

《金光明经》及其对于阐国的保护

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内容提要:《金光明经》宣称凡护持、流传本经的国土都将得到四大天王的护持,可使该国平安丰乐。该经自印度向外流传至于阐,从而传播到了中国。武周三年(703),义净奉旨译此经为汉文本。其中,九品被描绘在于阐壁画或者编年史中:序品第一(五大女神)、品三(梦见金鼓忏悔)、品六(护法)、品八(金胜陀罗尼)、品十(西方女神)、品十一(General Samjnaya and Twentyeight Yaksa Generals),金光和 Samjnaya,品十二(王法正论)、品十四(药叉护持),以及丹丹乌里克 D II 神殿里的 Hariti(诃梨帝母,印度财富之神俱比罗的妻子或母亲)。丹丹乌里克是于阐六个驻军所之一,由中原皇帝派兵驻军设防。因此,D II 神殿有多闻天子和诃梨帝母,他们作为于阐的保护神来护持该地。

SUVARNA-BHASOTTAMA AND THE DEFENCE OF SERINDIC KHOTAN

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Abstract :The Suv. was connected with the security and stability of the State in a confluence of power and values. The Sutra travelled from India to Khotan and thence to China. I-tsing translated the Sutra on Imperial orders of Empress Wu in Nov.703. Nine chapters of the Suv. are represented in Khotanese murals or annals: preamble of ch.1(Five Great Goddesses), ch.3 (the drum of desana or preaching of Dharma, in the Naghara-khanah), ch.6 (the Four Lokapalas), ch.8 (Sri mahadevi), ch.10 (Earth Goddess), ch.11 (General Samjnaya and Twentyeight Yaksa Generals), Golden Light (chin-kuang-ming) and Samjnaya, ch.12 (textbook on polity), ch.14 (protection by Yaksas), and Hariti in shrine D II at Dandan-uiliq. Dandan-uiliq was one of the six commanderies of Khotan, and had a Chinese Imperial garrison commander. Hence a major shrine D II to Vaisravana and Hariti, who were the chief protective deities of Khotan.

Suvarnabhasottama, sovereignty and security

The Suv. is an important Buddhist sutra to ensure sovereignty, the dynamics of governance inherent in the nexus of the king, his people, and their deities symbolising values, to effect the security of economy, and to preempt natural calamities, diseases, and wars. Lord Buddha was of royal descent, and his Dharma grew under the eyes of Kings Bimbisara and Prasenajit. So naturally the sutras became the embodied mind of the regnum and provided ceremonies for the protection of the state in Serindia, and in East Asia. Besides the Suv., the Lotus Sutra, Avatamsaka-sutras, Candragarbha-sutra, and Mahamayuri give lists of protectors of the state and the ceremonies therefor. The Candragarbha-sutra was translated into Chinese in 566 by Narendrayasas of Udyana. It shows an unusual knowledge of Serindia, and Soper (1959:229) comments: "it is likely to have been composed in some such center as Khotan." The protective goddess of Udyana was Hariti and also of Khotan. The route of transmission seems to have been

from N W India to Khotan and other Serindian kingdoms, and thence to China, Korea and Japan. For example Kapila, the protector of Varnu (modern Bannu in Pakistan), was the special protector of Dharmamitra who installed his cult in 435 on Mount Chung in China. Kapila is also mentioned in the annals, prophesies and Vimalaprabha-pariprccha as a protective deity of Khotan. Khotan played a crucial role in the transmission of sacred texts, deities, and ceremonies for the protection of the state.

The Suv. is one of the four texts read in the four directions of the mandala in the Manjusri-mula-kalpa 38.136 (*evam adhita-catuh-sutrantikam*). The four sutras are : Prajnaparamita is read in the south, Candra-pradipa-samadhi in the west, Ganda-vyuha in the north, and Suvarna-prabhas-ottama-sutra in the east. The Suv. follows the Ganda-vyuha, perhaps in an intentional sequence. The supreme Buddha of the Ganda-vyuha is Rocana, also called Abhyucca-deva 'The Colossal Deity', and as such related to the state. I have dealt with the Avatamsaka and the State in 'Buddhist colossi and the Avatamsaka Sutras' in volume 6 of the *Cultural Horizons of India*. The Suv. is termed a *sutrendraraja* in the colophons of the chapters. The term *indraraja* reminds of the *aindra mahabhiseka* in the Aitareya-brahmana, the great coronation ceremony of Indra for kingship, for suzerainty, for supremacy, for preeminence. This applied to all Ksatriya Kings: "If he who knows thus should desire of a Ksatriya 'May he win all victories, find all the worlds, attain the superiority, pre-eminence and supremacy over all kings, and overlordship, paramount rule, self rule, sovereignty, supreme authority, kingship, great kingship and suzerainty; may he be all encompassing, possessed of all the earth, possessed of all life, from the one end up to the further side of the earth bounded by the ocean, sole ruler', he should anoint him with this great anointing of Indra." (Keith 336f). The Suv. is the only *sutr-endraraja*.

The Chinese translation of the Suv. by Dharmaksema done in A D 414-421, and three earlier translations compiled by Pao-kuei and Jnanagupta in A D 597 omit *indraraja* in the title. I-tsing's translation of A D 703 has the word *wang* 王 or *raja* in the title. The Sutra itself speaks of its relationship with the state. In the chapter on laws, the Sutra links governance with Dharma or Buddhist value-system. The Suv. stresses the political aspect of Buddhism, and was highly regarded by the rulers of Japan who founded their policy on it during the Nara period (8th century). Natalia D. Gummer points out its role in protecting and sustaining the kingdom of the ruler who accords it appropriate respect. In both China and Japan it was the central text in imperial rituals (*Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, ed. Robert E. Buswell, New York, 2.812).

