

AN ICONOGRAPHIC STUDY OF "TEN KINGS" PAINTINGS

By

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## ABSTRACT

In China and Japan there are innumerable paintings and texts of the "Ten Kings of Hell" but to date there has been no systematic investigation of them. This thesis makes an attempt to categorize these art works and documents according to iconographic features and format. Classification has been successful in as much as a sequential order was established and new insight, substantiated by tenth century Tun-huang documents, Sung Buddhist records, and Japanese commentaries has been attained regarding iconographic and iconological properties.

Tenth century Type A paintings of "Ti-tsang and the Ten Kings," characterized by iconic presentation and in large hanging scroll format, were superseded by mid-tenth century Type B narrative handscrolls consisting of "Ten Kings Illustrations" accompanied by Type Y texts, the edited and modified versions of their precursor, Type X.

Textual investigation disclosed an affiliation between Ten Kings paintings and texts, and the unprecedented suggestion that Type A paintings and Type X texts had a close iconographic and iconological relationship is made in this paper.

Comparative analysis of illustrations and texts shows that the Type X text, with emphasis on the concept of "Chui-shan" and "Yü-hsiu," corresponds iconologically to the large Type A hanging scrolls used in the funeral service, and that the Type Y text, which dealt exclusively with "Yü-hsiu" accompanied the Type B handscrolls used for accruing religious merit.

Typological examination of thirteenth and fourteenth century Chinese paintings executed by professional painters in the Ning-p'o area, as well as scrutiny of traditional Japanese hell paintings, leads to speculation that the

Ten Kings painting tradition between the tenth and thirteenth centuries was already depicting fully developed hell scenes, despite the fact that there is a dearth of literary and pictorial evidence.

Fourteenth century Japanese Ten Kings paintings reveal that Chinese prototypes had undergone "Japanization" and that one particular set of paintings owned by Nison-in was based on three separate Chinese prototypes: two Ning-p'o models, and the tenth century Type B tradition, as well as traditional Japanese motifs. One significant aspect of the Japanization of this set is discernible in the elaboration of the "Honjibutsu" (origins of Buddhist deities) and this fact has been interpreted in the context of fourteenth century Japanese Buddhism, the Zen sect in particular.

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## INTRODUCTION

The Ten Kings of Hell (Shih Wang 十王) are the judges who during the term of three years between death and incarnation, examine the deeds of the dead and pass judgement. Sentient beings are sentenced according to their good and evil deeds and sent to one of the six destinies, which are those of the gods, men, asuras, animals, hungry ghosts and beings of hell. In order to eliminate, or at least decrease suffering at the court of each of the Ten Kings, and to be reborn in the realm of gods after death, people were encouraged to perform such meritorious deeds as the copying of texts, the making of icons, and the performance of the mass of the Ten Kings. People performed the Ten Kings observances twice monthly to ensure a felicitous future life for themselves, and on the dates when their deceased relatives would be facing judgement to ensure their rebirths.<sup>1</sup> Thus the cult of the Ten Kings, which was entirely related to the ceremony for the dead and to the concept of death, became one of the most popular in Buddhism after the late T'ang Dynasty. The Ten Kings cult was most probably an offshoot of the Ti-tsang (Jizo in Japanese, Ksitagarbha in Sanskrit) cult which became popular in the T'ang Dynasty (618-907). Ti-tsang is a bodhisattva who had made a vow to save all beings, throughout the six destinies, during the period of the Buddha's absence from this world. As ceremonies in honor of Ti-tsang were commonly practiced by the living for the dead, the cult of the Ten Kings most likely emerged from the context of the popular Ti-tsang cult, with its religious emphasis on saving the dead from hell.

The dates after their deaths on which people meet the Ten Kings are as follows:

The first King Ch'in-kuang Wang	秦広王	on the first seventh day
The second King Ch'u-chiang Wang	初江王	on the second seventh day
The third King Sung-ti Wang	宋帝王	on the third seventh day
The fourth King Wu-kuan Wang	五官王	on the fourth seventh day
The fifth King Yen-lo Wang	閻羅王	on the fifth seventh day
The sixth King Pien-ch'eng Wang	變成王	on the sixth seventh day
The seventh King T'ai-shan Wang	太山王	on the seventh seventh day
The eight King P'ing-cheng Wang	平正王	on the hundredth day
The ninth King Tu-shih Wang	都市王	on the first year
The tenth King Wu-tao Chuan-lun Wang	五道轉輪王	on the third year

Since the discovery of many paintings, and many copies of the sūtras of the Ten Kings (Shih Wang 十王) at Tun-haung, studies on the Ten Kings have been undertaken by Buddhologists and art historians. However, the provenance and development of the cult of the Ten Kings is still shrouded in mystery.<sup>2</sup>

The difficulties in studying the development of the Ten Kings paintings lie in the fact that both Buddhologists and art historians have concentrated wholly upon their own specialized research without attempting a comprehensive investigation of the cult of the Ten Kings as a whole. This integral approach involves a combination of textual and iconographic investigation.

In general, the texts of popular Buddhism were inclined to be apocryphal in an effort to authenticate the impure and adulterate ideas attached to

Buddhism. In the case of the Ten Kings belief, the Buddhist concepts of "karma" and the transmigration of souls were amalgamated with the Taoist concept of the juridical system of the netherworld as seen in the T'ai-shan cult 太山信仰 and the Confucian concepts of ancestor worship and filial piety.

Texts of the Ten Kings are divided into three basic types.<sup>3</sup> The first, hereafter referred to as Type X, is the simplest, and the one in which the Ten Kings are merely named for purposes of recitation rather than for individual description.<sup>4</sup> The main theme of Type X texts is concerned with the concept of Chui-shan 追善 (Tsui-zen in Japanese), which refers to the benefits of performing a mass for the dead, and the concept of Yu-hsiu 預修 (Yoshū in Japanese) which refers to the benefits of preparatory performances done by the living for themselves. The second type, hereafter referred to as Type Y, is a more developed version of Type X consisting of alternate prose and seven-syllable verses describing the individual traits of the Ten Kings and emphasizing the benefits of preparatory performance by the living.<sup>5</sup> After the second half of the tenth century, the development of Type Y texts completely superseded Type X. The last type, hereafter referred to as Type Z, is problematic.<sup>6</sup> It is the most elaborate of the three Ten Kings texts because both the seven-syllable verses and the prose contain detailed descriptions of the Ten Kings. Type Z also includes Honjibutsu (origins of Buddhist deities) and this fact puts its sources in question. Both Type X and Type Y texts originated in Northwestern China and other sites while Type Y were found in both Japan and Korea as well. Type Z texts have traditionally been considered a Japanese invention since they were seen only in Japan, but because of the fact that some descriptions found only in Type Z are also present in tenth century Tun-huang paintings, one

theory is that Type Z originated in China.<sup>7</sup>

As for the development of the Ten Kings painting tradition, there are two crucial periods. The first period, covering the tenth century, is represented by two types, A and B.<sup>8</sup> In Type A (Plates 1-5), Ti-tsang is the central image which is depicted frontally, sitting upon a lotus pedestal, and with a large halo. The Ten Kings are presented as subordinate icons juxtaposed around Ti-tsang. As a result of its rigid symmetrical and hierarchical composition, Type A paintings are characterized by iconic presentation. On the other hand, the Type B handscroll (Plates 10,11) is a narrative presentation in which Ti-tsang is reduced to a secondary image and the Ten Kings are individually illustrated in continuous small scenes, accompanied by texts. In each scene, one king and all other accompanying figures are asymmetrically arranged and depicted in three-quarter view. The scenes in front of each king are ones of simple torture as actual hell scenes did not emerge until later in the Ten Kings painting tradition. The iconic type presentation of Ten Kings paintings was a precursor to the narrative type presentation, which most likely emerged in the mid-tenth century, and as both types developed simultaneously there was a certain amount of mingling between the traditions. The second crucial period, covering the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, saw the production of many sets of Ten Kings paintings by professional painters in the Ning-p'o area. These sets (Plates 37-43,46,49) are markedly different, both iconographically and pictorially, from those of the tenth century phase, and this mass production implies that the Ten Kings cult was popular during this time period although there is no literary evidence to support the specific shift in presentation. Trying to investigate the Ten Kings painting tradition in

the few centuries following the tenth is problematic, but nevertheless, I will speculate on the development of the tradition through typological investigation of the Ning-p'o Ten Kings sets and corroborate this with thirteenth and fourteenth century Japanese sources. Examination of the Japanese Ten Kings paintings, which are enormously indebted to Chinese prototypes, will reveal that they contain clear features of the Ning-p'o Ten Kings tradition, and this Japanization of iconography is a significant art historical problem.

The most representative example of Japanese Ten Kings paintings, and one that deserves special attention, is a set owned by the Nison-in temple 二尊院 in Kyoto (Plates 27-36) and registered as a National Treasure.<sup>9</sup> This set is comprised of ten hanging scrolls individually depicting each of the Ten Kings. They are painted in color on silk, and measure 99.3 cm in height by 42.8 cm in width. The execution date of this set has been suggested to be the second half of the fourteenth century, and the painter of the set, according to the Japanese art historian, Jirō Umezu, was the professional court painter Tosa (Fujiwara) Yukimitsu.<sup>10</sup> The Nison-in set is the only extant work ever attributed to this painter who was active during the reign of Emperor Gokōgon (後光嚴) (1351-1371), despite the fact that there is abundant literary material regarding Yukimitsu.<sup>11</sup>

As we shall soon demonstrate, the Nison-in Ten Kings paintings are indebted to Chinese Ten Kings paintings in their pictorial and iconographic characteristics, and yet clearly reveal traits of Japanese artistic vocabularies, as for example in the elaboration of Honjibutsu that is a prominent characteristic of the Nison-in paintings. The iconography of Honjibutsu was originally developed as a part of Esoteric Buddhism. Within Mikkyō,

Dainichi Nyorai (Vairocana) was considered the origin (Honji) of everything in the universe. His manifestation (Suijaku) was the historical Buddha (Shakamuni).<sup>13</sup> This main Hon-jaku relationship was gradually expanded to include various deities, and the resultant scheme was exemplified by mandala presentation. The Nison-in set of paintings depicts the Ten Kings and their Buddha and Bodhisattva origins, as for example in the scroll of the first King where Ch'in-kuang Wang is shown as the manifestation of Pu-tung Ming-wang 不動明王 (Fudō Miyo-o in Japanese). This facet of Japanization, the elaboration of the Honjibutsu, should be interpreted in the context of Japanese Buddhism.

