THE SIXTEEN LOHANS OF THE RAKAN-ZUSAN-SHU

A Thesis

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To My Parents
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Rakan-zusan-shu

The Rakan-zusan-shu is from the collection of Dr. John and Susan Huntington, in turn, from the collection of Seikoji, at Tokyo, Japan. Rakan-zusan-shu consists of three chüans—t'ien, ti, and jen. The first chüan, t'ien, includes prefaces, biography of Kuan-hsiu, sixteen images of Lohans accompanied by eulogies, and collection of poems regarding Lohans written by Emperor Ch'ien-lung (r. A.D. 1736-1794), famous literati and novices. The other two chüans are exclusively composed of poems. Rakan-zusan-shu was edited by Ts'e-ting in July of lunar month, A.D. 1862(1). The inner cover page is inscribed with the phrase, "newly carved in Hunkyo jen-hsu chung-ch'iu 文久 壬午 蘆 月 (i.e. August, 1862)." And it also indicates the

1) According to the date inscribed along with the preface written by Ts'e-ting, hunkyo jen-hsu lan-yüeh, Rakan-zusan-shu was compiled in the reign of hunkyo in Edo period. Hunkyo occupied from A.D. 1861 to A.D. 1864, the year of jen-hsu should be 1862, 1922, or 1982, since Rakan-zusan-shu should be compiled after the reign of Emperor Ch'ien-lung. Thus the year that should be assigned to the Rakan-zusan-shu is 1862. Lan-yüeh was an old term designating July of lunar month.
owner of the block is Rokuzan 山. The preface written by Ts'e-ting indicates that he was a Chinese monk. The title of the Japanese reign, hunkyo, designates that the edition of A.D. 1862 of this set of books is under Japanese patronage. Katakana notation along with the text in the Rakan-zusan-shu is a further demonstration. According to Ts'e-ting's preface, the reason that this set was edited and put in print is mainly for advocating the spirit of Kuan-hsiu's painting(2). The sixteen images of the Lohans in the first chüan were patronized by Emperor Ch'ien-lung and painted by the craftsman named Ch'eng Ying-ong 成 影翁 (3). Although Kuan-hsiu(A.D. 832-912) was a prolific painter(4), it is doubtful that any genuine Lohan painting of his survives today. Most of the Lohan paintings under his name found today are of imitation. To bring the true spirit to Kuan-hsiu's Lohans back, Emperor Ch'ien-lung search all over the country for genuine paintings out of Kuan-hsiu's hand(5). However, what he could obtain were merely three sets(6). The first set, consisted of sixteen images of Lohans, attributed to Kuan-hsiu, is from Sheng-yin-szu 重因寺, located by the West Lake of Ch'ien-t'ang 西 湖 (modern city of Hangchou 杭州)

2) Rakan-zusan-shu, I, fol. 2.
3) Ibid.
5) Rakan-zusan-shu, I, fol. 2.
6) Ibid.
In the province of Chechiang 浙江省. The second set is from Kodaiki高台寺, which according to Ts'e-ting's preface is the most complete set in the three, in Japan. Whether Emperor Ch'ien-lung did have opportunity to see this set of paintings is unknown, since the preface does not provide any information regarding it. The third set is from Chin-tzu-ch'eng-ming-szu金澤稱名寺 at Wuchou處州, which is recorded as being painted in ink and light water color. The sixteen images of Lohan included in the Rakan-zusan-shu, according to the preface, are copied from the set from Sheng-yin-szu. The paintings Emperor Ch'ien-lung saw at the Sheng-yin-szu were said to have been destroyed due to honoring the emperor's sojourn at that monastery(7). What can be seen at Sheng-yin-szu now are the sixteen stone blocks, giving away sixteen images of Lohans, carved in A.D. 1764 and with Emperor Ch'ien-lung's inscriptions. The sixteen images, according to the inscriptions, are the copy out of the paintings of Lohans collected in sheng-yin-szu. The fourth block of the series offers the concluding comments of the emperor:

The images of the sixteen ying-chen 隆真 (Lohans) painted by Kuan-hsiu of the T'ang Dynasty are found recorded in the Hsuan-ho-hua-pu 宣和畫譜. From the reign Kuang-ming to the present, nearly a thousand years, they have been passed on to the Che (province), dedicated and preserved in the Sheng-yin-szu at Ch'ien-t'ang.

In Ch'ien-lung, Ting-chou (A.D. 1757), the second month of spring, on the southern inspection tour, while

stopping at the temporary palace at the West Lake, (I) visited the temple, and took the opportunity to open and examine (the paintings). Truly unusual brushwork they are! However, the names and titles of these venerable (saints) are given according to the translated sūtras (canon) of old; (they) have not the original sounds of the sanskrit texts. The order of their ranks is also at variance with that the imperial (Buddhist) preceptor Chang-chia 修嘉, on the basis of Sanskrit texts, had fixed. Hence, under the original designating titles, (I) have made notes of the transliterations (of names) according to the presentday authorized t'ung-wen-yun-t'ung 同文鎮錦 with the (newly fixed) rank and order. (I have also) written on each painting a eulogy (praising the individual Lohan portrayed), and rewritten the captions (on the covers of the scrolls). (I have) returned these to the temple, to be passed on in the world and to be treasured for eternity.

It is said that the "Four Great Ones" originated in nothingness; what, then, are the "beings" of some paintings? As to arguing over the differences of Names, appearances, letters and words, how is it to escape the reproof of those who salvage good deeds (in life)? (3) The emperor notes.

Therefore, Emperor Ch'ien-lung's main contribution includes providing a new transliteration of the Sanskrit names of the Lohans, correcting the order of the Sixteen Lohans with the help from the Imperial Preceptor Chang-chia (Ichanggtch'a Khutuktu), and giving eulogistic phrases for the sixteen Lohans.

The content of the second and the third chüan of Rakanzusan-shu is mainly the records written by famous literati and monk-masters. Those records describe the Lohan paintings they saw. Important records will be brought up in the following text.

8) Ibid.
Statement of Problem

The Lohan paintings by Kuan-hsiu and Lohan Cult have not been thoroughly investigated so far in West. As far as I know, the most late prominent western scholars who had ever devoted to the subjects are a late nineteenth century scholar, Watters, two early twentieth century French art historians, Sylvain Lévi and E. Chavannes, an American art historian, Wen Fong, and the other two Western scholars, Clapp and Visser. The reason that I have chosen this topic is to look into the hagiography of the Lohans and to further understand the place of the Sixteen Lohans in the Lohan cult. The images of the Sixteen Lohans from the Rakan-zusan-shu will be the focus, and the research will be developed out of it. According to the prefaces in the first chüan of Rakan-zusan-shu, the including images of the Sixteen Lohans are in the tradition of Kuan-hsiu’s style. How close this set of images is to Kuan-hsiu’s tradition will be looked into, although the genuine works by Kuan-hsiu do not exist today. Moreover, the origin and the development of the Lohan cult will be investigated. The relationship between Lohan cult and art will also be an important issue. Lévi, Chavannes, and Fong have dedicated a lot to the research of the development of Lohan cult itself; nevertheless, the relationship between
Lohan cult and other aspects or cults of Buddhism is still an issue needed to be looked into. Whether the Lohan cult is a belief developed on its own or it has been only a wing branching out of certain sect or sects of Buddhism in China will also be an issue in the discussion.

Definition of Lohan


According to Ch'u-san-tsang-chi 出三藏記, "ying-chen" and "ying-yi" are the standard translations for the term "arahat" in old canons; and in new canons, "a-lo-han" and "a-lo-ho" are adopted(9). Now we come across a problem. What canons are the so-called "old canons"? And what are "new canons"?

"Ying-chen" can be seen as early in Fo-so-a-wai-yüeh-chih-che-ching 佛說阿惟越致經 (Avalokitavrakasūtra), translated by (Chu) Fa-hu 法護 (Dharmarakṣa), on November 8th, A.D. 284(10). "Ying-i" is, so far as I know, first recorded in Fa-ching-ching 法詣經 (Ugra(datta)paripṛccha(sūtra)).


10) Fa-hu,rakṣa, 1st chūán, p.1a.
translated by Ann-hsüan 安玄 in A.D. 181(11). However, the term "a-lo-han" has already been used since the period of Later Han. The earliest example as far as I know is Tao-hsing-pan-jo-ching 道行般若經 (Aṣṭaśāhasrikāprajñā-pāramitāsūtra) translated by Chih-lo-chia-ts' an (Lokāksa) in A.D. 179(12). There is contradiction in-between the statement from Ch' u-san-tsang-chi and the evidences available here. Could it be that the statement from the Ch' u-san-tsang-chi is incorrect or the date for the early Chinese sūtras mentioned above invites doubt? Further investigation must be carried out for the answer. Tao-hsing-pan-jo-ching indicates that by A.D. 179, Lohan Cult has been transported into China. Mahāyāna Buddhism must by then have received the Hinayanistic-origined Lohan belief(13).

The original meaning for the term "arhat" is "worthy or worshipful"(14). "Sha-tsei", "pu-sheng", "ying-kung" and "ying-i" are also used to designate arhat. "Sha-tsei" means destroying the thief, i.e. conquering all passions; "pu-sheng", exempt from rebirth, i.e. from samsāra(15); "ying-

12) Chih-lo-chia-ts' an, p. 426a.
13) See Chapter III, Origin.
kung" or "ying-1", "deserving oblation"(16).

According to A-pi-ta-mo-chü-she-lun 阿毗道摩俱舍論 (Abhidharmakosāśāstra), translated by Hsüan-tsang 虢恆, between June 3rd, a.d. 651, and September 13th, a.d. 654, Lohans are divided into several grades due to their different nature. The numbers of grades include two, six, seven, and nine. The Lohans of two grades are shih-chieh-t'o Lohan 時解脫羅漢, and pu-shih-chieh-t'o Lohan 不時解脫羅漢 (17). The first grade of Lohan is of duller nature, who achieve phala (fruit) only after good pratvaya (concurrent or environmental cause) have been attained; the second stage, however, in the contrary, obtain sharper nature, therefore they can achieve phala anytime(18). Furthermore, Lohans can be divided into six grades: t'uei-fa Lohan 退法羅漢, seu-fa Lohan 懶法羅漢, hu-fa Lohan 處法羅漢, an-chu-fa Lohan 安住法羅漢, k'an-te-fa Lohan 鎮法羅漢, and pu-tung Lohan 不動羅漢 (19). T'u'el-fa Lohan is the kind of Lohan who when coming upon bad pratvaya loses the achievement of phala immediately(20). Seu-fa Lohan is always afraid of losing what he has achieved, and thus places himself in a state which is impossible to


19) Ibid.

20) Ibid.
obtain anupadhisèsa (the nirvāṇa of arhat extinction of body and mind) (wu-wù-nieh-p'än 無餘涅槃)(21). Hu-fe Lohan can protect the phala he has achieved(22). An-chu-fe Lohan resides at his position without any progress or backing(23). K'æn-te-fe Lohan is the kind of Lohan who can cultivate themselves and achieve the nature of pu-tung Lohan(24). Pu-tung Lohan is the Lohan of supreme root and nature that no matter what kind of bad pratyuṣya he encounters his achievement will not be lost (25). Lohans of seven grades besides the six stages just mentioned also include pu-tú'èi Lohan, who resides at the supreme nature and never moves(26). Lohans of nine grades, i.e. asáikṣas 無學, of Lohans, according to Abhidharmakośasāstra, are Lohans of seven stages discussed above plus Huel-chièh-t'ò Lohan and chu-chièh-t'ò Lohan(27). Huel-chièh-t'ò Lohan is the lohan who has intelligence to get away from trouble and obstacles(28). Chu-chièh-t'ò Lohan is the Lohan who is able to get away from

21) Ibid. Also see A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms, p. 383.
22) Ibid.
23) Ibid.
24) Ibid.
25) Ibid.
26) Ibid.
27) Ibid.
28) Ibid.
obstacles and thus attains anupadhisesa (29). However, according to Satyasiddhisāstra (Ch'eng-shih-lun 成實論), nine stages of Lohans are t'uei-hsiang 退相, shou-hsiang 守相, ssu-hsiang 死相, chu-hsiang 住相, k'o-chin-hsiang 可進相, pu-huai-hsiang 不壞相, pu-tu'eil-hsiang 不退相, huel-chihs-t’o 总解脱, and chü-chihs-t’o 俱解脱 (30). T'uei-hsiang Lohan is the first-stage Lohan in the seven stages (31). Shou-hsiang Lohan is the second grade in the seven stages of Lohans, ssu-fe Lohan (32). Ssu-hsiang Lohan is the second grade in the seven stages of Lohans, ssu-fe Lohan (33). Chu-hsiang Lohan is the fourth Lohan from the seven grades, An-chyu-fe Lohan (34). K'o-chin-hsiang Lohan is equivalent to K'an-te-fe Lohan (35). Pu-huai-hsiang Lohan is pu-tu'eil Lohan (36). Pu-tu'eil-hsiang Lohan is the sixth Lohan in the seven stages, pu-tung Lohan (37). The last two stages of Lohans are huel-chihs-t’o and chü-chihs-t’o Lohans.

"Lohan", or "arhat" in Sanskrit, was originally the ideal being in Hinayāna Buddhism, but later was adopted by

29) Ibid.
30) Chiu-mo-lo-shih, 1st chüan, p. 246b.
31) Ibid.
32) Ibid.
33) Ibid.
34) Ibid.
35) Ibid.
36) Ibid.
37) Ibid.
Mahāyāna Buddhism. The Miao-fa-lian-hua-ching 妙法蓮華經 (Saddharmapundarīka) in Chinese text uses the term "arhat" as synonymous with "śrāvaka", or sheng-wen 声聞. The arhats resemble in a distant way, at least in their earliest form, the apostles of the early Christian church(38). The Ju-ta-ch'eng-lun 入大乘論 (Mahāyānavatārasūtra), translated in A.D. 397 by Tao-t'ai 道叡, refers to the Lohans as the great personal disciples of Buddha(39). Several of the Lohans were indeed the immediate followers of Gautama Buddha. The Lohans are the beings possessing distinguished qualities. The Fa-shuo-te-ch'eng-wu-liang-shou-chuang-yen-ching 大乘無量壽莊嚴經, translated by Fa-hsien 法賢 in A.D. 391, begins, "Thus have I heard: At one time the Blessed One dwelt at Śrāvastī in the Geta-grove in the garden of Anāthapindaka, together with a large company of bhikṣu, that is with twelve hundred bhikṣus, all of them acquainted with the five kinds of knowledge, elders, great disciples, and arhats such as Śāriputra the elder, Mahāmaudgalyāyana, Mahākāśyapa(40)."

