One of the unsolved problems in relation to the monastery is in regard to the glazed tiles of Sacheonwang, whose existence was discovered resulting from a survey on the site in the early twentieth century. One set of Sacheonwang tiles at a stupa is twenty-four in total on four sides, which means every side has six tiles, not four (fig. 5.23-2). Each side of the foundation has stairs, and three tiles are arranged on the right and left of the stairs, whereas in general each Lokapala image is depicted on every side of the body of a stupa. Therefore the numbers twenty-four and four are inconsistent, and four, of course, is the number of the Four Heavenly Kings. Songeun Choe suggests in an article on review of previous scholarship on the glazed tiles of Sacheonwang at Sacheonwangsa that further study of Buddhist sculpture of Sacheonwangsa should address all the Buddhist images of the monastery, beyond simple focus on identification of images on the glazed tiles, and that such study should also go on to locate Sacheonwangsa's art work in contemporary East Asian art history.⁵⁴¹

Korean art historians do not have consensus on the issue related to the identification of the images on the tiles. Myungdae Mun has suggested that the images are Eight Guardian Devas,⁵⁴² while Woobang King believes that their reasonable identity

⁵⁴¹ Songeun Choe 최성은, Tongil Silla Sacheonwangsa Nokyu Sojo Shinjangsangui Yeongu Seonggwawa Hyanghu Gwaje 통일신라 四天王寺 녹유 소조신장상의 연구성과와 향후과제 (Previous Studies and Further Research on the Glazed Tiles of the Guardian Images at Sacheonwangsa Site in Gyeongju), Sillasa Hakbo 新羅史學報 26, 2012.12.

⁵⁴² Myungdae Moon 文明大, "Silla Sacheonwangsaui Yeongu 新羅 四天王像의 研究 (a Study on the Images of the Four Divine Kings in Silla Dynasty)," Bulgyo Misul 佛教美術 (Buddhist Arts) 5, (1980); "Silla Sacheonwangsa Sacheonwang•Palbujungsangui Seongrip Munjewa Seokguram

seems to be Lokapala.⁵⁴³ Recently Youngae Lim identified them as Spirit Kings.⁵⁴⁴ Precise identification of the images cannot be proposed in the absence of epigraphic records. A fragment of a stone stele with about thirty legible Chinese characters was discovered at Sacheonwangsa during excavation in March 2011. Because the stele is presumed to record something about the foundation of the monastery, and because the fragment has characteristics of Shinjang 神將 (“Guardian Deities”), it is assumed that the images on the green glazed bricks are guardian images.⁵⁴⁵ However, because Shinjang is a kind of umbrella term for protector deities, Sacheonwang can be categorized as one kind of Shinjang but cannot be identified precisely as Shinjang.

In the effort to find a plausible explanation of the matter with regard to the number and arrangement of Sacheonwangsa brick images, images on pedestals of Buddhist monuments in China could be a key to identify the brick images. These images are very similar to the Sacheonwangsa images in terms of iconography. First of all, the lack of an image holding a stupa makes it hard to identify them as Lokapala. However, in the Tang dynasty there were Vaishnavan images that did not hold a stupa, as demonstrated earlier.

Sacheonwang•Palbujungsangui Dosang Byeonhwa 신라 사천왕사 사천왕•팔부중상의 성립문제와 석굴암 사천왕•팔부중상의 도상 변화 (Problems with the Foundation of Silla's Statues of Four Guradian Kings and Eight Devas in Sacheonwang Temple and Changes in the Iconography of the Statues of the Same Figure in Seokguram)," Gangjwa Misulsa 강좌미술사 (The Art History Journal) 39, (2012).

⁵⁴³ Ubang Kang 姜友邦, “四天王寺址 出土 彩釉四天王浮彫像의 復元の 考察-五方神과 四天王像의 造形的 習合現象 (Review for Reproducing the Sacheonwang Image on Green Glazed Tile Excavated at the Sacheonwang Temple Site – Five Directional Deities’ Absorption into the Sacheonwang Image),” Misuljaryo 美術資料 (Art Data) 25, 1979.12, pp. 1-46.

⁵⁴⁴ Young-ae Lim

⁵⁴⁵ A news article by Taeshik Kim at Yonhapnews on 2011/03/24

<http://www.yonhapnews.co.kr/culture/2011/03/24/0901000000AKR20110324063200005.HTML>

Lokapala images with the King of the North holding an attribute other than a stupa are also found in contemporary Japanese paintings. There are examples originally made in the eighth century. At a shrine produced and enshrined ca. 755 at the Kaidan'in 戒壇院 at Tōdaiji 東大寺, Brahma, Indra, and Four Divine Kings are represented on the door panels. Its copy, made in the Kamakura period (1185-1333), is extant today (fig. 5.29). None of the Four Divine Kings on the four corners holds a stupa. The kings on the upper and lower right sides each hold a sword, the king on the upper left side holds a bow and arrow, and the king on the lower left side holds a spear. This composition of attributes of the Four Divine Kings seems also to be applied on an illustration of sixteen deities of prajna (般若十六善神圖像), produced in 1165 and now in the Tōkyō National Museum.⁵⁴⁶ In the former work, however, the figure on the lower right stands toward the center and holds a sword pointing to the ground.

Four Divine Kings depicted on Kusha Mandara 俱舍曼荼羅, made in the twelfth century in Japan, also shows a set of Lokapala without a divine king holding a stupa (fig. 5.30). The Kusha Mandara is an illustration of the mandala of the Kusha Sect of Buddhism. It includes four groups of Buddhist images: a Shakyamuni Triad, an attendant bodhisattva at each side in the center; Ananda and Kashyapa, with eight named patriarchs of the Kusha Sect who stand in a circle; and a Brahma and an Indra, both of whom stand to the left and right in the middle level; and the Four Divine Kings in the four corners. The mandala's basic composition and iconography have been compared to

⁵⁴⁶ On Hayashi 林温, Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan hokan jūroku zenshin gazō ni suite 東京国立博物館保管 十六善神畫像について (Paintings of Sixteen Deities in the Tokyo National Museum), *Museum* 433, 1987.4, pp.19-34: fig. 17.

Seokguram, Gyeongju, Korea.⁵⁴⁷ Brahma, Indra and the Four Divine Kings are believed to have been copied from those on the door of the Kaidan'in shrine.⁵⁴⁸

Another example of a set of Lokapala with the King of the North holding a symbolic item other than a stupa is found among a set of four Lokapala images painted by Haseong 河成 (782-853), who is believed to be the offspring of a Baekje immigrant (fig. 5.28). Four Divine Kings are each seated on two dwarves, and there are two retainers behind the kings. Although none of the kings holds a stupa, they can be identified as the Four Divine Kings from the ink inscription on the back of the painting.⁵⁴⁹ Even though the inscription says Haseong is from Silla, he is believed to be from Baekje because he changed his last name from Yo 餘 into Gudara 百濟 ("Baekje" in Korean).⁵⁵⁰

Four Divine Kings depicted on four sides of a six-sided case excavated at Tudaizicun 土臺子村 Bohaizhen 渤海鎮 Ning'an 寧安 in Heilongjiang province in 1975 also shows an iconography similar to the iconography of the figures made by Haseong

⁵⁴⁷ Lena Kim 金理那, Seokguram Bulsanggunui Myeongchinggwa Yangshike gwanhayeo 石窟庵佛像群의 名稱과 樣式에 관하여 (Name and Style of Buddhist Images at the Seokguram Grotto), Jeongshin Munhwa Yeongu 정신문화연구 (Journal of Korean Studies) 15(3), 1992.9, p. 4.

⁵⁴⁸ Tetsuo Ōga 相賀 徹夫, Meihō nihon no bijutsu. 3, Tōdaiji 名寶日本の美術 3 東大寺, Tōkyō: Shōgakka 小学館, 1980, pp. 110-111; Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 奈良国立博物館, Tōdaiji 東大寺, Asahi Shinbunsha 朝日新聞社, Tōdaiji no subete 東大寺のすべて (Ultimate Tōdaiji: incomparable masterworks from Nara's Great Eastern Temple), Tōkyō: Asahi Shinbunsha 朝日新聞社, 2002, p. 246.

⁵⁴⁹ '以四天王寺第二傳本寫之新羅河成筆' in On Hayashi 林溫, Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan hokan jūroku zenshin gazō ni tsuite 東京國立博物館保管 十六善神畫像について (Paintings of Sixteen Deities in the Tokyo National Museum), *Museum* 433, 1987.4, pp.19-34: 22.

⁵⁵⁰ Haseong was good at martial arts and paintings, particularly portraits and landscape paintings. 안휘준, Hanil Hoihwa Gwangye 1500nyeon 韓日繪畫關係 1500 年 (1500 Years of Korean-Japanese Relations in Paintings), *Hanguk Hoihwaui Jeontong* 韓國繪畫의 傳統 (Tradition of Korean Paintings), Seoul: Munye Chulpansa 文藝出版社, 1988, pp. 402-403. According to *Nihon Montoku Tennō jitsuroku* 日本文德天皇實錄 (Veritable Records of Emperor Montoku of Japan), he died in the eighth month of the third year of Kashō 嘉祥, which is 853 C.E.

(fig. 5.31). Judging from the fact that the case was probably made between the late eighth and early ninth centuries,⁵⁵¹ and from examples from Japan mentioned above, a set of Lokapala including the King of the North holding an attribute other than a stupa was popular in East Asia from the late eighth or the early ninth century.

However, due to the lack of a stupa, the King of the North in the Sacheonwangsa bricks cannot be identified. The fact that the style of Lokapalas is similar to that of Lokapala in Seokgulam in the mid-eighth century in Korea suggests that this type of composition was popular in the eighth century. Lokapala images with the King of the North not holding a stupa are also found in Central Asia. In the scene the “The Garuda Hunt” depicted on the wall in Bezeklik, the King of the North holds only a spear, while the King of East holds an arrow and the Kings of the South and the West hold a sword.⁵⁵² The attributes are similar to those of Japanese Lokapala and also those of Lokapala produced in ninth century in Korea such as those on a pagoda at the Jungheungsa in Gwangyang, South Jeolla province and on the Seon monk Jijeung’s stupa at the Bongsamsa in Mungyeong, North Gyeongsang province. Existence of these images surely suggests that this type of composition of Sacheonwang’s attributes was popular from the seventh to the ninth centuries in East Asia and Central Asia as well, and that it cannot be said that the King of the North is absent among the brick images of Sacheonwangsa, even though it is not clear which figure is the Northern King.

⁵⁵¹ Songran Lee 이송란, Balhae Sanggyeongseong Chulto Sariguui Guseonggwa Teukjing 발해 상경성 출토 사리구의 구성과 특징 (Composition and Characteristics of the Excavated Buddhist Reliquaries from Balhae Sanggyeongseong), *Dongbuka Yeoksa Nonchong* 동북아역사논총 (Journal of Northeast Asian History) 27, 2010.3, pp. 121-164: 147-149.

⁵⁵² Simone Gaulier, Robert Jera-Bezard and Monique Maillard, *Buddhism in Afghanistan and Central Asia* P. 31

According to *Samgukyusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms) Silla was in a difficult situation in the ninth and tenth year of the reign of King Munmu (670-671 A.D.), on the brink of war with Tang China directly following the destruction of the Goguryeo and Baekje kingdoms in 663 A.D. and 668 C.E., respectively. At this time a Silla Buddhist monk named Myungnang 明朗 saved Silla by temporarily establishing a monastery, which later became Sacheonwangsa, and by conducting the secret Dharma of *Munduru* 文豆婁 (*Wendoulei* in Chinese, “mudra”), causing the Tang fleet to be submerged even before they started to engage in a battle.

Munduru doryang 文豆婁道場 (“Munduru ritual”) continued to be performed in the Goryeo dynasty. According to *Goryeosa* 高麗史 (“Standard History of Goryeo”), *Muduru doryang* along with *Sacheonwang doryang* 四天王道場 (“Four Divine Kings ritual”) were very important practices conducted by the court or kings in response to the danger of invasion by neighboring countries. *Goryeosa* records several instances of the ritual being conducted, as follow: It was conducted for twenty-seven days at Sacheonwangsa in Gyeongju in the twenty-eighth reign year (1074 C.E.) of King Munjong (r. 1046-1083) in order to prevent the invasion of barbarians;⁵⁵³ a prayer for the victory in war was made in the *Munduru* ritual in the sixth year (1100 C.E.) of King Sukjong (r. 1095-1105)⁵⁵⁴; in the third reign year (1108) of King Yejong (r. 1105-1122), when the Jurchen tribe invaded, *Muduru doryang* was performed at Jinjeongsa 鎮靜寺

⁵⁵³ “秋七月---庚子 設文豆婁道場於東京四天王寺二十七日以禳蕃兵”

<http://www.krpia.co.kr/pcontent/?svcid=KR&proid=1&arid=3&ContentNumber=187&pagenumber=187>

⁵⁵⁴ “肅宗六年遣同知樞密院事許慶祭平壤木覓東明神祠又設文豆婁道場于興福永明長慶金剛等寺又遣門下侍中尹瓘樞密院副使柳仁著祭昌陵禱兵捷”http://www.krpia.co.kr/pContent/content_view_detail_kr.asp?svcid=KR&proid=1&arid=1&ContentNumber=234&pageNumber=235

and *Sacheonwang doryang* was performed at Bisamunsa 毗沙門寺, during all of which people prayed the enemy would withdraw;⁵⁵⁵ a prayer for the prevention of war was made in the *Munduru* ritual in the fourth reign year (1109) of King Yejong;⁵⁵⁶ and in the fourth reign year (1217) of King Gojong (r. 1213-1259), *Sacheonwang doryang* was conducted by the King at Seongyeong Palace Hall 宣慶殿, and the King went to Hyeonseongsa 賢聖寺 and performed *Muduru doryang* at the monastery.⁵⁵⁷

Munduru is an Esoteric Buddhist ritual. In fascicle 7 of *Bulseol Gwanjeong gyeong* 佛說灌頂經 (Ch. *Foshuo guanding jing*, “Abhseka Sutra”), one of the Esoteric Buddhist sutras, there is description of details about the ritual. The sutra was translated into Chinese by a monk from India named Boshili Miduoluo 帛尸梨密多羅 in the Eastern Jin dynasty. According to *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (“Biography of Eminent Monks”), Boshili miduoluo was born as a crown prince and gave his position to his younger brother and became ordained. He came to China for the first time during the reign of Yongjia (307-313) in the Jin dynasty, and stayed at Jianchusi. The prime minister Wangdao recognized Boshilimiduoluo to be extraordinary at first sight and regarded him as being on the same side. Boshilimiduoluo started to become famous from this time.⁵⁵⁸

⁵⁵⁵ “秋七月---丙子 遣使東界設文豆婁道場於鎮靜寺設四天王道場於毗沙門寺以禳邊寇”
http://www.krpia.co.kr/pContent/content_view_detail_kr.asp?svcid=KR&proid=1&arid=1&ContentNumber=231&pageNumber=232

⁵⁵⁶ “四月 蟲食首押山松 辛丑 太史奏 蟲食松此兵徵也宜行灌頂文豆婁寶星等道場老君符法以禳之”
<http://www.krpia.co.kr/pcontent/?svcid=KR&proid=1&arid=1&ContentNumber=615&pagenumber=619>