The earliest fragments of the Sanskrit text of the Suv. come from Khotan. It was translated into Khotanese directly from Sanskrit, and again a second time which indicates its popularity. The oldest manuscript fragments of the Khotanese Suv. belong to the fifth/sixth century (Whitfield 2004.34). The Earlier Khotanese version agrees more closely with the Cambridge palm-leaf manuscript (G of Nobel). It has two verses missing from the present Sanskrit text but they are found in the Chinese translation of Dharmaksema. The Late Khotanese version agrees with I-tsing. The version of I-tsing could have been translated from a manuscript obtained in Khotan

Transmission of sutras from Khotan to China

Interpolarity characterised the polity of Khotan in its intermediation between India and China for a millenium. Buddhist sutras, their world-view, and their transmission to China gave

Khotan a primacy in the Serindian region. The other confluences were religion and politics, sanctity and power, values and economy. The charisma of the sutras, and the transmission of this charisma to successors gave to the Khotanese impirium an un-interrupted continuity of 1,256 years according to the *Prophecy of Khotan* (Emmerick 1967:75). It is a reckoning from the time of king Vijaya-sambhava the grandson of king Sa.nu when Dharma first arose in the country. This chronology gives an average of 23 years of rule for each king. It is a realistic statement of the time span of the dynasty (1,256 years ÷ 55 kings =22.8 years). The millenarian continuity of the state was vested in the divinisation of the sacral and secular aspects of life by the sutras, which functioned as the legitimation of the kings and consolidated the social hierarchies in the flamonium of the Dharma. The Buddhist concept of the relationship of the king and his people lies in the duality of the well-being of the people as effected by the ruler and his constant attention to their perceptions of their happiness. The *bahu-jana-hita* or “the well-being of the people” was dependent on the *bahu-jana-sukha* “the happiness of the people”. The conceptions and the consciousness of the interrelationship was interwoven on the ideal expression of the sutras. The material and social structures were founded on value systems that rendered unsurpassable benefits of *theiotes* or ‘divinity’ in a shared paradigm of the ruler and the ruled. The Gross National Product was enriched by the Gross National Happiness. His Majesty the King of Bhutan has made a unique contribution to 21st century thought by mooted the concept of Gross National Happiness as the guiding principle of a State, an idea that he derives from his deep Buddhist background. Likewise, in ancient times, the web of power, the symbolism of cults, the symbiosis of well-being and happiness, *hita* and *sukha*, formed the fabric of Serindian society. This order travelled to East Asian lands of China, Korea, and Japan, to the Uigurs, and finally to the Mongols.

Buddhism as the palladium of Khotan

The *Prophecy of Khotan* (henceforth shortened to *Prophecy*) says that there are 21 *vimanas* on the whole earth and Khotan (*Li*) is the twenty-first *vimana* of Sakyamuni. Khotan had long been a lake when the Buddha came, made it a country by drying out the lake, blessed it, and when he was appointing protectors of various lands, he commissioned the following for the security of Khotan:

Eight Mahasattva Bodhisattvas (Manjusri, Avalokitesvara, Maitreya, Akasagarbha,

Ksitigarbha, Samantabhadra, Mahasthama, Bhaisajyaraja)

Twentyeight Protectors

Vaisravana and Samjnaya the General of the Yaksas

King Ajatasatru’s daughter Vimalaprabha and his son Prince Vajrasena

Devakanya Suthiramati, Devi Hariti, Devi Aparajita

Akasacaksus, Devaputra Suvarnamala, Nagaraja Grhavatapta

Devi Ankusavati, Devi Sthanavati

They made a vow (*samaya*) to guard Khotan (Emmerick 1967: 3, 9, 13. Emmerick translates *adhithana* as ‘controlled’, but it means ‘blessed’).

After the drying up of the lake, the country was still vacant. The chief consort of King Dharmasoka gave birth to a son. The king cast away his son afraid lest he seize his sovereignty. A breast (*stana*) arose from the earth, and sucking it he did not die. Later he was named Sa.nu ‘Earth-breast’ (*Go-stana*). This legend gives (i) the folk etymology of Go-stana or Khotan, (ii)

takes back the origin of the Khotanese kingdom to Dharmasoka to invest it with a Buddhist aura, (iii) and goes on to connect the kingdom to China with which it had economic and cultural relations. Vaisravana placed the meritorious child Sa.nu in the position of the son of the Chinese King. Later, the Chinese King sent him with an army to seek a country in the west. He reached Me.skar in Khotan. There he met Minister Yasa of King Dharmasoka, who had been banished for his mutiny. Prince Sa.nu and Minister Yasa met and established the country of Khotan (Emmerick 1967:19). The Indians and Chinese fought, but they stopped when Vaisravana and Sri Devi appeared in the air. They became allies. Prince Sanu became the king and Yasa his minister. The

Prophecy says that Khotan was “a country where Indians and Chinese met” (Emmerick 1967:21, 23).