The opening words of the Cheng-fa-hua-ching 正法華經 (Saddharma-pundarīkasūtra), translated by Fa-hu 法護 (Dharmarakṣa) in A.D. 286, are, "Thus have I heard. Once upon a time the Lord was staying at Rajagriha, on the Gridhrakūta mountain, with a numerous assemblage of monks, twelve hundred monks, all of

38) Clapp, p.95.
39) Tao-t'ai, p.36c.
40) Fa-hsien, p.318a; clapp, p.95.
them arhats, stainless, free from depravity, self-controlled (having subdued others or the world), thoroughly emancipated in thought and knowledge, of noble breed, (like unto) great elephants, having done their task, done their duty, acquitted their charge, reached the goal, in whom the ties which bound them to existence were wholly destroyed, whose minds were thoroughly emancipated by perfect knowledge, who had reached the utmost perfection in subduing all their thoughts, who were possessed of the transcendent faculties(41).

Lohans are those who have renounced the world, are free from body, feeling, perception, potentiality, and thought, and have overcome the craving for existence and personal achievement(42). They walk in the fourth or highest path to nirvāna (absolute extinction or annihilation), and possess transcendent powers(43). Those powers make them able to look clearly into the meaning of a text and to gain perfect understanding of the Law(44). They have energy, concentration, and magnanimity. The magic powers they own enable them to go beyond rebirth, age, sickness, pain, death, or defilement(45). In many ways they are like the hermits of immemorial legends who lived in the mountains and retreated

41) Fa-hu, p. 63a.
42) Clapp, p. 96.
43) Ibid.
44) Ibid.
45) Ibid.
from vulgar noise, or like the Taoist sages of Chinese mythology. *Tao-te-ching* 道德經 talks about the Taoist sage, "I hear it said that the sage when he travels is never attacked by rhinoceros or tiger, and when coming among soldiers does not fear their weapons. The rhinoceros could find no place to horn him nor the tiger a place for his claws, nor could soldiers wound him: what is the reason? Because he is invulnerable."
CHAPTER II
SIXTEEN LOHANS

Iconography

Each of the sixteen images of the Lohans in the Rakan-zusan-shu are separated by the inscription of names and eulogies.

The names of the Sixteen Lohans are (47):

(1) Pindola-Bhāradvāja
(2) Kanakavatsa
(3) Kanaka-Bhāradvāja
(4) Subinda (?)
(5) Nakula
(6) Bhadra
(7) Kālika
(8) Vajraputra
(9) Čvapāka
(10) Panthaka
(11) Rāhula
(12) Nāgasena
(13) Īṅgada (?)

47) Lévi-Chavannes, p. 292-293.
(14) Vanavāsi  
(15) Ajita  
(16) Cūda-Panthaka

The captions go with the order of the transliteration offered by *Ta-a-lo-han-nan-t'î-mi-to-lo-suo-fe-chu-chi* 大阿羅漢藿提婆多羅所說法住記 (Nandimitravadana), translated by Hsüan-tsang in the year of 654. The eulogies describing the Sixteen Lohans are as follows:

(1) Pindola-Bhāradvāja (Fig. 1) holds a cane against the fortune-telling area between the thumb and the index finger. A sūtra is on the lap; nevertheless, he is not paying any attention to it. His skull is protruding and the light of his eyes is too shiny to be covered.

(2) Kanakavasta (Fig. 2) portrays a mudrā (hand gesture) in two hands and holds a cane against his shoulder. His form is like a dried trunk of wood. The end of his eyes hang down and his nostrils are widely open. He tightly holds a betel cane. It is hard to describe whether he is carried away.

(3) Kanaka-Bhāradvāja (Fig. 3) is so very thin that his bones protrude. His eyes are widely open and his eyebrows displayed like swords. The right hand holds a fan and the left one places on one knee. His bones are positioned in an orderly manner and he is emaciated. He

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is so concentrated that he unites with the nature. His eyes are widely open and eyebrows horizontally display. His right hand holds a fan rhythmically. His shoulders rise and the feet are put side by side; the appearance is like that of a dragon and an elephant.

(4) Subinda (Fig. 4) sits on a stone. He makes fist out his right hand and his left hand is put on his lap. His long eyebrows cover the face. His right hand performs fist and his left hand puts on the lap. He sits in meditative posture and time is out of his mind. His face is wide, and the top of his head is shaped like hills. If he is asked the essence of dharma (law), he meditates.

(5) Nakula (Fig. 5) holds a cane with its head to scratch. Suddenly Nakula feels an itch (probably symbolizing desire) at his back; however, his hands could not reach it. He thus uses the cane (probably symbolizing dharma) to stop the itch. Since the itch has gone, does one dare to ask the lohan what kind of itch it is?

(6) Bhadra (Fig. 6) has a narrow skull and protruding cheekbones. He stares up, and his left hand holds a rosary. The rosary is turned like a wheel constantly. His skull is not ample. His staring into the sky could stop the flight of birds.

(7) kālika (Fig. 7) sits on a rock, and his eyebrows are long enough to be wound around the body. His face is
not large but his facial features are displayed orderly. Different facial features are in charge of different senses. He has height under one hsün 寸, but the length of his eyebrows is over one chang 丈 and is able to be wound and unwound at will.

(8) Vajraputra's (Fig. 8) shoulders are exposed and his arms are crossed. He is staring at a sūtra. The sūtra is put on a rock, and the Lohan is looking at the sūtra. His shoulders are exposed and his arms are crossed. His mind seems to be occupied. The mountain he resides is humanless. There is only old trees accompanying him. The wind plays with the new branches, which are so soft that they seemingly will be broken.

(9) Çvapāka (Fig. 9) sits and shows his profile. One of his hands holds a fan, and the other is crooked with three fingers. His left hand holds a fan, and his right hand makes a fist. He does not agree with other people's opinion. He is mediating and cloud and mountain become his elbows.

(10) Panthaka (Fig. 10) holds a sūtra with two hands. His shoulders rise and his neck is buried. He is looking at the sūtra. His shoulders are rising and his eyeballs are protruding. The sūtra is read and principles are obtained.

(11) Rāhula (Fig. 11) is in angry appearance and his fingers are pointing to a certain object. The eyes shoot beams
which are like two swords, and the pupils flow out fire. The evil ideas, with the pointed fingers of Rāhula, disappear immediately. He is so bright that only the sun in the sky can be compared with him.

(12) Nāgasena (Fig. 12) raises two hands and support his chin. He opens his mouth and laugh. His tongue and his throat are seen. His eyes are rolling and his eyebrows are shaking. His mouth is open and the tongue is visible. If he can neglect the sight of the cloud and the mountain and the sound from the waterfall, his mind can thus be released from the bound of the material world.

(13) Iṅgada (Fig. 13) has a cane against one of his shoulders and his left hand holds a sūtra. He bends his head and looks at the sūtra. His right hand holds a rosary. He subdued his mind and keeps his mind busy. He counts the beads and puts a sūtra on one of his palms. The cane is against his belly and shoulder. He shows the sūtra to his eyes. His mind perceives those beyond images.

(14) Vanavāsī (Fig. 14) meditates in a cave. His mind is still like ash, and his form is like a dried-up wood. An iron slab is struck, and the sound is echoing in the valley. However, the sound cannot affect mind of the Lohan.

(15) Ajita (Fig. 15) holds one of his knee with two arms. He
is looking ahead and his mouth is open. His teeth are exposed; however, some of the teeth have already been gone. The skull is in the shape of rocks. His tongue is seen as soon as the mouth is opened. He preaches with his eyes.

(16) Čūda-Panthaka (Fig. 16) sits against dead trunk of a tree and he writes in the air. A fan is tucked in his waist band. And there is a depiction of the sun and the moon on the fan. The old tree is covered with moss. The Lohan's fingers stretch and hold back from time to time. If the fan is not shaked, no wind can be produced. The weather is so hot that the fanning immediately cools the Lohan down.

Under the advise of Preceptor Chang-chia, Emperor Ch'ien-lung ordered to correct the order of the Sixteen Lohans. Emperor Ch'ien-lung also restored the captions into Sanskrit. The order he thus gives is as follows:

(1) Inghada
(2) Ajita
(3) Vanavasi
(4) Kālika
(5) Vajraputra
(6) Bhadra
(7) Kanakavatsa
(8) Kanaka-Bhāradvāja

49) Rakṣa-zusen-shū, Fol. 33-37.
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<tr>
<td>(9) Bakula</td>
<td>叫嘎活拉尊者</td>
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<td>(10) Rāhula</td>
<td>喇呼拉尊者</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11) Cūdapanthaka</td>
<td>观查巴纳答嘎尊者</td>
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<tr>
<td>(12) Piṇḍola-Bhāradvāja</td>
<td>半那嘎拉哈拔喇组尊者</td>
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<td>(13) panthaka</td>
<td>巴那搭嘎尊者</td>
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<tr>
<td>(14) Nāgasena</td>
<td>钦阿嘎塞纳尊者</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(15) Gopaka</td>
<td>钦巴嘎尊者</td>
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<tr>
<td>(16) Subinda?</td>
<td>阿必遵尊者</td>
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The hymn written by Emperor Ch‘ien-lung shows that the first Lohan, Piṇḍola-Bhāradvāja, is repositioned to the twelfth Lohan (50); the second, Kanakavatsa, the seventh Lohan (51); the third, Kanaka-Bhāradvāja (52), the eighth Lohan (53); the fourth, Nandimitra Ch‘ing-you (54), the sixteenth Lohan; the fifth, Po-no-chia, the nineteenth Lohan (55); the sixth, Ian-mo-

50) Rakan-zusan-shu, fol. 33.

51) Ibid., fol. 34.

52) According to Fa-chu-chi, the third Lohan should be Kanaka-Bhāradvāja. However, Emperor Ch‘ien-lung took up the name, Piṇḍola-Bhāradvāja, which is the name for the first Lohan, again. He might replaced the third Lohan, Kanaka-Bhāradvāja, with the seventeenth Lohan in the eighteen Lohans described by a famous literati of Sung Dynasty (the eighteen Lohans will be discussed later in this section). The reason he did so is unknown.

53) Rakan-zusan-shu, fol. 34.

54) Again, Emperor Ch‘ien-lung took up the name of the eighteenth Lohan instead of the fourth Lohan out of the sixteen Lohans recorded in the Fa-chu-chi.

55) Whether Po-no-chia is Emperor Ch‘ien-lung’s own transliteration of the Sanskrit name of the fifth Lohan, Nakula, is unknown. See Rakan-zusan-shu, fol. 34.
lo-pa-t'o, the sixth Lohan(56); the seventh, Kālika, the fourth Lohan(57); the eighth, Vajraputra, the fifth Lohan (58); the ninth, Čvapāka, the fifteenth Lohan(59); the tenth, Panthaka, the thirteenth Lohan(60); the eleventh, Rāhula, the tenth Lohan(61); the twelfth, Nāgasena, the fourteenth Lohan(62); the thirteenth, Indaka, the first Lohan(63); the fourteenth, Vanavasi, the third Lohan(64); the fifteenth, Ajita, the second Lohan(65); the sixteenth, Čūḍa-panthaka, the eleventh Lohan(66). Emperor Ch'ien-lung further recorded that the new captions and the revised order of the sixteen Lohans were sent to Sheng-yin-szu(67). The revised captions and order of the Sixteen Lohans were under the advice of the

56) Tan-mo-lo-pa-t'o is not the standard translation of the sixth Lohan, Bhadra, found in Fa-chu-chi. Again, it is unknown whether it is out of Emperor Ch'ien-lung's translation. See Rakan-zusan-shu, Fol. 35.

57) Ibid.
58) Ibid.
59) Ibid.
60) Ibid., Fol. 36.
61) Ibid.
62) Ibid.
63) Ibid.
64) Ibid., Fol. 37.
65) Ibid.
66) Ibid.
67) Ibid., Fol. 38.
Imperial Preceptor Chang-chia. According to Wen Fong’s opinion, the revised order came from the worship of Eighteen Lohans of Tibetan tradition(68). His argument is based on two sources. One is that Preceptor Chang-chia was a Mongol Lamaistic monk(69); the other is the reports of the Tibetan Eighteen Lohans from Lévi-Chavannes and Grunwedel(70). Wen Fong said, "In applying the Tibetan list to the sixteen pictures at the Sheng-yin-szu, the last two extra names had to be left out. The result was a truncated Tibetan list with a new, Manchu inspired transliteration—which was, properly speaking, a rude, uninvited change to both Chinese and Tibetan tradition(71)." Based on Tucci’s Tibetan Painted Scrolls, however, Ch‘ien-lung’s list should be based on the list of Sixteen Lohans from K’ro lotsava which goes back to the tradition introduced into Tibet by Atīśa. The Sixteen Lohans from K’ro lotsava are(72):

1. Amgaja (Yan lag abyuṅ, Yan lag skyes, Mes shyes, zur kyis ses)

68) Wen Fong, Five Hundred Lohans at the Daitokuji, p. 34


70) Lévi-Chavannes, p. 296-7; Brunwedel, Mythologie de Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei, p. 37ff.

71) Wen Fong, Five Hundred Lohans at the Daitokuji, p. 34.

2. Ajita (Mi p'am)
3. Vanavāsin (Nags na gnas)
4. Kālika (Dus Idan, Dur Kk'rod pa, Nag po p'a)
5. VajrIputra (rDo rje mo'i bu, Bad sai bu)
6. Bhadra (bZaṅ po)
7. Kanakavatsa (gSer beu)
8. Kanakabharadvāja (Bba ra dva dsa gaer can)
9. Bakula
10. Rāhula (sGra gcen Adsin)
11. Cullapanthaka (Lam ap'ran bstan)
12. Pindolabharadvāja (Bba ra dva dsa baod snoms len)
13. Panthaka (Lam bstan)
14. Nāgasena (Klul sde)
15. Gopaka (sBed byed, Ba laṅ skyon)
16. Abheda (Mi p'ye)

The tradition AtIša brought into Tibet is seen in AtIša's Hymn and Poem by mC'mis ston Nam mk'a' grags(73):

1. Āṅgaja
2. Ajita
3. Vanavāsin
4. Kālika
5. VajrIputra
6. Bhadra
7. Kanakavatsa
8. Kanakabharadvāja
9. Bakula
10. Rāhula
11. Cullapanthaka
12. Pindola
13. Bharadvāja
14. Panthaka
15. Nāgasena
16. Gopaka
17. Abheda

(73) Ibid., p. 565.
9. Bakula

Rakan-zusan-shu also includes literal depiction, by three Northern Sung literati and priest, of groups of Sixteen and Eighteen Lohans. The iconography and order of Lohans in those three sets are different from the Sixteen Lohans in Rakan-zusan-shu.