⁵⁵⁷ “十二月---庚申 親設四天王道場于宣慶殿 -- 壬戌 幸賢聖寺 設文豆婁道場”

⁵⁵⁸ 帛尸梨密多羅. 此云吉友. 西域人. 時人呼為高座. 傳云. 國王之子當承繼世. 而以國讓弟. 聞軌太伯. 既而悟心天啟. 遂為沙門. 密天姿高朗風神超邁. 直爾對之. 便卓出於物. 晉永嘉中. 始到中國. 值亂仍過江止建初寺. 丞相王導一見而奇之. 以為吾之徒也. 由是名顯. T50n2059, 0327c12-18 http://www.cbeta.org/result/normal/T50/2059_001.htm

He was skilled in magic spells and technique, which had mysterious power. There had been no magical art of reciting spells in East of the River before his translation of *Kongquewang jing* 孔雀王經, which elucidated many mysterious spells. Boshilimiduoluo also taught high-tone *fanbai* 梵唄 (“chanting of prayers”) to his disciple Mili. He passed away at the age 80 during the reign of Xiankang (335-342).⁵⁵⁹

The ritual divides the world into four directions and adds to the four the center, one reason the sutra is regarded to be somewhat of a departure from Buddhism. There are *Wufang dashen* 五方大神 (“Five Directional Great Spirits”) controlling each direction, and each spirit wears its own color of direction and breathes out energy of its own color. These ideas seem to be rooted in the Chinese cosmological beliefs *Yinyang* 陰陽 (“dim and bright”) and *Wuxing* 五行 (“Five Phases”-water, fire, wood, metal, and earth). This is because faith in *Wufang dashen* looks very similar to faith in *Wuzang shen* 五臟神 (“Five Viscera Spirits”) described in the *Taiping jing* 太平經 (“Scripture on the Great Peace”), an early Daoist scripture.⁵⁶⁰

Taishik Kim, a Daoism expert, argues that it is therefore possible to see that when *Foshuo guanding jing* was translated into Chinese or while it was circulated in China, indigenous Chinese elements were absorbed into the sutra.⁵⁶¹ However, there is some evidence that the author of *Taiping jing* knew about Buddhism and used it when he

⁵⁵⁹ 莫不歎其自然天拔悟得非常。密善持咒術所向皆驗。初江東未有咒法。密譯出孔雀王經明諸神咒。又授弟子覓歷高聲梵唄傳響于今。晉咸康中卒。春秋八十餘。T50n2059, 0328a11-14.

⁵⁶⁰ <http://blog.yonhapnews.co.kr/ts1406/post/118192?from=search> (A news article by Taeshik Kim at Yonhapnews on 2006/11/02); Taeshik Kim 김태식, 文豆婁法과 경주 四天王寺址 출토유물 (Munduru Ritual and Excavations at the Sacheonwangsa Site in Gyeongju), Sillasa Hakbo 新羅史學報 21, 2011.

⁵⁶¹ Ibid.

composed the scripture.⁵⁶² Previous scholarship focuses attention on the relationship between rites performed by the monk Myungnang and East Asian indigenous thought such as Obangshin (or Wufangshen in Chinese), or Five Directional Gods.

In *Samgukyusa* there is a passage about Obangshin that states that all strings of arrows of Obangshin at the Sacheonwangsa in the third reign year of king Gyeongmyeong 景明 (r. 917-924) were broken.⁵⁶³ Taeshik Kim argues that the Five Directional Gods of the Munduru rituals might come from Daoism, as discussed above. Korean art historians have also either understood Lokapala images as manifestations of Obangshin, or the combination of Indra and Lokapala as Obangshin.⁵⁶⁴ Even though what we know about the Obangshin, according to the passage, is limited to arrow-bearing Obangshin images enshrined at the monastery, I suggest that these deities may be Buddhist divinities called Pancaraksa, the five protectresses, separate from Lokapala and from Daoist deities.

It is normally said that the number of five classified directions is Chinese. However, the Vedic texts provide an interesting diversity in the numbers of directions, starting with the four or sometimes five regions, which include the central axis as a point or direction. Five coordinates of space continue to appear in later Vedic texts, the fifth

⁵⁶² Kenneth Chen, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964, pp. 51-52; *The Date of the "Taiping Jing"* Author(s): B. J. Mansvelt Beck Source: *T'oung Pao*, Second Series, Vol. 66, Livr. 4/5 (1980), pp. 149-182.

⁵⁶³ “四天王寺五方神弓弦皆絶.”

⁵⁶⁴ Hyeong-uk Huh 허형욱, *Silsangsa Baekjangam Seoktapuo Obangshinsange gwanhan Gochal* 實相寺百丈庵 석탑의 五方神像에 관한 고찰 (A Study on the Five-Directional Gods Carved on the Stone Pagoda at Paekjang-am in Silsang-sa Temple), *Misulsa Yeongu* 미술사연구 19, 2005.12, pp. 3-30.

point being the zenith.⁵⁶⁵ Buddhism also offers diverse numbers of directions, such as four, five, and ten. For example, Buddhism has gods of ten directions: the four cardinal directions of East, South, West, and North, the four intermediate corners, and the top and bottom. This idea presumably was taken from Hindu beliefs (cf. *dikpalas*). These ten directional deities are mentioned in mandalas in the *Nispannayogavali* and in the *Sadhanamala*.⁵⁶⁶ In the Buddhist pantheon there are the Five Dhyani Buddhas, also called the Five Wisdom Tathagatas and the Five Great Buddhas, or Five Buddhas of Directions. The theory of the Dhyani Buddhas is described in *Guhyasamajatantra*.⁵⁶⁷ Colors are very frequently used for important symbols in Buddhism, in particular in the Tantric tradition. The description of Obangshin in Gwanjeonggyeong makes them look similar to Tantric deities.

Pancaraksa, the five protectresses, are popular in Vajrayana Buddhist countries such as Tibet, Nepal, and Mongol. The Pancaraksa exercise powers of emergency rescue, and the primary method of eliciting their influence is to recite their *dharanis* (mantras). However, their iconography has never been standardized, probably because ‘visualization of the goddesses does not figure in their invocation, obviating the need for descriptions of their appearance in the practice manuals.’⁵⁶⁸ Mahapratisara is the central figure,⁵⁶⁹ and the other four raksa deities, placed in the four directions, are Mahasahasrapramardani,

⁵⁶⁵ Corinna Wessels-Mevissen, *The gods of the directions in ancient India: origin and early development in art and literature (until c. 1000 A.D.)*, Berlin: Reimer, 2001, p. 4.

⁵⁶⁶ Lokapala are not included in these ten guardians. See for more detail, Puspa Niyogi, *Buddhist Divinities* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 2001), 84-85.

⁵⁶⁷ Puspa Niyogi, *Buddhist Divinities* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 2001), 42.

⁵⁶⁸ Jackie Menzies, Chaya Chandrasekhar, and Art Gallery of New South Wales, *Goddess : Divine Energy* (Sydney: Art Gallery of New South Wales, 2006), 199.

⁵⁶⁹ Mahapratisara is described in the *Nispannayogavali* as having a ‘yellowish red halo’ with four faces and twelve arms. (NSP 121) (Niyogi, 117.)

Mahamantranusarini, Mahasitavati, and Mahamayuri. Wide variation in their colors and attributes also makes identification difficult.⁵⁷⁰ It is interesting, though, that a common handheld attribute assigned to them is the arrow.

Munduru performed by the monk Myungnang does not derive from Daoism but from Tantric Buddhism, and there is a possibility that Obangshin was in fact the Tantric deity Pancaraksa. There is a difference between India and East Asia regarding Pancaraksa, which is that the Pancaraksa was a female deity in India but male in East Asia. It is true that there are few materials, literary or visual, to use in order to specify the appearance of the Obangshin enshrined at Sacheonwangsa, and to identify them as Pancaraka. However, because historic accounts tell that Tantric ritual was performed in the monastery, and because the five protectoresses are Tantric deities, it is not completely impossible to look at them from the Tantric view. Even though this examination might not be correct, it could be a chance to look back to the past, which has been studied only in a conventional point of view.

(3) Lokapala Images on Stupas for Buddhist Monks

Construction of stupas for eminent Seon monks was popular from the late ninth century onward until the thirteenth century in Goryeo (918-1392 C.E.). Changes of faith regarding Lokapala in Korea can be divided into three periods: from the three Kingdoms period to the mid-Unified Silla dynasty, the late Unified Silla dynasty and the early Goryeo dynasty characterized by the Seon 禪 (Ch. Chen and Jp. Zen) sect, and the late Goryeo dynasty featuring Tibetan Buddhism transmitted to Korea through the Yuan

⁵⁷⁰ Menzies et al., 199.

dynasty. Monks' stupas did not appear when Buddhism was first transmitted into Korea; they were popular after the introduction of the Seon sect.

All the identified stupas are of monks from the Seon sect, with the exception of the Boseung stupa of Beopin Guksa, a monk from the Hwaecom sect. Appearance of Lokapala on the monks' stupas is related to the popularity of the Seon sect, in which renowned monks were revered as much as the Buddha. Guardian figures represented on the surface of monks' stupas made from the mid-ninth century to the early eleventh century are important in investigating sculptural style from the late Silla to the early Goryeo, because they have dates.⁵⁷¹ The latest stupa of a Seon monk is Seungmyo stupa of Wongong Guksa, built in 1018. As the Cheontae 天台 sect appeared in Goryeo Buddhism, moving toward unification of the Seon and Gyeo sects but with Gyeo as the center, and as the funerals of monks changed from burial into cremation, the establishment of monks' stupas temporarily stopped until Jogejong appeared in the early thirteenth century.⁵⁷²

The construction and worship of monks' stupas began in the second century B.C.E. in India. This practice probably was transmitted into China through Central

⁵⁷¹ Samhye Kang 姜三慧, *Namal yeochon seungtap tapshin shinjangsang yeongu* 나말여초 僧塔 塔身 神將像 연구 (The Tutelary Deities Carved on Monks' Stupas in the Transitional Period Between Late Silla and Early Goryeo), *미술사학연구* 252, 2006, pp. 81-116: 82-83.

⁵⁷² Jaegu So 蘇在龜, *Silla Hadaewa Goreyo Sidae Seungtap Yeongu* 新羅下代와 高麗時代 僧塔 研究 (A Study on Monks' Stupas in the Late Silla and Goryeo Periods), Ph.D. Dissertation, The Academy of Korean Studies, 2001, pp. 46-49; Gi-Pyo Eom 嚴基杓, *Sillawa Goryeo Sidae Seokjo Budo* 신라와 고려시대 석조부도 (Stone Stupas of Buddhist Monks in the Silla and Goryeo Dynasties), Seoul: Hakyeon Munhwasa, pp. 128-130.

Asia.⁵⁷³ The earliest example of construction of a stupa for a monk's sarira is found in fascicle 1 of *Gaoseng zhuan*, in which the corpse of Boyuan 帛遠 was divided by his followers and each of them built a stupa.⁵⁷⁴ In *Gaoseng zhuan* it is also stated that the body of Zhu Shixing 朱士行, who died in the early fourth century in Khotan, was cremated, and a stupa was built for it.⁵⁷⁵ The fact that this practice was transmitted into China by the disciple of this latter monk suggests that cremation and building stupas for monks came to be known in the Chinese Buddhist community even though it was dominant from the fifth century, in which more than ten monks were cremated.⁵⁷⁶ In *Gaoseng zhuan* and *Xu gaoseng zhuan* this practice is frequently recorded from the Southern and Northern Dynasties, showing a broader concept of the sarira cult.⁵⁷⁷

The Seon sect began to be transmitted into the late Unified Silla through to the early Goryeo, when the sect was established. In the late Unified Silla, the central government was weakened and local authorities called *hojok* 豪族 became the real rulers for the region and led social changes. It has thus been assumed that nine branches of the Seon sect were established on the basis on the power of *hojok*, in opposition to the Gyeo sect that was based on the power of the central government.⁵⁷⁸ However, this perspective was criticized by Go Ikjin who believes that although it is a worthwhile

⁵⁷³ Kyeongmi Joo, p. 68.

⁵⁷⁴ “---共分祖屍各起塔廟---“, T.50, Vol. 2059, 50:327b

⁵⁷⁵ “士行遂終於闐. 春秋八十. 依西方法闍維之. 薪盡火滅. 屍猶能全. 眾咸驚異. 乃咒曰. 若真得道法當毀敗. 應聲碎散. 因斂骨起塔焉. 高僧傳卷第四 (義解一),” T. 50, Vol. 2059, 346c09-12)

⁵⁷⁶ Kyeongmi Joo, pp. 78-79.

⁵⁷⁷ Kyeongmi Joo, p. 69.

⁵⁷⁸ Byeong-heon Choe 崔柄憲, *Namalyeocho Seonjongui Sahojjeok Seonggyeok* 羅末麗初 禪宗의 社會의 性格 (Social Characteristics of the Seon Sect in the Late Silla and Early Goryeo Periods), *Sahak Yeongu* 史學研究 (Journal of History) 25, 1975, 4-13

perspective it should be reconsidered because not all historic records support this point of view. He points out that even though Seon monks were supported by hojok, they cooperated with the court, which continuously considered and supported them. According to him, the Seon sect was an ideological movement against the Gyeo sect, which was too scholarly, and spread in Silla society with the cooperation with the court and the local authorities. However because the sect could not get over Hwaeom, Seon and Gyeo became coexistent.⁵⁷⁹ Recently Jo Bumhwan wrote an article agreeing with Ikjin Go.

Actually, Seon monks' steles record that they were strongly supported and revered by the court, and that they cooperated with the court in the Unified Silla and Goryeo dynasties. Because according to inscriptions on steles, *gukgong* 國工 ("craftsmen employed by government") made monks' stupas in the Goryeo dynasty, Lokapala figures were made by *gukgong* commissioned by the court.⁵⁸⁰ This assumption is also supported by the fact that images of the Four Divine Kings on the stupa attributed to Yeomgeo Hwasang made in 844 C.E. are more similar to the contemporary twelve zodiac sculpture of the King's tomb than they are to images of the Four Divine Kings on the Buddha stupa, stone lanterns, and sarira reliquaries.⁵⁸¹

According to *Samguk Yusa*, the oldest monks' stupas were the monk Hesuk's Wongwang beopsa in Silla and the monk Hehyun's stupa in Backje, both built in the

⁵⁷⁹ Ikjin Go 高翊晋, "Silla Hadaeui Seon Jeollae 新羅下代の禪傳來 (Transmission of Seon in Late Silla)," *Hanguk Seon Sasang Yeongu* 韓國禪思想研究 (Seon Thought in Korea), Seoul: Donguk University Press, 1984, pp. 11-88

⁵⁸⁰ Kang, pp. 90-94.