The legend of Sa.nu reminds of Mandhata, the son of Yuvanasva: “According to the Puranas, Yuvanasva had no son, so the rishis, led by the sage Bhrigu, instituted a rite to secure progeny for him. They placed upon the altar a vessel of water which they had magically endowed with great potency, and which they intended to give to his queen to drink. Yuvanasva awoke at night feeling very thirsty, and inadvertently drank the water himself, and after one hundred years a child came forth from his right side. Indra gave the miraculous infant his finger to suckle; saying, *Mandhata* (he shall suckle me), and from these words the boy’s name was derived.” (Benjamin Walker, *Hindu World*, London 1968:22)

The *Prophecy* (Emmerick 1967:5) states that pestilence subsides and foreign foes are averted or vanquished by reading the Mahasannipata and Saddharma-pundarika. Further on it says that Sakyamuni preached the Candragarbha on mount Grdhrakuta to appoint the protectors of various lands (ib.9) The *Prophecy of Khotan* (Thomas 1935:30) recommends the recitation of Prajnaparamita, Mahasannipata, Avatamsaka, Ratnakuta, etc. The Vimalaprabha-pariprachea (ib.185) lays down the recitation of dharanis (i) to quell foreign enemies, (ii) to attain full merit, (iii) to be free from famine and poverty, (iv) and to alleviate all diseases.

Suv., Khotan, and China

The Sino-Kharosthi coins of the first centuries AD have been found at the ancient capital of Yotqan. They bear Chinese legends on the obverse and Prakrit ones in Kharosthi script on the reverse. They are an indication of the coexistence of Indians and Chinese in Khotan. Thus Khotan became an important factor in the transmission of Buddhist sutras and their political concepts to China.

Khotan and China had intimate economic, matrimonial and cultural relations. China depended for its jade on Khotan. Khotan is called Ratna-janapada or Kingdom of Jade in the panegyric of king Vijayasangrama (P 2787). The name Go-stana (transcribed by Hsuan-tsang as Ku-sa-tan-za) is translated in Chinese as *Ti-ju* “Earth breast” 地乳 (Watters 1905:2.298). In fact, it is a Sino-Indian compound, where *go* is Chinese 玉 which is pronounced *gyoku* in Japanese and *ngok* in Vietnamese. The jade was of prime importance in the state ceremonies of China over the centuries, and even today the Chinese word 玉 for country has the character for jade 玉 inside the radical 玉 玉 for enclosure. *Stana* is Sanskrit *sthana* or Iranian *stan* as the suffix for a country. Thus Gostana means the ‘Land of Jade’

China used to get its original Sanskrit sutras from Khotan. Moksala of Khotan translated the

Pancavimsati-sahasrika into Chinese in A D 291, and Gitamitra came to Ch'ang-an in 296 with another Sanskrit manuscript of the same. Chih Fa-ling found the smaller recension of the Avatamsaka (T 278) here. Dharmaraksa had a Khotanese collaborator. Empress Wu Tso-t'ien sent a special envoy to get the Sanskrit text of the Avatamsaka from Khotan. It was translated by Siksanda, who was a monk of Khotan, in five years (A D 695-699, K 80). This was to consecrate the proclamation of her new Chou dynasty in October 690, when she assumed the title of Divine August Emperor after depriving Emperor Jui-tsung of his authority. Chinese translation of the Suv. was completed by I-tsing on 17 November 703 at the Hsi-ming monastery (K127). His collaborators Fa-ming and Te-kan were from the Nine Bhadantas who helped the Empress realize the dream of a Buddhist State. The colophon of a manuscript of the Suv. discovered at Dunhuang says: "Newly translated, bound, and corrected at the Hsi-ming Monastery in Ch'ang-an, in obedience to the Imperial order", by the Tripitaka Master I-tsing"(Forte 1976: 81, 87, 88) The sutras were the heavenly mandate for the Kings or Cakravartins of the Golden Wheel (Forte 1976:125).

The Five Great Goddesses (Suv. preamble)

The introductory chapter of the Suv. lays out the theme (*nidana*) of the sutra. The Tathagata dwells on Mount Grdhakuta surrounded by five Great Goddesses (*mahadevata*). Each of them has a protective function as: the tutelary goddess of the royal family of Sakyamuni (his *kula-devata*), the protective goddess of the territorial State (*Prthivi-devata*), and the three others are linked to learning, prosperity, and defence.

They are:

- | | |
|---|----------------------------|
| 1. Bodhisattva-samuccaya mahakuladevata | Family Goddess |
| 2. Sarasvati mahadevata (ch.7) | Earth Goddess of the State |
| 3. Sri mahadevata (ch. 8) | Goddess of Learning |
| 4. Drdha maha-prthivi-devata (ch.10) | Goddess of Economy |
| 5. Hariti mahadevata
with her 500 sons | Goddess of Defence, |

The first goddess is translated as the 'deity of the bodhi tree' in Chinese (Suv. 1937.247 n.2). She is called *Nairanjana-vasini* 'one who dwells on the Nairanjana River' in the gathas of the introductory chapter (Suv. p.3). As Bodhisattva-samuccaya she is the essence of Enlightenment and the foundation of Dharma. As the family deity (*kula-devata*) of Sakyamuni she plays an important role in four chapters. She is addressed by Sakyamuni in ch.4 on King Kamalakara (p.45). She is the interlocutor with Him in ch.15 on Ten Thousand Devaputras (p.167). He speaks to her in ch.17 on Jalavahana the son of a rich merchant (p.199). She ends the Sutra by singing hymns of praise to Sakyamuni (ch.19, p 247). Sakyamuni practised austerities on the banks of the Nairanjana River for six (ten or twelve) years. Eventually he became aware that austerities would not lead to Enlightenment. He bathed in this River, accepted the milk offered by Sujata, sat under the nearby Bodhi tree, meditated and entered Enlightenment. He must have chosen the banks of the Nairanjana, as the Goddess of this river was His guardian deity.