CHAPTER ONE

Ti-tsang and the Ten Kings Paintings, Type A

Ti-tsang and the Ten Kings paintings were already being executed during the tenth century. Type A, in hanging scroll format, depicted Ti-tsang as the central icon flanked by the Ten Kings (Plates 1-5).<sup>1</sup> The earliest extant record of Type A paintings, is found in Shan-yu Shih-k'o Ts'ung-pien 山右石刻叢編 and states that in the last year of the T'ang Dynasty (907), at a subtemple of Shen-fu-Shan-ssu 神福山寺 in Shansi province, a painting of Ti-tsang and the Ten Kings was executed along with sixteen Lohan paintings.<sup>2</sup> Other literary records, particularly art historical ones, suggest that the subject of Ti-tsang and the Ten Kings continued to be popular into the Five Dynasties period (907-959). A record, Wu-tai Ming-hua Pu-i 五代名畫補遺 states that the Five Dynasties painter Chang-t'u 張圖 executed paintings of Ti-tsang and the Ten Kings during the reign of Emperor T'ai tsu, Chu Ch'üan-chung 太祖 朱全忠 (907-912).<sup>3</sup> Kuo Jo-hsü 郭若虛, in his 1074 preface to T'u-hua Chien-wen Chih 圖畫見聞誌, introduced a painter, Wang Ch'iao-shih 王喬士, in his section dealing with Five Dynasties painters, as follows:<sup>4</sup>

Wang Ch'iao-shih: Skilled at painting Buddhist and Taoist subjects and secular figures and most fond of doing the icons of the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha (Ti-tsang) and the Ten Kings of Hell. More than a hundred versions of this theme have been preserved to modern times.

From literary accounts we can see that many paintings of the Ten Kings were depicted along with the image of Ti-tsang during the latter part of the T'ang Dynasty and throughout the Five Dynasties period.

Extant paintings of Ti-tsang and the Ten Kings located at Tun-huang and considered to have been executed during the Five Dynasties or early Northern

Sung Dynasty periods, should have been similar in pictorial and iconographic presentation to paintings of Ti-tsang and the Ten Kings recorded in literary sources. One Tun-huang painting housed in the Musée Guimet (Plate 1) will be used for careful examination of Type A iconography as it provides us with significant information.<sup>5</sup> The painting is dated to the eighth year of T'ai-p'ing Hsing-kuo 太平興國 (983) and gives complete iconographic information in its well-preserved cartouches. The Type A painting tradition, already in force at the beginning of the tenth century, lasted through the late tenth century as evidenced by the 983 date for the Musée Guimet painting.

The Type A painting is a hierarchical representation of figures with a large scale Ti-tsang located at the axis of the symmetrical composition, and the smaller scale Ten Kings placed to either side of him, as if they were attendants. This placement is characteristic of iconic presentation as opposed to Type B narrative presentation. Ti-tsang is a more important figure than the Ten Kings iconographically, as evidenced by his central placement, frontal depiction, large halo, and elaborate canopy. The Mandala-like arrangement of the Ten Kings and their attendants, along with their portrayal in three quarter view suggests adoration and enhances the concept of Ti-tsang as a cult image. This deity, who had made the vow "to make all beings ripen in the world of no existence of Buddha" and who had been instructed by Buddha "with your great compassion, you (Ti-tsang) now wish to undertake the inconceivable task of rescuing all those in the six paths who suffer for their offences," had been worshipped as a Messiah image in the world of the latter day of the Law (Mappo 末法).<sup>6</sup> Ti-tsang's portrayal as a monkish figure, which is based upon Ti-tsang texts, is his most credible iconographic trait, particularly in the context of the exoteric Buddhist tradition. At the same

time, among portrayals of him as a monk, there is no consistent use of attributes or mudras, most probably because there is no detailed description of his figure in exoteric Ti-tsang texts.

Within Type A paintings iconographic motifs are routinely depicted. For example, in the Guimet painting, the major icon, Ti-tsang, is depicted in the same pictorial and iconographic manner as his solitary image in other tenth century Tun-huang paintings, such as the British Museum painting (Plate 6). He is seated upon a lotus pedestal, wears a hood over his head and shoulders, is surrounded by an elaborate halo, and holds a long metal staff with six rings. He does not carry the usual jewelled ball in his left hand though his hand gesture is similar to that of his figure in, for example, the British Museum painting. This similarity of hand gesture suggests that a jewelled ball should be held in the left hand of the Guimet Ti-tsang. In thirteenth and fourteenth century Ti-tsang paintings of China, Korea, and Japan, both a metal staff and jewelled ball are frequent attributes. The pictorial presentation of this deity with both attributes was a popular and long lasting tradition.

The aforementioned iconographic features of Ti-tsang, though not described by exoteric texts, were found in later esoteric literary sources and twelfth through fourteenth century compilations of iconographic drawings. Later mention of the staff and jewelled ball attributes can be found in the Ti-tsang section of a book called Kakuzen shō 覚禅鈔 (a Buddhist commentary) written by Shingon priest Kakuzen 覚禅 (1143-1217). The following quote is from Fukū giki 不空儀軌 (The Amoghavajra's rules of drawing icons):<sup>7</sup>

Ti-tsang secretes his bodhisattva practice in himself and manifests a monkish appearance outside. He holds a jewelled ball in his left hand a metal staff in his right hand, peacefully residing on the thousand-leaved and blue lotus flowers.

Although Fukū giki is not extant and some scholars suspect its authenticity, it can be safely stated that the Ti-tsang iconography of the Guimet painting discloses a connection with esoteric iconography. In the Dojō-kan 道場觀 in Kakuzen shō, priest Kakuzen instructed how a detailed image of Ti-tsang could be manifested through the practice of visualization of Ti-tsang.<sup>8</sup>

There is a lotus flowered pedestal on a platform. On the top of that there is a letter of 賀. The letter turns into a jewelled ball and the jewelled ball turns into Ti-tsang Bodhisattva, appearing in the figure of a monk. He wears a monkish garment of 解脱幢 (an "Emancipation" banner). He holds a jewelled ball of purified Bodhi mind in his right hand and in his left hand is a metal staff of fulfilment of six savings.

This visualization of Ti-tsang is remarkably similar to the image of Ti-tsang in the Guimet painting and in esoteric drawings such as the seventeen Nin-na ji drawings (Plate 7). Since the practice of visualization is one of the most important and unique practices of esoteric Buddhism, it can be concluded that the figure of Ti-tsang depicted with both the staff and jewelled ball as attributes might have originated from, and developed within, this tradition.<sup>9</sup>

In short, the esoteric iconography of Ti-tsang with two attributes was already popular at Tun-huang in the tenth century. It is quite understandable that the representation of Ti-tsang in Type A paintings is that of a cult image, since this is appropriate for iconic representation.

Above the figure of Ti-tsang, an inseparable iconographic motif, the six destinies, is represented. In the Guimet painting, the destinies of man, asuras, and hell, are illustrated on the right hand side from top to bottom, and the realms of devas, beasts, and hungry demons are portrayed on the left in a similar manner. The ordering of six destinies from hell to deva, arranged from bottom to top, follows the basic traditional presentation. All the beings from the six destinies seem to have been saved by Ti-tsang and

his compassionate vow as they are on their way to the heaven hall on an ascending cloud.

In the Guimet painting, beneath Ti-tsang's pedestal, there is a lion on the right and a monk on his knees doing the anjali mudra (a gesture of prayer) on the left. The cartouches identify the lion as the golden-haired lion Chin-mao Shih-tzu 金毛獅子, and the monk as Tao-ming Ho-shang 道明和尚. There are two contradictory accounts about the golden-haired lion and Tao-ming which are rather puzzling. The Sung Buddhist sources Fo Tsu T'ung Chi 佛祖統紀 and Shih Men Cheng T'ung 敍門正統 state that in the T'ang dynasty, Tao-ming entered purgatory, carefully observed the Ten Kings passing judgement, and upon return to the world told of what he had seen.<sup>10</sup> Neither of the Sung accounts mention Tao-ming in relation to Ti-tsang but they do link him to the Ten Kings. A fragment of the Tun-haung document, Huan Hun Chi 還魂記 (the record of the returning spirit) (Stein 3092), speaks of Tao-ming and a golden-haired lion in connection with Ti-tsang iconography though there is no mention of the Ten Kings.<sup>11</sup> The story of Tao-ming in Huan Hun Chi has been summarized by Eiichi Matsumoto, and the following account is based upon his rendering.<sup>12</sup>

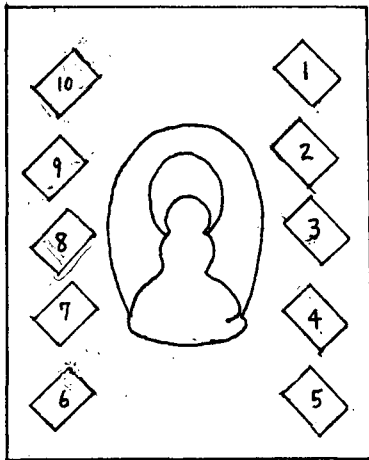
When he was taken into purgatory by mistake in the thirteenth year of Ta-li 大曆 (778) he saw a meditating monk with a lion beside him. The monk's eyes looked like blue lotus and his face like a full moon. He was upon a jewelled lotus and held a staff in his hand. Tao-ming identified him with Ti-tsang and the lion with a manifestation of the Bodhisattva, Mañjuśrī. The appearance of Ti-tsang was different from the typical monkish image of the figure. (E. Matsumoto suggests that the Ti-tsang whom Tao-ming saw should have been a hooded figure.)<sup>13</sup> Ti-tsang ordered Tao-ming to tell people in this world the details of Ti-tsang's appearance and to advise them to recite the mantra (真言) of Ti-tsang. After Tao-ming came back from purgatory, he recounted and drew what he saw there.

In keeping with this detailed story of Tao-ming there is a Tun-huang painting (Plate 8), dated 981, which illustrates Tao-ming and the lion with a solitary figure of Ti-tsang. The above literary record, with its integration of Ti-tsang, Tao-ming, and the lion, leads us to believe that the Ten Kings might be a latter addition to the iconography that is exemplified in the Guimet Ti-tsang and the Ten Kings painting.<sup>14</sup> Eventually the iconography of Ti-tsang the Ten Kings, and Tao-ming and the lion became standardized. Referring back to the Sung records of Fo Tsu T'ung Chi and Shih Men Cheng T'ung, where a tight relationship between Tao-ming and Ten Kings is mentioned, we can see that a shift occurred in this iconography and that the Ten Kings came to replace Ti-tsang.