⁵⁸¹ Kang, pp. 95-100.

seventh century and not extant today. The earliest monk's stupa with a date and representation of the Four Divine Kings is a stupa called the Yeomgeo Hwasang Tap ("stupa for the renowned monk Yeomgeo," National Treasure No. 104), built in 844 C.E. It is the first example whose plan is hexagonal, a popular and normative form for monks' stupa until bell-type monks' stupa such as Boje jonja stupa at Silreuksa appeared in the Goryeo Dynasty.⁵⁸²

Burial was preferred to cremation in the funerals of monks from the late Silla to the early Goryeo. When a monk died, he was buried while his stupa was under construction. When the stupa was erected, he was re-buried around the stupa with bones, a practice different from that related to the Buddha stupa, inside which sarira is placed. Several stone coffins for Seon monks have been found.⁵⁸³ In China in the Southern and Northern dynasties the establishment of a monk's stupa was regarded to be a burial rather than a way of adorning a monk's sarira.⁵⁸⁴

Before Seon, the main practice of Korean Buddhism was to follow the Buddha Shakyamuni's teachings written in sutras, and to worship him, as well. After Seon was transmitted to Korea, believers held truth itself to be more important than worshipping the Buddha. Therefore making images of Vairocana Buddha, the visual form of the truth, was popular, and the presence of spiritual guides substituted for that of Buddha

⁵⁸² In the Goryeo dynasty there are monks' stupas whose plan is rectangular, such as Beopcheonsa Jigwang guksa hyunmyotap (National Treasure N. 101) and Hongbeop guksa shilsang tap at the Jeongtosa (National Treasure No. 102).

⁵⁸³ Young-ho Chung 鄭永鎬, *Silla Seokjo Budo Yeongu* 新羅 石造浮屠 研究 (Stone Stupas of Buddhist Monks in Silla Period), Seoul: Shinheungsa, 1974, pp. 237-243; 崔仁善, 光陽 玉龍寺 先覺國師 道詵의 浮屠殿址와 石棺, 文化史學 6.7, 1997, pp. 377-393.

⁵⁸⁴ Kyeongmi Joo, p. 80.

Shakyamuni. I support the idea that this change of beliefs in Buddhism brought into being the stage in which Sacheonwang images appeared to move from one place to another, and incidentally caused faith in Sacheonwang to change.

3. Conclusion

Dominant iconography of Lokapala from the seventh century through the thirteenth century was formed in Chang'an in the seventh century in China. It spread to Longmen caves in Luoyang in China, and overseas to Korea and Japan. The process of formation of Sinicized iconography shows how traditional indigenous culture was involved. In this chapter the King of the North is examined with his attributes. There are a variety of attributes associated with him, and he can hold any implements besides a stupa. The northern lokapala not holding a stupa was popular iconography prevailing in East Asia from the seventh century through the ninth century, judging from works of China, Korea, and Japan.

In Korea the Lokapala cult can be regarded in view of the distinctive sarira cult there, and in turn in view of faith in Shakyamuni. Ancient Buddhist art of Korea in which Lokapala appear shows people's faith in the the three jewels of Buddhism: the Buddha, symbolized by sarira and stupas; the Dharma, emphasized by Buddhist sutras; and the Sangha, the community of ordained Buddhists, represented by monks' stupas. The art of stone lanterns also exhibits Korean faith in the Dharma.

The fact that there are many Sacheonwang images from the Unified Silla dynasty – on the surface of sarira reliquaries, of Buddha stupas, and of monks' sarira

stupas – suggests that the making of Lokapala images was popular at that time. This trend continued through the Goryeo dynasty, with the same iconography. However, it is worth pointing out that iconography of Bisamuncheon (Pishamentian in Chinese) newly appeared as a northern Lokapala during this time. When the deity was worshiped independently, its iconography was created. Faith in Bisamuncheon was popular in the late Tang and Wudai (Five Dynasties, 907-960) in China. Although there is no independent image of Bisamuncheon extant today, according to historic records in the Goryeo dynasty faith in Bisamuncheon was popular; related rituals were conducted, and Bisamun temples were established.

Conclusion

In this dissertation I have proposed a Buddhist perspective on the cult and iconography of the Four Heavenly Kings. I do so in order to see the subject of Lokapala in a different way from previous scholarship.

There are two types of distinctive iconography of the Lokapala deities: a king-like appearance in India and Southeast Asia, and a warrior-like appearance in Central Asia and East Asia. In India Lokapala are represented with an elaborate headdress, upper naked body, a loincloth called dhoti on the lower body, and jewelry and adornments. They take a posture of reverence with hands clasped at the chest, or hold weapons such as a sword or spear. This appearance is shared with other deities, and so Lokapala look like Indian kings. In East Asia, however, Lokapala wear armor and usually hold the symbolic implements of stupa, sword, spear, vajra, or rein.

A general assumption about the changes of Lokapala's iconography has been that because the deities had non-Buddhist origin they were free from religious visual regulations. As Buddhism spread East, though, Lokapala were already Buddhist deities no matter their origins. In the dissertation the change of iconography is viewed from causal principles rather than from resultant aspects. The dissertation begins with the first place Lokapala who were represented with jewels and ornaments as if they were kings in India. There are two principle involved in the process of creating Lokapala's iconography: indigenous ideas about ornaments and kings.

Ornamentation means offering, beauty, and protection. Kings are protectors of the people and they should be depicted as gods. These points gave a causal principle to the creation of Lokapala's iconography. This is because even though deities other than Lokapala are also depicted in kings' images in India, Lokapala are regarded as protectors of the Buddhist Law and in turn protectors of the world in Buddhism. The deities are only represented in the function of assistants and worshippers of the Buddha, making offerings to him, as described in Buddhist scripture of the Hinayana tradition.

The other perspective on the change of iconography is the development of Buddhist doctrine, Hinayana and Mahayana. Lokapala express their reverence to the Buddha in Indian Buddhist art. In India the deities always follow him as faithful attendants. In the Mahayana tradition, on the other hand, Lokapala help practitioners attain enlightenment by encouraging their practice and eliminating obstacles to their practice: the real role of the deities as 'protectors of the world.' Armor and weapons are symbols of the Mahayana path, emphasizing the Bodhisattva's intention to help living beings attain Buddhahood. In the Mahayana tradition the Buddha is believed to be always in this world to lead living beings to Buddhahood, as the Buddha declares in the *Lotus Sutra*.

The role of the deities has so far been interpreted only by the literal meaning of their name Lokapala, 'protectors of the world.' For this reason, the explanation of warrior-like iconography of Lokapala in East Asia has been that because they are protectors of the world, they wear armor for protection and hold weapons for attack. However, in Buddhism the most powerful protection is the holding of virtues such as

wisdom, compassion, and concentration – also the strongest weapons for eliminating the real enemies, which are delusions. What the Four Heavenly Kings protect, as Buddhist guardian deities, is actually practitioners. And as Buddhist sutras emphasize, practitioners should hold, read, practice, and teach the Buddha's teachings.

When we think of the reason that Lokapala wear armor in East Asia, we tend to be too focused on the literal meaning of Lokapala's function as a protector. It is true that they are protectors, and that armor can be a symbol of their function. However, it does not look like they began to wear armor in Central Asia because of their role of protectors. In India they did not wear armor because it did not bear certain characteristics such as royalty or divinity. When they are represented as if they are kings, with heavy ornaments, their divinity becomes distinctive. In Central Asia, where Lokapala started to wear armor, this armor is not protective or defense gear but rather a garment that shows the high status of the divinities. This argument can be supported by the fact that deities other than Lokapala, such as Vajrapani and Naga, also changed their dhoti to armor, and that in this context armor was worn by high-ranking people such as kings and queens.

Bodhisattva images wearing armor show a more important aspect of armor in Buddhism that symbolizes Mahayana doctrine: the bodhisattva intention of helping living beings attain Buddhahood. Physical objects are often used as metaphors of virtues of Buddhist doctrine in Mahayana Buddhism, and in this tradition armor acquired more meaning. Therefore it is kind of dangerous to think of the role of objects only in terms of their physical usage, such as armor being protective gear for battle. In wearing armor and

holding weapons, Lokapala may represent virtues of giving, discipline, patience, effort, concentration, and wisdom.

In warrior figures of Buddhism, including Lokapala, the function of protector is emphasized with the wearing of armor. However, what should be remembered is that these deities do not function in a physical way, because the real enemy of living beings is neither other living beings nor physical demons. The enemy is always within the mind of sentient beings. The deities do not fight with the enemy of a certain country, but they do fight in a gracious way with demons created by the delusions of living beings; Lokapala protect the world and sentient beings not by fighting physically but by guarding Dharma, the Buddha's teachings. We need to remember that when the Buddha attained enlightenment, he was able to subdue Mara and Mara's army by merit that he accumulated in previous lives, and by single pointed concentration, not by physical power.

The Lokapala cult and images in Korea from the seventh through thirteenth centuries have so far been viewed from the perspective of *hoguk bulgyo*, state-protecting Buddhism. The view has been regarded as a proper frame that allows scholars to explain historic events associated with Buddhist practice in Korea, such as the establishment of Sacheonwangsa. This perspective, however, prevents a variety of discussions through diverse angles. In the dissertation, therefore, imagery of the deities in Korea is interpreted from a practitioner's standpoint, related to the inner function of the deities.

Buddhism interpreted in the *hoguk bulgyo* ideology is somewhat distorted in terms of basic Buddhist ideas. The reason the Buddha encourages people to practice his teachings is because problems cannot be solved through changing the external situation, and happiness does not come from people getting what they want. In this basic idea there are several doctrines involved, such as the law of karma. According to the Buddha's teachings on the Four Heavenly Kings, if practitioners want to get help from the deities, they should practice the Law. That is why the deities proclaim that they are willing to help people who strive to bring about the flourishing of the Law.

In order to show where the Korean development of Sacheonwang cult and iconography is located, with what kind of significance in the entire history of Buddhist art started in India, I investigate the Lokapala cult defined in Buddhist scriptures and the actual practice of Lokapala conducted in ancient times, as seen through literary evidence.

The role of Lokapala manifested as imagery in Korea is associated with the Buddha's relic cult. Because almost all Sacheonwang imagery is represented on sarira reliquaries and stupas, the Lokapala cult is examined along with the sarira or stupa cult in the dissertation. Sarira is invaluable to Buddhist devotees because the Buddha's historic existence had to do with his relics. Since his sarira was enshrined in the original eight stupas in India, sarira and stupas have been considered absolute divinity as symbolic objects directly related to the Buddha.

The argument that sarira put into stupas were regarded as the living presence of the Buddha in India is an important point for the *sarira* cult in Korea. From early times

in India, stupas were central objects and sarira put into stupas were worshipped as the living presence of the Buddha. Lokapala represented on sarira or stupas functioned to imply the actual living presence of the Buddha. This is because Lokapala are divine beings who follow the Buddha always, as stated in *Lalitavistara*. Their depictions on art directly related to his relics thus exhibit the living presence of the Buddha in the space of the art works. Therefore, the practice of applying Lokapala imagery on sarira containers or stupas in Korea seems to be directly linked to the practice in India mentioned above.

The fact that Lokapala imagery is enshrined at *Cheonwangmun*, Heavenly Kings Gate, on the entrance of monasteries in Korea from the late Goryeo or the early Joseon, shows that changes occurred in the cult of Lokapala, as seen through images whose primary function was to confirm the living presence of the Buddha. In other words, practitioners' relationship with the Buddha changed. The reason for the change seems to be the influence of the Seon tradition, in which the status of spiritual guides is regarded to be the same as that of the Buddha.

This dissertation tried to focus on causal fact rather than resultant appearance, by considering the kinds of indigenous thoughts involved in creating Lokapala's iconography in India in the first place; what principally caused the change of iconography in East Asia; and what kind of religious intention was at the background of commissioned imagery in East Asia, especially Korea.

Lokapala's imagery implies the living presence of the Buddha who teaches living beings always. Therefore Lokapala imagery on sarira reliquaries and stupas not only

functions to protect these objects, but also symbolizes a more significant religious aspect. Ancient people in Korea perceived stupas as places where Buddha stays, as opposed to places where Buddha's dead body manifested as sarira is placed. For this reason ancient Korean people also put copies of sutras implying the Law as sarira put into stupas.

<Table 1> Transcriptions and Translations of the four Lokapalas

Buddhist texts in Chinese (Vol./No. in Taisho Tripitaka)		Dhrtarāṣṭra (east)	Virūḍhaka (south)	Virūpākṣa (west)	Vaiśravaṇa (north)
<i>Taiziruiyingbenqijing</i> 太子瑞應本起經 2 (Vol. 3, No. 185, 0479b18-0479b19)	Zhi Qian 支謙 (fl. 222-252)	Ditoulai 提頭賴	Weishanwen 維睽文	Weiloule 維樓勒	Jujunluo 拘均羅
<i>Puyaojing</i> 普曜經 7 (Vol. 3, No. 186, 0527a09-0527a10)	Dharmaraksā 竺法護 in Western Jin 西晉 (236-313)	Ditoulai 提頭賴	Weishanwen 維睽文	Weiloule 維樓勒	Jujunluo 拘均羅
<i>Foshuoguandingjing</i> 佛說灌頂經 6 (Vol. 21, No. 1331)	Śrīmitra 帛尸黎密多羅 in 317-322 A.D.	提頭賴吒	毗樓勒	毗樓博叉	毗沙門
<i>Foshuoguandingjing</i> 佛說灌頂經 7 (Vol. 21, No. 1331)		提多羅吒	毗留離	毗留波叉	毗沙門
<i>Foshuoguandingjing</i> 佛說灌頂經 8 (Vol. 21, No. 1331)		提頭賴吒	惟睽門	毗樓勒	毗沙門
<i>Zengyiahanjing</i> 增壹阿含經 22 (Vol.2, No.125, 0663c02-0663c03)/(0550c20-0550c23)	Samgha-deva 僧伽提婆 in Eastern Jin 東晉 (317-420) from Kashmir	Ditoulai 提頭賴吒/ Ditoulai 提頭賴吒	毘留勒/毘留勒叉	毘留博叉/毘留跋叉	毘沙門/毘沙門
<i>Changyiahanjing</i> 長阿含經 5 (Vol.1, No.1, 0030b20-0035a22)	Buddhayasas 佛陀耶舍 /Zhufonian 竺佛念 in Hung Shih 弘始 era (399-416) of Later Qin 後秦	提帝賴吒	毘樓勒叉	毘樓博叉	
<i>Jinguangmingjing</i> 金光明經 (Vol. 16, No. 663, 0340c17-0340c18)	Dharma-rakṣa 曇無讖 (385-433)	提頭賴吒	毘留勒叉	毘留博叉	毘沙門
<i>Dafangdengdajijing</i> 大方等大集經 21 (Vol.13 No. 397, 0147c07-0147c08)	Dharma-rakṣa 曇無讖 (385-433)	提頭賴吒	毘樓勒迦	毘留博叉	毘沙門
<i>Foshuomiledachengfojing</i> 佛說彌勒大成佛經 1 (Vol.14 No. 456, 0433a05-0433a06)	Kumarajiva 鳩摩羅什 in Later Qin (344-413)	提頭賴吒	毘樓勒叉	毘留博叉	毘沙門
<i>Dazhiduolun</i> 大智度論 54 (Vol. 25, No. 1509, 0443b10- 0443b13).	Kumarajiva 鳩摩羅什 in Later Qin (344-413)	提多羅吒 (秦言治國)	毘流離 (秦言增長)	毘流波叉 (秦言雜語)	鞞沙門 (秦言多聞)
<i>Dajiyishenzhoujing</i> 大吉義神咒經 2(Vol.21 No. 1335, 0570c29-0571a11//3(0575c15-0576b17)	曇曜 in Northern Wei	提頭賴吒	毘留勒	毘留博叉	毘沙門