While Bodhisattva-samuccaya plays a role in a number of chapters, separate chapters are devoted to the three other goddesses: ch.7 Sarasvati, ch. 8 Sri, ch.10 Drdha Prithivi. Hariti occurs

in ch. 6 on the Catur-maharaja, and in ch.14 on yaksas as a protectress. The yaksas are called *Hariti-putra* ‘Sons of Hariti’ in the Lalita-vistara 202.10.

The induction of these secular goddesses into Dharma, their *dharmavinaya* in the terminology of the Suv, takes place with our Sutra. It is a potent Sutra, as being blessed by four Buddhas in the four directions: Aksobhya (East), Ratnaketu (South), Amitabha (West), and Dundubhisvara (North). This blessing destroys all evil, poverty and other severe misfortunes. The Suv. ensures that the Four Lokapalas come with their armies, along with Sarasvati, Nairanjana-vasini (family deity), Hariti, and Drdha Prthivi, as well as the kings of the eight beings with their forces, to provide protection to the devotees.

The deities of the Suv. play a prominent protective role in the annals and murals of Khotan. Bodhisattva-samuccaya means the aggregation (*samuccya*) of Bodhisattvas, and as such she represents the assemblage of Bodhisattvas. The Eight Great Bodhisattvas along with Vaisravana, Samjnin, and others were appointed by the Tathagata to be tutelaries of Khotan at all times according to the *Annals of Khotan* (Thomas 1.96). *The Religious Annals of Khotan* specify that the Eight Bodhisattvas reside in Khotan in different locales (Thomas 1.311).

The drum of desana (Suv. ch.3)

Stein (1907:227) mentions a mound known as *Naghara-khanah*, which local tradition assumes to have formed part of the ramparts enclosing the old city of Yotkan. *Naghara-khanah* means “the house of the Kettle-drum”. Stein connects it to the legend of the Nagini and the minister related by Hsuan-tsang (Beal 1884: 2.321). It is a mound, which may reveal remains of a monastery on excavation. Stein says that its general appearance reminds of a vihara that rises behind the Mauri-Tim Stupa. It is only two miles to the excavated area of Yotkan. This sacred spot continues to be worshipped to the present day (1907) as the tomb of Three Ghazis. It is a popular pilgrimage site for all parts of Khotan. It must have been a symbolic referent of political power, an expression of individual and social values, and the strength of its convictions made it a unique force for the identity of Khotan. Hence it has survived in an Islamic transformation. The *Naghara-khanah* represents the third chapter of the Suv. on *desana* which means ‘preaching, instructions, as well as confession’. The Bodhisattva Ruciraketu saw a drum (*bheri*), made of gold, shining all around like the orb of the Sun. He saw innumerable Buddhas in all the directions. He saw a brahmin beating that drum. He heard verses on *desana* from the sound of the drum. The drum is called *dundubhi* (p. 21), and later on *dundubha* (p.22) to indicate its immense size. A *naghara* is about six feet high and can be carried only on a bullock-cart on the occasion of a major festival, and nowadays in a procession to celebrate victory in the elections. Ruciraketu uttered the gathas to Lord Buddha. The gathas begin with a *double entendre* on the title of the Sutra:

suvarna-bhas-ottama-dundubhena

samyantu dukkhas trisahasra-loke

By the drum of excellent golden light let the woes of the 3000 worlds be ended. The sound of the drum suppresses the woes of Yama, of poverty, grants freedom from fear, and other worldly troubles. It endows men with all noble virtues. By the resounding sound of the drum beings are endowed with the Logos of Brahman. They destroy impurities like hatred and folly. Those beings who dwell in hells, thin limbs ablaze with fire, attain the nobility of the hymn “Homage to the Buddha”. The merits that accrue from the sound of the drum are narrated in a long excursus of 102

verses, to deliver from woes of all kinds, to gain profound merits, and to touch the supreme flawless Enlightenment. Enmerick has translated *desana* in the caption of this chapter as ‘confession’ but it has to be translated as ‘teaching’. The Three Ghazis of today seem to substitute the triad of this chapter: Bhagavan (Lord Buddha), Bodhisattva Ruciraketu, and the brahmana. When it was a full-fledged vihara, the three would have been depicted in the round, with brahmin beating the drum.

Four Lokapalas / Catur-maharaja (Suv. ch.6)

The preamble began with the induction of the Five Protective Goddesses of the State into Buddhism, and chapter 6 on the Four Maharaja is a clear politicization of the Sutra. It is the longest chapter in the Sutra and the length itself is an indication of its political aroma and its conception as the source of power. The *Soka Gakkai Dictionary of Buddhism* 2002.257 points out in un-ambiguous terms: “that those who embrace this sutra will obtain the protection of the four heavenly kings and other benevolent deities, and that, if a ruler takes faith in the correct teaching, these deities will protect his country. On the other hand, if he fails to protect the correct teaching, the benevolent deities will abandon the nation, and calamities and disasters will occur. In Japan, this sutra was revered as one of the three sutras for the protection of the nation, the other two being the Lotus Sutra and the Benevolent Kings Sutra”.

Williams 1973:132-135 describes the fragments of three panels and one paper drawing of Vaisravana from Khotan. The drawing (Kha. i. 50) in the National Museum of India, Delhi is inscribed “ this picture be a protection at all times, by night, by day”. The term *surade* has been translated ‘a patron?’ by Emmerick (JRAS.1968:140) but it is the Arabic *surat* ‘form, appearance, face, picture’. Vaisravana wears a tunic, boots, armour, holds a lance and stupa, and is thus represented in his protective attributes. He is one of the eight demigods guarding Khotan in the Candragarbha-sutra. Williams has missed the most outstanding representation of Vaisravana painted on a wall of the Buddhist shrine D II at Dandan-uiliq. We will discuss it at the end.