During Northern Sung Dynasty, a famous literati, Huang T'ing-chien (c. A.D. 1050-1110), who was a good friend of Su Shih, also a famous literator, described a set of sixteen Lohans:

(1) The First Venerable Piṇḍola-Bhāradvāja

A K'un-lun-er (75) holds a golden box. A king is seated. In front is a vaisūrya (lapis-lazuli) flower pot. The Lohan sits erectly making a mudrā with both hands. In front is a "timing incense." A young novice holds an almsbowl. The king takes a fire to light the incense.

(2) The Second Venerable Kanakavatsa

The king of Kashmir is seated(76). The Lohan's right hand makes a mudrā. In front of his seat are flowers in

74) Rakan-zusan-shu, II, fol. 13-16; Wen Fong, Five Hundred Lohans at Daitokuji, p. 103-106.


76) See the following description of the address of the Sixteen Lohans.
a valīrya pot. A k'ūn-lun-er holds a sūtra case. The king is in the attitude of adoration.

(3) The Third Venerable Kanaka-Bhāradvāj
He closes both his hands in a mudrā. A Hu nu (Hu slave) holds some sūtras and a young novice is studying.

(4) The Fourth Venerable Subhādra
He holds a sūtra in his left hand. A young novice pours water from a valīrya vase and gives the tiger a drink.

(5) The fifth Venerable Nakula
He sits facing the West(77) and snaps his finger. A Hu slave holds a scepter. A young novice holds a valīrya vessel in which there are two peacock tail feathers.

(6) The Sixth Venerable Bhādra
He lives in Tamrādvipa(78). He sits facing the West with his two hands stacked on each other. A king holds a ju-1 scepter(79). A young novice closes his palms in adoration.

(7) The Seventh Venerable Kālika
He holds a white fly-whisk. A novice holds a box. A Hu slave filters the water.

(8) The Eighth Venerable Vajraputra

77) The Chinese placed West on the right hand side of a picture; see Wen Fong, *Five Hundred Lohans at Daitokūji*, Chapter Two, ff51.

78) See the following description of the address of the Sixteen Lohans.

79) LaRoy Davidson, "The Origin and Early Use of the Ju-1."
He points and looks around as if he were making a speech. A young novice is lighting a "timing incense," while a Hu slave holds the incense dish. The latter figure carries a precious jug of clean water over his shoulder.

(9) The Ninth Venerable Gopaka
He lives in the Gandhamadana mountain. He holds a feather fan. A Hu slave holds a golden incense burner. A young novice holds some fruits of Lai-ch'īn.\(80\).

(10) The Tenth Venerable Panthaka
He lives in the Trayastriṃśa Heaven.\(81\). He has long eyebrows and holds a rosary. A novice closes his ten fingers in adoration. A lokapāla (guardian) offers a vajra (diamond/indestructible) bell.

(11) The Eleventh Venerable Rāhula
He holds a sūtra, while a young novice holds the sūtra cover. A king sits kneeling.

(12) The Twelfth Venerable Nāgasena
He holds a scepter. A novice closes his palms in adoration. A Hu king offers the seven treasures (saptaratna).

(13) The Thirteenth Venerable Īṅgada
He shakes a golden khakkara (staff). A dragon stirs

\(80\) A king of pear.

\(81\) See the following description of the address of the Sixteen Lohanas.
under his seat. A king offers a bell.

(14) The Fourteenth Venerable Vanvāsi
He receives the offering of a stūpa from a king. The
king kneels in the Hu fashion. A Hu slave sits holding
the stūpa.

(15) The Fifteenth Venerable Ajita
He holds a hand-censer. A king fills water in the pot
of lotus flowers, while a young novice holds the pot.

(16) The Sixteenth Venerable Cūda-panthaka
He has his palms closed together and receives the
offering of a mani (dragon pearl) from a dragon-maiden.
On the table is a vajra bell. A young novice holds a
hand-censer.

In this list, the sixth venerable Bhadra is described living
in Tamradvipa; the ninth venerable Gopaka, Gandhamādana; the
tenth venerable Panthaka, Trayastriṃśā. According to Fa-chu-
chi (Nandimitravadāna), each Sixteen Lohans occupies a
territory. Fa-chu-chi records that sixteen Lohans received
order from Buddha to stay in this world in order to await the
future advent of Buddha Maitreya. Different Lohans reside at
different places(82): The first Venerable and his family
lives at Aparagodānīya (Hsi-ch’u-t’o-lo-ni-chou 西翼陀羅尼洲
); the second Venerable and his family, Kasmir(Chia-shih-mi-
lo-kuo 迦濕羅摩國 ); the third Venerable and his family,

(82) Hsüan-tsang, “Ta-ko-han-na-t’i-mi-to-lo-suo-
Pürvavideha (Tung-shang-shen-chou 束藤身洲); the fourth Venerable and his family, Uttarakuru (Pei-chü-lu-chou 北俱盧洲); the fifth Venerable and his family, Jambudvīpa (Nan-chan-pu-chou南瞻部洲); the sixth and his family, Tamradvīpa (Tan-mo-lo-chou 胆麻木洲); the seventh and his family, Samghāta (Seng-chia-t’u-chou僧伽茶洲); the eighth and his family, Paraṇa (?) (Po-la-na-chou鉢利拿洲); the ninth and his family, Gandhamādana (Hsiang-tsuei-shan香頌山); the tenth and his family, Trayastriṃśa (San-shih-san-t’ien三十三天); the eleventh and his family, Priyangu (Pi-li-yang-ch’u-chou普照星洲); the twelfth and his family, Potalaka (?) (Pan-tu-po-shan半度波山); the thirteenth and his family, Vipulaparvva (Kuang-hsia-shan 廣臨山); the fourteenth and his family, Vaisa (K’o-chu-shan可住山); the fifteenth and his family, Ṣrīdhraṅkuta (Chiu-fong-shan 窟岡山); the sixteenth and his family, Nemindhara (Ch’ih-chou-shan持軸山).

Another set of Lohan paintings is described by a Northern Sung literati as well. Su Shih, banished by government in A.D. 1095, discovered a set of eighteen Lohans attributed to Chang Yüen 張元 (c. A.D. 890-930)(83) on the Island of Hai-nan 海南島. He described as follows(84):

83) Chang Yüen was known as Chang-lo-han. See I-chou-ming-hua-lu, Chapter IX, fols. 18-19; Alexander C. Soper, p.35, note 368.
Chang Yüen was a Five-Dynasty painter, who is specialized in Buddhist paintings, especially arhats; see Hsüan-ho-hua-p’u, Vol. I, Fol. 6-7.

84) Rakan-zusan-shu, II, Fold 1-5; Wen Fong, Five Hundred Lohan at Daitokuji, p. 99-103.
(1) The Venerable Kaśyapa
The first venerable one sits erect with his legs crossed. A Man-nu (Man slave)(85) stands on one side. A Kuaś-aśī (demon messenger) prostrates himself in front. An attendant takes his message and forwards it.

(2) The Venerable Kundopadānīya
The second venerable one sitting on one side and puts his palms together. A Man slave holding some wooden writing tablets stands in front. An old man opens them and finds a vaidūrya container in which there are ten or more sarīras (Buddha's relics).

(3) The Venerable Pindola
The third venerable one leaning on a black-wood staff sits erectly resting. Underneath, a white monkey offers fruits. An attendant holds a plate to receive the offering.

(4) The Venerable (Ka) Nakavatsa
The fourth venerable one sitting sideways holds three fingers together and answers to a Hu man's(86)

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85) Man was generally used to designate non-Chinese "barbarian" tribes in the south. See Wen Fong, Five Hundred Lohan at Daitokuji, Chapter Two, note 42.

86) B. Laufer, Sino-Iranica, p. 194: "Hu is one of those general Chinese designations without specific ethnic value for certain groups of foreign tribes. Under the Han it appears mainly to refer to Turkish tribes; thus the Hsiung-nu (Xiongnu) are termed Hu in the Si K1 (Szu-chi). From the fourth century onward it relates to Central Asia and more particularly to peoples of Iranian extraction." The term "hu" naturally also alludes to India, or generally, the Western Countries; see S. Levi, B.E.F.E.O., vol. IV, p. 559-
questions. Below, a Man slave holds a letter and a boy plays with a tortoise.

(5) The Venerable (Kanakabhā) Radvāja
The fifth venerable one sits above a torrential chasm holding his hands around his knee. Below, a shen-nu (female genius) emerges from the water. A Man slave receives her letter.

(6) The Venerable Subhadra
The sixth venerable one holds his cheek with his right hand and pets a lion cub with his left hand. He looks at the attendant who is holding a melon and cutting it.

(7) The Venerable Nakula
The seventh venerable one sits sideways near the water. A dragon comes out of the water and spits out a mani into his hand. A Hu man holds upright a short khakkara and a Man slave stands with an almsbowl in his two hands.

(8) The Venerable Bhadra
The eighth venerable one sits with one leg raised and his elbow on the raised knee. An attendant passes in front on his way to fetch water. There is a Shen-jen (genius) emerging from the earth. He holds a plate and offers treasures.

(9) The Venerable Kālika
The ninth venerable one has just finished eating and has
turned his almsbowl bottom up. He sits counting the beads of his rosary and murmurs a spell. Below, a boy makes fire to brew tea. Another boy sinks a pipe to draw water from the lotus pond.

(10) The Venerable Vajraputra
The tenth venerable one holds a sūtra and sits erect. A Hsien-jen-shih-nü 仙人仕女 (immortal female attendant) burns incense in front.

(11) The Venerable Gopaka
The eleventh venerable one sits with legs crossed and burns incense. An attendant bow with two hands folded. A Hu man holds an envelope and stands.

(12) The Venerable Panthaka
The twelfth venerable one sits erect in meditation in a dried, hollowed tree trunk. From his head, the spirit ascends. Below, there is a huge serpent.

(13) The Venerable Rāhula
The thirteenth venerable one leans on a stick and sits sideways with pendant legs. An attendant holds an envelope and stands. In front, a tiger passes by. A boy appears to be frightened; he hides behind and peers.

(14) (The Venerable Nāgasena)
The fourteenth venerable one holding a vajra bell sits erect and murmurs a spell. An attendant on the right is straightening his clothes. On the left side, a Hu man holding a short khakkara horizontally sits kneeling. A
horned dragon appears to be pleading to the Lohan.

(15) (The Venerable Iṅgada)
The fifteenth venerable one has white beard and eyebrows. He sits cross-legged with his hands tucked in his sleeves. A man prostrates himself in front. A Man slave holds a staff. An attendant stands with palms closed together in adoration.

(16) The Venerable Vanavāsi
The sixteenth venerable one holding a ju-l scepter horizontally sits cross-legged. Below, a boy lights a "timing incense." An attendant pours water into a flower pot.

(17) The Venerable Ajita
The seventeenth venerable one sits sideways near a stream and watches flying cranes above. One crane has landed and folded its wings, and an attendant fondles it with one hand. A boy holds a bamboo basket and throws fruits into the water.

(18) The Venerable Čūdapanthaka
The eighteenth venerable one holding a fly-whisk upright puts his hand under his chin. He sits with staring eyes. Below, two boys break some pomegranates for offering.

Another set also described by Su Shih was from Pao-lin-szu 實林寺, located at Ch’ing-yuan-hsia 清遠峽. This set includes eighteen Lohans as well, but names of the Lohans in
this repertory are somewhat different from the former set. The names are Piṇḍola-Bhaṛadvāja, Kanakavatsa, Kanaka-Bhaṛadvāja, subinda, Nakula, Bhadra, Kālika, Vajraputra, Čvapāka, Panthaka, Rāhula, Nāgasena, Iṅgada, Vanavāsi, Ajita, Cūḍa-Panthaka, Nandimitra, and Piṇḍola(87).

According to Emperor Ch'ien-lung's comment, the former Sixteen Lohans from the Eigteen Lohans at Pao-lin-szu that Su Shih described correspond to the Sixteen Lohans recorded in the Fa-chu-chí; however, the last two, Ch'ing-you and Piṇḍola, are actually the Nandimitra and the first Lohan, Piṇḍola-Bhaṛadvāja, respectively(88). A Northern Sung priest named Ta-hung in A.D. 1115 described an embroidered set of "Eighteen Lohans," which were made after designs of Wu Tung-ch'ing (89), a Sung Dynasty painter. Ta-hung described the Eighteen Lohans as follows(90):

(1) The First Venerable Piṇḍola-Bhaṛadvāja

Frosted bamboos,
Life quietly under stone ledges;
A blue lion with drooping tail,
Walks by slowly and looks upward.

88) Rakan-zusan-shu, I, fol. 41.
89) Wu of Ch'ang-sha is Wu Tung-ch'ing; see Hsüan-ho-hua-p'u, Chapter IV, fol. 7; see also Alexander Soper, transl., Kuo Jo-Hau's Experience in Painting, p. 54, note 487.
The master sits cross-legged,
Gazing over an empty table;
He may be pronouncing speeches like thunders,
The attendant does not seem to lend a receptive ear.

(2) The Second Venerable Kanakavatsa
Graying whiskers and reddish scale-like skin;
Above there is a khakkara hanging;
A jade statuette and a gold vase,
On an upright stone they are both standing;
A Man king kneels watching,
The smoke from the brazier ascending;

(3) The Third Venerable (Kanaka) Bhāradvāja
His spirit sees the quiet and the deep;
His fingers closed together and he looks intently;
Who has placed this flower wreath,
On the clean table in front?
A bearded king holds a stūpa;
Where did he come from?
There is a complete image in the stūpa;
How comes not the usual piece of āarīras?

(4) The Fourth Venerable Subhadra
Beside a bed of stone,
An old pine grows straight and tall;
Within the jade vase,
Mountain flowers flourish and multiply;
Holding a ju-l scepter in his hand,
Quietly he seems to be talking;
The brahma text is not consulted,
Deliberately he wanders away from the written words.

(5) The Fifth venerable Nakula
Even the tree begs for the Law,
By offering its trunk as a seat;
Even the stag shows a donor's heart,
By presenting a flower from the hill;
How long are those snowwhite eyebrows,
Which extend freely according to his will?
Silently we know who he is,
there is no need for breaking the secret.