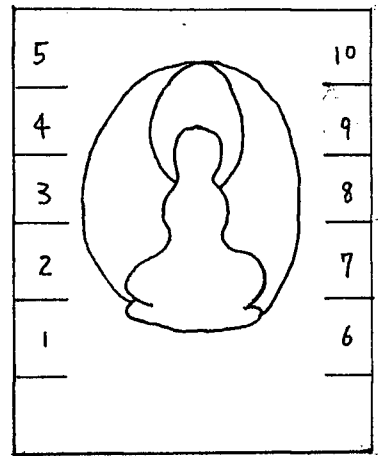
In the Guimet painting, the Ten Kings, Shih Wang 十王, are positioned on both sides of the Ti-tsang figure, and arranged in order from the first King who is met on the seventh day after death to the tenth King who is seen in the third year after death. Even though each King is rendered almost identically, is in the same pose, wears a Chinese official-like long dress with a crown, and holds a sceptre, there are, fortunately, cartouches to identify the figures. The kings are positioned from the top right downward as Ch'in-kuang Wang 秦廣王, Ch'u-chiang Wang 初江王, Sung-ti Wang 宋帝王, Wu-kuang Wang 五官王, and Yen-lo Wang 閻羅王 and from bottom left upward as Pien-ch'eng Wang 變成王, T'ai-shan Wang 太山王, P'ing-cheng Wang 平正王, Tu-shih Wang 都市王, and Wu-tao Chuan-lun Wang 五道轉輪王. The fifth king, Yen-lo Wang, is conspicuous because of his rectangular shaped crown, and the tenth king, Wu-tao Chuan-lun Wang because of his armor and helmet. These two kings provide a means of identifying the order of the Ten Kings in other Tun-huang paintings of Ti-tsang and the Ten Kings even when the inscriptions are illegible or the cartouches empty. Having

established the identity of these two kings, it may be possible to draw several different arrangements of the group of Ten Kings as a whole. Their order in the Tun-huang paintings is as follows:

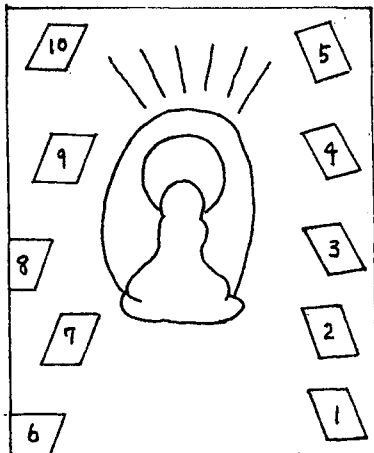
1. The Musee Guimet version  
(date: 983) (Plate 1)



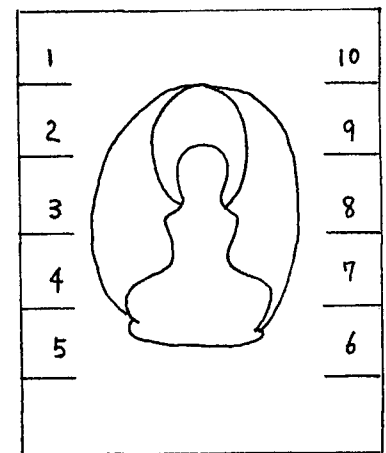
2. The New Delhi Museum version  
(Plate 2)



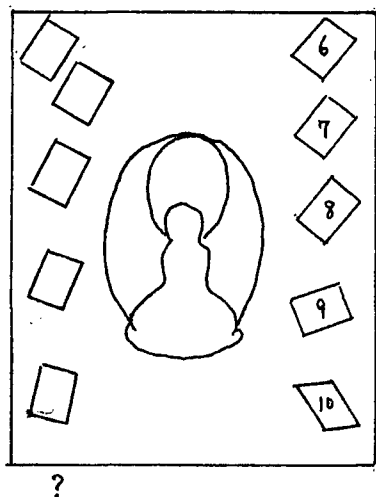
3. The Musee Guimet version  
(Plate 3)



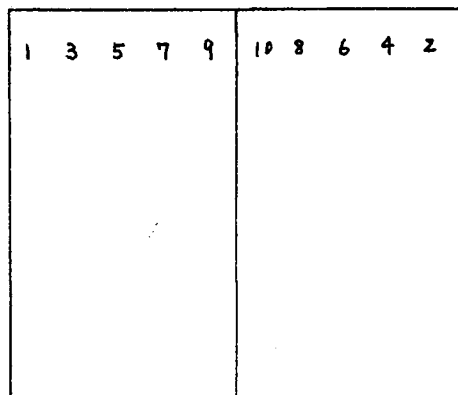
4. The British Museum version  
(Plate 4)



5. The New Delhi Museum version  
(Plate 5)



The later Japanese painting  
collection of K.&J. Powers  
(Plate 9)



Despite severe damage to this fifth painting, it seems to me that the figure in the bottom right is wearing armor and might be the tenth king.

These drawings make clear that the numerical arrangement of the figures is different in every case, and yet they are always in lineal order. It is perhaps useful to note that in later Japanese Ten Kings paintings this pattern is not applied and that the figures appear in even and odd-number sequences. This arrangement is evident in the painting owned by Kimiko and John Powers (Plate 9).

In the Guimet painting, the Ten Kings are subordinate to Ti-tsang in terms of their iconographic presentation. It seems that individual distinctions between the Ten Kings were not considered of primary importance and that the impersonal and monotonous characterization was considered adequate. A brief summary of the legend from Ti-tsang P'u-sa Hsaing-ling-yen chi 地藏菩薩像靈馬餘記, dated 989, and compiled by Ch'ang Chin 常謹, is as follows:<sup>15</sup>

During the T'ien-fu era 天福 (936-943) a western monk, Chih Yu 智祐 brought a painting of Ti-tsang and the Sanskrit text of Pen-yuan Kong-te Ching 本願功德經 (probably referring to Ti-tsang P'u-sa Pen-yuan Ching 地藏菩薩本願經). A hooded Ti-tsang was depicted in a circle at the centre of the painting with a staff in his hand and was accompanied by the Ten Kings. Five of them are placed at the left and they are Ch'in-kuang Wang, Ch'u-chiang Wang, Sung-ti Wang, Wu-kuan Wang, and Yen-lo Wang. The remaining five at the right are Pien-ch'eng Wang, T'ai-shan Wang, P'ing-cheng Wang, Tu-shih Wang, and Wu-tao Chuan-lun Wang. Each king has assistants such as Ssu-ming 司命 and Ssu-lu 司錄.

The original story of this painting goes: a long time ago in India a bodhisattva made a great vow to save sentient beings who suffer and went to the castle of the Ten Kings with the painting of Ti-tsang and obtained the cooperation of the Ten Kings. Subsequently the figures of the Ten Kings were added to paintings of Ti-tsang.

The description of the relationship of Ti-tsang and the Ten Kings in this story is in keeping with their depiction in the Guimet painting.

In other words, since the 989 date of Ti-tsang P'u-sa Hsaing-ling-yen Chi, is so close to that of the Guimet painting, 983, the remarkable similarities in iconographic and pictorial presentation of Ti-tsang and the Ten Kings indicates that there was an established tradition for the cult of the Ten Kings and Ti-tsang in the late tenth century.

The frontality of the central icon, Ti-tsang, and the systematic arrangement of the Ten Kings around him, creates an iconic image of the Type A tradition. The esoteric attributes of Ti-tsang proper can be understood as manifestations of ritualistic and devotional factors of esoteric Buddhism. The inscription in the Type A Guimet painting says that this painting was produced for a daughter of Mr. Chang, a subordinate of the local military ruler, T'sao.<sup>16</sup> The painting was meant to praise her meritorious deeds while alive, and to wish her happiness after death. It is obvious that this Ti-tsang and the Ten Kings hanging scroll

was meant to function as part of the funerary services for Miss Chang. The large size of this painting, and its hanging scroll format, certainly correspond to its public function in the Chui-shan services 追善 (acquisition of merits for the dead).

From the literary records cited previously, the tradition of Ti-tsang and the Ten Kings can be seen to have reached back as far as the end of the T'ang dynasty and to have lasted for some time.

CHAPTER TWO

The Ten Kings Illustration, Type B

Another type of the early phase of the Ten Kings of Hell paintings is found in illustrations for the *sūtra* of the Ten Kings (Shih Wang Ching, 十王經) of which there are four illustrated versions, (Shih Wang T'u Chuan, 十王圖卷) (Plates 10-16).<sup>1</sup> These illustrations show clear differences with the "Ti-tsang and the Ten Kings" type previously discussed.

In the Type B each of the Ten Kings is shown individually accompanied by a section from the *sūtra*. These continuing small scenes of the Ten Kings give a narrative quality to the illustrations. On the other hand, in the Type A Ten Kings and Ti-tsang paintings, all Ten Kings are neatly arranged around the central figure, Ti-tsang, and this placement imparts a devotional quality. This difference of presentation, where the Type A are done as hanging scrolls and Type B as handscrolls, is very significant in that it suggests an iconographic and iconological development between the two types.

Before interpreting these developments, the Type B Ten Kings illustrations will be examined in order to understand their iconographic features. Our attention will first be focussed upon the Kubosō Museum version of the Ten Kings illustrated *sūtra* (Plates 10-11), the most significant of the four Type B versions because of its cyclical date, Hsin Wei (辛未), which will be crucial in reconstructing the tradition of the Ten Kings of Hell paintings.<sup>2</sup> The inscription at the end of this handscroll gives us a significant clue when considering the function of Type B paintings. It says that the scroll was completed on the tenth day of the twelfth month in the year of Hsin Wei, and that a Buddhist disciple, Tung Wen-yuan 董文員, copied it at the age of sixty-eight.

In the following pages, I will investigate how each illustration corresponds to the text and observe the iconographic traits of each scene in the Type B illustrations.