<i>Zhengfanianchujing</i> 正法念處經 24 (Vol.17 No. 721, 0140b21-0142a09)	prajn~a^ruci 般若流支(came to China in 516) from S. India	提頭賴吒	毘留勒	毘留博叉	毘沙門
<i>Foshuolishiapitanlun</i> 佛說立世阿毘曇論 4 (Vol.32 No. 1644, 0190b09-0193b19)	Paramārtha 真諦 (499-569) from India	提頭賴吒	毘留勒叉	毘留博叉	毘沙門
<i>Jinghuyixiang</i> 經律異相 1(Vol.53 No. 2121,0001b08-0001b13)	by 梁沙門僧旻寶唱等集 in 516	提頭賴吒	毘婁勒	毘婁博叉	毘沙門
<i>Fanfanyao</i> 翻梵語 7 (Vol.54 No. 2130, 1028a23-	Presumably before Liang dynasty	提頭賴吒 (應云提栗哆賴吒譯曰提栗哆者治賴吒者國也) 第十三卷	毘留勒 (譯曰長張反) 增一阿含第一卷		拘鉤羅 / 毘舍羅門王 (亦云毘沙門譯曰毘沙門者種種聞也)
阿吒婆[牛*句]鬼神大將上佛陀羅尼經 1(Vol.21 No. 1238, 0181b13-0181b14)	梁失譯(曉珍)	提頭賴吒	毘樓勒叉	毘樓博叉	毘沙門
<i>Foruniepanmijijinganglishiailianjing</i> 佛入涅槃密跡金剛力士哀戀經 1 (Vol.12 No. 394, 1117b12-1117b14)	失譯人名今附秦錄	提頭賴吒	毘留勒叉	毘留博叉	毘沙門
<i>Fobenxingjijing</i> 佛本行集經 7 (Vol.03 No. 190, 0684b11)	闍那崛多 from India in Sui dynasty	提頭賴吒	毘留勒叉	毘留博叉	毘沙門
<i>Fobenxingjijing</i> 佛本行集經 32 (Vol.03 No. 190, 0801b05-0802a19)		提頭賴吒	毘留勒叉		毘沙門
<i>Xianyujing</i> 賢愚經 4 (Vol.04 No. 202, 1117b12-1117b14)		提頭賴吒	毘樓勒叉		毘沙門
<i>Lianhuamianjing</i> 蓮華面經 1(Vol.12 No. 386, 1071b02-1072a09 // 蓮華面經 2(1076b01)	那連提耶舍 from India in Sui dynasty	提頭賴吒	毘留勒叉	毘留博叉	毘沙門
<i>Dabanniepanjingyiji</i> 大般涅槃經義記 1(Vol.37 No. 1764, 0626a04-0626a10)	隋淨影寺沙門釋慧遠述	提頭賴吒 (此云持國)	毘樓勒叉 (此云增長主)	毘樓博叉 (此云雜語)	毘沙門 (此云多聞)
<i>Jinguangmingjingwenju</i> 金光明經文句 5 (Vol.39 No. 1785,0073b08-0073b12)	Composed by Zhiyi 智顗 (538~597)	提頭賴吒 (此翻持國)	毘留勒叉 (此翻增長)	毘留博叉 (此翻雜語)	毘沙門 (此翻多聞)
<i>Jinguangmingjingwenjuji</i> 金光明經文句記 5 (Vol. 39, No. 1786, 0138a19-0138a26)	知禮 (960 ~ 1028 北宋天台宗僧) 述	持國者.護持國土故	增長者.令自他善根增長故	雜語者.能作種種語故	多聞.福德之名聞四方故
<i>Miaofalianhuaqingwenju</i> 妙法蓮華經文句 2(Vol.34 No. 1718, 0024a21-0024a27)	Composed by Zhiyi 智顗 (538~597)	提頭賴吒 (此云持國)	毘留勒叉 此云增長亦云免離/毘留匐叉(毘留博叉 (此云非好報亦云惡眼亦云雜語)	毘沙門 (此云種種聞亦云多聞)
<i>Foshuotuluonijijing</i> 陀羅尼集經 11 (Vol.18 No. 901,	阿地瞿多 from India in Tang	提頭賴吒	毘嚧陀迦	毘嚧博叉	毘沙門

0878b19-0878c13	dynasty				
<i>Foshuotuluonijijing</i> 陀羅尼集經 12 (Vol.18 No. 901,	阿地瞿多 from India in Tang dynasty				毘沙門
<i>Yizifodonglunwangjing</i> 一字佛頂輪王經 4(Vol.19 No. 951, 0246c13-0253b18)	菩提留志 from S. India in Sui dynasty	提頭賴吒	毘樓勒叉	毘樓博叉	毘沙門
<i>Foshuodakongquezhouwangjing</i> 佛說大孔雀咒王經 2(Vol. 19, No. 985, 0470a18-0470a20)	Trans. By Yijing 義淨 (635-713)	持國	增長	廣目	多聞
<i>Azhabojuyuanshuaidajiangsha ngfo</i> 阿吒薄俱元帥大將上佛陀羅尼經修行儀軌 2 (Vol.21 No. 1239, 0194b08)	Trans. by Śubhākarasimha 善無畏(637-735)	提頭賴吒	毘樓勒叉	毘樓博叉	毘沙門
<i>Tuoluonizaji</i> 陀羅尼雜集 8(Vol.21 No. 1336, 0624b11-0624b12)	未詳撰者今附梁錄	提頭賴吒	隨樓勒/毘樓勒叉 624c08(05)	毘留博叉	毘沙門
<i>Renwangbanruojingshu</i> 仁王般若經疏 1(Vol.33 No. 1707, 320b02-320b04)	吉藏法師撰	提頭賴吒 (此云持國主)	毘留勒叉 (此云增長主)	毘留博叉 (此云雜語主)	毘沙門 (此云多聞主)
<i>Jingguangmingjingshu</i> 金光明經疏 1 (Vol.39 No. 1787,0166a20-0166a26)	沙門吉藏撰	提頭賴吒 (此云持國)	毘留勒 (此云增長)	毘留博叉 (此云雜語)	毘沙門 (此云多聞)
<i>Dapiluzhenachengfojingshu</i> 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏 6 (Vol.39 No. 1796, 0639a16-0640a04)	沙門一行阿闍梨記	提頭賴吒	毘樓勒叉	毘樓博叉	毘沙門
<i>Guanzhongchuanglijietantu jing</i> 關中創立戒壇圖經 1 (Vol.45 No. 1892, 0809c06-0809c21)	大唐京師西明寺沙門釋道宣撰	提頭賴吒	毘婁勒叉	毘婁博叉	毘沙門 (其王手中掌擎佛塔,古佛舍利在中)
<i>Fayuanzhulin</i> 法苑珠林 2 (Vol.53 No. 2122,0283a03-0283a09)	西明寺沙門釋道世撰	多羅吒 (此云治國主(智度論云提頭賴吒))	毘琉璃 此云增長主(智度論名毘樓勒叉))	毘留博叉此云雜語主智度論云毘樓博叉	毘沙門 (此云多聞主)
<i>Qingguanyinjingshuchanyic hao</i> 請觀音經疏闡義鈔 4 (Vol.39 No. 1801, 1003b02-1003b22)	Written by Zhiyuan 智圓 (976-1022) in 宋錢唐	提頭賴吒 (此翻持國謂護持國土安眾生故)	毘留勒叉 (此云增長調能令自他善根增長故)	毘留博叉 (此云雜語或云醜眼)	毘沙門 (此云普聞或云多聞)
<i>Fodingzunshengtuoluonijia ojiyiji</i> 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼經教跡義記 1(Vol.39 No. 1803, 1016c03-1022a06)	曩者佛陀波利三藏遠涉流沙	提頭賴吒	毘樓勒叉	毘樓博叉	毘沙門
<i>Fodingzunshengtuoluonijia ojiyiji</i> 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼經教跡義記 2(Vol.39 No. 1803, 1037b24-1037c02)	上都大聖千福法華寺內供奉翻經證義講論大德沙門法崇述	提頭賴吒	毘樓勒叉	毘樓博叉	毘沙門
<i>Dachengyizhang</i> 大乘義章 8 (Vol.44 No. 1851,	遠法師撰	提頭賴吒 (此名治國)	毘樓勒 (此名增長)	毘樓博 (此名雜語)	毘沙門 (此名多聞)

627b05-627b12)					
<i>Fozutongji</i> 佛祖統紀 31 (Vol.49 No. 2035, 0307a25) 是金光明眾經之王(云云)	Written by Zhipan 志磐 in 1236 (Song dynasty)	提頭賴吒天 王(此云持國 護持國土)	毘留勒叉天 王(此云增長 令自他善根 增長故)	留博叉天王 (此云雜語能 種種雜語又廣 目又惡眼專主 罰惡令遇苦發 心)/ 西方雜語 天王(孔雀經 翻廣目又翻非 報能與罪逆眾 生不能現報) 0307a20(32)/	毘沙門天 王(此云多 聞光明句 記福德之 名聞四方 故)
<i>Yiqiejingyiny</i> 一切經音義 73 (Vol.54 No. 2128,0780c22-0781a05)	Composed by Huilin 惠琳 in 783-807 (Tang dynasty)	提頭賴吒(或 言提多羅吒 或言弟黎多 曷囉吒此譯 云持國	毘留勒叉(或 名毗離或言 毘樓勒叉迦 或言鼻溜茶 迦	毗留博叉(或 名毘樓[怡-台 +專]叉或名鼻 溜波	毘沙門(或 言鞞舍囉 婆拏此譯 云離聞亦 云普門或 云多聞其 王最富寶 物自然
<i>Yiqiejingyiny</i> 一切經音義 21 (Vol.54 No. 2128,-----)	大唐沙門慧苑 撰			p0435a23(41) 毘樓博叉(具 云髀路波呵迄 叉言髀者種種 也路波者色也 波呵迄叉者根 也調以種種雜 色莊嚴諸根也 又云髀種種也 路色也波呵迄 叉目也言其目 種種色莊嚴舊 云醜目者謬 也)。	p0435a20(8) 毘沙門 (具正云鞞 室羅嚩囊 此云多聞 調此王福 德多處知 聞也或曰 毘遍也沙 門聞也謂 諸處遍聞 義同前釋 或曰毘云 伊也此王 本名具乞 羅後於一 時佛正為 眾說法其 王乃被袈 裟來入會 中時眾咸 怪互相謂 言伊是沙 門伊是沙 門從此與 號毘沙門 也)
<i>Fanyimingyiji</i> 翻譯名義集 2 (Vol.54 No. 2131, 1076b28-1076c12)	Composed by 編 法雲 (1088- 1158)	提多羅吒(陟 駕切)大論云 秦言治國. 光 明疏云東黃 金埵王名提	毘流離.大論 云.秦言增長. 光明疏云.南 琉璃埵王.名 毘留勒叉.亦	毘流波叉.大 論云秦言雜 語. 光明疏云 西白銀埵王名 毘留博叉又翻	鞞(部迷)沙 門大論云 秦言多聞. 光明疏云 北水精埵

		頭賴吒此云 持國又翻安 民	翻免離。	非好報又翻惡 眼亦翻廣目	王名毘沙 門索隱云 福德之名 聞四方故 亦翻普聞
<i>Jingmingjingguanzhongshic hao</i> 淨名經關中釋抄 1 (Vol.85 No. 2778,0517c24- 0517c27)	Compiled by Daoye 道液撰 集 ‘護世者四天 王也’	提頭賴吒 (此 云國主)	毘樓勒叉 (此 云增長主)	毘樓博 (又此 云雜語亦云醜 眼主)	毘沙門 (此 云多聞主)
<i>Yuqielunji</i> 瑜伽論記 23 (Taisho Tripitaka Vol. 42, No. 1828, 0849b06- 0849b07)		持國	增長	醜目	多聞
<i>Fahuajingxuanzanyaoji</i> 法 華經玄贊要集 10 (卅 Xuzangjing Vol. 34, No. 638, 0409c09-0409c17	鏡水寺沙門 栖復(living in about 835)	提頭賴吒 此云持國	毗樓博叉 此云增長	毗留勒叉 此云醜目 *目最醜故	毗沙門天 此云多聞

<Table 2> Iconographical Descriptions of Lokapala in Buddhist Texts

Scriptures (trans.) T: <i>Taishō Tripitaka</i> Volume	East 持國天王 Dhṛtarāṣṭra: he who upholds the realm	South 增長天王 Virūdhaka: he who causes to grow	West 廣目天王 Virūpākṣa: he who sees all	North 多聞天王 Vaiśravaṇa: he who hears everything
<i>Foshuo tuoluoni jijig</i> 佛說陀羅尼集經 (Skt. Dhāraṇīsaṃgraha sutra, “ <i>Dharani Sutra Preached by the Buddha</i> ”) 11 (634-635) T.18 No.0901, 0879a14-0879a24	提頭賴吒天王像法. 其像身長量一肘作. 身著種種天衣. 嚴飾極令精妙. 與身相稱. 左手申臂垂下把刀. 右手屈臂. 向前仰手. 掌中著寶. 寶上出光.	毘嚩陀迦天王像法. 其像大小衣服准前. 左手亦同前天王法. 申臂把刀. 右手執槩. 槩根著地.	毘嚩博叉天王像法. 其像大小衣服准前. 左手同前. 唯執槩異. 其右手手中而把赤索.	毘沙門天王像法. 其像大小衣服准前. 左手同前. 執槩拄地. 右手屈肘擎於佛塔.
<i>Bukong jiansuo tuoluoni zizaiwang zhujing</i> 不空羂索多羅尼自在王呪經 (Skt. Amoghapāśa-kalparāja-sūtra “ <i>Infallible Lasso Dharani Unrestrained King’s Mantra Sutra</i> ”) 3 Tr. Baosiwei 寶思惟 (Ratnacinta) came from Kaśmīra in 693 CE. T.20 No.1097, 0427c17-0427c29	壇東門外畫二天王守護其門. 左邊應作持國天王. 右邊應作增長天王. 俱被衣甲器仗嚴淨. 作瞋怒面眼光赤色. 持國天王以手執劍. 增長天王以手執梃.	壇南門外應畫二王守護其門. 左邊應作醜目天王. 右邊應作赤目神王. 此之二王面皆黑色. 赤金嚴身皆被衣甲. 其手執持弓箭刀劍 壇西門外畫二藥叉王守護其門. 左邊應作末尼跋達羅藥叉王. 右邊應作布栗拏跋達羅藥叉王. 作此二王應如本色. 種種莊嚴身被衣甲. 手持斧索	壇北門外畫二天王守護其門. 左邊應作多聞天王. 右邊應作金剛手天王. 畫此二王各依本色. 眾寶莊嚴執持器仗	
<i>Yizi fodinglunwang jing</i> 一字佛頂輪王經 (Skt. Ekākṣara-buddhoṣṇīśa-cakra-rāja-sūtra, The Single Syllable Buddha’s Crown Wheel King Sutra) 1 (705) Korean T.19 No. 951, 0231c13-0231c19	次於佛左東北角邊. 面畫提頭賴吒天王. 左手執槩. 右手側揚掌 是等護世天王各以衣甲被飾莊彩半跏趺坐	次於佛左東南角邊. 面畫毘嚩陀迦天王. 左手執槩. 右手側揚掌	次於佛右西南角邊. 面畫毘嚩博叉天王. 左手執槩. 右手掌金剛杵	次於佛右西北角邊. 面畫多聞天王. 左手執槩. 右手執金剛杵
<i>Guangda bao louge shanzhu mimi tuoluoni jing</i> 廣大寶樓閣善住秘密陀羅尼經 (Vast Precious Pavilion Well Dwelling Secret Dharani Sutra) 2 tr. Bodhiruci 菩提流志 (706) T.19 No. 1006, 0643c10-0643c11	四角各畫四大天王. 身著衣甲手執器仗. 種種瓔珞而嚴飾之. 作瞋怒相 http://www.cbeta.org/result/normal/T19/1006_002.htm			
<i>Bukong juansuo shenbian zhenyan jing</i> 不空羂索神變真言經 (Skt. Amoghapāśa-kalparāja, “ <i>Infallible Lasso’s Mantra Supernatural Transformations</i> ”) 12 (707-9) tr. Bodhiruci II 菩提流志 in 709 CE. T.20 No.1092, 0288b19-0288b27	提頭賴吒天王. 左手把槩右手揚掌半加趺坐. 東南面葉上. 度底使者并及眷屬. 南面葉上.	毘嚩陀迦天王. 左手執槩右手揚掌半加趺坐. 西南面葉上	毘嚩博叉天王眉間一目. 左手持槩右手掌獨股金剛杵半加趺坐. 西北面葉上	多聞天王. 左手執槩右手把獨股金剛杵半加趺坐. 東北面葉上 http://www.cbeta.org/result/normal/T20/1092_012.htm