The Buddha commits the protection of Khotan to Vaisravana in *The Prophecy of Khotan* (Thomas p. 19, 21, 28). In the *Annals of Khotan* he undertakes the protection of monasteries (ib. 110). The Vimalaprabha-pariprccha cites the Candragarbha-sutra wherein Lord Buddha assigns the protection of Khotan to Vaisravana, Samjnaya, Nagaraja Anavatapta, and Devaputra Susthiramati (ib. 179). Later on Vaisravana and others receive Khotan from the Buddha as a trust to be safeguarded (ib. 189). The Buddha says: “Again and again I commit the country [of Khotan] into your hands for protection” (ib.203). He is called Natha as the chief divinity of Khotan in the Tibetan roll P 254 in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris (ib. 308 n.8). The same roll also repeats that Lord Buddha committed the stability and defense of Khotan to Vaisravana and others (ib. 317).

The sixth chapter of the Suv. on the Catur-maharaja says that a king should exercise sovereignty by this science of polity in accord with the tenets of Devendra (*anena devendra-samayena raja-sastrena rajatvam karayet*, Suv. 69-70). The Suv. is called *sutr-endoraraja* and this passage characterises it as a text of political practice. The Four Great Kings give protection, defense, peace and welfare to a king who rules according to the Suv. (ib.68, 96). The Lord has expounded all the royal duties, textbooks of politics, and royal functions in **this (iha) supreme sutra** of Suv. (ib.97). Jambudvipa belongs to the Four Great Kings with their

armies and retainers who ensure plenty, peace and prosperity (ib. 74, 67). They repel all foreign armies, remove hunger, illness (ib. 65). They watch over, guard and protect Jambudvīpa (ib. 66, 67, 71, 77, 82, 92, 99) by ensuring the destruction of enemies (ib. 65, 69, 71, 77, 94, 100), suppression of internal revolts (ib. 71) and preemptive strategies (ib.72). They are assisted by Twenty-eight Yakṣa Generals (*mahayakṣa-senapati*, ib.66). Imprecation ends the chapter. If men do not respect the excellent Sūv., the Four Great Kings will neglect the region, and that will lead to disturbances, conflicts, meteoric disasters, and foreign powers will destroy the region. Sūv. emphasises the political function of the Four Great Kings led by Vaiśravaṇa and thus we see the overwhelming role of Vaiśravaṇa in the six historical texts of Khotan preserved in Tibetan and translated by F.W.Thomas.

There is a special Sino-Japanese term for the ‘Protection of the State’(Jap. *chingo-kokka*). It was to secure the defence of the State, the sovereign and the people against internal troubles, wars, natural calamities and epidemics by constructing temples, recitation of sutras and the performance of specific rites. Buddhism affirmed the solidarity between the Law of the Buddha and the Law of the sovereign. It is embodied in the very person of the Buddha who is of royal descent. The rites of Protection of the State are based on the chapter on the Catur-maharaja, who played a key role. Shōtoku Taishi who laid the foundations of Buddhism in Japan constructed the first Buddhist temple to the Catur-maharaja to ensure the stability of his state and Buddhism. The four ensure in the Sūv. that if a king honours this text, “we shall protect this king and his people. We shall do everything to ensure their well-being, keep dissatisfaction and sorrow away from them... We shall completely rout their enemies from other countries”.

“If, when there is a king who listens to this Text, the enemy from a neighbouring country thinks of crushing his territory with the four armies: then, O, Blessed One, thanks to the imposing power of this King of Texts, this neighbouring enemy, in turn, will have other enemies who will trouble him; in his frontiers, scourges shall multiply, epidemics shall spread. Seeing this, the king will prepare his four armies and move towards this country in order to cut it into pieces. Then, with our escort of Yakṣas and divine beings, unlimited and innumerable, we shall give him help and protection, each of us, making ourselves invisible, and we shall cause the enemy to submit, by himself, not daring to advance even upto the frontier: all armed engagement will thenceforth become quite impossible”.

Japan had special temples for the protection of the state, beginning with the Shitennoji of Osaka founded in 593 by Shōtoku Taishi, based on the Catur-maharaja chapter of the Sūv. In 741 Emperor Shōmu of Japan decided to construct “temples for the protection of the country by the Catur-maharaja of the Suvarṇabhāṣa” in all the provinces of the empire. They were called *Konkomyō shitenno gokokuji* in Japanese.

Sri mahadevi (Sūv. ch.8)

Chapter 8 on Sri mahadevi says that when one mutters the name of the excellent Sūv. the goddess will direct her attention to him and create a great fortune (*mahatim sriyam karisyati*, Sūv.115). By the power of this Sūtra she will watch over his residence, increase the provision of food-grains, will endow him with gold, jewels, wealth, and provide with all blessings (ib. 119). A painting inscribed in Khotanese and Chinese for the donor Hvam Sam Khina, shows Vaiśravaṇa accompanied by Sri. It was ordered by the donor for the enjoyment of

long life (Williams 1973:134). In *The Prophecy of Khotan*, Vaisravana and Sri-devi give a solemn feast to the Sanghas, and Sri-devi presents them a bagful of gold coins (Thomas 1935:81).

The Earth Goddess (Suv. ch.10)

Drdha Prthivi-devata is the subject matter of chapter 10 of the Suv. She speaks to the Lord that wherever the Sutra shall go forth, she will be there, all the flowers, fruits and crops will be more luxuriant. Beings will enjoy drinks and foods, and increase their longevity, stamina, and so on. Wherever this Sutra is expounded, it will produce great power, strength, and glory. Wherever the Sutra is propounded, the region will become stronger (*ojasvi-tara*) and more moist (Suv. 126). Williams 1973:135 describes her only painting, though she is common in other Khotanese media. She arises between the feet of king Visa Sambhava in a tenth century painting in Dunhuang. She is mentioned only in the Suv. and nowhere else in Buddhist literature.