1. The First Scene, Śākyamuni Preaching (Plate 10-1)

The first scene illustrates the preaching scene of Śākyamuni at Kuśinagara before entering Nirvāṇa, and is based upon the section of Shih Wang Ching which immediately follows this scene. It is comparable in its compositional scheme to the Type A Ti-tsang and the Ten Kings painting housed in the British Museum (Plate 17) in which the Ten Kings are divided into two groups and arranged diagonally so as to meet at the top. Moreover, the motifs of Tao-ming, the four officials, and the good and bad youths, which were characteristic of the iconography of the Ten Kings and Ti-tsang Type A paintings, are revealed in this first scene of Śākyamuni preaching. The remarkable similarities between them suggest that this scene of Śākyamuni preaching in the Ten Kings illustration must have been closely linked to the tradition of the Ten Kings and Ti-tsang painting exemplified by the British Museum version.

On the other hand, the differences between the two types clearly reveals that the central figure, Ti-tsang, and his attendants, have been replaced by that of Śākyamuni and his two great disciples, Śāriputta and Moggallāna. The depiction of Śākyamuni and his disciples follows the description of Śākyamuni's preaching in the text, and it was probably included to give additional credibility to the Shih Wang Ching, which has been regarded as a later Chinese invention since the Buddha's preaching scene had become a common subject for sūtra frontispiece illustration.<sup>3</sup>

In short, the mixture of the two iconographic traditions, that of Sakyamuni preaching, and that of the Ten Kings and Ti-tsang, is manifested in the first scene of the Ten Kings illustration.

2. The Second Scene, Six Bodhisattvas (Plate 10-2)

The second scene in the Kuboso Museum version represents six Bodhisattvas, Ti-tsang 地藏, Lung-shu 龍樹, Chiu-k'u Kuan-shih-yin 救苦觀世音, Chin-kang-tsang 金剛藏, Ch'ang-pei 常悲, and T'o-lo-ni 陀羅尼. The text following this illustration names these six Bodhisattvas who came to Śakyamuni and unanimously praised the compassion for ordinary people inherent in his excellent dharma, as it spared them from death. The figures of these six Bodhisattvas are placed independently on a plain background, with no consideration for natural setting, and this gives an impersonal and devotional quality to the Bodhisattvas that is quite similar to the format of an esoteric maṇḍala.<sup>4</sup>

3. The Scene of a Messenger Riding on a Black Horse (Plate 10-3)

This scene is a faithful illustration of the accompanying text. It describes the King, Yen-lo, ordering his messenger to determine whether or not the dead have done meritorious deeds. The messenger rides a black horse, is dressed in black, and carries a black banner. In this scene the messenger is depicted in three-quarter view, which emphasizes his narrative function rather than his iconic significance. This is the first time we notice the introduction of a narrative element to these illustrations. In contrast to the opening two scenes, all others contribute toward the narrative quality of the whole.

The following ten scenes are illustrations of each of the Ten Kings of Hell. Some of these scenes clearly show the iconographic traits of the Kings pictorially, and confirm them in the texts, while others simply represent the Kings in judgement and give no specific iconographic descriptions in their texts. Although there is no clear characterization for some of the Kings, it is significant to note that all Ten Kings are rendered as judges, and that all are considered independently, occupying separate scenes. Moreover, placement of the three-quarter view figures around the Ten Kings suggests a stage-like spatial relationship between them and helps to create an active narration of the judgement scenes. This is one of the major differences in pictorialization between Type B and Type A paintings where the Kings are simply arranged around a central icon, Ti-tsang, and display no animation.

4. The Scene of the First King, Ch'in-kuang Wang 秦光王 (Plate 10-4)

The text to this scene narrates as follows:<sup>5</sup>

On the first seventh day one passes Ch'in-kuang Wang.  
In praise one says:

'On the first seventh day, the dead are  
in the interval between the incarnations.

The sheep driven in the columns  
are numerous as grain dust.

Briefly, facing the first king,  
they list the fasts.

But they have not yet forded  
the river Styx.'

As the text only tells us that the role common to all of the Ten Kings of Hell is the judgement of the dead, the illustration here simply presents the King without any of his specific attributes. Ch'in-kuang Wang, who stands behind the desk with two attendants and one official, is investigating

the four dead in front of him. The document on his desk is probably a record of the good and bad deeds done in their lifetime. Two of the dead hold a copy of a sūtra and are judged by the King to have safely passed this court and to be ready to go on to the next. The two remaining dead souls, shackled at the neck, are sentenced to be punished because of their bad deeds. The motifs mentioned above are not limited to this scene but appear throughout the following scenes of the Ten Kings.

5. The Scene of the Second King, Ch'u-chiang Wang 初江王 (Plate 10-5)

The text of this scene says the following:

On the second seventh day one passes Ch'u-chiang Wang.  
In praise one says:

'On the second seventh day  
the dead cross the river Styx.

In thousands of herds and myriads of columns  
they cross the river's waves.

Ox-headed demons who drag them on the way  
clamp the poles on their shoulders.

And then demon soldiers that egg them on  
carry their pitchforks upright in their hands.'

This scene illustrates the text by showing demons pushing one person into the river while three others cross it. We also see such things as a thorny tree on which torn clothes are hung and a woman crossing a bridge, which seem to reveal an iconographic meaning not stated in the text. It is only in the Japanese copy of the sūtra of the Ten Kings of Hell, Type Z, that we find these motifs associated with Ch'u-chiang Wang. The section of this King in the Type Z text called Ti-tsang P'i-sa Fa-hsin Yin-yuan Shih-wang Ch'ing 地藏菩薩發心因緣十王經, says that there are three places to cross the river: a rushing mountain stream, a deep and wide

river, and a place crossed by a bridge where there is a big tree, called "Iryōju 衣領樹, under which live two demons, an old woman who removes the clothing of the dead, and an old man who hangs these clothes on the branches to weigh the sins of the dead.<sup>6</sup> Though the old man and woman under the tree do not appear in this scene, we can identify the tree as Iryōju and perhaps surmise that the woman crossing the bridge has led a meritorious life.

The scene as a whole presents the characteristics of Ch'u-chinag Wang as understood by both the text accompanying this scene and that of the Type Z text.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, this illustration of Ch'u-chiang Wang invites us to reconsider the origins of the Japanese sūtra of the Ten Kings of Hell in the context of the Chinese Ten Kings cult tradition.<sup>8</sup>

6. The Scene of the Third King, Sung-ti Wang 宋帝王 (Plate 10-6)

The text for this King does not give any clear characterization, but says as follows:

On the third seventh day one passes Sung-ti Wang.  
In praise one says,

'On the third seventh day, the dead;  
all the more alarmed,

are first aware of the length  
of the steep road of the nether world.

Each name is recorded,  
and they are known whereabouts

in herds they are driven  
to the king, Wu-kuan Wang.'

The illustration for the text simply shows a scene in which the King, Sung-ti Wang, inspects the dead. This scene is another example of the typical and familiar representation of the King's judgement as seen in the previous section of Ch'in-kuang Wang.

7. The Scene of the Fourth King, Wu-kuan Wang 五官王 (Plate 10-7)

The text for this scene says the following:

On the fourth seventh day one passes Wu-kuan Wang.  
In praise one says:

'Even if Wu-kuan Wang's scale  
of deeds stands idle,

the young men to the left and to the right  
carry a complete register of acts.

Can their lightness or gravity  
possibly be a matter of their own wishes?

No, the height or depth of their destiny  
naturally depends on (the) former causes and conditions.'

The motif of the empty scale appears in all four versions of the Type B Ten Kings of Hell and must be regarded as a definite iconographic attribute.

8. The Scene of the Fifth King, Yen-lo Wang 閻羅王 (Plate 11-8)

The text for this scene says the following:

On the fifth seventh day one passes Yen-lo Wang.  
In praise one says:

'On the fifth seventh day, although Yamarāja (Yen-lo)  
quiets the voice of altercation

the rancour in the sinners' hearts  
is not assuaged.

When their hair is pulled and heads are lifted,  
so that they can see the mirror of their deeds,

then for the first time, they have a clear understanding  
of events in their former lives.'

Yen-lo Wang is seen here with his identifying attribute, the mirror. This motif is consistently portrayed in all the Type B versions and is described in the Japanese copy of Type Z as well.<sup>9</sup>

In the Kubosō Museum version, Ti-tsang, Tao-ming and the lion, an iconographic unit also seen in Type A, is arranged in the background left of Yen-lo Wang, and this inclusion of the figure of Ti-tsang needs to be scrutinized. It is worth mentioning that the text for this scene has no reference to Ti-tsang, while in Ti-tsang P'u-sa Fa-hsin Yin-yüan Shih-wang Ching Ti-tsang is mentioned as Yen-lo Wang.<sup>10</sup> This joint appearance of Ti-tsang and Yen-lo in the Type B painting shows clearly that there must have been a definite connection between the Type B examples and Ti-tsang P'u-sa Fa-hsin Yin-yuan Shih-wang Ching, though it cannot yet be substantiated with any more concrete evidence than that mentioned above.

9. The Scene of the Sixth King, Pien-ch'eng Wang 變成王 (Plate 11-9)

The text for this scene says the following:

On the sixth seventh day one passes Pien-ch'eng Wang.  
In praise, one says:

'The dead after the sixth seventh day,  
entangled in the nether world,

are acutely fearful of being reborn as men  
and becoming addicted in their folly to their thoughts.

Day after day, all they see  
is the force of merits.

But both the palace of the gods and hell itself  
are for but a moment.'

So far we have concentrated our attention on the Kubosō Museum edition but now we will concentrate on the Pelliot version (Plate 14-9). A faithful representation of the text shows two figures ascending on a cloud and a glimpse of hell, whereas the other three versions show only a familiar judgement scene presided over by a King of Hell. For some reason the depiction of Heaven and Hell in the Pelliot version of Pien-ch'eng Wang

did not seem to become standard with the other Type B paintings.

10. The Scene of the Seventh King, T'ai-shan Wang 太山王 (Plate 11-10)

The text says the following:

On the seventh seventh day one passes T'ai-shan Wang.  
In praise one says:

'On the seventh seventh day, the dead in the interval  
between incarnations and in the nether world,

single-mindedly seek an intimate reunion  
with their parents.

Though their meritorious deeds at this time  
are still not determined,

yet they see what causes they shall create  
for rebirth as man or woman.'

Since the literal description of this King offers no iconographic particulars, the Kubosō Museum version simply illustrates the scene of judgment presided over by the King, T'ai-shan Wang.