(6) The sixth Venerable Bhadra
Two demons come to deliver messages,
They chat with a novice;
Quietly the master listens to them,
He holds his hands around his knees and looks around:
"My heart is without partiality,
I treat all creatures as equals;
One thought to yield you heart,
Will deliver you from the Five Fears."

(7) The Seventh Venerable Kālika
The body is dry as a palm tree,
The heart is quiet and alert like a resting hare;
The master is benign and gentle,
While the attendant smiles and observes:
"This poisonous dragon is hard to subdue,
I will try to snap my magic finger";
Presently the dragon emerges from the almsbowl,
Happily we see its back and its tail.

(8) The Eighth Venerable Vajraputra
He sits leaning on a Hu bed,
He holds a bamboo stick in his hand;
The right shoulder is bare,
One of the legs is drawn back;
A young novice washes the utensils,
His master watches and smiles;
The host and the companion are always distinguishable,
Like the Sun and the Moon both are equally wonderful.

(9) The Ninth Venerable Gopaka
This vaïdûrya vase,
which emits five-colored light,
Represents accumulated merits and virtues,
And all the powers and roots of goodness and compassion;
The monk and the layman look different,
The divers routes they take point to the same Way;
The truth of the matter is:
In one body there are the san-pao 三寶 ("Three Precious Things").

(10) The Tenth Venerable Panthaka
In spite of the duster in his hand,
There is no dust in his land;
Leaving the dream of Three Poisons,
He rides on a cloud of five colors;
After frost and dew when the fruits (Of life) ripen,
The compassionate and patient one manifests himself;
He takes the void as the ground under his feet,
Where he stands things are real.

(11) The Eleventh Venerable Rāhula
Leisurely he holds a rosary,
Sitting against a steep rock;
A boy chasing after a (flying) khakkara,
Skips and bounces among the trees;
An elephant holding a lotus blossom,
Comes to present it as a ceremonial offering;
What wonderous uses have the six organs,
Even a nose can be used to hold things!

(12) The Twelfth Venerable Nāgasena
The bhikṣu with a stūpa,
Shows the state of nirvāṇa;
The tiger that faces one,
Shows his true state of mind;
Holding a precious book,
Without opening or appreciating it,
Shows the state of apprehending,
That written words are endless.

(13) The thirteenth Venerable Īṅgada
Things having no fixed station,
He leans on a table with a bare shoulder;
An attending novice strikes a ch'ing 磬 (ghanta),
A lion lies down and plays with a rock;
The stone screen leans against the sky,
Underneath a spring gushes out;
The sound of water touches the eye,
The light of stone reaches the ear.

(14) The Fourteenth Venerable Vanavasi

Erect, reclining, or sitting with legs widely spread,
Any position can be assumed for meditation;
What was poisonous has been put to rest,
What was crooked has found itself correct;
The flowers in the vase are by nature fragrant,
The Lohan holds a palm fan at leisure;
His eyes look up to the clouds and the highest heaven,
His laksana (outward appearance) has not yet been abandoned.

(15) The Fifteenth Venerable Ajita

A man slave stands like a crane,
A pot of flowers lies in front;
Leaning on a stick and bending one leg,
He has a beard shaped like an oyster-shell;
Thoroughly knowing, leisurely and without any pre-
occupation,
He alone travels into the deep cave of truth;
Above the rock there is a vase,
Which is his only worldly possession.

(16) The Sixteenth Venerable Cūḍapānthaka

The flower in his heart opens and gives,
His action and his appearance are shining and pure;
Prumly and quietly he sits,
His eyes are beautiful and his cheeks full;
The expressions of ten thousand phenomena,
And the uses of the six organs,
Are to be seized by one's hand,
Without being hit by words.

(17) The Seventeenth venerable Nandimitra

His manner is cool and remote,
Holding his cheek with one hand he concentrates:
He looks at this precious stūpa,
Where the true image appears;
A playful Man (slave) tosses a ball,
And games with a youthful animal;
The ten thousand practices are visible ad unobsurred,
Like things in the rays of the dawn.

(18) The eighteenth Venerable Pindola

A I-nu(91) grinding a tea cake,
The dumb shows a spark of cleverness;
The runner stag lying on the ground,
The swift shows a moment of stillness;

91) I-nu designates tribes on southeastern pacific islands. See Nan-lʻ-chin(Records of Southern Barbarians) as quoted in the Tʻai-pʻing-wu-lan, Chapter 981, Fol. 5.
The master holds a fly-whisk, 
Sits leisurely, bends and watches, 
"Having known the Buddha, 
I realize every Law is like thus!"

A table is attached to give a clearer overall view to the different sets of the names of Sixteen and Eighteen Lohans(92)

The paintings from the Rakan-zusan-shu all consist of a single image of Lohan in each painting; however, the other three set described by the Northern Sung literati and priest are more complicated in iconography.

The first Lohan in the Rakan-zusan-shu is Pindola-Bhāradvāja, who holds a cane and has a sūtra on lap (Fig. 1). In the set Huang T'ing-chien describes, Pindola-Bhāradvāja also numbered the first; however, there are a k'ùn-lun-er, a king, and a young novice holding a golden box, taking fire to light incense, and holding an almsbowl respectively. In the set attributed to Chang Yüan that Su Shih records, the Lohan nevertheless is the second venerable in the list. Accompanying the Lohan are a white monkey offering fruits and an attendant holding a plate to recieve fruit. Ts'ung describes Pindola-Bhāradvāja, who also ranked first in the Eighteen Lohans, as one who is surrounded by an i-nu grinding a tea cake, and a stag lying on ground.

Kanakavatsa (Fig. 2), the second Lohan in the Rakan-

92) See Table I.
zusan-shu, performs a mudrā and holds a cane. In Huang T'ing-chien's set, Kanakavatsa is also numbered the second in the sixteen Lohans; but a k'un-lun-er attends on the Lohan. The Lohan is not in the list recorded by Su Shih. In Ta Hung's set, a man king kneels in front of the Lohan, the second venerable.

The third Lohan, Kanaka-Bhāradvāja (Fig. 3), from the Rakan-zusan-shu, obtains very long eyebrows and holds a fan in his right hand. Also as the third venerable, Kanaka-Bhāradvāja in Huang's set is waited upon by a hu-nu, holding some sutra, and a young novice, who is studying. In Su's set, the Lohan however is the fifth in the list. A Sheng-nu emerges from the water and a man slave, who serves as a page to the Lohan, receives the letter. In Ta's set, a bearded king holding a stūpa is waiting on Kanaka-Bhāradvāja, the third Lohan.

The fourth Lohan (Fig. 4), Subinda, in the Rakan-zusan-shu, sits on a stone and performs a fist in the right hand. In Huang's set, the fourth venerable however is named Subhadra. He is accompanied by a young novice pouring water from a vaidūrya vase and giving tiger a drink. Subhadra in Su's set is numbered the sixth, who pets a lion cub and is attended by an attendant who is holding a melon and cutting it. Subhadra, the fourth venerable, in Ta's set, is the single image in the composition, which is a rare phenomenon in the three sets described by the Norther Sung literati and
Nakula (Fig. 5), the fifth Lohan, from the Rakan-zusan-shu, uses a cane to scratch his back. In Huang's set, a Hu slave holding a scepter, and a young novice holding a vaïdūrya vessel are waiting on the Lohan. Nakula in Su's set is however numbered the seventh. A dragon comes out of the water and spits out a mani into the Lohan's hand; a Hu man holding a short khakkara and a Man slave standing with an almsbowl in his two hands are accompanying the venerable. In Te's set, Nakula is also the fifth and is accompanied by a stag which is presenting a flower.

Bhadra (Fig. 6), the sixth Lohan, in the Rakan-zusan-shu, holds a rosary in his left hand. The Lohan in Huang's set is attended on by a king holding a ju-i scepter and a young novice closing his palms in adoration. Bhadra in Su's set is the eighth venerable in the list. An attendant passes in front on his way to fetch water and a shen-jen emerges from the earth holding a plate and offering treasures. In Te's set, two demons come to deliver messages and chat with a novice.

The seventh Lohan (Fig. 7), Kālika, from the Rakan-zusan-shu has extraordinarily long eyebrows. Kālika in Huang's set is accompanied by a novice who holds a box and a Hu slave who is filtering the water. The Lohan in Su's set is ranked the ninth venerable. In the composition, a boy, making fire to brew tea, and another boy sinking a pipe to
draw water from the lotus pond are with the Lohan. In I'se's set, Kalika, the seventh Lohan as well, is waited upon by an attendant and a dragon emerges from the almsbowl.

Vajraputra (Fig. 8), the eighth Lohan, in the Rakan-zusan-shu exposes the shoulders and crosses his two arms. The Lohan from Huang's set is attended by a young novice, lightening a "timing incense", and a Hu slave, holding the incense dish and carrying a precious jug of clean water. In Su's set, Vajraputra is numbered the tenth venerable. The venerable was attended on by a hsien-jen-shih-nu, who is burning incense in front. In Te's set, a young novice waits on the Lohan and washes utensils.

The ninth Lohan (Fig. 9), Çvapāka, in the Rakan-zusan-shu sits in profile and holds a fan. In Huang's list, the ninth venerable is named Gopaka, who is attended a Hu slave, holding a golden incense burner, and a young novice, holding some fruits of lai-ch'ing. Gopaka in Su's set is ranked the eleven venerable. An attendant bows to the Lohan with two hands folded and a Hu man stands holding an envelope. In Te's set, the ninth Lohans is also named Gopaka, who is the single image in the whole composition.

Panthaka (Fig. 10), the tenth Lohan, from the Rakan-zusan-shu set, holds a sutra. The Lohan is also ranked the tenth in the list of sixteen Lohans described by Huang. A novice closes his ten fingers in adoration to Panthaka and a lokapāla offers a vajra bell. In Su's set, Panthaka is the
twelfth venerable. A spirit ascends from the Lohan's head, and a huge serpent is below. The Lohan, riding on a cloud of five colors, from Te's set is again the single image in the composition.

The eleventh Lohan (Fig. 11), Rāhula, in the Rakan-zusan-shu set is in angry appearance. In Huang's set, also as the eleventh venerable, Rāhula holds a sūtra, while a young novice holds the sūtra cover and a king sits kneeling. The Lohan is numbered the thirteenth in Su's set. He is accompanied by an attendant, holding an envelope, a tiger, passing by in front, and a boy, appearing frightened. Rāhula from Te's set is with a boy and an elephant. The boy chases after a (Flying) khakkara, skips and bounces among the trees; while the elephant holds a lotus blossom, and comes to present it.

Nāgasena (Fig. 12), the twelfth Lohan, in the Rakan-zusan-shu, raises two hands and supports his chin. In Huang's set, a novice closes his palms in adoration toward the Lohan, and a hu king offers the seven treasures. Nāgasena in Su's set is ranked the fourteenth venerable, who is waited on by an attendant straightening the clothes, a Hu man holding a short khakkara, and a horned dragon appearing to be pleading to the Lohan. In Te's set, the Lohan is accompanied by a tiger.

The thirteenth Lohan (Fig. 13), Īnghada, from the Rakan-zusan-shu holds a sūtra and a rosary. In Huang's set, Īnghada
is accompanied by a king offering a bell and a dragon stirring under the Lohan's seat. The Lohan in Su's set is ranked the fifteenth. A Hu man prostrates himself in front of Iṅgada, a man slave holds a staff, and an attendant stands with palms closed together in adoration. In Te's set, also as the thirteenth Lohan, Iṅgada is accompanied by a novice striking a ch'ing (ganta), and a lion lying down and playing.

Vanavāsi (Fig. 14), the fourteenth Lohan, in the Rakan-zusan-shu, meditates in a cave. The Lohan in the Huang's set receives the offering of a stūpa from a king, who kneels in the Hu fashion, and a Hu slave sits holding the stūpa. In Su's set, Vanavāsi is the sixteenth Lohan, who is attended by a boy and an attendant. The boy lights a "timing incense", and the attendant pours water into a flower pot. The Lohan from the Te's set is accompanied by no one.

The fifteenth Lohan (Fig. 15), Ajita, from the Rakan-zusan-shu, holds one of his knee with two arms. From Huang's set, Ajita is with a king filling water in the pot of lotus flowers, while a young novice holding the pot. The Lohan in Su's list is the seventeenth Lohan. An attendant fondles a crane with one hand, and a boy holds a bamboo basket and throws fruites into the water. In Te's set, Ajita is waited by a Man slave standing like a crane.

Cūḍā-Panthaka (Fig. 16), the sixteenth Lohan, in the Rakan-zusan-shu, sits against dead trunk of a tree. The Lohan from Huang's description receives the offering of a
mani from a dragon-maiden while a young novice holds a hand-
censer. Cūda-Panthaka in Su’s list is ranked the eighteenth
venerable. Below him, two boys break some pomegranates for
offering. The Lohan in Te’s set again is alone and sits
gently.

Kasyapa from Su Shih’s list, and Nandimitra and Pindola
from Te-hung’s set are not seen in the other two sets of
description. Kasyapa is the first venerable in Su’s list.
The Lohan is with a Man-nu, who stands on one side, a kuei-
shih, who prostrates himself in front, and an attendant, who
takes his message and forward it. Nandimitra found in Te’s
record is the seventeenth Lohan, who is accompanied by a Man
(slave) tossing a ball and gaming with a youthful animal.
Pindola, the eighteenth Lohan, from Te’s set is with an i-nu
griding a tea cake, and a runner stag lying on the ground.

The Lohans Huang T’ing-chien, Su Shih, and Te-hung
described are always accompanied by border-tribe slaves,
nonces, kings, or some kind of animals, like dragon,
monkey, and tortoise. And hand-incenses, incense burners,
stūpas, and golden boxes are common attributes. Based on the
available visual material today, this kind of iconographic
composition did not begin until Northern Sung period (Fig.
20-1–20-16). The group of eighteen Lohans, however, was
originated much earlier than this date. According to the
inscription in Sheng-yin-szu set and Rakan-zusan-shu set,
Kuan-hsiu only made sets of the Sixteen Lohans but never the
group of Eighteen Lohans. Su shih's description of the Eighteen Lohans, which was attributed to Chang Yüan (c. A.D. 890-930), indicates that the first appearance of eighteen Lohans in China should at least be traced back to late ninth or early tenth century. T. Watters offered an interesting opinion about the origin of the group of Eighteen Lohans:

"Another suggestion, and one which seems not improbable, is that the Buddhists in this matter imitated a certain Chinese institution. When we read the history of the reigns of T'ang-kao-tzu and T'ai Tsung, we find the record of an event which may have given the idea of grouping the Lohan in the chief hall of a temple and of raising their number to eighteen. In the year 621 T'ai-tsung instituted within the palace grounds a very select college composed of eighteen members. These dons were officials of high standing ... The members took their turns in batches of three in attending on duty, and while in the college they were liable to be visited and interrogated by the emperor. He had portraits of the members made for the college, and each portrait was furni-
shed with a statement of the name, birthplace, and honours of the original. The merits of each were described in ornate verse by one of the number, Chu Liang.