不空羂索神變真言經 25 (廣大明王摩尼曼拏羅品 第五十三) T. 20 no.1092, 0365a11-12	四角四天王神面目瞋怒.執持杵槩繞身光焰 http://www.cbeta.org/result/normal/T20/1092_025.htm				
不空羂索神變真言經 25 T. 20 No.1092, 0370a12/0370a14-15	提頭賴吒天王毘樓勒叉天王 執持器仗半加趺 坐		毘樓博叉天王毘沙門天王 執持槩索 半加趺坐		
	http://www.cbeta.org/result/normal/T20/1092_025.htm				
<i>Genben shuoyiqieyoubu pinaiye posengshi</i> 根本說 一切有部毘奈耶破僧事 (Skr. Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya Saṃghabheda Vastu, “Fundamental Sravastivada Vinaya on Devision of Sangha Community”) 2 (710)	復次菩薩降母胎時.釋提桓因即遣四天神營衛其母.而此四神一執利刀.一執貫索.一執 於戟.一執弓箭.何以故恐諸惡魔得其母便 http://www.dictall.com/indu/343/3426984E218.htm T. 24 No. 1450, 0107c01-0107c03				
<i>Azhaboju yuanshuai dajiang shang tuoluoni jing xiuxing yigui</i> 阿吒薄 俱元帥大將上佛陀羅尼經 修行儀軌 (Ritual Procedure of Practing Azhaboju Marshal General --- Buddha Dharani Sutra) 3 Shan wu-wei 善無畏 (717-735) T.21 No. 1239, 0194b07-0194b18	左右作四侍者.左畫提頭賴吒毘樓勒叉.右畫毘樓博叉毘沙門.皆大瞋相.七寶華冠身著紺 金甲.龍頭臂釧天衣七寶行纏及履.腳踏藥叉.提頭賴吒執刀按之.毘樓勒叉執叉.毘樓博叉 按劍.毘沙門執杵.四天王各領眷屬.東方天王領乾闥婆將軍執鐸鈴.南方天王領鳩槃荼王 執弓箭.西方天王領龍王執劍.北方天王領藥叉王執伏突.其神頭上赤黑雲起.四方天王足 下作二童子青衣作之.右執紙筆左執硯盤.神前一人天頂戴香爐供養.極須鮮明淨潔作之. 所求如意.				
	提頭賴吒執刀按之		毘樓勒叉執叉	毘樓博叉按劍	毘沙門執杵
	http://www.cbeta.org/result/normal/T21/1239_002.htm				
<i>Qianshou guanyin zaocidifa yigui</i> 千手觀音 造次第法儀軌 (“Ritual Procedures of Thousan- armed Avalokiteshvara Making Stages of Law”) 1 T.20 No. 1068	十五提頭賴吒王.赤紅 色又青白色 (0138b26)	十七毘樓勒叉王.色 赤.左手執杵.右手把 劍.(0138b29)	十八毘樓博叉王.色 白.左手執杵.右手 把金索青色.	十九毘沙門天 王.色紺青.左 手持寶塔.右手 杵	
	http://www.cbeta.org/result/normal/T20/1068_001.htm 第三重有二十八部眾.有各各本形.真言曰 (0138a25)--- 帝釋天王主之女子大德天女也. 多聞天之大妃也.左手把如意珠.紫紺色也.右手金剛劍.0138b24-0138b25				
<i>Puxian yanmingfa</i> 普賢延 命法 (“Samantabhadra prolonged life dharma”) 金 剛智口訣(723-36) (興然 圖像集 5)	左)五指端微曲偃並 如持物 / 右) 執刀橫胸 臆前刀下首左如持物 勢身色綠青	二手縛二大指並立 堂心前 身色赤火	二手腕相交右押左 刀索(或不持之) 身色白	左) 持寶塔 右) 執三股戟 身色 黃金	
<i>Banruoshouhu shiliu shanshenwang xingti</i> 般若 守護十六善神王形體 (“Wisdom Protecting Sixteen Benevolent Spirit Kings’ Form”) (723-36) Jingangzhi 金剛智 T.21 No.1293	提頭攞宅善神 綠青 色.開口現忿怒相貌. 被甲冑著赤衣.右手持 大刀.左手捧鉢.髮紫色 也.	毘盧勒叉善神 赤 紫色.忿怒相現閉唇 之形.右拔折囉.左 押腰.被甲冑著白青 色衣	毘盧博叉善神 肉 色.懸黑絲臂.以筆 作書寫之勢.被甲冑 著綠色衣服.鬢髮赤 色 微笑之形也	吠室羅摩拏善 神 青黑色.現 瞋王相.作閉唇 相.右手持金剛 槌. 左手捧全身舍 利寶塔.	
<i>Zunsheng foding xiuyujiafa guiyi</i> 尊勝佛頂脩瑜伽 軌儀卷下 (“Ritual Procedure of Vijaya Usnisa Practice Yoga”) Shan wu- wei 善無畏三藏 T. 19 No. 973, 0379b07	東門北東方提頭賴吒 天王。手執琵琶并四 侍者	0379b04-6 (其外院 各安十方護法神王 等.各領眷屬.左右畫 四箇侍者.如東北角 伊舍那.手執恒利首 羅.左右各二侍者。 隨執本方印契)			

	http://www.cbeta.org/result/normal/T19/0973_002.htm			
<i>Dabao guangbo louge shanzhu mimi tuoluoni jing</i> 大寶廣博樓閣善住秘密陀羅尼經 (Greatly Precious Extensive Pavilion Well Dwelling Secret Dharani Sutra) 2 (700-774) Bukong 不空 T. 19 No.1005	http://www.cbeta.org/result/normal/T19/1005a002.htm			
<i>Chengjiu miaofalianhua jing wang yujia guanzhi yigui</i> 成就妙法蓮華經王瑜伽觀智儀軌 (705-774) Bukong 不空 T.19 No.1000, 0595c11-0596a01	次於第三重院東門.置持國天王	南門置毘樓勒叉天王	西門置毘樓博叉天王	北門置毘沙門天王
	http://www.cbeta.org/result/normal/T19/1000_001.htm			
<i>Fahua manduoluo weiyixingsefajing</i> 法華曼多羅威儀形色法經 (Lotus Mandala's Eminent Appearance Method Sutra) (746-74) 中京大興善寺 大廣智 Bukong 不空 T.19 No.1001, 0604c18-0605a01	第三院東門持國天王寶冠嚴髮髻 面門青肉色 左定執利鋒 身妙散瓔珞 袈裟及天衣 金剛寶甲專 右惠著腰相 瞋怒威德相 跏趺右押左 蓮葉以為嚴	南門毘樓勒叉天王頂冠嚴髮髻 面門赤肉色 左定拳押膝 右惠金剛釧	西門毘樓博叉天王 -----	寶冠嚴髮髻 面門白黃色 左定捧寶塔 右惠持寶釧
	以上四大天王威儀嚴身同持國天王			
<i>Fanyi mingyiji</i> 翻譯名義集 (“Collection of Translated Buddhist Terms”) compiled by 法云 Fayun circa 1150 C.E. T. 54 No.2131, 1076c10-1076c12				名毘沙門. 索隱云.福德之名聞四方故.亦翻普聞.佛令掌擎古佛舍利塔.
<i>Yaoshi liuli guang wang qifobenyan gongdejing niansong yigui gongyangfa</i> 藥師琉璃光王七佛本願功德經念誦儀軌供養法 (Reciting Ritual Procedures and Making Offerings to The Sutra on the Merits and Virtues of the Original Vows of Bhaisajyaguru Vaidurya Prabharaaja Seven Tathagata) (1278-1290) Shaluoba 沙囉巴 T. 19, No. 926	東方持國大天王 其身白色持琵琶 守護八佛東方門	南方增長大天王 其身青色執寶劍 守護八佛南方門	西方廣目大天王 其身紅色執寶索 守護八佛西方門	北方多聞大天王 其身綠色執寶叉 守護八佛東方門
<i>Xiuyaoshi yigui butanfa</i> 修藥師儀軌布壇法 (Teachings on Decorating Bhaisajyaguru Ritual Procedures and Altars) (1824) 1 北京淨住寺住持 Awangzhashi 阿旺扎什 T. 19 No. 928	東門中持國天王白色 二手持琵琶.	南門中增長天王藍色持劍	西門中廣目天王紅色持蛇索	北門中多聞天王黃色持寶鼠
	以上四天王頭戴寶冠身著天衣兩足並立			

<i>Azha pogou guishen dajiang shang fotuo tuoluoni jing</i> 阿吒婆牛句 鬼神大將上佛陀羅尼經 梁失譯(曉珍) T. 21 No. 1238, 0181b13-0181b23	左右畫四侍者。左提頭賴吒毘樓勒叉。右毘樓博叉。毘沙門皆作瞋相。 <u>七寶花冠身著細金甲。龍頭臂釧天衣七寶行纏及履。腳踏藥叉。右亦依此。提頭賴吒執刀按之。毘樓勒叉執叉。毘樓博叉按劍。毘沙門執杵。</u> 四天王各領眷屬。東方天王領乾闥婆將軍執鐸鈴。南方天王鈴鳩槃荼王執弓箭。西方天王領龍王執劍。北方天王領藥叉王執伏突。其神頭上赤黑雲起。四方天王足下作二童子青衣作之。右執紙筆左執硯盤。神前作一天頂戴香爐供養。極須鮮潔作之。所求如意。			
	提頭賴吒執刀按之	毘樓勒叉執叉。	毘樓博叉按劍。	毘沙門執杵
	http://www.cbeta.org/result/normal/T21/1238_001.htm			

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Bukong jiansuo tuoluoni zizaiwang zhou jing 不空羼索多羅尼自在王呪經

Cao Zijian ji 曹子建集

Chizhaijing 持齋經

Daban niepan jing 大般涅槃經

Dafang guangfo huayanjingshou 大方廣佛華嚴經疏

Dafangdeng daji jing 大方等大集經

Dafangdeng dayun jing 大方等大雲經

Daloutan jing 大樓炭經

Datang xiyu ji 大唐西域記

Dayun jing 大雲經

Dayunlun qingyu jing 大雲輪請雨經

Dazhiduolun 大智度論

Fahua jing xuanzanyaoji 法華經玄贊要集

Fanfanyu 翻梵語

Fangguangdazhuangyanjing 方廣大莊嚴經

Fanyimingyiji 翻譯名義集

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Foshuo dakongquezhouwang jing 佛說大孔雀咒王經

Foshuo pishamentianwang jing 佛說毘沙門天王經

Foshuo sitianwang jing 佛說四天王經

Foshuo zhaijing 佛說齋經
Foshuomiledachengfojing 佛說彌勒大成佛經
Gaoseng zhuan 高僧傳
Goryeosa 高麗史
Guang hongming ji 廣弘明集
Hehu jinguangming jing 合部金光明經
Ji shenzhou sanbao gantong lu 集神州三寶感通錄
Jingluyixiang 經律異相
Jinguangming jing 金光明經
Jinguangming zuisheng jing 金光明最勝王經
Jinguangmingjing wenjuji 金光明經文句記
Jinguangmingjingshu 金光明經疏
Jinguangmingzuishengjing 金光明最勝王經
Jishi jing 起世經
Kaiyuan shijiaolu 開元釋教錄
Loutan jing 婁炭經
Miaofalianhuaqing wenju 妙法蓮華經文句
Puyaojing 普耀經
Qingguanyinjing shuchanyichao 請觀音經疏闡義鈔
Samguk Sagi 三國史記
Samguk Yusa 三國遺事
Shansheng jing 善生經
Shanshengzi jing 善生子經
Shijialuoyueliufangli jing 尸迦羅越六方禮經
Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō: Zuzōbu 大正新脩大藏經: 圖像部
Taiziruiyingbenqi jing 太子瑞應本起經
Xiuxingbengji jing 修行本紀經
Xugaosengzhuan 續高僧傳

Yichupusa benqijing 異出菩薩本起經
Yiqiejingyinyi 一切經音義
Youpoyi duoshejia jing 優婆夷墮舍迦經
Yufuzhi 輿服志 (*Jiutangshu* 舊唐書)
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e=&c_e=®ion=&era=&cptype=&owner=&pos=1&num=7&mode=detail&cen
tury=](http://www.emuseum.jp/detail/100247/004?word=&d_lang=ko&s_lang=ja&class=1&title=&c_e=®ion=&era=&cptype=&owner=&pos=1&num=7&mode=detail¢ury=)

Illustrations



Fig. 1.1-1 Lokapala of the East on Sarira Reliquary discovered at the Famensi, Tang Dyansty 9th century



Fig. 1.1-2 Lokapala of the South on Sarira Reliquary discovered at the Famensi, Tang Dyansty 9th century



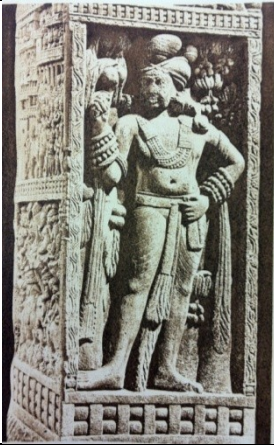



Fig. 1.1-3 Lokapala of the West on Sarira Reliquary discovered at the Famensi, Tang Dyansty 9th century



Fig. 1.1-4 Lokapala of the North on Sarira Reliquary discovered at the Famensi, Tang Dyansty 9th century

Fig. 1.1-1,2,3,4 After *Famensi kaogu fajue baogao* 法門寺考古發掘報告 (Report of Archaeological Excavation at Famen Temple), Beijing : Wenwu chubanshe 文物出版社, 2007, drawings 86, 88, 87, 85.