11. The Scene of the Eighth King, P'ing-cheng Wang 平正王 (Plate 11-11)

The text for this scene says the following:

On the hundredth day one passes P'ing-cheng Wang.  
In praise one says"

'Personally encountering stocks and pillory  
and suffering blows or whips.

Both men and women, by striving  
to cultivate merit,

escape a fall and a long sojourn  
in the bitter place of hell.'

The illustration corresponds faithfully to the text in its depiction of an official beating his subject and of the pillory as the torture mechanism. We learn here that these punishments are characteristic of P'ien-cheng Wang.

12. The Scene of the Ninth King, Tu-shih Wang 都市王 (Plate 11-12)

The text for this scene says the following:

On the ninth first year one passes Tu-shih Wang.  
In praise one says:

'Spending a year here,  
in ever greatly suffering,

what cause of merit should  
men and women cultivate?

Ere yet the course of gyration  
through the six destinies has been determined,

by copying scripture and building images  
let them bridge the ford of stray wandering.'

The Kubosō Museum version depicts, just as was the case with the previous King, a familiar scene of the King confronting his sinners. The Pelliot version (Plate 15-12), however, has the added pictorial element of the six destinies, indicated in different colours by bands flowing upward from the side of the King. The insertion of this iconographic motif in the Pelliot version can safely be attributed to the content of the text, with the implication that the decision will finally be made in the court of Wu-tao Chuan-lun Wang.

13. The Scene of the Tenth King, Wu-tao Chuan-lun Wang 五道車輪王 (Plate 11-13)

The text says the following:

On the tenth third year one passes Wu-tao Chuan-lun Wang.  
In praise one says:

'The last three to be traversed  
are these barriers and fords.

Good and bad depend solely  
on the basis of merits (and other deeds)

and the evil are still (?) tormented  
by fear that within a thousand days,

There are maybe premature birth,  
stillbirth, and early death.'

In all Type B versions this scene presents the King, Wu-tao Chuan-lun Wang, with his attendants and the Six realms, suggesting that the dead have already been sentenced, and that their ultimate destiny in one of the Six realms has been decided. A distinctive pictorial feature, which is typical of Type A representation of this King, is his armor and helmet.<sup>11</sup>

#### 14. The Last Scene (Plate 11-14)

The text for this scene says the following:

When the ten fasts (for the Ten Kings of Hell) are  
complete, one will be exempted from the ten cardinal  
sins and will be permitted to be born into heaven.

In praise one says:

'One body in the six destinies  
is with woe beset.

(Because of) the ten evils for the three  
(lowest) destinies there is no substitute.

For the diligent keeping of the fast  
one's merit is perfect,

and sins as numerous as Ganges' sands  
simply melt away.'

The scene shows a sinner, free from the tortures of hell, worshipping a Ti-tsang-like figure, and a demon of hell on a coiled snake threatening a man in front of the iron fence of hell. Y. Tokushi and K. Ogawa in their article, "Jūō-zukan no kōzō," suggest that the monk here might not be Ti-tsang but rather Tao-ming, because of his monkish attire instead of the hooded garb traditional for Ti-tsang. Also absent are Ti-tsang's attributes, a staff and a jewelled ball.<sup>12</sup> It is true that this figure is rendered in

a manner remarkably similar to the depiction of Tao-ming in the scene of Yen-lo Wang (Plate 11-8), however, in this case it would be more understandable to identify him with Ti-tsang, as he has the ability to save beings in all of the six realms, but particularly from hell.

As demonstrated above, the method of illustration employed in the Type B series is remarkably different from that of Type A, and, but for a few cases of notable identifying correspondences, the iconographical and pictorial features are also divergent. In Type B paintings many of the Ten Kings have unique attributes and settings. Particularly revealing are the scenes of Ch'u-chiang Wang 初江王, Wu-kuan Wang 五官王, Yen-lo Wang 閻羅王, and Wu-tao Chuan-lun Wang 五道轉輪王. The differing characteristics dramatically separate Type B paintings from Type A, in which the main purpose of the figures of the Kings is to form a meaningful iconographic entity rather than establish any individual identity. The Kings are secondary icons whose function is to lend support to the primary figure of Ti-tsang. In Type B paintings the role of Ti-tsang becomes subordinate to that of the Ten Kings and he is seen only in a narrative context with the King, Yen-lo, or again in the final scene.

How can these significant differences in the pictorial and iconographic presentation of the Ten Kings of Hell in Type A and Type B paintings be interpreted in the context of the cult of the Ten Kings of Hell? This question leads us inevitably to the chronology of the two types. As mentioned previously, the dating of Type A paintings can be established as being from the late days of the T'ang dynasty in the early tenth century through to the late tenth century, as exemplified by the 983 date for the Guimet painting of Ti-tsang and the Ten Kings. On the other hand, the dating of the Type B tradition

has not been solidly established since there are no firmly datable extant versions. The Kubosō Museum version has only the cyclical date, Hsin Wei 辛未, and this offers as possible dates 911, 971 or 1031.<sup>13</sup> To fix the date of the Kubosō Museum version, we must first investigate its text in the light of the development of the tradition of the Ten Kings sūtra.

CHAPTER THREE

The Ten Kings Texts

In the following section I will discuss the texts of the Ten Kings and keep the dating of the Kubosō Museum version open until a better understanding of the significant differences between the various texts has been established.

There are basically two types of 10th century Shih Wang texts, X and Y. The Type X texts, (Plates 18-26, upper sections), consist only of prose passages and the other, Type Y, (Plates 18-26, lower sections), consist of prose alternating with the seven-syllable "gāthā" form of verse.<sup>1</sup> The Type Y texts, many of which are accompanied by illustrations, as seen in the Kubosō Museum version for example, can be identified with the previously discussed Type B paintings in terms of iconographic and iconological issues.<sup>2</sup> The basic content of both Type X and Type Y is identical in that it is concerned with Buddha's preaching just before his Nirvāna at Kusinagara. It is here that he predicted his impending Buddhahood to Yen-lo, a ruler of hell, and encouraged all beings to perform observances associated with the Ten Kings in order to insure benefits for themselves after death. The differences between Type X and Type Y texts are also clearly recognizable. One of these distinguishing differences is the ordering of the Ten Kings.<sup>3</sup> Sung-ti Wang, the second King in all Type X texts, is the third King in all Type Y texts. Similarly, Ch'u-chiang Wang, the third king in Type X texts, appears as the second king in those of Type Y. Since the order in which the Ten Kings are presented relates specifically to the number of days after death, this order would be important in any ceremonies of the Ten Kings cult, and any changes would indicate some distinctive shift in the tradition of the cult. In other words, it should be impossible for different orderings of the Ten Kings to coexist if each is

representative of a specific observance within a meaningful sequence. If the Ten Kings were consistently considered as a group rather than as strictly ordered individuals then the differing order of the Ten Kings might be seen as an indication of a change in the development of Shih Wang texts from Type X to Type Y.

There is further evidence regarding the chronological sequence between the two types. In Type X texts the Ten Kings are merely named, for purposes of recitation, and not given any individual characterization (Plates 23-25, upper sections). The listing of the Kings names, one after another, is reminiscent of Type A paintings where the figures are illustrated in an impersonal "line up," each one named by a cartouche. In the Type Y texts each of the Ten Kings is characterized by a seven-syllable verse, the same as in Type B paintings. Along with this addition of seven-syllable verses the name of the monk, Tsang-ch'uan 藏川 of the Ta-sheng-tz'u-ssu 大聖慈寺 in Ch'eng-tu 成都, appears at the beginning of the text (Plate 18, lower section). Tsang-ch'uan is generally considered to have been the one to add the seven-syllable verses between the prose sections in the Type Y text while in the process of editing and elaborating upon it, and so in effect was the creator of a new Type Y version.<sup>4</sup> In addition to this, Tsang-ch'uan must also have been responsible for reversing the order of the second and third Kings.<sup>5</sup> From the preceding evidence it can be seen that Type X must have been prior to Type Y in the chronology of the texts of Shih Wang.<sup>6</sup>

In regard to the execution date of Type X, there are two versions of this type which are firmly dated; the Nakamura version, dated to 936, and the Stein 6230 version, dated to 926. Since these fixed dates of Type X versions suggest that the Type X Shih Wang texts were being copied in the

first half of the tenth century, three other Type X versions with only cyclical dates can probably be safely dated as follows: the year of Mou Ch'en 戊辰 for the Stein 4530 version, 908; the year of Hsin Wei 辛未 for the Stein 5544 version, 911; and the year of Keng Ch'en 庚辰 for the Stein 5531 version, 920.

The execution date of the Type Y text accompanying Type B paintings is problematical since there is no literary evidence concerning the inventor of the text, but other circumstantial evidence can be employed. First of all, the order of the second and third kings in the Type A Guimet painting dated to 983 is reversed, relative to the earlier Type X arrangement, is the same as the order for these figures in Ti-tsang P'u-sa Hsiang-ling-yen Chi dated to 989, and is consistent with that followed in Type Y. Secondly, a fragmentary literary source, I Ch'u Liu Tieh 義楚六帖 (datable between 945-954), has a line that is identical to the section of the Type Y text which reads as follows:<sup>7</sup>

閻羅天子於未來世當得作佛名普賢如來十號具足

Yen-lo will attain Buddhahood, be named Samantabhadratathāgata, and fully complete the ten epithets of the Buddha.

As the phrase, Shih hao chu tsu 十號具足, is not included in early Type X texts but is seen in the Type Y text, it is probable that the text of Type Y was created near the mid-tenth century, or at least after the period when the Type X texts were popular. With this evidence, the execution date of the Kubosō Museum version (a Type B painting with a Type Y text) should be set at either 971 or 1031, rather than 911. This date of 971 can also be taken as the earliest possible date for the Kubosō Museum version.<sup>8</sup>

The proposed parallel relationship between text and painting reveals a problem. If a case can be made for associating Type B paintings with Type Y

texts, then we must address the question of whether Type X texts can be linked iconographically with features of Type A paintings. In the following section I will attempt to substantiate that Type A paintings are closely related to Type X texts in terms of their iconographic and iconological features.