These favoured men were called the shih-pa-hsueh-shih or Eighteen Cabinet Ministers, and they were popularly said to have t'eng-ying-chou, to have become immortals (93).

Lin-an-chih (gazetteer of Lin-an-or Hangchow) of the K'ai-lin-ch'un (c. 1265) edition records that the Prince of Wu-yüeh dreamt of a group of eighteen monks in A.D. 944 and thus caused twelve more images of Lohans added to the six images already existing at the Yeu-hsia Cave by the West Lake in Chechiang (94).

Except the sets of Lohan paintings from the Rakan-zusan-shu (Fig. 1-16), Sheng-yin-szu (Fig. 39-55), and Imperial Collection of Japan (Fig. 38-1--38-16), the same group of Lohans seldom obtain consistent iconography or iconographic composition. I believe it is due to lack of canonical source providing necessary information of different iconography for each Lohan in different groups for artists or craftsmen. Therefore, different attributes and different iconographic

93) T. Watters, p.345-346.

94) Omura, Shige-bijutsu-shi-chosohen, p. 659; Tokiwa-Sekino, Buddhist Monuments in China, text V, p. 133; both authors quote from Yuan Yuan's Liang-che-chin-shih-chih, Ch. III.
composition were developed in different periods or by different hands.

Style

According to the preface in the *Rakan-zuan-shu*, the images of the Sixteen Lohans included are faithful copies from "genuine" Lohan paintings by Kuan-hsiu (95). Ch'ing-ho-

95) Kuan-hsiu's surname was Chiang, and his literary name is Ta-yin. He was born at Chin-hua at T’ang-kao when he was seven years old, his parents sent him to a monastery, Kuo-an-szu and An-szu, to be a page for a Ch'an monk-master, Yüan-ch'en. Kuan-hsiu was very bright that he could memorize a thousand words from *Fa-hua-ching* (Saddharmapundarikasutra). At the moment he received his ordination, his reputation as a talented poet had already been widely spread. He then arranged congregation and taught the true meaning of *Fa-hua-ching*. The dates for Kuan-hsiu is an argument. According to the opinion Fan Chin-min, a Chinese scholar, who took several literary references and historical records into consideration, Kuan-hsiu should be born in the sixth year of Ta-ho (1) and died in the second year of Yung-p'ing (2) of five Dynasties, i.e. A.D. 912. Kuan-hsiu was not only a famous poet, monk-master, but also was a talented painter. According to records, he was especially famous for his Lohan paintings. In his latter years, he lived in szuchuan province. The emperor, Wang Chien (3), honored him as Ch'an-yeh-ta-shih (Master of Ch'an moon). See Ch'ien-t'ang-wen, 1890 edition, chüan 921, p. 5b; ch'ien-t'ang-shih, Taiwan, 1960, Vol. 12, chüan 826, p. 9302; & chüan 888, p. 10035; Ch'iu You-kung, 擊有功, T'ang-shih-chi-shih, 聖詩紀事, Shanghai, 1965, Vol. 2, chüan 75, p. 1089; Hsin Wen-fang, L'ang-ta'ai-tzu, 唐才子, Shanghai, 1957, Vol. 10, p. 180; Ch'ao Kung-wu, 蔡公武, Ch'uan-tsa-tu-shu-chih, 郭競, 筆記志, Taipei, 1933, Vol. 4/2, p. 22b; Huang Hsiu-fu, Yi-chou-ming-hua-lyu, Vol. 2, p. 3a; Hsüan-ho-hua-p'u, Vol. 3, p. 10a; Kuo Jo-hau, 郭若虚, L'ü-hua-chien-wen-chih, Chien-tai-shu edition, vol. 2, p. 28b; T'ao Tsung-yi, 陶宗儀, Shu-shih-hui-yao, 1929 edition, vol. 5, p. 37b; T'ao Yueh, Wu-tai-shih-pu, 五代史補, Yu-chang-ts'ung-shu edition, vol. 1, p. 11.

Hsüan-ho-hua-p'u records that although Kuan-hsiu was a talented painter, not many of his paintings left. Only part
shu-hue-fang 清河書畫舫 says that Kuan-hsiu's Lohans give
wild and strange appearance. The sixteen images in the Rakan-
zusan-shu are provided protruding foreheads, large eyes, big
noses, prominent nostrils, projecting cheekbones and chins,
and wrinkled skin in the facial features. The characteris-
tics are not typical of Han people but from border-tribed
people. The Lohan images from Rakan-zusan-shu are all in
Chinese-styled kāśyapas on which there are sometimes with
patched pattern interspersed with cloud motif, dotted lines,
or "入" pattern (Fig. 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16).
Or the kāśyapas (monks' dyed robes) are plain without any
decorated motif or only with dark hams (Fig. 4, 5, 8, 9, 14).
Some Lohans are fully clothed; however, some are only covered
partly by the robes (Fig. 3, 4, 5, 8, 15). Kanaka-Bhāradvāja
exposes his right shoulder and chest (Fig. 3); the chest of
Subinda and Ajita are uncovered (Fig. 4); Nakula and
Vajraputra are naked in their torsos (Fig. 5 & 8). Most of
the Lohans sit on rocks, but Cūḍa-panthaka is beside a tree
trunk (Fig. 16). Pindola-Bhāradvāja sits on a rock on which
displayed on with a pad which is decorated with floral motif.
Some Lohans display bare feet; some, although show bare feet,
leave sandals (Fig. 14, 6, 7, 11, 14), boots (Fig. 2, 8), or

of his paintings are in Buddhist subjects in which Lohan
paintings are most famous. According to Hsüan-ho-hua-p'ū,
Kuan-hsiu had following paintings left to us: one image of
Wei-mo 雄摩 (Vimalakīrti), one image of Hsu-p'ū-t'i 燕菩提
(Subhūti), one image of a monk master, one Indian monk-
master, and twenty-six Lohans images. See Hsüan-ho-hua-p'ū,
chuan 3, p. 10-11.
matted shoes (Fig. 10) aside. The outlines of these sixteen paintings are characterized by thin, and even lines, which is the style developed in the Six Dynasties and carried on into T'ang and Five Dynasties. The textural strokes are distinguished by triangular-shaped marks. The shading is applied schematically; the technique has already been seen in T'ang Dynasty and is transmitted into Five Dynasties. The color scheme is composed of grey, earthen, yellow, green, brown, and black colors. Each image is placed in a very shallow space and are put forward to picture planes.

The facial features of the Lohans from the Rakan-zusan-shu are close to those found on the Lohans of the paradise of Shaka (Śākyamuni) on the wall paintings of Kondo, Hōryuji (Fig. 17, 17-1). The Hōryuji Lohans are three in number and stand beside the Bodhisattva to the proper right of Shaka. Two Lohans are in three-quarters view and the other one is in frontal view (Fig. 17-1). The weathered faces, frowned foreheads, protruding eyebrow bones, the big noses, and emaciated appearances are closely related to the style from the Rakan-zusan-shu. The paradise of Shaka is located on the large east wall in the Kondo. Unlike the other three large paintings in the subject of Buddhist paradises also located in Kondo, the finished date for Shaka paradise, according to Dr. Taki's opinion, should be dated Kamakura period (A.D.
Although thus, the paradise scenes of Hōryūji Kondo are based on T'ang prototype, especially early T'ang style. Thus, it may be concluded that Kuan-hsiu

96) The Shaka paradise was completely done over in the Kamakura period. This idea was first given out by Dr. Iaki. He considered that the restoration was done in the Kamakura period. The reasons are as follows: "The large east wall which is given in the Kokon mokurokusha as Hosho's (Sakyamuni's) paradise seems to have been completely done over. If I were asked why I consider that the work as it stands belongs to a later period, I would point out first of all that the composition and spacing in the painting is so cramped and awkward that it cannot be mentioned in the same day with the other paintings, especially with the three other large walls. For whereas in the other three large walls the composition and the area of the wall are perfectly balanced, the design in this wall is unsuitably meagre and scanty. And not only is this true of the general composition, but each individual figure shows the same formal degeneration, so that they resemble and yet are not really the same as the figures in the other walls. Again, turning to the details, we note that the folds of the robes lack coherence and logical sequence. Further, one cannot but recognize the fact that lines representing folds that should by rights be the same here and in the other paintings, are quite changed in form and decadent. And if we criticize the painting not only from the standpoint of form but also from the point of view of technique, we find that the lines are incontestably very much weaker and the colors feebler. For these reasons I think it safe to conclude that we have here to do with a thoroughgoing restoration...The object held in the right hand of the attendant Bodhisattva on the observer's right looks like a mirror but in fact is not. It is hard to make out just what it is, and I am rather inclined to think that the man who did the repainting must have resorted to his imagination to some extent, being perhaps unable to make out clearly what the thing originally intended to be." See Naito, The Wall Painting of Hōryūjī, p. 122; Iaki, "Hōryūji hakiga ni tsuite," p. 48 & 50.

97) Naito expressed, "That the four paradise scenes of the Hōryūjī wall-paintings can be considered to have been based on T'ang paintings may be deducted from the fact that paradise scenes with the same pictorial characteristics are to be found among the wall paintings of the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas at Tung-huang. To be sure, there are no paradise scenes among the Tun-huang wall-paintings which exactly correspond in date to the Hōryūjī paintings; all are
was not the one who inaugurating the distinctive style of Lohans, which probably had already been developed in early T'ang period. A painting discovered at Mu-t'ou-kou, Hsinchiang province (Fig. 18) further speaks for the preexistence of the so-called "Kuan-hsiu style" of Five Dynasties. The subject is a bhikṣu (a religious mendicant) in the style of Kuan-hsiu's Lohans. According to the inscription located at the lower left corner, the date for this painting should be 17th year of K'ai-yüan of T'ang Dynasty, i.e. A.D. 729. The same distinguished appearance of Kuan-hsiu's Lohans is found on the statues of Buddha's disciples, which are probably in Early T'ang style, stored in Hōryūji pagoda. A two-dimensional description of a statue (Fig. 19) from Mai-chi-shan, located in Kansu province demonstrates that "Kuan-hsiu style" actually not only can be found in early T'ang period but also in latter Six Dynasties(98). From the upper pictorial evidences, it is later than those of Hōryūji, and there is not one that dates from the early T'ang period. However, the paintings that we do find there which have the same pictorial elements as the Hōryūji paintings are very likely copies which preserve the style that prevailed in early T'ang. Among the wall-paintings with paradise scenes preserved at the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas at Tun-huang, several distinct types are to be found.... The paradise scenes that resemble those of Hōryūji are very few in number compared with these; two wall-paintings in Cave No. 146 (see Naito, Pl. 18,19) are examples of this type." See Naito, p. 142.

safe to say that the famous style from Kuan-hsiu's Lohan paintings was not actually invented by Kuan-hsiu himself but had long been a tradition which at least had been existed since latter Six Dynasties.

A similar-styled set of Sixteen Lohans from Kodaiji, Japan is found (Fig. 21-36). The images are, seated on rocks, tree chairs, or against tree trunk. Iconography of this set is different from that of the Rakan-zusan-shu set. The fourth Lohan (Fig. 24) is similar to Kanakavatsa (Fig. 2) in the Rakan-zusan-shu set in that both Lohans perform mudrās and sit with canes. Nevertheless, the Kodaiji Lohan faces a different direction and his cane is against the tree trunk. The fifth Lohan (Fig. 25), although also holds a rosary like Bhadra (Fig. 6) from the Rakan-zusan-shu does, is in a very different iconographic composition than Bhadra. The sixth Lohan (Fig. 26) should be Cūda-panthaka, since he sits against a tree trunk, holds a fan in the right hand, and performs a mudrā with pointed index and middle fingers in the left hand. The twelfth Lohan holding a cane against the left shoulder (Fig. 32) is definitely Pindola-Bhāradvāja. These images are also pushed forward to the surface of the pictures. Similar features, i.e. strange and wild appearance, high cheekbones, frowned eyebrows, worn neck, general hirsutenese, to the Rakan-zusan-shu are found. Eight Kodaiji Lohans expose their shoulders, torsos, or chests (Fig. 21, 22, 25, 28, 30, 31, 34, 35). Kodaiji Lohans
possess more delicately shaped footwears: the sandals offer offset contours and elegant and exaggerated bands; matted and cloth shoes are worn with socks on. The images from the Rakan-zusan-shu are basically built up by lines, but in Kodaiji set shading becomes equally important as linear description. Freer and more fluent quality of outlines is applied, and shading is much more subtly rendered. Details are paid more attention to: textural strokes of rock and tree trunks, and decorative motifs of attributes. Compare with the Rakan-zusan-shu set, Kodaiji pictures are imposed more complicated composition and the images give away more complex anatomy. Unlike the Rakan-zusan-shu set, Kodaiji paintings contain more landscape elements or attending components in the composition. For instance, the first Lohan has a small lion bowing in the front (Fig. 21); the third Lohan is accompanied by a deer and the rock he sits on is set in the interval between two palm trees (Fig. 23); a monkey approaches the fifth Lohan from viewers' proper right (Fig. 25); the seventh Lohan is back by a strangely shaped rock (Fig. 27); The eighth Lohan pets a tiger sitting in front of him, and three bamboos are set behind him (Fig. 28); the thirteenth Lohan sits on a rock against a very detailly depicted pine tree, and in the middle ground a rock stool with an incense burner on is set (Fig. 33). Different from the stiffer postures found in the Rakan-zusan-shu images, Kodaiji figures begin to turn and twist in posture (Fig.
22, 23, 29, 35). The naturalness of the postures is found more advancey articulated than the figures in a Li Kung-lin's 李公麟 painting named *Five Tributed Horses* 五馬圖卷 (formerly Kikuchi Collection, Tokyo) dated Northern Sung Dynasty, and in the painting titled *The virtuous brothers Po I and Shu Ch'i in the wilderness picking herbs* 束狸圖 (collection of Palace Museum, Peiking) by Li T'ang 李唐, a transitional artist in-between Northern and Souther Sung periods. The angular outlines of the rocks, and the detailed applied textural strokes and shading of the Kodaiji set follow the tradition of Hui-tsung 徽宗 Academy. A similar rendition is found in a depiction of a rock, *Hsiang-lung-shih* (the Auspicious Dragon Rock) 权龍石 (99). The detail treatment of the bark of the pine trees is similar to that in Liu Sung-nien's 割松年 Lohan painting, *An arhat leaning against a tree* 窮漢圖 (dated A.D. 1207. Collection of Palace Museum, Taipai)(Fig. 37, 37-1). In conclusion, Kodaiji set is in the tradition of Southern Sung style. It thus should not be dated other than the period of Southern Sung.