General Samjnaya (Suv. ch.11)

Chapter 11 of the Suv. is devoted to Samjnaya, whose name is also spelt Sanjaya in the manuscripts. The Sutra says that he is so called because he knows all things, knows them fully, and perceives them well. His name occurs only in the Suv. (Edgerton cites no reference to any text in his *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*). Thus the references to him in the historic texts on Khotan are clearly based on the Suv. Samjnaya occurs in Buddhist texts (see my *Dictionary of Buddhist Iconography* 11.3118), but he has to be distinguished from Samjnaya.

Twentyeight Yaksa Generals (Suv. ch.11)

In the Suv. Samjnaya is accompanied by Twentyeight Generals of the Yaksas. He assures Lord Buddha that wherever the Suv. will go forth, he will approach that city, district, forest, mountain-cavern or royal palace, and provide protection, help, escape from punishment, peace and welfare. Any one who preaches the Dharma, he will grant energy, strength and prowess to his body. He will give him great zeal so that he is indefatigable (Suv.128f.).

Golden light and Samjnaya

The Suv. says that golden lights will illumine the dwellings (*suvarna-mayas cavabhasa bhavanantaresu pradurbhuta bhavisyanti*) of Brahma, Indra, Sarasvati, Drdha, Sri, Samjnaya, the Twentyeight Yaksa Generals and others (Suv. 85, 87, 88). These golden lights conditioned the heavy gilding of the statues in Khotan, so that centuries later Stein witnessed people straining gold from the river in which gold flowed from the walls and statues of the ancient ruins.

The *Annals of Khotan* (Thomas 1935:108) refer to King Vijaya-virya who beheld from his palace a light of gold and silver outside the city. Following the light, he saw a stag who became Samjnaya. Samjnaya said to the King: build a monastery here. The King built the monastery of Hgum.stir. This episode is repeated in the *Religious Annals of Khotan* (ib. 306). Further on, in the same text, he is one of Eight Great Tutelaries of Khotan: Sa.ne (Samjnaya), Vaisravana, Aparajita, Gaganesvara, Suvarnamala, Ankusavati, Sthanavati, and Nagaraja Hgra.ha.bad.ta (correct to Grhavatapta) (Thomas 1935:310). Williams (1973:136) describes four representations, of which the first one suggests an animal, the second a deer, the third a stag's head. Samjnaya is listed as one of the great guardians of Khotan in the Candragarbha-sutra (Levi 1905:268).

Devendra-samaya as a textbook on polity (Suv. ch.12)

Chapter 12 entitled Devendra-samaya has instructions concerning divine kings. It begins with homage to Sri with *grains* and blessings, and to Sarasvati endowed with wisdom and virtues. Devendra-samaya is the name of a textbook on polity (*raja-sastra*). It is expounded in detail. The Lokapalas ask King Brahma: why is a king called *devaputra* or son of the gods? Brahma responds: He is first blessed by the gods and then enters the womb of his mother. His duty is to destroy evil deeds, establish beings in meritorious activities, and to send them to the abode of the gods. When he overlooks evil deeds, lawlessness grows, and the gods are wrathful in heaven. His kingdom is destroyed on the arrival of a foreign army, famine rages, strategic animals like horses and camels perish, civil war and social disputes arise. People loose energy and prowess. A kingdom has to be governed according to Dharma, so that the realm is endowed with plenty, and duly protected. The value-system inculcated in this chapter had a deep impact on the Kings of Khotan, who did all in their power to keep their enemies at bay, and to enrich the land with Buddhist monasteries, the bastions of Dharma. The six historical texts on Khotan provide extensive information on the promotion of Dharma by the kings.

Yaksas (Suv. ch.14)

Chapter 14 on refuge in the yaksas (*yaksasraya*, Nob. 160f.) says that those who are devoted to the Sutra, divine beings possessed of supernatural powers, might and prowess will protect them unwearied by day and by night. Several deities are named. They are listed below in the order of the Latin alphabet, with the number of the stanza in which the name occurs: Anavatapta the nagendra 47 (Bailey 913, Thomas 320 n.6) *astavimsati* or 28 generals 37, Atavaka 40, Bali 49, Candi 52, Candalika yaksini 52, Candana 45, Candika 52, Chagalapada 43, Citrasena the gandharva 42, Dharmapala 44, Elapatra 47 (Bailey 915, Thomas 63, 64, 84-85), Haimavata 45, Hariti 51 (Bailey 916, Thomas 94, 97, etc.), Hutasana 35, Indra 35 (Bailey 914 Sakra), Kamasrestha 45, Kapila 40 (Thomas 117-8, 121, 131-3), Kharaskandha 49, Kumbhira 40, Kunti 52, Kutadanti 52, Four Lokapalas 36 (Bailey 915), Mahabhaga 43, Mahagrasa 43, Mahakala 43, Mahapranali 45, Mahesvara the yaksendra 37 (Bailey 914, Thomas 253), Manibhadra the yaksendra 40 (Bailey 911), Manikantha 42, Markata 44, Mucilinda 47 (Bailey 915), Nagayana 45, Nakula 45, Namuci 49, Nanda 47 (Bailey 915), Narayana the yaksendra 37 (Bailey 909, 914), Nikantha 42, Pancika 43, Pingala 40, Prahlada 49, Prajapati 35, Pranali 44, Prthivi devata 55 (Bailey 917), Purnabhadra 40, Rahu 49, Ratnakesa 44, Sagara 47 (Bailey 915) Samjnaya 37 (Bailey 912), Samvara 49, Sarasvati 35, 54 (*pramukha devata*), Sarva-sattvoja-harini 52, Satagiri 45, Skanda 35 (Bailey 94), Soma 35, Sri 54 (Thomas 58-59, 308-9 et passim), Suciroma 44, Suryamitra 44, Suvarna-kesa 43, Upananda 47 (Bailey 915) Vajrapani the yaksendra 39 (Bailey 911), Vali 44, Varsadhipati 42, Varuna 35 (Bailey 915, Thomas 114), Vayu 35, Vemacitra 49, Visnu 35.