<p>Fig. 2.1. Kubera Yaksha, Bharhut Stupa, Shunga Dynasty (185-72 B.C.E./) Calcutta: Indian Museum, India (Alexander Cunningham, <i>The Stûpa of Bharhut: A Buddhist Monument Ornamented with Numerous Sculptures Illustrative of Buddhist Legend and History in the 3rd Century B.C.E.</i>, London: W. H. Allen, 1879, pl. XXII)</p>	<p>Fig. 2.2 Wall paintings of Lokapalas. Mahiyangana, Ceylon. 8th to 9th C. C.E. (After William E. Ward, "Recently Discovered Mahiyangana Paintings," <i>Artibus Asiae</i> 15, No. 1/2 (1952), pl. II.</p>
	
<p>Fig. 2.3 Male Figure, north torana, Stupa I (Great Stupa). Sanci, Madhya Pradesh, India. Ca. 2nd-3rd decade 1st century C.E. (After John Marshall and Alfred Foucher, <i>The Monuments of Sanchi</i> [London: Probsthain, 1940], Vol. II, pl. 36, east pillar of northern gateway: lowest panel on inner face)</p>	<p>Fig. 2.4 Male figure, west torana, Stupa I (Great Stupa). Sanci, Madhya Pradesh, India. Ca. second-third decade first century C.E. (After John Marshall and Alfred Foucher, <i>The Monuments of Sanchi</i> [London: Probsthain, 1940], Vol. II, pl. 66, south pillar of western gateway: lowest panels on north face)</p>
	
<p>Fig. 2.5 Guardians on doorway, vihara IV at Bhaja, India. (After Vidya Dehejia, <i>Early Buddhist Rock Temples; a Chronology</i>, Studies in Ancient Art and Archaeology [Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1972], Pl. 23)</p>	<p>Fig. 2.6 Lokapalas worshipping Buddha's enlightenment (After John Marshall and Alfred Foucher, <i>The Monuments of Sanchi</i> [London: Probsthain, 1940], Vol. II, pl. 51, south pillar of eastern gateway: lower part of upper panel on front face)</p>

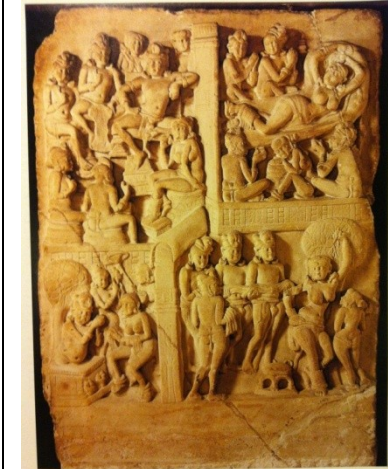


Fig. 2.7 Conception and Nativity of Buddha, drum slab from Amaravati. Late 2nd century. H. 157.5cm; W. 96.25cm, British Museum (After Robert Knox, *Amaravati: Buddhist Sculpture from the Great Stūpa*, pl. 61)



Fig. 2.7-1 Dream of Queen Maya, detail of coping stone from Amaravati, The Indian Museum, Calcutta (After Elezabeth Rosen, *The Buddhist Art of Nagarjunakonda*, pl. 84)



Fig. 2.7-2 The Nativity and the Seven Steps and Prince Siddhartha in His Harem, Amaravati, 3rd century A.D. H. 82.5cm; W. 258.75cm (After Robert Knox, *Amaravati: Buddhist Sculpture from the Great Stūpa*, Pl.41.)

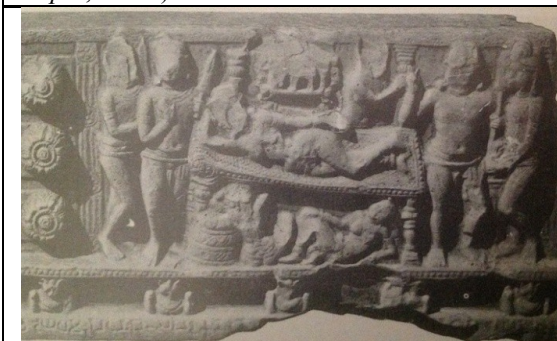


Fig. 2.8 The Dream of Queen Maya, detail of an āyaka panel from Site 6 in Nagarjunakonda. Around the late 3rd century –the early 4th century C.E. (After Elezabeth Rosen, *The Buddhist Art of Nagarjunakonda*, pl. 41.)



Fig. 2.9 Relief Panel with the Dream of Queen Maya (The Buddha's Conception), Pakistan (ancient region of Gandhara), ca. 2nd century C.E, Schist, 16.5x19.4 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Photo by Y.S. Shim)



Fig. 2.10 Dream of Queen Maya. Gandhara, ca. 2nd-3rd century C.E. Schist, 19x29cm, MIK I 63
Pub.: MIAB, p. 26 (After <http://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/museums/mia/earlyart.html>)



Fig. 2.11 Birth of Gautama. Schist stone, 48x43cm, 4th century C.E. Lorian Tangai (After R.C. Sharma, *Gandhar Sculpture, Album of Art Treasures series two*, Indian Museum, Calcutta, pl. II)

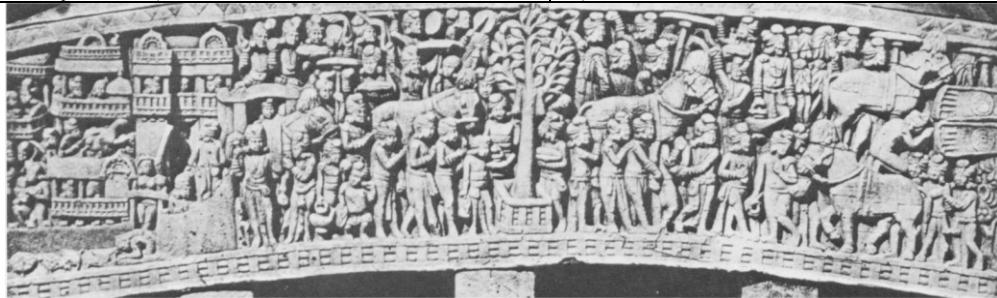


Fig. 2.12 The Great Departure, 1st century B.C.E., central section of the middle architrave on the front side of the East Gate of the Great Stupa at Sanchi, carved stone (After John Marshall and Alfred Foucher, *The Monuments of Sanchi* [London: Probsthain, 1940], Figure 5, vol. 2, pl. 40).



Fig. 2.13 The Great Departure, Siddhartha Taking Leave of His Groom Chandaka and His Horse Kanthaka, drum frieze from Amaravati, 3rd century C.E. H. 37.5cm; W. 140cm, British Museum, London (After Robert Knox, *Amaravati: Buddhist Sculpture from the Great Stupa*, pl. 57 (reverse of 65))



Fig. 2.14 The Great Departure, detail of Scenes from the Life of the Buddha, ayaka panel from Stupa 3, Nagarjunakonda (After Rosen Stone, pl. 163)



Fig. 2.15 The Great Departure. Shist, h. 21cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. (After Madeleine Hallade, *Gandharan Art of North India and the Graeco-Buddhist Tradition in India, Persia, and Central Asia*, New York: H. N. Abram, 1968, Pl. 91)

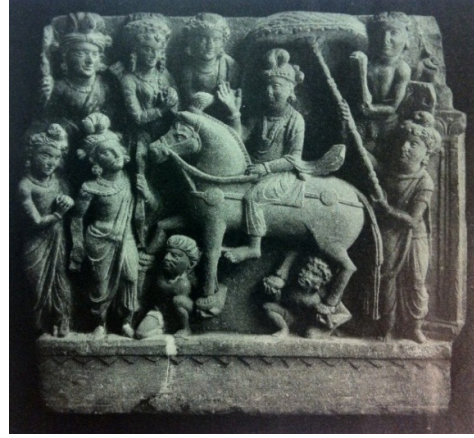


Fig. 2.16 The Great Departure. Schist, 48x48cm, 2nd century C.E. Lorian Tangai (After R.C. Sharma, *Gandhar Sculpture, Album of Art Treasures series two*, Indian Museum, Calcutta, pl. III)




Fig. 2.17 The Great Departure. Gandhara, 61x36cm. National Museum of India, Karachi









Fig. 2.18 Offering of alms bowl by the four Lokapalas



<p>Fig. 2.19 Door Guardian from D60 Room ii at Thareli, Ca. 4th century C.E. Stucco (After <i>Thareli</i>, pl. 78, no. 4)</p>	<p>Fig. 2.20 Door Guardian (<i>Dvarapala</i>) with a Bow Parkistan, ancient region of Gandhara, Ca. 4th-5th century C.E. Stucco, H. 18 in. (45.7 cm), Metropolitan Museum of Art (After Kurt A. Behrendt, <i>The Art of Gandhara: in the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i>, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007, pl. 56)</p>
	
<p>Fig. 2.21 The God Kamura. Pakistan, Peshawar division; second century Gray schist; 23.1 cm (After P. Pal and Los Angeles County Museum of Art, <i>Indian Sculpture: Circa 500 B.C. – A.D. 700</i>, S41)</p>	<p>Fig. 2.22 Mara's Temptation or Enlightenment, Pakistan-Afghanistan, ancient Gandhara, Kushan dynasty, late 2nd-early 3rd century C.E., Shcist, F1949.9 Freer Gallery of Art (photo by Y. S. Shim)</p>
	
<p>Fig. 2.23 The Moon God, Ceiling of the left pathway, Senmusaimu 森木賽姆 cave 31, 4th to 5th centuries (After Lin Yingshan 林瑛珊; <i>Zhongguo bihua quanji weiyuanhui 中国壁画全集编辑委员会, Zhongguo xinjiang bihua quanji 5: senmusaimu keziergaha 中国新疆壁画全集 5: 森木赛姆 克孜尔尕哈</i> (Complete Works of Murals in Xinjiang, China 5: senmusaimu keziergaha), Shenyang: Liaoning</p>	<p>Fig. 2.24 Naga King Chakavaka. Bharhut Stupa, Shunga Dynasty (185-72 BC) Calcutta (After R.C. Shama, <i>Bharhut Sculptures</i>, fig. 44)</p>

meizhu chubanshe 辽宁美术出版社, 1995, pl. 29.)	
	
<p>Fig. 2.25 Naga king, Left side front wall in main chamber, Kizil Cave 193 (After late 7th century (After Xinjiang Weiwu'er Zizhiqiu wen wu guan li wei yuan hui 編新疆ウイグル自治区文物管理委员会; Baicheng Xian (China). Kezi'er Qian fo dong wen wu baoguansuo 拜城县基尔千仏洞文物保管所, <i>Chugoku Sekkutsu Kijiru sekkutsu</i> 中國石窟キシル石窟 (Chinese Cave Temples: Kizil Grottoes) Vol. III, Tōkyō: Heibonsha 平凡社 1985, pl. 89)</p>	<p>Fig. 2.26 Tobatsu Vaishravana, (After <i>Daigoji zuzoshu</i> 醍醐寺図像集”Iconographical Text of Daigoji”)</p>
	
<p>Fig. 2.27 Vaishravana, Qionglai city in Sichuan, Tang dynasty, Sichuan University Museum (Photo by Y.S. Shim)</p>	<p>Fig. 2.28 Tobatsu Vaishravana, Tang dynasty, Toji, Kyoto</p>

	
<p>Fig. 2.29 Relief Sculptures, On Inner South-east Wall, Rawak Stupa Court (After A. Stein, <i>Ancient Khotan: Detailed Report of Archaeological Explorations in Chinese Turkestan</i>, New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1981, Pl. XIV-d)</p>	<p>Fig. 2.29-1 Relief Head and Bust in Stucco (Restored) from Rawak Stupa Court (After A. Stein, <i>Ancient Khotan: Detailed Report of Archaeological Explorations in Chinese Turkestan</i>, New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1981, Pl. LXXXV)</p>
	
<p>Fig. 2.30 Soldier with shield and spear, 6th to 7th century, Stein, 2nd expedition: Ming-oi Stucco with traces of pigment and wood, H: 42.8cm, The British Museum (<i>The Silk Road: Trade, Travel, War and Faith</i> / edited by Susan Whitfield with Ursula Sims-Williams, London: British Library, 2004, fig. 108)</p>	<p>Fig. 2.31 Coin of Kanishka, ca. 130, Pakistan (ancient region of Gandhara), gold, diam. 1.4cm (http://images.metmuseum.org/CRDImages/as/web-large/DP123353.jpg)</p>
	
<p>Fig. 2.32 Coin of Vashu Deva, Indo-Scythic King, King of N.W. India in the 2nd or 3rd century C.E. (After <i>Oriental Indian Armor</i>, fig. 1)</p>	<p>Fig. 2.33 The Divine Hero Rāma. Haryana, Nacharkhera (?), India. 5th century. Terracotta 47.0 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art (After http://www.mythfolklore.net/india/images/galler)</p>





	<p>y/rama_hero.jpg)</p> 
	
<p>Fig. 2.34 Chulakoka Devata, (After V.S.Agrawal, <i>Studies in Indian Art</i>, fig. 53)</p>	<p>Fig. 2.35 Plate of Iranian King, Sasanian period, 4th century C.E., Silver and gilt, Freer Gallery of Art F193423 (Photo by Y.S. Shim)</p> <p>Fig. 2.36 Gilt Bronze Bodhisattva with Cross-belt. Hebei province, Quyang. Northern Wei dynasty (453 C.E.), Freer Gallery of Art (Photo by Y.S. Shim)</p> <p>Fig. 2.37 Lokapala on the inner wall of passageway in Cave 30 of Senmusaimu 森木赛姆 Grottoes, Xinjiang, China, 4th to 5th century C.E. (After Lin Yingshan 林瑛珊; Zhongguo bihua quanji weiyuanhui 中国壁画全集编辑委员会, <i>Zhongguo xinjiang bihua quanji 5: senmusaimu keziergaha</i> 中国新疆壁画全集 5: 森木赛姆 克孜尔尕哈. Shenyang: Liaoning meizhu chubanshe 辽宁美术出版社, 1995, pl. 26)</p>



Fig. 2.38 Two Protector Deities on left and right side upper portion of icon niche in rear wall. Main chamber. Cave 172 of Kizil Grottoes, mid-6th to mid-7th century C.E. (After Xinjiang Weiwu'er Zizhiqu wen wu guan li wei yuan hui 編新疆ウイグル自治区文物管理委员会; Baicheng Xian Kezi'er Qian fo dong wen wu baoguansuo 拜城县キジル千仏洞文物保管所, *Chugoku Sekkutsu Kijiru sekkutsu* 中國石窟キジル石窟 [Chinese Cave Temples: Kizil Grottoes] Vol. III, Tōkyō: Heibonsha 平凡社 1985, pls. 17-18)