Sixteen images of Lohans from the Imperial House Collection at Tokyo, Japan (Fig. 38-1--38-16) are very close in style with the *Rakan-zsan-shu* Lohans in terms of iconography and composition, although some details are

different. The outlines of the rocks are somewhat more angular than the Rakan-zusan-shu set, and the shading is a little bit more detailed. Nevertheless, the similar characteristics of the Rakan-zusan-shu images and the Imperial set demonstrate that they are out of a same model. The Lohans from the Imperial Collection obtains same iconography as Rakan-zusan-shu Lohans, although decorative motifs are different. Pindola-Bhāradvāja holds a cane against his left shoulder and has a sūtra over his lap (Fig. 38-1). However, the motifs on the robe and the cloth sitted on by the Lohan are different from those of the Rakan Pindola-Bhāradvāja (Fig. 1). The second Lohan from the Imperial Collection (Fig. 38-2) performs mudrā with two hands and holds a betel cane like the Rakan Lohan (Fig. 2). Kanaka-Bhāradvāja (Fig. 38-3) also attains sword-like eyebrows and a fan in his right hand as the third Lohan from Rakan-zusan-shu (Fig. 3). The fourth Lohan, Subinda (Fig. 38-4), as the Rakan Subinda (Fig. 4), sits on a stone slab and performs fist in his right hand. Nakula of the Imperial Collection (Fig. 38-5) betray the same iconography as the Rakan Lohan (Fig. 5); but the robe and the rock, unlike those from the Rakan, are applied with motif and textural strokes. The sixth Lohan, Bhadra (Fig. 38-6), like Rakan Bhadra (Fig. 6), stares up and holds a rosary in his left hand; nevertheless, the collars are applied motif while Rakan Bhadra's collars are only black in color. Kālika from the
Imperial Collection (Fig. 38-7) also betrays extremely long eyebrows. The eighth Lohan, Vajraputra (Fig. 38-8), like the Rakan Lohan (Fig. 8), exposes his shoulders and crosses his arms. Imperial Čvāpaka (Fig. 38-9) is in the same iconography as Rakan Čvāpaka (Fig. 9): sitting in profile, holding a fan, and performing right hand with three fingers crooked. However, the robe of the Imperial Čvāpaka is of motif. The tenth Imperial Lohan, Panthaka (Fig. 38-10), holds a sūtra just as Rakan Panthaka (Fig. 10); but the cloth sitted on by the Imperial Lohan betrays draperies. Interesting, Imperial Rāhula (Fig. 38-11) performs different mudrā from Rakan Rāhula (Fig. 11) does; the motif on the latter's collars is more elaborate than that on the formers. The eleventh Lohan, Nāgasena (Fig. 38-12) is of the same iconography as the Rakan Lohan (Fig. 12); nevertheless, the decorative motif on Imperial Lohan's Kāsaya is in vertical rather than in diagonal motion as the Rakan Lohan. Íngada from the Imperial Collection (Fig. 38-13), as Rakan Íngada, obtains a cane against his left shoulder, a rosary in his right hand, and a sūtra on his left palm; the "Λ"-shaped motif on the Rakan Lohan's robe is not seen on Imperial Íngada. Imperial Vanavāsī (Fig. 38-14) and Rakan Vanavāsī (Fig. 14) both sit and meditate in a cave; but the collar and the hem of Rakan Vanavāsī's robe are painted. The fifteenth Lohan, Ajita (Fig. 38-15), from Imperial Collection, like Rakan Ajita (Fig. 15), holds his right knee with two arms and
opens his mouth; the motifs on two Lohans' robes are different. Imperial Cūda-Panthaka (Fig. 38-16) is in the same iconography as the Rakan Lohan (Fig. 16); but the motifs of the two Lohans are different.

According to the preface of the Rakan-zusan-shu, the images of the Sixteen Lohans included in the book are copies from the "genuine" paintings of Kuan-hsiu. Thus it should not be inappropriate to say that the Rakan-zusan-shu set and the Imperial images fall in the inheritance of Kuan-hsiu's tradition.

The Sheng-yin-szu set of rubbings consists of seventeen images (Fig. 39-55). Only four out of these seventeen images do not correspond to the iconography in the Rakan-zusan-shu set. The third in the seventeen is inscribed with the name of the first Lohan, Pindola-Bhāradvāja, again (Fig. 41); the fourth is Nandimitra (Fig. 42); the fifth is Bakula (Fig. 43). The last image does not inscribed with any name but is topped by the inscription of part of the text from Prajñāparamitā-sūtra (Fig. 55). The lower right corner of the fourth rubbing offers the information that this set of stone slabs carved with Lohan images were copied from a set of Kuan-hsiu's "genuine" paintings collected by the monastery in order to honor Emperor Ch'ien-lung sojourn.

The captions of the first sixteen images of this set correspond exactly with the set before revision of the order by the emperor. Interestingly, the names of the Sixteen
Lohans in the Rakan-zusan-shu do not go exactly with those of Sheng-yin-szu set. The third Lohan in the Sheng-yin-szu set (Fig. 41) sits facing viewers' left direction like kanaka-Bhāradvāja from the Rakan-zsan-shu set (Fig. 3); however, he holds a cane, and his left hand is on his right one. The inscription says: "He receives light from the front and thus realize the truth of wisdom; the spiritual vulture from India recognizes the route to arrive here; he wears a pair of sandal, and holds a cane."

The fourth Lohan, Nandimitra (Fig. 42), is accompanied by an inscription as follows: "Incense is lighted on in a ting vessel; although tripitaka is read, dharma still has not been kept in mind thoroughly; then what is the reason that my image should be depicted down? It is Kuan-hsiu who should be responsible for the matter."

The fifth Lohan, Bakula (Fig. 43), is described in the inscription as follows: "A rosary is in hand, and all of the dharma becomes one; he sits under a tree and his mind was occupied; a page is listening to his soundless gātha."

Most of the Lohans from the Sheng-yin-szu are consistent with the style of the Rakan-zusan-shu set. Piṇḍola-Bhāradvāja from the Sheng-yin-szu set is still close to the style of the Rakan-zusan-shu images. Nevertheless, the other two Lohans and the last image from Sheng-yin-szu do not echo Rakan-zusan-shu style. The composition of these three images are closer to Kodaiji style, especially Bakula and the last
image. Bakula (Fig. 43) sits against a tree trunk. The
detail description, although rather linear in definition
which might due to the medium, is reminiscent of the
thirteenth picture from Kodaiji (Fig. 33). The last image
(Fig. 55) closely modeled after the third painting of the
Kodaiji set (Fig. 23). Although one is like a positive film
and the other is a negative one, the composition, the
setting, the postures of the animals and the Lohans, even the
depiction of tree trunks and tree leaves are closely related.
Nevertheless, the object that Sheng-yin-szu Lohan holds is a
vase emitting a small image of a Bodhisattva instead of a
branch of ling-chih 靈芝 ; ling-chih is on the contrary held
by the deer in the mouth by the Lohans right side.

On the top of the last slab, at the end of the
inscription of the text of the Prajinãpâramita, Emperor
Ch'ien-lung writes that because of the emergence of the image
of a Bodhisattva in the monastery that he decided to sit down
and copied the sūtra in order to have it accompanied the
images of the Lohans. At the central part of the right
border of the slab, the monk-master of the Sheng-yin-szu
inscribed the date, year of Jen-wu 辛午 of Ch'ien-lung, i.e.
A.D. 1762, which indicates the date of this set of
carving. The inconsistent styles found in the set might in-
dicate that the so-called "genuine" copies of Kuan-hsiu's
paintings is not originally a set but from two different
sources. One source goes with Kuan-hsiu's tradition and
Another interesting set is from Kenchoji, Japan (Fig. 56-1--56-16). Four Lohans are similar to the iconography from the Rakan-zusan-shū. The second Lohan (Fig. 56-2) sits in a hole and meditates like Vanavāsi (Fig. 14), although Vanavāsi sits in a rock cave and faces viewers frontally. The fourth Lohan (Fig. 56-4) corresponds to Panthaka (Fig. 10), who holds a sūtra. The fourteenth Lohan (Fig. 56-14) like Kālika (Fig. 7) also obtains very long eyebrows. The fifteenth Lohan (Fig. 56-15) is postured similar to Nakula (Fig. 5), although their canes are against different shoulders. The fifth Lohan (Fig. 56-5) is similar to the fifteenth Lohan from Kodaiji (Fig. 35) in iconography in that they all sit facing right and hold stūpas with two hands. The sixth Lohan (Fig. 56-6) and the second Lohan of Kodaiji (Fig. 22) both use ju-1 to scratch their backs. The twelfth Lohan (Fig. 56-12) is like the ninth Lohan of Kodaiji (Fig. 29) holding hand-incensories. Similar features to the other sets of Lohans are found in this set of paintings. But the nervous and squiggling drapery folds is a definition never seen in other sets of Lohan paintings mentioned above. It is inherited from Liang k‘ai’s(Southern Sung Dynasty) style as seen in an example of Lohan paintings by Liang k‘ai (Fig. 57) (Collection of Museum of Art Osaka). More advanced shading quality and hairy quality defined by ink tones are typical Yüan style as seen in the painting titled Bodhidharma.
Seated beneath Trees 紅衣羅漢圖 by Chao Meng-fu 趙孟頫 (dated A.D. 1292, National Palace Museum, Taipei). Natural anatomy of the body is characteristic of the style of Yan Hui 阮輝, a Yuan painter and also the author of this set of paintings. Another example of Yan Hui’s painting, The Taoist Immortal Li T’ieh-kuai as a beggar seated in a rock 李仙像軸 (Collection of Palace Museum, Beijing), shows the same characteristic. The angular outlines, which almost form 90 degrees, are also style of Kenchoji images.

In conclusion, Kuan-hsiu, who is famous for the distinctive style of his Lohan paintings, although known from literary sources rather than from visual sources, was not the inaugurator of the style; he nevertheless inherited the tradition long been established at least since Six Dynasties. His contribution lies in his inheriting and further developing the tradition and transmitting it down in a systematic manner. According to the preface written by Ts’ie-ting in the Rakan-zusan-shu, the included sixteen Lohans are copied from genuine paintings of Kuan-hsiu collected in sheng-yin-szu. Here two questions can be asked: 1. Is the so-called "genuine" set of paintings by Kuan-hsiu an authentic one? 2. How far is the style of the Sixteen Lohans of the Rakan-zusan-shu from the "genuine" set? The set of Lohan images from Sheng-yin-szu was carved into stone slabs by the monastery; thus, by examining the rubbings of those stone slabs (Fig. 39-55) we might catch some traces for
authentication. Most of the images from the rubbing go with the Sixteen Lohans in the Rakan-zusan-shu. However, some images (Fig. 42, 43, 55) are not found in the Rakan set and even much more elaborate in style than the Rakan images. Those images, according to comparison in style, are more in Southern Sung mode. One of the reasonable explanation for this strange phenomenon is that although the sixteen Rakan images, which correspond with most images of Sheng-yin-szu rubbings, tell the style of the set of "genuine" paintings, the three rubbings (Fig. 42, 43, 55), which betray different style from the same set, are probably from different hand other than the original craftsman who was responsible for the carving of the set or probably from a later edition for making up the lost slabs. Excluded the three incompatible images, it is evident that the Rakan images follow the Sheng-yin-szu paintings closely. We do not have authenticated paintings from Kuan-hsiu to be compared with Sheng-yin-szu rubbings; thus it is really difficult to tell whether Sheng-yin-szu paintings are genuinely from Kuan-hsiu's hand or not. Although the preface from Rakan-zusan-shu indicates that Emperor Ch'ien-lung authenticated the Sheng-yin-szu paintings were one set out of the three (including Kodaiji set and Chin-tse-ch'eng-ming-szu set) which were genuine works by Kuan-hsiu, by examining Kodaiji set, it is evident that the set is actually done much later than Five Dynasties. Therefore, questionable ability in authentication by Emperor Ch'ien-
lung is an important point here for us to doubt the genuiness of Sheng-yin-szu paintings.

As Rakan-zusan-shu set of Lohan images, Imperial Lohans, and Sheng-yin-szu set (excluded the southern Sung-styled images) compared with Southern Sung and Yuan Lohan paintings, those three sets reveal relatively simpler iconography and style. It demonstrates that those three sets are in the style developed earlier than Southern Sung and Yuan periods. Thus it is safe to say that they are closer to Kuan-hsiu's style and tradition. But that how far they are from the genuine hand of Kuan-hsiu is hard to tell since no authenticated paintings of Kuan-hsiu are left to us.
CHAPTER III

LOHAN CULT

Origin

The tradition of great disciples of the Buddha, Śākyamuni, should be traced back to India. Lohans, or arhats, in other words, stand for the group of disciples of the historical Buddha, Śākyamuni. In Indian tradition, the "Four Great Śrāvakas (disciples)", i.e. Mahākāśyapa, Kundopadhānīya, Piṇḍola, and Rāhula, are mentioned in the following three sūtras in Chinese translation: Mi-lo-hsia-sheng-ch'ing (100)/Mi-lo-lai-shih-ching (101)/Mi-lo-hsia-sheng-ch'ang-fō-ching (102); Tseng-i-a-hen-ching (103); Sheng-li-fu-wen-ching

100) Mi-lo-hsia-sheng-ch'ing was translated by Dharmarakṣa in A.D. 303. Taishō, XIV, No. 453.

101) Translator is unknown, but it is listed in the Tung-chin-lu 東晉錄 (A.D. 317-420). Taishō, XIV, No. 457.

102) There are three versions of Mi-lo-hsia-sheng-ch'ang-fō-ching. One is translated by Dharmarakṣa in A.D. 303, another is translated by Kumārajīva during A.D. 402 and A.D. 412; the other is translated by I-ching 義净 in A.D. 701 at Ta-fu-hsien Monastery 大福先寺. Taishō, XIV, Nos. 453, 454 & 455.