As previously discussed, one of the characteristics of the Type X text is the ordering of the second and the third Kings. Unfortunately, the order of the second and third Kings within Type A paintings is impossible to identify because neither has any identifying characteristics and because their cartouches are illegible, except in the case of the Guimet painting where the date of 983 is ascertainable but much later than the period in question. Despite questions of order, the Ten Kings as a whole are presented in a similar manner in both the Type A paintings and the Type X text. The text gives the names of the kings in order but without description. The paintings arrange the Ten Kings one above the other without differentiation. In other words, although both the text and the painting indicate that in the early tenth century no specific iconography had yet been established for the Ten Kings, their presentation must have been based on some iconographic tradition. In order to locate the source of this tradition we must consider the treatment Ti-tsang (the central motif of the Type A paintings) is accorded in the Type X text. This text type stemmed from one of the fundamental texts of Ti-tsang, Ti-tsang P'u-sa Pen-yuan Ching.<sup>9</sup> The main theme of chapter seven of the Pen-yuan Ching deals with the concept of Chui-shan and the benefits of performing mass for the dead.<sup>10</sup> The nine marked lines of Type X text in Plate 20 are quoted almost verbatim from chapter seven of the Pen-yuan Ching. This

chapter also deals with the concept of Yü-hsiu, and it says that in observing masses for the dead, six-sevenths of the benefit will be accrued by the performer, whose suffering will be alleviated after death. It seems that people were being encouraged to perform these services not only for the dead but also for their own gain. The idea of the inseparability of Chui-shan and Yü-hsiu that is expressed in the Type X text clearly originated in chapter seven of the Pen-yüan Ching. Though the Ten Kings are not specifically brought up here, we do find the basic soil or religious disposition from which the cult of the Ten Kings could grow. This is perhaps as close as we can come in our speculation, for the Pen-yüan Ching, after all, is really concerned with elaborating upon Ti-tsang and his tradition. If this is so, it can be understood that the central figure of Ti-tsang in the Type A paintings could iconologically support such figures as the Ten Kings.

Going back to Type Y texts and Type B paintings, we can see that the significance of Ti-tsang diminishes and that that of the Ten Kings increases because of the characterizations added by monk Tsang-ch'uan. The fact that a short text on Ti-tsang, Fo-shuo Ti-tsang P'u-sa Ching 仏説地藏菩薩經, is attached to the beginning of the Kubosō Museum version (Plate 10) clearly indicates that the Type Y text itself had become separate from the text of Ti-tsang, while at the same time, the illustrated sūtra of the Ten Kings was not yet completely independent of the cult of Ti-tsang. In Type Y texts the merit of Chui-shan was noticeably weakened and the value of Yü-hsiu became much more pronounced. For example, in the earlier Type X texts, the words Shin-ssu-chia 新死家 (the family of the recently departed) and Shin-ssu-wang-jen 新死之人 (the recently departed) appear in several sections that deal with the benefits of masses for the dead, but in the Type

Y texts these expressions have been dropped.<sup>11</sup> The two types of Ten Kings paintings manifest different religious emphasis. The Type A Guimet painting was used in the Chui-shan ceremony for Miss Chang, whereas the Type B Kubosō handscroll was dedicated in preparation for eventual death, (Yü-hsiu). Because both Type A paintings and Type X texts present the same iconographic features, a tight relationship between the paintings and the texts in the tenth century Ten Kings tradition is indicated. The message that the benefits derived from services to the Ten Kings are bestowed both upon the dead (Chui-shan) and the performer (Yü-hsiu) is strongly asserted, and is iconologically related to the cult of Ti-tsang. The early, mid-tenth century, phase of the Ten Kings tradition reveals a transference from a Type A/Type X association to a Type B/Type Y, and these Type B/Type Y illustrated sūtras became more significant entities both iconographically and pictorially; to the point of being important cult images. The Ten Kings services came to focus most heavily on the benefits earned by the performer of Yü-hsiu rites.<sup>12</sup>

CHAPTER FOUR

Japanization in the Nison-in Ten Kings Paintings

In the two centuries following the tenth, it is difficult to reconstruct either the Ten Kings painting tradition or the development of the Ten Kings cult because of the lack of literary and pictorial material. The second crucial period in the development of the Ten Kings painting tradition was during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and it saw the production of many sets by the professional painters around the Ning-p'o area.<sup>1</sup> The Ning-p'o Ten Kings paintings reveal marked differences from the earlier tenth century phase, both iconographically and pictorially. For example, all the court scenes depict luxurious interiors where the Kings sit upon opulently ornamented, embroidered-cloth chairs. Pleasing landscapes are painted on the standing screens behind the Kings and these figures, who are busy examining deceased souls, are depicted in three-quarter view.<sup>2</sup> The attendants flanking the Kings gesture theatrically as they assist in the judgement procedure, and the whole court scene is so vividly depicted, with its torture punishments, that the viewer feels pulled into the stage-like setting. Each of the Ten Kings independently depicted on one hanging scroll results in a set of ten, rather than the single tenth century Ten Kings paintings or handscrolls. Because of the individual hanging scroll format each Ning-p'o painting reveals a more complex composition. In each scroll there are basically two scenes depicted, as exemplified by the Metropolitan-Boston version (Plate 37) painted by Chin Ta-shou 金大処. In the upper part of the scroll there is a court scene, and in the lower, a hell scene. Division is effected by cloud and rock motifs. The court scene is basically a far more elaborate continuation of an earlier phase of representation, while

the addition of hell scenes to the earlier torture scenes is a new iconographic presentation for Ten Kings paintings. Suffering of the deceased in various hells was realistically illustrated, and these illustrations correspond to descriptions of hell in both Ti-tsang and Hell texts.<sup>3</sup> In the Metropolitan-Boston Ning-p'o painting depiction of hell seems to be significant as it occupies more than one-third of the total space. In short, the Ning-p'o Ten Kings paintings of the later tradition are undeniably distinguishable from those of the earlier tenth century phase because of the narrative quality resulting from the presentation of hell scenes and the consequent increase in compositional complexity. Later developments in the Ning-p'o Ten Kings painting tradition would again simplify this compositional complexity as the hell scenes were gradually eliminated and the major focus was shifted to the Ten Kings themselves, who were by then less representational.

The Appendix designates the major versions of the Ning-p'o Ten Kings paintings typological order from the most complex compositional scheme to the most simple.

Type I is a fully depicted hell scene separated from the accompanying court scene by full-fringed clouds and rocks (Plates 37,38).

Type II retains some hell scenes but depicts far fewer hell motifs than Type I. The remnants of cloud and rock motifs do not clearly separate some hell and court scenes. Less spatial recession is created within them than in Type I (Plates 39, 46, 49).

Type III has even fewer hell scenes than Type II and there are no longer any cloud or rock motifs to separate the court scenes from these. This type focuses more attention upon the Kings' examinations and yet there is still a sense of spatial depth leading toward the standing screens (Plates 40-42).

Type IV confines the Kings to a smaller area and gives the observer a "close-up" view, while at the same time completely eliminating the hell scenes and divisive motifs, and reducing the number of figures represented. The compositional scheme of this type is the simplest of the four (Plate 43).

Because of the lack of literary evidence regarding Ning-p'o paintings and painters we have no firm datings for them. Only the Zendō-ji version has been dated prior to its date of repair, 1373.<sup>4</sup> Based on a late fourteenth century date for the Nison-in paintings, tentative dating could hopefully be established for other Ten Kings painting versions. In addition to this, there is the problem that there is little iconographic individuality to the kings. Cartouches have been the sole basis for identification and of course this has resulted in confusion in the sets where there are none.

Turning to the Japanese Ten Kings tradition, many literary accounts have quoted from, and commented on, the thirteenth century Ten Kings texts. The founder of the Nichiren sect, Nichiren 日蓮, in his writing Juō santan-shō 十王讚歎鈔 (datable to 1254), summarized the Type Z text Ti-tsang p'u-sa Fa-hsin Yin-yüan Shih-wang Ching, and the Shingon priest Ryōki 良季, in his writing Shōdō shū 唱導集 (datable to 1297), quoted from both Type Y and Z texts.<sup>5</sup> Remarks regarding the Ten Kings cult are found in such works as Hōji san shiki 法事讃私記, written by a Jōdo sect priest, Ryōchū 良忠 (1199-1257), and Shiju hyaku innen shū 私聚百因縁集 (datable to 1257), written by Gukan Jūshin 愚働住信.<sup>6</sup> Because we know that thirteenth century Japanese of all sects were familiar with the Ten Kings cult, it is safe to assume that paintings and/or sculptures were executed. The En-ō-ji 円応寺, in Kamakura, has fragments of Ten Kings sculpture datable to 1251.<sup>7</sup> At the present time it is difficult to see the original iconographic presenta-

tion of these works because of the effects of natural disasters and the addition of figures at later dates. It is possible, from a literary account, to determine that a painting of the palace of Yen-lo, the Ten Kings, the six realms, and humans awaiting rebirth in heaven was dedicated to Bukkō-ji in 1236.<sup>8</sup> This painting seems to have been similar to that of the Ten Categories of the Universal World (Jukkai Zu 十界圖 (Plate 44) owned by Zenrin-ji 禪林寺 and given a possible date of 1300.<sup>9</sup> The Zenrin-ji pair of hanging scrolls includes one of Amitabha Buddha, who is represented in the centre of the upper part while four of the six realms are represented on the bottom and both sides of the Buddha figure, and one of Ti-tsang, who is centrally positioned in the upper part of the scroll flanked by five of the ten Kings, and accompanied, in the lower part, by depictions of two realms of hell complete with full depictions of hungry ghosts. These Zenrin-ji scrolls are remarkable in their similarity to the literary descriptions of the Bukkō-ji painting. It seems that in thirteenth century Japan, paintings of the Ten Kings were complemented by hell scenes. Taking into consideration the fact that the Type I of the later phase of the Chinese Ten Kings paintings (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) manifested full depiction of hell scenes with the Ten Kings, it can be suggested that the Ten Kings paintings between the tenth century and the thirteenth and fourteenth century traditions had fully advanced hell scenes.<sup>10</sup> The hanging scrolls with Ti-tsang, the Ten Kings, and various hell scenes disclose similarities to the tenth century Type A paintings in the depiction of the central icon and subordinate figures in the upper half, and to the Zenrin-ji version in the inclusion of hell scenes in the lower half. The Type I Ning-p'o paintings were divided into sets of ten and gave the impression that one large scroll had been cut

into appropriate pieces, and if one looks at the Ti-tsang scroll of the Zenrin-ji pair one can see a like potential for division.