Fig. 2.39 Gold Coin of Candragupta II (r. c. 376-414). Diam. 1.9cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Gift of Anna Bing Arnold and Justin Dart (After P. Pal, *Investigating Indian Art*, fig. I)



Fig. 2.40 Suparna in the headdress of a Bodhisattva. Mathura style, 3rd century C.E. State Museum Lucknow (After *Gupta Gold Coins with a Garuda-Banner*; Pl. 3)



Fig. 2.41 Bodhisattva head from Shabhaz-Ghari. Guimet museum, Paris (After Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann, "Head-dresses with figurines in Buddhist art," *Indian Art and Letters*, n.s. 21/2, 1947, Pl. II)







	
<p>Fig. 2.42 Head of Sanatruq II (A.D. 200-241), The Iraq Museum, Baghdad (http://www.abualsoof.album/displayimage.php?album=9&pid=676#top_display_media)</p>	<p>Fig. 2.42-1 Statue of Sanatruq, lord of Hatra. Height 220cm (87in) (After Maria Brosius, <i>The Persians: An Introduction</i>, London; New York: Routledge, 2006, p. 135)</p>
	
<p>Fig. 2.43 Surkh Kotal Fire altar in center of Temple II. (After <i>Dynastic Arts of the Kushans</i>, fig. 117)</p>	<p>Fig. 2.44 The Buddha performing miracles Gandhara. 3rd century. C.E. Schist. 74.4 x 49.7 cm. MIK I 67, Pub: MIAB, p. 31 (http://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/museums/mia/earlyart.html)</p>
	
<p>Fig. 2.45 Shapur I (r. 241-272 C.E.), National Museum of American History. Lent by Sackler Gallery of Art (Photo by Y.S. Shim)</p>	<p>Fig. 2.46 Buddha's Victory over Mara, Gandhara. 3rd century C.E. Schist. 52.6 x 59, MIK I 10198 Pub.: MIAB, p. 28 (After</p>

Fig. 4.1 Western wall of Mogao cave 285 After Wenjie Duan 段文杰; Jianping Liu 劉建平; Jinshi Fan 樊錦詩. Zhongguo Dunhuang bi hua quan ji 2 Xiwei 中國敦煌壁畫全集 2, 西魏 (Collections of Dunhuang Chinese Mural Paintings 2, Western Wei), Tian jin : Tian jin ren min mei zhu chu ban she 天津人民美術出版社, 2002, pl. 84



Fig. 4.1-1 Lokapala on the left side of the Buddha, detail of fig. 4-1 After *Collections of Dunhuang Chinese Mural Paintings 2, Western Wei*, pl. 102







Fig. 4.1-2 Lokapala on the left side of the Buddha, detail of fig. 4-1 After *Collections of Dunhuang Chinese Mural Paintings 2, Western Wei*, pl.109



Fig. 4.2. Figure in Armor on left side of the Buddha, East side of main pillar, West cave of 金塔寺 Northern Liang (Li, Zaiqian 李再鈐, Zhongguo fojiao diaosu 中國佛教雕塑 (Buddhist sculpture in China), 史博館, Taipei shi :



Fig. 4.3 A Niche of North Wall of Cave 169, Western Jin - Northern Wei, Gansusheng wenwu gongzuo dui 甘肅省文物工作隊; Binglingsi wenwu baoguan suo 炳靈寺文物保管所, Zhong guo shi ku . yongjing binglingsi 中國石窟.永靖炳

<p>Shiboguan, 1998. 상 fig. 1-15)</p>	<p>灵寺 (Chinese Cave Temples: Yongjing Binglingsi), Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社, 1989, pl. 62</p>
	
<p>Fig. 4.4. Figure in Armor on left side of the Buddha, front side of main pillar in Mogao cave 257 in Dunhuang, Northern Wei (After 中國石窟 敦煌莫高窟 第一卷, pl. 38)</p>	<p>Fig. 4.5 Preaching Buddha, North Wall of Mogao Cave 263 in Dunhuang, Northern Wei , 中國石窟 敦煌莫高窟 第一卷, pl. 53</p>
	
<p>Fig. 4.6 Jataka tale of King Sibi, the north wall of Mogao cave 254, Northern Wei Dynasty. After <i>Dunhuang shiku quanji</i> 敦煌石窟全集 1, 2005</p>	<p>Fig. 4.7 The Attack of Mara, Dunhuang cave 254, south wall of antechamber, Northern Wei period, late fifth century. After Tonkko Bakuko kutsu (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1980) vol. 1, pl. 33.</p>

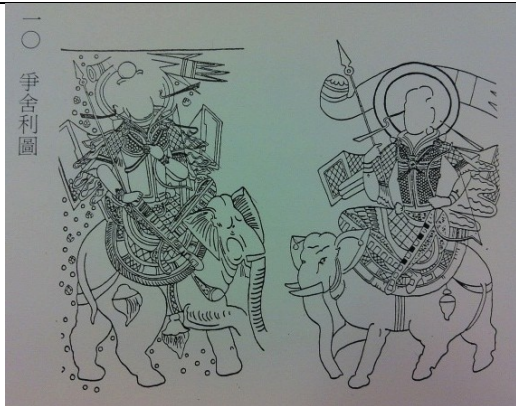


Fig. 4.8 Fighting to obtain sarira,
中國新疆壁畫全集 4, p. 8



Fig. 4.9 Bodhisattva Mahasattva, ceiling of
Bezeklik cave 14, After *Bezeklik*, pl. 12



Fig. 4.10 Lost wall painting of Bezeklik cave.
After *Bezeklik*, appendix pl. 9



Fig. 4.11 Lost wall painting of Bezeklik cave. After
Bezeklik, appendix pl.10

	
<p>Fig. 4.12 Bodhisattva in Armor, Wanfodian 萬佛殿 at Zhenguosi 鎮國寺 in Pingyao city in Shanxi province, Wu Dynasty. After Li, Zaiqian 李再鈺, <i>Zhongguo fojiao diaosu</i> 中國佛教雕塑 (Buddhist sculpture in China), Taipei: Shiboguan 史博館, 1998, II, fig. 17-6</p>	<p>Fig. 4.13 Jataka tail of five hundreds thieves attaining Buddhahood on the south wall of Mogao cave 285 After <i>Collections of Dunhuang Chinese Mural Paintings 2, Western Wei</i>, pl. 111</p>
	
<p>Fig. 4.14 Standing Figure in Vest Armor, H. 15cm After Li, Zaiqian 李再鈺, <i>Zhongguo fojiao diaosu</i> 中國佛教雕塑 (Buddhist Sculpture in China), Taipei shi: Guolishi boguan 國立歷史博物館, 1998</p>	<p>Fig. 4.15 Warrior figurine, H. 30.8cm, Northern Wei, excavated in Yuanshao 元邵 tomb in Luoyang, Henan Province in 1965 After <i>Zhongguo Lishi Bowuguan</i> 中國歷史博物館, <i>Zhongguo Tongshi Chenlie</i> 中國通史陳列, Beijing: Zhaohua chubanshe, 朝华出版社, 1998, pl. 6-4-7</p>



Emperor Xiaowen and His Court
Henan province, Longmen complex, Central
Binyang Cave, Northern Wei dynasty (386-534),
ca. 522-523, Limestone with traces of pigment,
Metropolitan Museum of Art (photo by Y.S.
Shim)



Fig. 4.16

Fig. 4.16-1 detail of fig. 4.16



Fig. 4.17 Shrine with Four Buddhas, Probably
Shandong province, Northern Qi (550-77), ca.
560-75, Limestone with pigment, Metropolitan
Museum of Art in New York (photo by
Y.S.Shim)



Fig. 4.17-1 Lokapala of fig. 4.17 (photo by
Y.S.Shim)



Fig. 4. 18 Stone Stele with Inscription of 4th Year of Putong Era of Liang Dynasty (523 C.E.) excavated from Wanfosi site in Chengdu, Sichuan in 1954, Sichuan Provincial Museum (Photo by Y.S.Shim)



Fig. 4. 18-1 Lokapalas of both sides of putong stele (fig. 4. 18) (Photo by Y.S.Shim)



Fig. 4.19 Lokapalas, both sides of Stone Stele with Inscription of 5th Year of Zhongdatong Era of Liang Dynasty (533 C.E.) excavated from Wanfosi site in Chengdu, Sichuan in 1954, Sichuan Provincial Museum (Photo by Y.S.Shim)



Fig. 4.20 Lokapala excavated at the Wanfosi site in Chengdu, Sichuan in 1954, Southern Dynasties (420-589 C.E.), Sichuan Provincial Museum (After Lena Kim [2008], fig. 7)



Fig. 4.21-1 Lokapalas of the South and the East (After Songran Lee and Daenam Park 2010, fig. 20)



Fig. 4.21-2 Lokapalas of the North and the West (After Songran Lee and Daenam Park 2010, fig. 21)

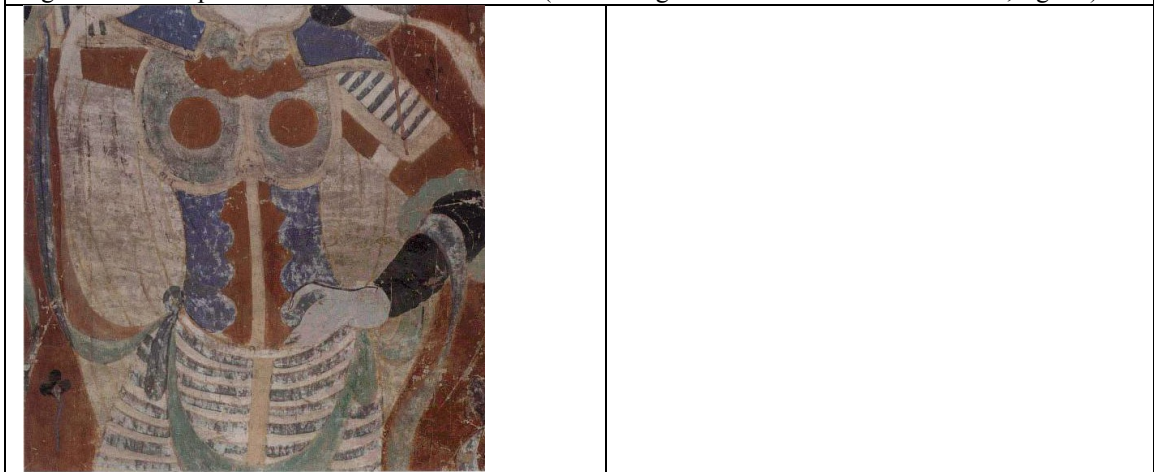


Fig. 4.22. Lokapala, East Wall of Cave 380 in Dunhuang, Sui Dynasty (After, pl. 47)

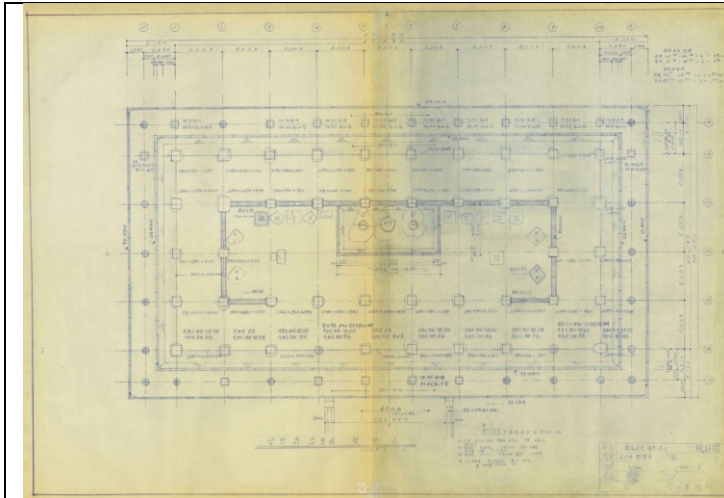


Fig. 4.23. Plan of Golden Hall, Hwangnyongsa



Fig. 4.24. Lokapala Inscriptions, the nine-story wooden pagoda at Hwanongsa site, ca. 645



Fig. 4.25. Gilt bronze Lokapalas, National Museum of Pyongyang, North Korea



Fig. 4.26. Warrior from Samsil Tomb Mural, Goguryeo, 5th century



Fig. 4.27. Warrior from Anak Tomb Mural, Goguryeo, 4-5th century



Fig. 4.28. Armor excavated from Gujeong-dong, Gyeongju, Korea, 4th century, National Museum of Korea (photo by Y.S.Shim)



Fig. 4.29 Stone Stele with Gichuk Inscription discovered from Biamsa in Yeongi County, Unified Silla, 689 C.E.
<http://www.cha.go.kr/data/thumbnail/b0367000033001.jpg457by1.jpg>



Fig. 4.30 Votive Tablet of the Shanyeni duobaota xiang 善業泥多寶塔像 (“Prabutaratna (Jeweled) Stupa image”), mid-7th century, Angela Falco Howard; Pingnan He 何平南; Guoli lishi bowuguan (China) 國立歷史博物館, *Zhongguo gudai shidiao yishu* 中國古代石彫藝術 (Chinese Buddhist sculpture from the Wei through the T’ang dynasties), Taipei: Zhonghua minguo guoli lishi bowuguan, 1983, fig. 23



Fig. 4.31-1 Lokapalas on West side of the seat of the Shakyamuni triad in the Golden Hall, Horyuji, later than 623 C.E.



Fig. 4.31-2 Lokapalas on East side of the seat of the Shakyamuni triad in the Golden Hall, Horyuji, later than 623 C.E.