(Śāriputraparipṛchā)(104). Maitreyāvyākāraṇa is a Mahāyānistic sūtra; however, the other two, Ekottarāgama and Śāriputraparipṛchā are Hīnayānistic sūtras. These three sūtras record that the four great Lohans (arhats), i.e. Mahākāśyapa, Kundapadānīya, Pindola, and Rāhula, by the order of Buddha have postponed their nirvāṇa and stayed in the world, so that they may protect Buddha's Law until the advent of the future Buddha Maitreya (105). Concerning the Mahāyānistic Maitreyāvyākāraṇa, it appears that the original Maitreyaśyākaraṇa translated by Dharmaraksā had already been lost in the early eighth century, and the present text under that name was a later interpolation taken directly from the Ekottarāgama XLVIII in the Chinese Tripitaka (106). Therefore, it is obvious that the legend of the four great disciples is strictly from Hīnayānistic sources. The beginning of the Lohan belief can be pushed back at least to the beginning of the fourth century and even earlier, since the sources we base on are merely Chinese version of Sanskrit texts. But actually how early the belief can be traced back? The answer seems to be tied up with the beginning of the belief of the earthly paradise of the future Buddha, Maitreya, since the Ekottarāgama and Śāriputraparipṛchā suggest the corelation

104) Translator is unknow; but it is listed in the Tung-chin-lu (A.D. 317-420). Taisho, XXIV, No. 1465.
105) See Ekottarāgama, p. 789a.
106) Wen Fong, A Lohans and a Bridge to Heaven, fn. 50.
between the idea of the "stay" of the Lohans and the "coming" of Maitreya. According to Yu-min Lee's dissertation, the belief of Maitreya's earthly paradise should have been widely spreaded by the second century B.C.(107). She basically bases on the following three literary evidences: the biography of Asoka(108), an account in the Mahāvamsa, and the Mahāvastu(109). Asoka's biography mentions that right before Asoka's death, Asoka game alms to monks at a "Ketumati Temple(110). The account in the Mahāvamsa, King Dutthagamani (161-137 B.C.) meditated upon Maitreya at the time of his death(111). Furthermore, according to the Mahāvastu, an important early Hinayana text, which was very likely formulated in the second century B.C., a statement is found, "And I who am Śakyamuni have proclaimed Maitreya. Now, when Maitreya will be the Tathāgata the royal capital will be named Ketumati. It will be twelve yojanas long and seven wide. It will be surrounded by seven walls of gold and encircled by seven rows of palm-trees, bright and beautiful, and made of seven precious substances(112)." Therefore, there

107) Yu-min Lee, p. 142-144.
108) See Taisho, Nos. 2042, 2034, 2044, and 1045.
110) See Taisho, Vol. 50, p. 110c.
is no doubt that by the second century B.C. the belief of Maitreya's Ketumati had been existed. The Hinayanaistic legend of the four great śrāvakas, thus, has no reason that cannot be dated back to the second century B.C. (113).

Development

About the groups of Lohans in Chinese Buddhist art, the most famous are the groups of Sixteen, Eighteen, and Five Hundred Lohans. But according to Chinese Buddhist texts, many other groups of different numbers of Lohans are recorded. In the Ārya-vasumitra-śāstra (114), i.e. Mahāparinirvānasūtra in Sanskrit, composed in the first century A.D. and translated into Chinese by Saṅghabhūti in A.D. 384, Buddha mentions his "Sixteen Brahmans" (115).

113) Nevertheless, Wen Fong regards that the legend of Buddha deputizing arhats may be dated to around the first or second century A.D. His hypothesis is based on the records found in the Saddharmapundarīka and the Sariputraprachā. Wen Fong dates the Saddharmapundarīka, in which Maitreya is very prominent, to the second or the third century A.D. And he further dates the Sariputraprachā no early than the first century A.D., since the text "indicates the prevalence of Buddha's images at the time when the text was composed and the anthropomorphic image of Buddha "did not" appear until the "first century A.D." See Wen Fong, The Lohans and a Bridge to Heaven, p. 33-35. The date of the latter text evidently is based on the belief of the aniconic phase existing before the beginning of the Christian era. According to recent research, the presence of the so-called "aniconism" in Buddhism is really doubtful. See Susan L. Huntington, Ch. 5, p. 70 & note 12. Thus, the conclusion made by Wen Fong is questionable.


115) Seng-ch'i-sh-p'a-ch'ang, p.737a; Clapp, p.106.
fāng-pien-fō-pao-en-ching 大方便佛報恩經, translated in A.D. 25 to A.D. 220, records, "Twenty-eight thousand of great bhikṣus get together. They have already completed what they should do, and their discipline of celibacy has been established ...(116)" In the Iseng-i-a-han-ching (Ekottarāgama), translated by Chu-t' an Seng-ch' ieh-t'i-p'o 僧伽提婆 (Gautama Saṅghadeva) in A.D. 397, the following record is found, "Every one of the eighty-four thousand bhikṣus obtains release and becomes a Lohan(117). Ju-ta-ch'eng-lun 入大乘論 (Mahāyānavatārasāstra), translated by Tao-t'ai 道泰 in A.D. 397 to A.D. 439, mentions, "There are sixteen śrāvakas, i.e. Pindola, Rāhula, etc. living separately at different location(118)." Fo-shuo-a-mi-t'o-ching 佛說阿彌陀經 (Sukhāvatīamṛtavuśasūtra), translated by Chiu-mo-lo-shih 鳳摩羅什 (Kūmarajīva) in A.D. 402, records, "...get together with twelve hundred and fifty great bhikṣus(119)." Ia-shu-chin-na-lo-wang-suo-wen-ching 大樹癝那羅王所問經 (Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchā), translated by Kūmarajīva between A.D. 402 and A.D. 409, gives forth the following statement, "The Buddha lived at Gṛdhra-kūta near


118) Tao-t'ai, p.39b.

119) "Fo-shuo-a-mi-t'o-ching," Taishō, XII, No. 361, 1st chūan, p. 279.
Rājagṛha at one time, and congregated with sixty-two thousand great bhiksus (120). The earliest record known of Six Lohans, Ten Lohans, Sixty Lohans, and One Hundred and Ten Lohans is found in Ssu-fen-lü 四分律 (Dharmaguptakavinayā), translated by Fo-t'o-yeh-she 佛陀耶舍 (Buddhayāsas) and (Chu) Fa-nian in A.D. 405 or A.D. 408 (121). Fa-hya-san-mei-ching 法華三昧經, translated by Chih-yen 智晏 in A.D. 427, mentions Forty-two thousand arhats (122). The earliest record of Five Hundred Lohans is again found in Ta-fang-plen-fo-pao-en-ching, "At that time, Ajātaśatru sent a messenger to invite the Buddha. The Buddha and Five Hundred Lohans thus came to Rājagṛha (123). Hsüan-tsang's Hsi-yü-chi, written in A.D. 646, mentions that in a big rock chamber on the mountain Mahākāśyapa congregated with Nine Hundred and Ninty Lohans after the nirvāṇa of the Buddha (124):

The records of the texts mentioned above demonstrate that by early third century A.D. the groups of Twenty-eight Thousand and Five Hundred Lohans had already been established.

120) "Ta-shu-chin-na-lo-wang-suo-wen-ching," Taisho, XV, 1st chūan, No. 625, p. 367.

121) "Ssu-fen-lü," Taisho, XXII, No. 1428, 32nd chūan, p.789, 790, 792.


Eighty-four Thousand Lohans had come into existence before the end of the fourth century A.D. And by the beginning of the fifth century A.D., Six, Ten, Fifty, Sixty, One Hundred and Eleven, and Sixty-two Thousand Lohans had formed the groups in the groups of different numbers of Lohans. By the early fifth century A.D., Twelve Thousand Lohans had appeared. And by the mid-seventh century, Nine Hundred and Ninety Lohans had been existed. Omura and Lévi-Chavannes both indicate that the belief of the Sixteen Lohans comes from the idea of the "Four Great Śrāvakas," which was in turn derived from the idea of the gurdians of the four quarters of the world (126). It was the need for protective saints (or guardian angels) that the Cult of Lohans had come into full glory in the persecution-and-bandit-ridden late T'ang Empire, in the late ninth century A.D. The text also mentions Six Hundred, Seven Hundred, Eight Hundred, Nine Hundred, Ten Hundred, Eleven Hundred, Twelve Hundred, Thirteen Hundred, Fourteen Hundred, Fifteen Hundred, and Sixteen Hundred Lohans (127). Concerning Eighteen Lohans, Hsi-lu-chih 西湖志 records that in the first year of Hsien-te
of Later Chou period, i.e. A.D. 958, a Ch'an monastery called Ching-tzu-ch' an-szu 聖慈禅寺 made images of Eighteen Lohans(128). Therefore, according to Hsi-hu-chih the belief of the Eighteen Lohans should had been established by late Five Dynasties. Nevertheless, Hsi-hu-chih was written much later than Five Dynasties; thus, whether the record keeps with the history should be questionable. If it is not true, at least the description of the visual materials, as seen in that by Su Shih and Te-hung, can tell that by the Northern Sung, the belief of the Eighteen Lohans should had been inaugurated.

In the work of art, the earliest repertory of Lohan images began in Liang Dynasty (A.D. 502-557) of Southern and Northern Dynasties during which Chang Seng-yao 張僧繇, according to Hsüan-ho-hua-p' u(129), transmitted down to Sung Dynasty a Lohan image of originally a group of sixteen Lohan images. The icons of the Sixteen Lohans then developed into cycle of Five Hundred Lohans as early as Middle T'ang period(130). During Sung Dynasty, imperial house donated a group of five hundred Lohans in the second year of the reign Yung-hsi (A.D. 985), and in the same year, Emperor T'ai- tsu

128) Quoted in S. Omura's "Rakan-zuzo-ko."


130) Sung-kao-seng-chuan mentions in the biography of P'u-an that in front of the temple of T'ian-t'ai-shan, a shelter was built for a group of Five Hundred Lohans. See "Sung-kao-seng-chuan," p.880b.
renamed the Fu-t'ien-szu as Shou-ch'ang-szu and donated five hundred and sixteen images of Lohans to the temple(131).

The group of Sixteen Lohans, instead of the old Hinayānīst four śrāvakas, has been recorded as guardians of Mahāyānism in the Ju-ta-ch'ang-lun (Mahāyānavatārakāsāstra). It demonstrates that at least by the late fourth century A.D. Mahāyāna Buddhism has adopted Hinayānīst Lohan cult(132). Omura and Lévi-Chavanne both indicate that the idea of the Sixteen Lohans was amplified from the “Four Great śrāvakas,” which was in turn from the idea of the guardians of the four quarters of the world(133). According to Wen Fong’s opinion, although the Sixteen Lohans was developed from the Hinayānīst legend of the “Four Great śrāvakas,” that the first two śrāvakas of the four, i.e. Mahākāśyapa and Kuṇḍopadhāniya, were omitted in the group was intentional. The Ju-ta-ch’ang-lun cites, “the venerable Piṇḍola, the venerable Rāhula and similar great śrāvakas to the number of sixteen(134)”. The author did not mention the other two names of the four śrāvakas because he intentionally left out the names of Mahākāśyapa and Kuṇḍopadhāniya for “subversion by perversion”, which, as Wen Fong indicates, is the shrewdest

131) T’ien-t’ai-shan-ch’üan-chih, Ch. VI, fols.8-9.

132) “If anyone dares to call Mahāyāna the word of Mara, this man is a great enemy of Buddha’s Law. All the saints (arhats) will put a stop to that.” See Tao-t’ai, p.39b.

133) See Omura, p.3b and Lévi-Chavanne, p.190.

134) See fn.(111).
part of the Mahāyānist strategy (135). Wen Fong expressed, "In appropriating the Hīnayānist legend of 'Four Great Śrāvakas' as part of Mahāyānism, the Mahāyānists undoubtedly found Mahākāśyapa, the leader of the Hīnayānist quartet, too 'hot' to handle, for he, as the first Hīnayānist claimant to the apostolic succession, was the chief Hīnayānist adversary. Thus, while the Hīnayānist legend was being adapted, the tooth of the old legend, as it were, had to be removed. The corruption of the expanding old list of four arhats into an improvised new list of sixteen names, and was completed, finally, by the promotion of Piṅdola, the third of the old quartet, to the top of the new list (136)." Wen Fong gives a sufficient explanation to the omission of the name of Mahākāśyapa, but why the name of Kundopadhanīya was also left out is not mentioned. I wonder could it be that Kundopadhanīya's legends bear a close resemblance to those of Piṅdola (137) that the second from the "Four Great Śrāvakas" might as well be deleted.

The Eighteen Lohans was developed later than the Sixteen Lohans. The Sixteen Lohans were put together at least five centuries earlier than the former group. Different lists of the names of eighteen Lohans were recorded. Sometimes, Maitreya, in his early guise of the jovial monk Pu-tai, was

135) Wen Fong, The Lohans and a Bridge to Heaven, p.36.
136) Ibid, p.36-37.
137) Lévi-Chavanne, p.197-201.
counted one of the eighteen Lohans (138). Sometimes Liang Wu-ti (A.D. 502–550), the great Chinese patron of Buddhism, was also put into the group (139). According to Su Shih’s record, the set of the Eighteen Lohans attributed to Chang Yün added the first and the second śrāvakas of the four great śrāvakas to the list of the Sixteen Lohans (140). However, the set from Pao-lin-szu put Nandimitra and a second Pindola into the list. That the first two śrāvakas put in the name list of the Eighteen Lohans is difficult to be explained. The reason that the names of Nandimitra and a second Pindola were chosen into the name list is that these two sages are of certain importance. Nandimitra, the author of the Fa-chu-chi, which is the first text offering the names of the Sixteen Lohans, no doubt invited a lot of attention. And Pindola, the first of the Sixteen Lohans, with his own cult (141), certainly gained special treatment. A group of eighteen Lohans dedicated in A.D. 1971 to the cave of Eighteen Lohans located on Yün-lung mountain in northern Taiwan even includes Bodhidharma, Liang Wu-ti, and pu-tai (142).

139) Ibid.
141) Pindola’s cult will be discussed in the following text.
142) The Eighteen Lohans on Yün-lung mountain are:
Hsiang-lung 降龍, Nu-lian 南蓮, Chin-hue 進花,
Ta-mo 蓮摩 (Bodhidharma), Liang-wu 亮武 (Liang
Wu-ti), Chih-kung 志公, Chin-teng 進燈, K'ai-hsin 開心,
Pindola-Bhāradvāja is the leading Lohan of the Sixteen Lohans. There developed an independent cult of Pindola. This cult is closely related to two legends of Pindola. The stories were mentioned in many versions in Pāli and Sanskrit texts. Both legends describe Pindola's magic power. One tells that Pindola at Rājagrha rose into the air and took a precious sandalwood bowl off a hight pole amidst a cheering crowd(143). The other describes that in a rush to attend Buddha's party at Sravasti, Pindola carelessly flew through the air dragging a mountain behind him, and this frightening sight caused a pregnant woman to have a miscarriage (144). In the Pāli Vinaya, the sandalwood bowl event invited rebuke from the Buddha, who said that this kind of improper demonstration of miraculous powers "will not conduce either to the conversion of the unconverted, or to the increase of the converted, but rather to those who have not been converted remaining unconverted(145)." In the Shih-sung-lü 十善律 (Sārvaśīvādivinaya), translated from A.D. 399 to A.D. 413, Pindola was expelled from Jambudvīpa(146). Fo-shuo-san-mo-chihs-ching 佛說摩竭絳, translated from A.D.