The Nison-in Ten Kings paintings (Plates 27-36) consist of scenes of judgement with Honjibutsu in the upper part of the scroll and occasionally a view of hell in the lower part. A sense of consistency within the set of ten scrolls, in terms of the composition, is created by the conspicuous presentation of the Honjibutsu, but otherwise a lack of structural harmony is recognizable in the court scenes where the motifs are patched together from different traditions, schools, and models. These Japanese Ten Kings paintings are basically composed of two phases of the Ten Kings painting tradition as well as aspects of the Japanese Buddhist painting tradition, hell paintings specifically. The first phase is the tenth century Chinese, particularly the Type B illustration, and the second is the later phase of the Ning-p'o painting schools, exemplified by the Metropolitan-Boston version (Type I-a), and the Kōtō-in and Zendo-ji versions (Types II-b, III-b).

In order to understand the pictorial features of the Nison-in paintings it is necessary to trace the origins of the motifs through comparative examination with other Ten Kings painting traditions. The first thing noticeable in the Nison-in paintings is the fact that the motifs used in the background are adopted from the contemporary Ning-p'o Ten Kings painting tradition. We notice that both sets of paintings reveal standing screens behind the Kings on which ink monochrome landscapes are painted. These screens create a theatre-like space in the court scene. Behind and beside them there is usually vegetation and fences, and in front of the Kings a skirted desk. The disposition of the screens and desks before each King creates a diagonal space for his court. With careful examination it can be ascertained that the depiction of the Kings and their young

attendants, and occasionally their officers, is derived from the Chin school of the Ning-p'o Ten Kings painting tradition (Type I-a Metropolitan-Boston version and the Hōfuku-ji 宝福寺 version). Since the Metropolitan-Boston version is heavily damaged, a rather faithful Japanese copy of a Chin model (a), the Hōfuku-ji version (Plate 38), will be employed for comparative examination with the Nison-in paintings. Since eight of the ten Nison-in paintings are identical to the Hōfuku-ji paintings in terms of the depiction of the Kings, their young attendants, and court officers, it can be said that the pictorialization of the Kings and their attendants is based upon a coherent source from a Chin model.<sup>11</sup> The scroll of the sixth King, Pien-ch'eng Wang (Plate 32), of the Nison-in paintings, which is identical to the Hōfuku-ji scroll of the tenth King, gives typical evidence of the pitfalls of direct copying. For example, the King of the Hōfuku-ji version is an imposing, dignified, and stable figure, sitting serenely in a chair and positioning his arms firmly on a desk, whereas the King of the Nison-in version has a very unbalanced posture and gives an impression of nervousness and instability because of his small size and awkwardly-tilting, bent arms. This impression is further enhanced by his exaggerated facial expression. Similarly, the two figures attending the King were copied with exactly the same gestures as the original, but not with the corresponding stability or weightiness. Even such small details as the ink box and document on the desk are identical to the Hōfuku-ji version. Thus it can be inferred that Chin school Ten Kings paintings played a major role in the execution of the Nison-in paintings.

In the Nison-in set, the seventh King, T'ai-shen Wang (Plate 33), wearing armor and helmet, is not found in the paintings of the Chin

school or the Liu school of the Ning-p'o tradition, but is found in the tenth century Tun-huang Ten Kings painting tradition. His costume is iconographically attributed to the last King, Wu-tao Chuan-lun Wang, in the early phase of the Tun-huang Ten Kings tradition, and so it is possible to speculate that the outfit of Tai-shan Wang, in the Nison-in set, might originally have been meant for the last King. People in the fourteenth century were familiar with Japanese copies of the Ten Kings illustrated texts exemplified by the Hōju-in (Plate 16-13, bottom) version, and so should have been well aware of the fact that in the old Ten Kings painting tradition the last King was depicted as a general-like figure in armour and helmet. Moreover, the figure ascending on clouds to heaven also corresponds to the old iconography of the last King, Wu-tao Chuan-lun Wang. It is quite possible that after the execution of the Nison-in paintings identification of the Kings was mixed up, since the specific iconographic traits of the individual kings had gradually disappeared. Furthermore, in the four paintings which have a Honjibutsu of a Buddha icon, the four Buddhas are not clearly distinguishable, and this could also have contributed to a mix-up in identification of the Kings. It is therefore feasible that the King in armour and helmet in the Nison-in paintings was originally depicted as the last King, Wu-tao Chuan-lun Wang. The fact that this specifically old-tradition motif was used simultaneously with new-tradition motifs, including the particularly Japanese motif of a shrine gate, reveals an important characteristic of Japanese Ten Kings paintings in terms of artistic creation. The Japanization of Ten Kings paintings is even more clearly observable, in all of the ten scrolls, in the lower sections illustrating the beings facing judgement and hell scenes. These sections are characterized by the inclusion of old Chinese elements,

new Chinese Ning-p'o elements, and Japanese elements.

In the scrolls of the fourth (Plate 30) and tenth Kings (Plate 36) great indebtedness to the Chin model (a) can be clearly seen. The subject matter was chosen from the models but was not rendered as exact copy work. A comparison of the Hōfuku-ji first King, Ch'in-kuang Wang (Plate 38(1)), with the Nison-in fourth King, Wu-kuan Wang, reveals that all the motifs are identical, while the composition of the Nison-in scroll is a reversal of the Hōfuku-ji scroll composition with a change in the treatment of the foreground space. This reversal is a common method of modifying Chinese prototypes. The Hōfuku-ji scroll (Chin model (a)) depicts the hell scene independently from the court scene by means of a divisive rock motif and both these scenes are parallel. On the other hand, the Nison-in scroll has blended the hell and court scenes. For example, the pulling of tongues is a part of the court scene and the depiction of the balance unifies the foreground and middle grounds. The court scene is centralized and enhanced by the addition of a new diagonal space in the form of a rock platform on which two meritorious people stand. Again, comparing the Hōfuku-ji sixth King (Plate 38(6)) with the Nison-in tenth King (Plate 36) reveals that compositional changes have been made, but ones that differ from the changes made in the scroll of the fourth King. The Nison-in painting depicts a hell scene identical to that of the Hōfuku-ji painting motif-wise, but the direction of the chase is again reversed, and the divisive rocks are removed resulting in a flat quality. In other words, the rendition of hell in the Nison-in painting is not so illusionistic and realistic as that of the Hōfuku-ji version, and presents a less dreadful and horrible hell than the Chin model. Even though these two Nison-in paintings reveal the artist copied

all the major motifs, he did not attempt to make exact replicas but rather to modify the Chin model and somehow create "Japanese" Ten Kings paintings. The significance of hell is weakened in terms of iconographic implication by the two differing modifications of two original composition schemes.

As well as being indebted to Chin prototypes, the Nison-in paintings were also associated with the Ning-p'o painting school of Lu Hsin-chung 陸信忠. He (or his studio) produced many sets of Ten Kings paintings in both models (b) and (c).<sup>12</sup> With close comparative examination, particularly of the Zendō-ji and Bunkachō versions, we find the Nison-in paintings are strongly linked to model (b). For example, a representative motif of the fifth King, Yen-lo, a karma mirror, is evident in all the sets of both Chinese and Japanese Ten Kings paintings. Each model of Ning-p'o painting (a), (b), or (c) depicts the court of Emma in a slightly different manner. In Chin model (a) (Plate 38(5)) a man is forced, by a demon, to face the mirror while an officer holds documents that resemble texts. In Lu model (c) (Plate 40) a man is forced to face the mirror, by a demon, but the document-like items are tiny and held by two birds. The mirror is reflecting the karma of the man's soul as a result of his having killed a bird during his lifetime. In Lu model (b) (Plate 41) both a man and woman are forced by a demon to face the mirror, while a bull-headed demon carrying a long spear is also depicted. The Nison-in fifth King painting has evidently used Lu model (b) as a basis with the addition of such motifs as tiny bound-souls and an officer. Whereas Chinese models did not hesitate to depict nude women, the Nison-in painter avoided depiction of nude figures, and with women, in order to hide the breasts, endeavoured to show a back view or insert a concealing motif. The prohibition of nudity in the Nison-in set was most likely imposed upon the painter by the imperial court which employed him.

The Nison-in tenth King painting employs a noteworthy adaptation of a Lu model (b) compositional device in the scroll of the King (Plate 28). In the model's fragmental scene of hell (Plates 39,42,46), a needle mountain is arranged diagonally in the bottom left corner with a soul impaled upon it, and a second soul is shown fallen into a hole. In the Nison-in hell scene the needle mountain is also in the bottom left corner, but the male figure impaled upon it and the female figure on top of it differ from the model in that they conform to a popular Japanese hell motif. (Plate 45-c).<sup>13</sup> Borrowing the compositional scheme from the Lu model (b), the Nison-in scroll neatly replaced a traditional Japanese motif, thereby employing one of the characteristic methods of "Japanization" in the set. Moreover, the cloud motif utilized in the scene, particularly the horizontal dark clouds floating from the left, shows the same functionless yet decorative manneristic treatment found in the model (b) version of Seigan-ji (Plate 39) and Kōtō-in of the Daitoku-ji compound temples (Plate 46).

Some of the torture scenes of the Nison-in paintings are definitely influenced by the Lu model (b) paintings, and what is more, this influence can be seen in the lower sections of the scrolls at the same time that the Chin model (a) influence can be seen in the upper sections.

Along with the Chin model influences, subject matter from the early phase of Ten Kings paintings is revealed in the Nison-in painting of the first King (Plate 27). In the foreground a red demon is about to throw a soul into the same hell river where three other souls are drowning, and a second demon hangs their clothing on the branches of a thorny tree. A Chinese man is portrayed riding over the hell river on a horse. The subject matter of this scene was depicted in the section of the second King in the

Tun-huang Type B illustrated texts (Plate 10-5, 13-5), so the same problem of identity as that of the armor and helmet previously discussed, is raised. According to Type Z texts the subject matter of the scene presents characteristics of the second King as exemplified in Tun-huang paintings, however, the Japanese copies of the Type B texts (Plates 13-5, bottom, 47) illustrate this motif for the first King, so it can be seen that the Nison-in painting adopted this iconographic motif from the Japanese copy.<sup>14</sup> Two additional points should be raised. The demons depicted in the foreground scene of the Nison-in painting are of an old-man-demon and an old-woman-demon as illustrated in the Type B scrolls and so are faithful to the early phase model while there is a confusion regarding the use of the hell river. This river was originally considered part of the route to the palace of the second King but is depicted, in the Nison-in painting, like a part of hell. It is understandable, in the context of Japanese Buddhist art history, that since this motif became an iconography of hell through the development of hell painting, exemplified by the Zenrin-ji painting (Plate 45-a), the Nison-in painter simply treated the hell river as a hell motif. The Nison-in first King painting is remarkably different, compositionally, from the other scrolls because of the fact that the hell scene is elaborate and the judgement scene is eliminated. The separation of the King and the hell scene by clouds reminds one of the fully depicted hell scenes of the Chin model (a), yet ironically, the Chin prototype paintings of the Nison-in set actually decreased the hell scenes. The elaboration of the hell scene is given additional focus by the fact that the King, demon, and officer stare down upon it.