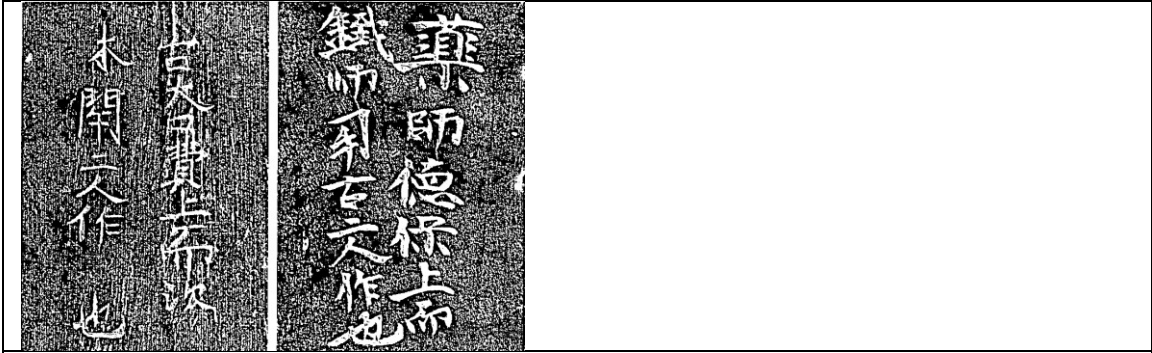


Fig. 4.32 Inscriptions on Mandorla of the King of the West (left) and the North (right), After Takeshi Kuno 久野 健, *Hōryūji no Sōken 法隆寺の創建*, Genshoku Nihon no bijutsu. 2. Hōryūji 原色日本の美術 2 法隆寺, Tōkyō: Shōgakukan, 1966, p. 156 fig. 7-8



Fig. 4.33 Four Divine Kings, Golden Hall at Hōryūji, mid-7th century

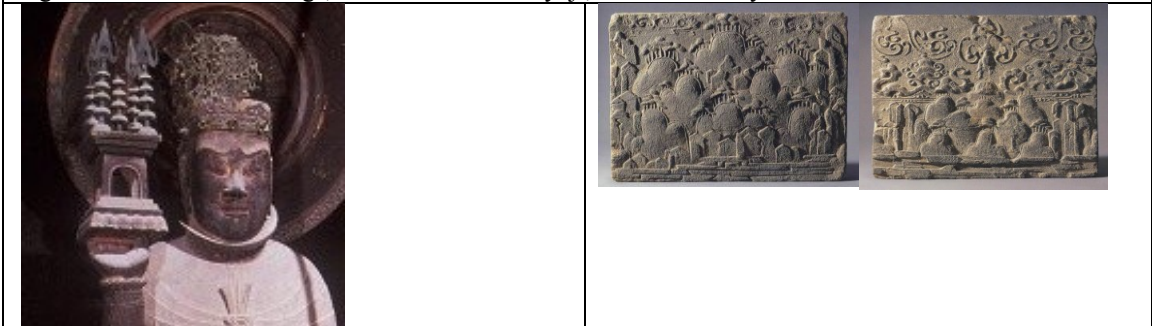


Fig. 4.33-1 Detail of King of the North

Fig. 4.34. Tiles with mountain pattern excavated from Gyuam-myeon in Buyeo, Baekje, National Museum of Buyeo



Fig. 4.35. Stupa Pattern, Stone Stele excavated at the Wanfosi site, Southern Dynasties (420-589 C.E.), Chengdu, Sichuan Provincial Museum (photo by Y.S. Shim)



Fig. 4.36. Stupa Pattern, Stone Stele Buddha Triad excavated at the Rongxingsi, Qingzhou, Shandong Provincial Museum (photo by Y.S. Shim)

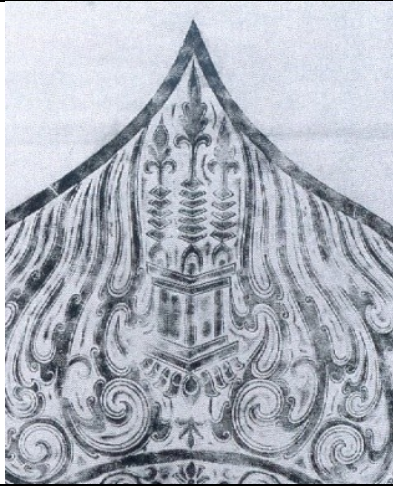


Fig. 4.37. Ink Rubbing Stupa of Mandorla of Guze Kannon 救世觀音 (Bodhisattva of Compassion) in Yumedono, Hōryūji, mid-7th century. After Hōryūji; Shōgakkan et.al, Hōryūji ten: Shōwa shizaichō e no michi: Shōwa daishūri kansei kinen 法隆寺展: 昭和資財帳への道: 昭和大修理完成記念, Tokyo: Shōgakkan 小学館, 1985, fig. 114









Fig. 4.38. Votive Stupa, Back of Pensive Bodhisattva Statue excavated from Biamsa, Baekje, Late 7th century



Fig. 4.39. Iconography of Shitennoji Lokapala in Osaka from *Betsusonsatki* (別尊雜記)



Fig. 4.40. Lokapalas, leafs of the front door of the Tamamushi Shrine



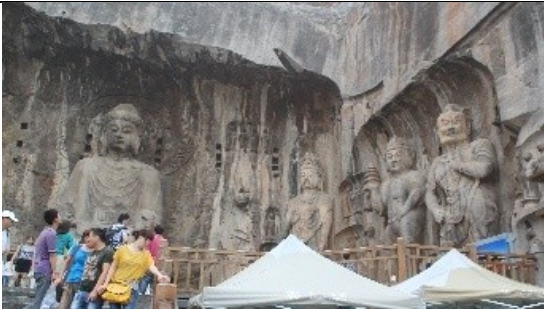



	
<p>Fig. 5.4 Daodesi stele at Beilin in Xi'an, Tang dynasty (658 C.E.) (Photo by Y.S.Shim)</p>	<p>Fig. 5.4-1 Tianwang on the Daodesi stele at Beilin in Xi'an, Tang dynasty (658 C.E.) (Photo by Y.S.Shim)</p>
	
<p>Fig. 5.5 Fengxiansi 奉先寺 cave, Longmen in Luoyang, Tang Dynasty (672-675 C.E.) (Photo by Y.S.Shim)</p>	<p>Fig. 5.5-1 Tianwang at the Fengxiansi 奉先寺 cave, Longmen in Luoyang, Tang Dynasty (672-675 C.E.) (Photo by Y.S.Shim)</p>
	
<p>Fig. 5. 6. Garble-shaped lintel of South entrance of Dayanta, Xi'an, Tang Dyansty (701-705 C.E.) (Photo by Y.S. Shim)</p>	<p>Fig. 5.6-1 Tianwang on the Garble-shaped lintel of South entrance of Dayanta, Xi'an, Tang Dyansty (701-705 C.E.) (Photo by Y.S. Shim)</p>



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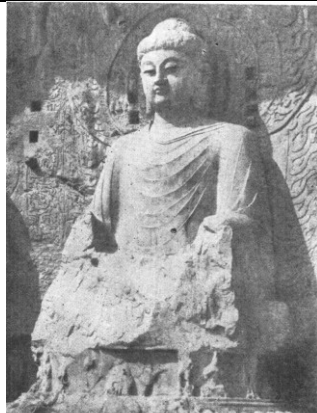


Fig. 5.8 The main Buddha at Great Vairocana Image Shrine, Longmen, Luoyang, Tang dynasty (672-675 C.E.)







Fig. 5.8 Lokapalas on pedestal of the main Buddha at Great Vairocana Image Shrine, Longmen, Luoyang, Tang dynasty (672-675 C.E.) (Photo by Y.S.Shim)



Fig. 5.9 The main Buddha of the North Binyang Cave at Longmen, Luoyang, Tang dynasty (650



Fig. 5.10 Deities on pedestal of the main Buddha at Wanfosi cave, Longmen, Luoyang, Tang dynasty

C.E.) (Photo by Y.S.Shim)	(680 C.E.) (Photo by Y.S. Shim)
	
<p>Fig. 5. 11 The main Buddha at South Leigu 擂鼓 cave, Longmen, Luoyang, Tang dynasty. After Mingyu Ding 丁明夷, 龍門石窟唐代造像的分期與類型 (periodization and classification of Tang dynasty Sculpture at Longmen Grottoes), Kaogu Xuebao 考古學報 (Acta Archaeologia Sinica) 1979.4, 519-546: fig. 10</p>	<p>Fig. 5. 12 Standing Buddha images on the back wall of Fengshansi cave, Longmen, Luoyang, Tang dynasty (8th century C.E.) (Photo by Y.S. Shim)</p>
	
<p>Fig. 5. 13 Lokapala with Shri-mahadevi painted on pedestal of the central Buddha statue in the Great Eastern Hall at Foguangsi, Tang dynasty (9th century) After Lü, Zhou 呂舟, ed. <i>Foguang si dong da dian jianzhu kancha yanjiu baogao</i> 佛光寺東大殿建築勘察研究報告 (Investigation Report of the Great Eastern Hall of the Foguang Monastery). Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2011</p>	<p>Fig. 5. 13-1 Lokapala of the West found in Dunhuang, Tang Dynasty (890 C.E.), British Museum</p>

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<p>Fig. 5.16 Vaishnavana in 驱邪绘 (“An exorcism painting”), 12th century, Nara National Museum of Japan http://www.emuseum.jp/detail/100247/004?word=&d_lang=ko&s_lang=ja&class=1&title=&c_e=&region=&era=&cptype=&owner=&pos=1&num=7&mode=detail&century=</p>	



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Fig. 5.19 Lokapala, Jingshansi 敬善寺 cave, Tang dynasty (661 C.E.)



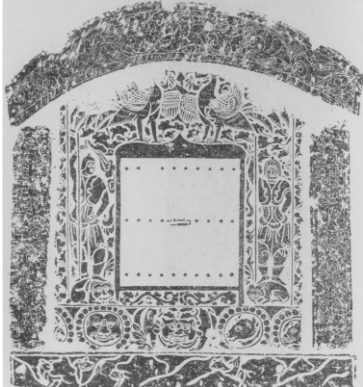


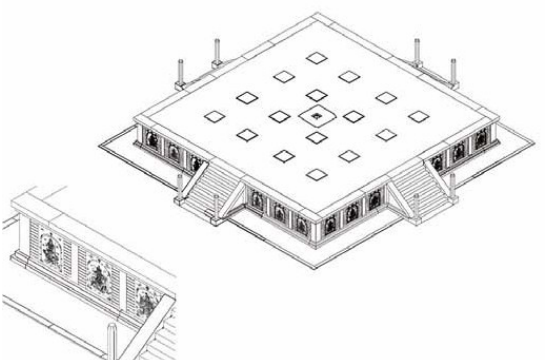

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Fig. 5.24-1 Outer Reliquary (West-Pagoda), Gameunsa site, Gyeongju, H. 28cm, Unified Silla period, ca.682, Gyeongju National Museum (Treasure No.366). After Gyeongju National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage, *Gyeongju jiyeok balgul chultopum* 경주지역 발굴출토품: 신라의 금동불 (Finds from excavations in Gyeong area: Gilt-bronze Buddha of Silla) pl. 32



Fig. 5.24-3 Outer Reliquary (East-Pagoda), Gameunsa site, Gyeongju, Unified Silla period, ca.682, H. 28cm, National Museum of Korea (Treasure No.1359). After *Gyeongju jiyeok balgul chultopum*, pl. 34.



Fig. 5.24-2 Inner Reliquary (West-Pagoda), Gameunsa site, H. 16.5 cm, Gyeongju National Museum (Treasure No.366). After *Gyeongju jiyeok balgul chultopum*, pl. 33



Fig. 5.24-4 Inner Reliquary (East-Pagoda), Gameunsa site, Gyeongju, Unified Silla, ca.682, H. 20.3cm, National Museum of Korea (Treasure No.1359). After *Gyeongju jiyeok balgul chultopum*, pl. 35



Fig. 5.24-5-1 Lokapala of the North (Outer



Fig. 5.24-5-2 Lokapala of the West (Outer

Reliquary) After <i>Gameunsaji Dong Samcheung Seoktap Sarijangeom</i> , pl. 21.	Reliquary), After <i>Gameunsaji Dong Samcheung Seoktap Sarijangeom</i> , pl. 12
	
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Fig. 5.24-6 Outer Reliquary excavated from Seokgatap, Bulguksa, Gyeongju, 11 th century http://www.yonhapnews.co.kr/bulletin/2013/04/01/0200000000AKR20130401179900005.HTML?from=search	Fig.5.25 Stone Lantern at Beopjusa, report p. 321, Fig.
	
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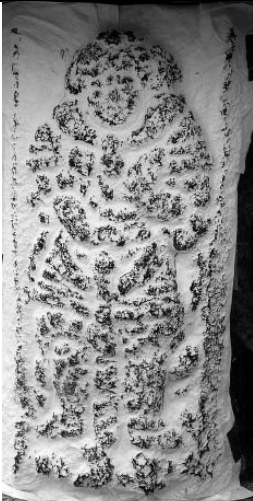
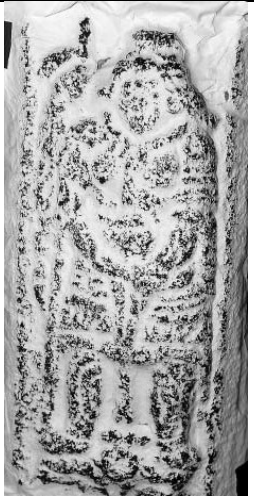
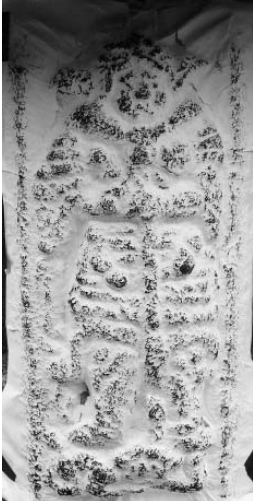

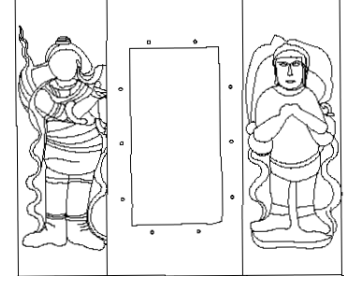
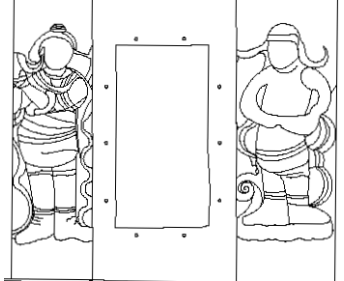
	
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Fig. 5. 28 Four Lokapalas 四天王像, 大藏經 圖像部 7, pp. 530-531

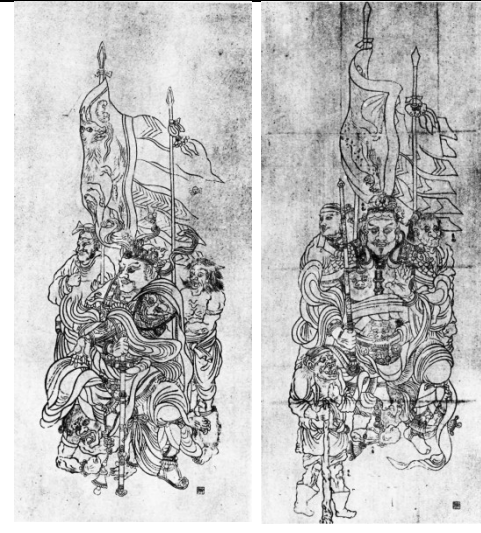


Fig. 5. 28 Four Lokapalas 四天王像, 大藏經 圖像部 7, pp. 532-533



Fig. 5. 29 Lokapalas on door panel of Kaidanin 戒壇院扉繪梵釋四天王像, 大藏經 圖像部 7, pp. 537, 536.



Fig. 5. 30 Kusha Mandara, Heian period (12th century), H. 164.5cm, w. 177cm, Tōdaiji. After Tetsuo Ōga 相賀 徹夫, *Meihō nihon no bijutsu* 3, Tōdaiji 名寶日本の美術 3 東大寺, Tōkyō: Shōgakka 小学館, 1980, fig. 65



Fig. 5.31 Sacheonwang on Sarira Case excavated in Tudaizicun 土臺子村, Bohaizhen, Ning'an city in Heilongjiang province, Balhae (). After Hui Wang 王輝, Qixiao Ye 叶启晓, Zhefu Zhao 赵哲夫, *Heilongjiang kaogu wenwu tujian* 黑龙江考古文物图鉴 (Heilongjiang archaeology cultural relics illustrated handbook), Hamibin: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe 黑龙江人民出版社, 2000, p. 238.

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