Some of them occur in the Khotanese texts discussed by H. W. Bailey in Hvatania IV (BSOAS.1942:10.886-924). They have been indicated above. The two yaksendra Mahesvara and Narayana in the Khotanese text deserve special mention, as they can be seen as

two colossal gate-keepers in Japanese monasteries, as Nio 'The Two Kings'.

Hariti (Suv. 1.8, 3.12, 85.4, 162.16)

The Suv. opens (p.1) with the Buddha sitting on the Grdhrakuta Hill accompanied by Five Great Goddesses (*mahadevata*) and several other beings. Among them is Hariti mahadevata, who has an honoured position as a guardian of the faith. The preamble says that the most fierce calamities of those who listen to this sutra will end and the Four Lokapalas will protect them with multitudes of their yakshas. So too Sarasvati, *Hariti bhutamata*, and others will ensure their protection, day and night, with due indulgence. In the 14th chapter entitled Yaksasraya-parivarta, several yakshas, Hariti bhutamata (p.162.16) with her five hundred sons will protect the devotees of the Sutra, at all times, while they sleep, sit or stand. The outstanding representation of Hariti is the mural in Shrine DII at Dandan-uliq. It was discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in 1900-01. Dandan-uliq is Turkish *dandan oylik* 'the houses with ivory' in the Khotan area, belonging to the seventh or eighth century. Stein described the woman in the mural standing in an oblong tank of water filled with lotuses. She is youthful, and of exquisite charm. In front of the tank is a horse. Further on is the Buddha and a Bodhisattva (?). In the SE corner of the shrine is a clay statue of Vaisravana standing on a gigantic being. Stein and Andrews think that the Buddha, Bodhisattva and Vaisravana figures are not related to the charming lady. Stein (1907:1.227-228) raised the probability that she represented the Nagini residing in a stream east of Khotan whose legend is narrated by Hsuan-tsang. This is ruled out as she (i) has no naga emblem, (ii) the nude infant cannot be the minister who disappeared in the water, and (iii) the crucial drum on the horse of the minister who returned from the water is missing. Andrews (110 pl. xxxii) found in her a close parallel to the Western Venus. Coomaraswamy (1927:181) described her as a water nymph. The latest identification is by P. Banerjee (1992:46-54) who rightly considers her Hariti, partaking of the attributes of Laksmi.

The Khotanese mural emphasizes her unique **youthful charm** in graceful outlines, her astounding hairdo of a royal personage, the simple elegance of her jewelry (necklet, armlet, bracelet and girdle) that heightens her body contours, all fleshed and every inch a beauty. In Amoghavajra's Mahayaksi-Hariti-Priyankara-sadhana (T 1260), she is called Abhirati, as she is endowed with unparalleled loveliness and beauty (Peri 1917: 83-96). At the end of this sadhana the Buddha enjoins that she will zealously protect the monasteries, monks, and all men, she will not allow evil spirits to cause any trouble, and will provide tranquility to all. This she has to do in the future in Jambudvipa. In the Tibetan pantheon Rin.hbyun of the 18th century, based on Taranatha (1575-1634), Mahayaksini Hariti is described as "beautiful and graceful and adorned with all ornaments" (Willson/Brauen 2000:314 no. 270).

The **nude son** is standing to the right of Hariti in the Khotanese depiction, and is conspicuously shown as a child of four to five years. Hariti is inevitably accompanied by her son in all descriptions. She was so dedicated to him that she propounded a hrdaya-dharani and sadhana of "her well-beloved son Priyankara" and prostrating on the earth with her five limbs and adoring the feet of the Buddha she said: "O Bhagavan, by means of this dharani and these sadhanas, I procure now advantages to all beings" (Peri 1917:95).

The **horse** in the foreground symbolizes the Twentyeight Yaksha Generals, who are mentioned alongwith Hariti and her sons in Suv.85.4. The Lalitavistara 202.9-12 mentions that the

Twentyeight Yaksa Generals are led by Pancika and the five hundred sons of Hariti (*astavimsati-mahayaksa-senapatayah Pancika-yaksasenapati-purvan-gamani ca panca-Hariti-putra-satani*). Pancika is the husband of Hariti. Hariti herself is one of the Twentyeight Generals in the train of Thousand-armed Avalokitesvara in the dharani and ritual translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra (AD 705-774). The first translation of this dharani was done by Bhagavaddharma between 650-661 at Khotan. Khotan had a well-established tradition of the Twentyeight Generals. Her statue as one of twentyeight (*nijuhachibu-shu*) at the monasteries of Sanjusangendo, Kiyomizudera, Ninnaji and elsewhere are famous in Japan. Hariti is often enthroned with Pancika, who is a warrior holding a lance and surrounded by many children, in Gandhara sculptures (Getty 1928:87). The “Horse-stall” dharani in the ensuing paragraph is also represented by the horse in the mural.