Chin-kuo 進果, Wu-tao 悟道, Li-fung 力風, Chin-shu 進書, Hsi-shih 戲勢, Pu-tai 布袋, Fu-hu 伏虎, Chin-hsiang 進香, Chang-tun 長盾, and Hsien-pa 獻幣.

143) Lévi-Chavannes, p.205ff.
144) Ibid.
145) Kulevaugge, p.78-81.
146) Fo-jo-to-10, p.269a.
222 to A.D. 228, records that after the careless fly, Buddha told Piṅḍola, "From now on, you will not be allowed to eat with me or be together with the monks. You will stay in this world. You will have to wait until Maitreya appears in this world, and then you may enter nirvāṇa (147)." This passage indicates that by the third century A.D. the legends of Piṅḍola had been transmitted into China. Because of Piṅḍola's carelessness and extravagance, he was excluded from nirvāṇa and sentenced by Buddha to live in this suffering world until the very day of the coming of the Future Buddha.

The tenor for the worship of Piṅḍola has been seen in the early Sanskrit Avadānas (148). The ceremony in inviting Piṅḍola is described in the Ch'ing-pin-t'uo-lo-fa 諸寶應處法, translated by Hui-chien 惠簡 in A.D. 457. The sūtra proves that by the 5th c. Piṅḍola has formed his own cult. Piṅḍola was destined to stay in this world and he carried a mission which is to "produce a field of felicity for the four classes of being towards the end of the world (149)." We find from this statement that Piṅḍola cult developed as a protective cult.


148) In Theravadin literature, there was a number of unclassified works to the four Nikayas. The three forms of composition, nidāna, avadāna, and upadeśa are found in those works. Avadāna is the most important. The word, "avadāna" means "heroic feat, glorious achievement". See E. J. Thomas, p.279.

149) Hui-chien, p.784b.
The T'yu-hua-chien-wen-chih records that Kuan-
hsiu's Lohan paintings were worshipped in Yun-t'ang-yuan on Chang-hsi mountain in Chianghei province. It suggests that Lohan cult by Sung period had become a protective cult. In later days, Lohan cult even began to be adopted into different sects of Buddhism.

Lohan Cult and Ch'an Buddhism

From available references, it seems logical to make the conclusion that Lohan belief, except Pindola's cult, has never been formulated an individual cult. Lohan cult is from time to time associated with different sects of Buddhism, especially Ch'an Buddhism. Many monasteries of Ch'an, T'ien-t'ai, Chen-yen, and Ching-t'u Buddhism are found patronize Lohan images. The Hai-hu-chih seems to indicate that by A.D. 958 Ch'an monastery began to patronize Lohan images. No other available records can be used to trace the relation back to earlier periods. Moriyama Ryuho in the Rakan no sekai offers a list of Japanese monasteries of different sects that patronize Lohan images.

150) Fan Chih-min, p.29.
151) Ibid.
152) The following section will give further discussion.
153) Moriyama Ryuho, p.240-244. Also see Table II. Table II is a revised table from Ryuhoi's.
The list shows that Lohan images find patronage in Soto (Ts'ao-tung), Rinzai (Lin-chi)(154), Shingon (Chen-yan), and Tendai (T'ien-t'ai) monasteries. It proves that Lohan cult has at least been adopted into different sects of Buddhism for a certain period of time. Up to this point, two questions can be asked. First, when these sects, i.e. Soto, Rinzai, Shingon, and Tendai began to take in the Lohan cult? Second, Why and how the Lohan cult was adopted by these sects? These two questions provide an opening field for further research, since as far as I know there is no related reference now to give satisfying answer to the questions.

154) Soto and Rinzai are two of the groups of five Chinese Ch'an (or Zen) sects, and two of the thirteen Japanese Buddhist sects. Japanese-English Buddhist Dictionary explains as follows: It's said that the name of the sect, Soto, is derived from the names of places: Ts'ao-hsi (Sokai), where Hui-neng (Eno) the sixth patriarch in the lineage of the Chinese Zen sect, stayed, and Tung-shan (Tozan), where Liang-ch'ien (Ryokai), the founder of this sect, advocated its teaching. Among the five sects of this group, only the Rinzai and Soto Sects prospered in later periods. The Soto Sect was brought to Japan by Dogen, the founder of the Japanese Soto Sect.

(Rinzai-shu is) one of the five Chinese Ch'an (Zen) sects and seven Zen schools, and also one of the thirteen Japanese Buddhist sects. This sect was founded by Lin-chi I-hsuan (Rinzai Gigen), and greatly prospered in China. From this Rinzai Sect, two schools, Yang-ch'ı (Yogi) and Huang-lung (Oryu), were established in the Sung (Só) Dynasty. Eisai (or Yosai) transmitted this sect to Japan in 1191. It also prospered in Japan in later periods, as its teaching and practice were highly esteemed by the samurai class. There are fourteen schools of the Rinzai-zen Sect in Japan at present, and more than six thousand temples belong to it.

See Daito Shupponsha, p.309 & 234.
proposed above. Nevertheless, there are two aspects we can make sure. One is that the donations of those Lohan images to the temples listed in Table II is nothing but rather mundane in purpose. For instance, the sixteen Lohans in Honkoji were dedicated to protect donators; the five hundred Lohans in Daiyuji were for pacifying the dead in flood; the five hundred Lohans in Kitain were dedicated to offer happiness to donator's ancestors and parents. Second is that from the list it is safe to say that at least by A.D. 1709 Lohan cult has had associated with Soto Sect; by A.D. 1766, with Shingon Sect; and by A.D. 1772, with Tendai and Rinzai Sects.

The relationship between Lohan cult and Ch' an Buddhism actually can be traced back much earlier than A.D. 1709. A Ch' an master named Kuei-shen (?-A.D. 928) honored with the title "Lohan", who once preached at Chang-chou-lohan-yüan in southern China(155), and the association of the images of Sixteen Lohans with Ch' an-yüeh-ta-shih, i.e. Kuan-hsiu (A.D. 832-912) indicate that there must be certain relationship between Lohan cult and Ch'ang Buddhism.

Ch' an Buddhism was transmitted into China by Bodhidharma during Liang period of Southern and Northern Dynasties. Down to the seventh century A.D., when the fifth patriarch Hung-jaen 弘忍 chose Hui-neng 慧能 to be the inheritor, Ch' an Buddhism began to be divided into two

155) Fan Wan-lan, p.299.
schools: Northern and Southern Schools. The Southern School of Hui-neng was basically developed in southern China. It is during the end of the T'ang Dynasty and the Five Dynasties, five sects branched out the Southern School of Ch' an Buddhism (156). That period was the prime time of Ch'an Buddhism. In the Five Dynasties, because of political turbulence in northern China, Ch'ang Buddhism gains no opportunity for steady development but in southern China. It was against this kind of background that Kuan-hsiu was carrying out his activity in southern China.

Kuan-hsiu's Lohan paintings give an evidence that in the ninth or the tenth century A.D. Lohan cult had already been adopted into Ch'an Buddhism. D. I. Suzuki expresses, "They (Lohans) are miracle workers and tamers of the wild beasts. This characteristic seems to have excited the interest of the Zen monk-artist who has turned them into one of the favorite objects of his artistic imagination (157)." He even makes himself clearer in the following example to explain how Lohans interested Ch'an monks: "In a large Zen monastery the five hundred Arhats are given a special shelter in the premises. / Bhadrapala (Bhadra?) is one of the sixteen Arhats

156) The five sects of Ch'ang Buddhism are Wei-yang 魏仰, established in Hunan province 湖南, Lin-chi 臨濟, founded in Hopei province 河北.; Ts'ao-tung 曹洞, established in Chianghsii province 江西, Yün-men 聞門, founded in Kuangtung province 廣東, and Fa-yen 法眼, founded by Wue-i acting in southern China. Four of the five sects were developed in southern China. See Kuo P'eng, p.548-566.

and had his satori (i.e. enlightenment) while bathing. He is now enshrined in a niche in the bath-room attached to the meditation Hall. When the monks take their bath, they pay respect to his figure (158)." It is apparent that the magic powers and the capacity in achieving sudden enlightenment of Lohans invited attention of Ch'an monks. Thus Lohans, I believe, as perfect ideal beings for Ch'ang Buddhism, took up by Ch'an monks and temples for advocating the philosophy of Ch'an Buddhism.

158) Ibid.
CHAPTER IV
CONCLUSION

Style of Kuan-hsiu’s Lohan Paintings

The Lohan paintings of Kuan-hsiu have long been lost, although many sets of Lohan paintings transmitted down to us are claimed to be out of Kuan-hsiu’s hand. The characteristics of the appearance of those Lohans are in accordance with the description of literary references; nevertheless, it does not provide enough evidence for those paintings to be regarded as genuine works from Kuan-hsiu. We can only say that those paintings are after the style of Kuan-hsiu’s Lohan images. However, compared with earlier Lohan works, for instance, Koryuji Lohans in wall painting and statue, Mu-tou-kou Lohans and Mai-chi-shan Lohans, the style of Kuan-hsiu’s Lohans were not the invention of the artist. What can be best say is that Kuan-hsiu was the great promoter of the style seen in earlier Lohan art.

The style of Kuan-hsiu’s Lohan paintings is clearly seen in the Sixteen Lohans depicted in the Rakan-zusan-shu. The quality of even lines use by Kuan-hsiu is inherited from the Six Dynasties and I’ang style. But the triangular-shaped textural strokes for rocks are Kuan-hsiu’s own style.
According to Hsüan-ho-hua-p'ü, as early as the sixth century of the Christian era, the subject of sixteen Lohans had already been painted by a Liang painter named Chang Sang-yiao. What is the relationship between the style and the iconography of Chang's Lohans and Kuan-hsü's Lohan images is unknown since none of Chang's painting is left to us. No literary references mention even earlier Lohan art and no earlier works than Lohan statue of Mai-chi-shan was transmitted down today. It does not mean that there is no earlier art of works ever existed. Future excavations might shed some light on the mystery.

Lohan Cult

Lohan cult, according to Mi-lo-hsia-sheng-ching, Mi-lo-lai-shih-ching, Mi-lo-hsia-sheng-ch'eng-fo-ching, Tseng-l'a-han-ching, She-li-fo-wen-ching, the biography of Aśoka, Mahāvamsa, and Mahāvastu, originated in India in the 2nd c. B.C. The earliest translation of the Buddhist canon from Sanskrit into Chinese that contains the term "arhat" is Tao-hsing-pen-fo-ching, translated by Chih-lo-chia-ts'an in A.D. 179. It provides the evidence that Lohan cult was transmitted into China and adopted into Mahāyānism by late 2nd c. A.D.

Some scholars say that although Lohans are indigenous product of India, they were grouped together in China. Groups of different numbers of Lohans are mentioned in the
sūtras like Ta-fang-pien-fo-pao-an-ching, Tseng-i-a-han-ching, Ju-te-ch'eng-lun, Fo-shuo-a-mi-t'o-ching, Ta-shu-chin-ne-lo-wang-suo-wen-ching, Ssu-fen-lü, Fa-hua-yan-mei-ching, and Hsi-wu-chi. But all of these canons were translated from Sanskrit. Those groups of Lohans are still indigenously Indian, although in art they has never been the subject other than in Chinese and Japanese art. An interesting phenomenon shows that the formation of the groups of different numbers of Lohans is not in a linear development. Twenty-eight Thousand and five Hundred Lohans were grouped together earlier than other groups of Lohans. These two groups of Lohans appear by the third century A.D. One of the most famous groups of Lohans, Sixteen Lohans, however, was found in a sūtra translated in the fourth or the fifth century. Fa-chu-chi, translated in A.D. 654, is the first sūtra offering the names of the Sixteen Lohans. Eighteen Lohans, according to Hsi-hu-chih, of the record it offers is correct, should long has been come to exist by mid-tenth century, or at least based on the description of the images of Eighteen Lohans written by Su Shih and Ta-hung, the group has been appeared by Northern Sung Dynasty. In art, Sixteen Lohans were not seen until Six Dynasties; Eighteen Lohans, until Northern Sung period; and Five Hundred Lohans, until Sung Dynasty.

The leading Lohan, Piṇḍola, from the Sixteen Lohans, even owned his own cult. His cult, based on Ch'ing-pin-t'o-
Lo-fa, is a protective cult.

Lohan cult was adopted into Mahāyānaism by A.D. 179. In later periods, it began to associate with different sects of Buddhism like Ch'an, T'ien-t'ai, Chin-yen, Ching-tu Buddhism. Although according to records, Lohan cult should have been developed relationship with Ts'ao-tung Sect of Ch'an Buddhism by A.D. 1709; Chin-yen Buddhism, by A.D. 1766; T'ien-t'ai Buddhism and Lin-chi Sect of Ch'an Buddhism, by A.D. 1772. How early the relationship began to take place is still unknown, since so far as I know no scholar has ever put effort on this subject yet. Further investigation in sūtras and hagiography of different sects of Buddhism might help. The association of Lohan cult and Ch'ang Buddhism can definitely be traced at least back to Five Dynasties, as indicated by Ch'an-yüeh-ta-shih's, i.e. Kuan-hsiu's, rendition of Lohan images. Can the relationship be pushed back even earlier? Again, further investigation should be carried out. The adoption of Lohan cult by Ch'an Buddhism seems to be inaugurated by Ch'an Buddhism's appealed by Lohans' magic powers and their ability in gaining sudden enlightenment. This is only a very primitive explanation. Looking into the philosophy and historical development of Lohan cult and Ch'an Buddhism is necessary.

Lohan cult up to now is still an open field in Buddhism. Only a few Western scholars have looked into this subject. The questions as those proposed above are still waiting to be
answered. Carrying further investigation into śūtras, hagiographies, and art works could be a necessary way leading to more advanced step.
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Figure 1
Figure 2
Figure 8
Figure 52