The right foot of **Vaisravana treads on a red demon** (Lessing 1942:41). The red demon is very prominent under the sculpture and refers to the Red-faces (=Tibetans). The *Prophecy of Khotan* (Thomas 1935:1.78) speaks of frequent strife in Khotan created by the Red-faces. The *Inquiry of Vimalaprabha* speaks of restoring stupas and monasteries burnt down by the Red-faces (ib.1.202, 203, 233).

Various annals of Khotan point out that the Buddha appointed protectors of various lands and also of Khotan. The Prophecy of Khotan says that he appointed as protectors of Khotan Vaisravana, Samjnaya the mahayaksa-senapati, Vimalaprabha the daughter of Ajatasatru and her brother Prince Vajrasena, Devakanya Susthiramati, Devi Hariti and others (Emmerick 1967:9, Thomas 1935:1.94). They made a promise in the presence of the Buddha to guard Khotan (ib.p.15, Thomas 1935:1.97).

The Vimalaprabha-pariprccha says that Vaisravana, Hariti and others assure that when Devi Vimalaprabha takes birth in Khotan, they will act as tutelaries, because the Lotus Sutra and the kingdom of Khotan was received by us as a trust from the Buddha (Thomas 1935: 1.189-190). When Khotan was threatened by the armies of the Red-faces, then Vaisravana, Devi Hariti with her son petitioned to the Buddha to receive Khotan for protection (ib. p.202). The Buddhas give the “Horse-stall” dharani to Vimalaprabha and Vajrasena, whereby all enemies shall be cleared away, and Vajrasena will comprehend the “business of royalty” (ib. p.213). Tathagata Vajradhvaja (correct to Vajraketu) pronounced a dharani to Kumara Vajrasena, Vaisravana, Mahesvara, Samjnaya and Hariti with her son that his enemies will not be able to harm him (ib. p.253). The Vimalaprabha-pariprccha concludes that Vajrapani commits this Sutra to Vaisravana, Hariti with her child and others so that Khotan shall be saved by my religion (ib. p.257).

Further on above the head of the demon being crushed by Vaisravana sits a Bodhisattva. He is **Ruciraketu bodhisattva** mahasattva (Suv. 6.4) who was residing at Rajagrha at the time the Suv. was enunciated and who had been honoured by several past Buddhas.

The **monk** sitting next to Sakyamuni in the mural and holding a book in his left hand is Ananda holding the Suv. The Suv. opens with the chapter *nidana-parivarta*, which relates that the Tathagata was on the Grdhrakuta as the dharmadhatu, the transcendent plane of the Enlightened One. He was accompanied by Five Great Goddesses: Bodhisattva-sancaya Kuladevata, Sarasvati, Sri, Drdha Prthivi, Hariti, besides other beings. Then Ananda asked the Lord: “what will be their induction into dharma (*dharmavinaaya*)”. The Lord proclaimed the Suv., the essence of transcendent samadhi (*samadhi-dharma-sara*). Thus Ananda is the chief interlocutor of the Suv.

and as such he holds the book in the mural. He was a cousin of the Buddha and one of his most important disciples, as well as his personal attendant. His expositions of the Sutras were the basis for the codification of the Sūtrapitaka in the First Synod. He is extolled in canonical writings for his devotion to the Buddha. Due to his exceptional position he sits to the right of the Buddha in the mural. The right hand of Ananda is in the jnana-mudra. It is illustrated in the Susiddhi-kalpa-mudra, a manuscript of the T'ang period, dated 864, that was brought from China in 865 by Shuei, and is now preserved at the Toji monastery in Kyoto.

The enlargement of the photograph clearly shows that Hariti has almond eyes of the **Chinese**, as well as her hairdo reflects a regal Chinese style. She is of Sino-Khotanese parentage. Her hand cupping the right unbound breast may hint at *Ku-stana*, a Sanskritization of the frequent form *Khotamma*. The Kharosthi documents of the third century discovered by Stein at the Niya site actually employ the forms Kustana or Kustanaka: *ku* 'earth', *stana* 'breast'.

The **lilies in the pond** can be traced back to the Annals of Khotan, which say that when the Buddha visited the country with his disciples he enveloped the lake with rays of light, which became 353 illuminated water-lilies. The figure 353 was the number of monasteries that were to be built in the country. The lilies around Hariti emphasise the blessings of Lord Buddha. She wears a short and explosive undergarment which is gathered in front with overlapping strings of the girdle. Yaksini Hariti's eyes and hairdo are an underpinning of the need to have diplomatic relations with China against Tibetan incursions. She is the Guardian Deity of Khotan, and as such she is pictured as a ravishing 'Jade Beauty' where jade means Khotan. Her prosperous body is a poem of hope, her Sinic eyes are to establish deep roots with defence, and she is a corporeal translation of strategic cooperation with China to defend her Buddhaksetra Khotan, entrusted to her by Lord Buddha himself.

While Vaisravana is in the north near Hariti, Stein 1907:253 rightly pointed out "that the pedestals in the other three corners (compare plate LXVI) once bore images of the remaining three Lokapalas".

The D.II shrine with the elegant mural of Hariti, of Vaisravana and of three other Lokapalas now lost, was a Temple of the Catur-maharaja based on the Suv. for the protection of the kingdom of Khotan.

The protective function of the icons is reinforced by four inscriptions recorded by Pelliot from cave 108 of Dunhuang which declare that Vaisravana protects the Khotan Kingdom, and so do Mahakala, ...(name lost), and Shayemoli (Ning Qiang, Diplomatic Icons: social and political meanings of Khotanese images in Dunhuang Cave 220, *Oriental Art* 1999:44.13).

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