Though the Nison-in paintings utilize structural principles from different Chinese models, they definitely manifest "Japanese" elements in the court and hell scenes. The artist obviously attempted to avoid direct

replication of Chinese Ten Kings paintings by addition of "Japanese" motifs and by replacement of Chinese motifs with Japanese ones. There are basically two devices used to present "Japanese" aspects, one being to employ traditional hell painting subject matter, iconography, and pictorialization, and the other to substitute "Japanese" motifs, such as Japanese figures, for Chinese and so manifest the Japanese mid-fourteenth century point of view. In the Japanese hell painting tradition the treatment of demons is characterized by application of a bright and simple color for the naked body, sometimes with graduation of a single coloration and employment of contour lines to emphasize their powerful physical imagery. This characteristic rendition is clearly revealed in the treatment of the Nison-in demons (Plate 33). Their appearance is very similar to that of the fourteenth century Shōjūraigō-ji 聖衆来迎寺 hell painting (Plate 48-a). In both the Shōjūraigō-ji and Nison-in paintings the demons expose upright fangs, glare from three eyes, and have conspicuously curly hair. Moreover, in the Nison-in painting of Ch'u-chiang Wang (Plate 28), the demon that wears vest-like armor directly over its naked body, shows far more similarity to the Shōjūraigō-ji demons (Plate 48-b) than those of Chinese Ten Kings paintings.

One Japanese painting which shares many pictorial and iconographic characteristics with the Nison-in paintings is a hanging scroll of the Ten Realms of the Worlds (Jukkai-zu) at Zenrin-ji (Plate 45-b). The demons in this painting are depicted in the same "Japanese" manner as in the first King scroll of the Nison-in set. In addition, two particular motifs depicted in the Nison-in scroll, those of souls crossing the hell river on a bridge, and male and female souls on a needle tree, are also seen in the Zenrin-ji painting. A crucial area in which both scrolls reveal a similarity is the iconographic unity of hell and the Ten Kings, although Nison-in's iconography

of hell and torture is a little confused. While the previous similarities exist, the differences between the two paintings indicate that in the context of the Japanese hell painting tradition, the Zenrin-ji type was executed prior to the Nison-in. One significant difference between the two is in the format. The Zenrin-ji painting depicts all the Ten Kings, a central image of Ti-tsang, the realm of hell, and the realm of hungry ghosts all together in one large hanging scroll. On the other hand, the Nison-in set depicts each of the Ten Kings, along with some hell motifs, on a separate scroll, as if each King was independent from the collective body of Kings. An interesting observation regarding the Zenrin-ji painting is that all the Ten Kings, who are completely based upon Chin model (a), more closely resemble those of the model than those of Nison-in. The single coloration of their clothing and the lack of pattern reveals a faithful reproduction of the model. At the same time some Japanese artistic flavor can be discerned in the elaborate patterns on the chairs behind the Kings. On the other hand the newly created Japanese Ten Kings tradition, under the influence of the Ning-p'o Ten Kings tradition of Liu Hsin-chung and Chin Ta-shou, is revealed in the Nison-in set of scrolls. Japanization is obvious in the elaborate treatment of the Kings' clothes and the patterning on the chairs behind the Kings. We can most likely conclude that the Chin model (a) was an earlier type of Ning-p'o Ten Kings painting which fully represents the old iconographical system amalgamating the Ten Kings and hell. The Ten Kings court scene of the Zenrin-ji scroll was greatly influenced by the Chin model and to a much lesser degree by Japanese artistic taste, but as a whole the paintings reproduced the old tradition of the Ten Kings painting. The Nison-in paintings, which borrowed not only from Chin but also from Lu and from the older tenth century Ten Kings painting tradition, were part of a fully

modified "new tradition" of Japanese Ten Kings painting.

As mentioned earlier, one device used in Japanization was substitution of Japanese figures for Chinese. For example, in the Nison-in first King painting, the woman who is drowning in the hell river is a Japanese figure, while the male figure on horseback who is riding over a bridge of the hell river is Chinese. The Japanese figure represents a wicked soul and the Chinese a meritorious one. Here and there throughout the Nison-in paintings good and bad karmas can be distinguished by this use of figures. On the other hand, the Zenrin-ji painting basically depicts souls as Japanese figures with no distinction between bad and good. This is evident in both the upper part of the painting where the Ten Kings are depicted and in the lower part where we see the realms of the hungry ghosts and hell. It can be understood that the different treatment of figures reflects shifting social attitudes. By the mid-fourteenth century (execution date of Nison-in paintings) Chinese imagery would have been considered more "ideal" than it would have been around 1300 (execution date of the Zenrin-ji painting). The early Muromachi period was characterized by enthusiastic absorption of Chinese culture and philosophy by high-class citizens, Zen monks, and the patrons of the arts; the Emperors and Ashikaga Shoguns. Anything and everything Chinese was considered superior to Japanese equivalents and therefore prestigious. The Zen monks of Kyoto and Kamakura spoke Chinese and the Shoguns collected Chinese art works with zest.<sup>15</sup> Considering this idealization of Chinese culture, it is quite possible that the head of the Emperor's court painters, Yukimitsu, intentionally depicted the Chinese figures favorably and the Japanese less so.

A particularly distinctive feature of the set of Nison-in paintings is the fact that the Honjibutsu is predominant and governs the entire compositional scheme. This is in contrast to other Ten Kings paintings such as the

Kanazawa Bunko 金沢文庫 version (Plate 49) and Fukuoka Seigan-ji 福岡誓願寺 version (Plate 39) in which the Honjibutsu play a minor role, rather like postage stamps on an envelope. In the Nison-in paintings the Honjibutsu occupies the upper two-fifths of each long rectangular hanging scroll, and the Ten Kings court scene and occasional hell scenes occupy only the remaining three-fifths. The predominance of the Honjibutsu in the Nison-in paintings counteracts the rather inconsistent structure evident in the lower sections, and the end result is ten well-balanced continuous compositions. In all ten scrolls, the Honjibutsu, which are identifiable based upon the Type Z text, are depicted frontally and surrounded by an elaborate halo or aura of light. Each sits upon a lotus pedestal, which in turn rests upon floating or descending clouds. The hovering of the Honjibutsu above the court scenes creates an illusionistic spatial relationship and makes it seem as though they are attending the judgements. Regarding the Type Z text, in the past it was thought to be a Japanese original because of some prominent Japanese expressions, but recent re-evaluation has made it a possible Japanese modification of a Chinese prototype. This opinion stems from the fact that the text describes subject matter depicted in the tenth century Ten Kings paintings at Tun-huang. If the origin of Type Z text, the only Ten Kings text to mention Honjibutsu, is in fact in China, then the iconography of the Honjibutsu is also Chinese. A substantiation of this origin can be found in the presentation of Honjibutsu in the Kanazawa Bunko version executed by the Chinese painter, Liu Hsin-chung.

A closer look at both the patron of the Nison-in artist, and the individual to whom the work was to be dedicated, is necessary. Court painter and Nison-in artist, Yukimitsu, received commissions from Emperor Gokogon and Ashikaga Shogun, Yoshiaki.<sup>16</sup> During the emperor's reign, his father

Kogon Jōkō, died, and a large Chui-shan ceremony was held in 1365 to honor the first year death anniversary (Isshūki).<sup>17</sup> We can surmise that Yukimitsu was commissioned by the emperor to produce the Ten Kings paintings for this posthumous ceremony, and that he probably created a new "Japanese" manner of presentation while at the same time being greatly indebted to Chinese prototypes.

## CONCLUSION

As discussed in the preceding chapters, it is safe to conclude that the early tenth century, Type A, large hanging scrolls of "Ti-tsang and the Ten Kings" depicting Ti-tsang as a central icon and the Ten Kings as subordinate figures, manifest an iconic presentation, whereas the Type B, "Ten Kings Illustrations" depicting each of the Ten Kings individually but in continuous small scenes in handscroll format, manifests a narrative representation and must have commenced with, or after, the invention of the Type Y text around the middle of the tenth century. The Type A painting tradition was not swept away by the Type B painting tradition but co-existed with it for some time.

Analysis of the Ten Kings texts makes it clear that the Type Y text, an edited and modified version of Type X text, completely superseded its predecessor after the second half of the tenth century.

Regarding the relationship between the texts and pictures, Type B paintings can be seen to have an integral relationship with the Type Y texts, and though there is some difficulty in insisting that Type A paintings were based upon Type X texts, they are closely related both iconographically and iconologically; both began during the immature stages of the characterization of the Ten Kings and under the influence of the Ti-tsang cult and are highly compatible.

There was a modification in the religious importance placed upon the ceremonies stressed in the texts X and Y. The Type X text was an offshoot of the Ti-tsang cult, and the main theme of both it and the Ti-tsang text was a concern with the concepts of "Chui-shan" and "Yü-hsiu." The corresponding Type A paintings of "Ti-tsang and the Ten Kings" were used as part of these

funeral services. On the other hand, the Type B handscroll was prepared specifically for use in "Yü-hsiu" and dedication to the Ten Kings, and the Type Y text dealt exclusively with the merit "Yü-hsiu" ceremonies accrued for the living while concurrently decreasing the significance of Ti-tsang and increasing the importance of the Ten Kings through the individual characterization added by the monk, Tsang-ch'uan. In addition to this, the opening two lines of the text introduce the name of Amitabha Buddha and the recitation of it in the five tunes.<sup>1</sup> The emergence of this reference can be seen to have stemmed, in some way, from the Pure Land Buddhist tradition.<sup>2</sup>

In chapter four we saw that the Nison-in paintings were comprised of three different Chinese prototypes arranged so as to create a more indigenous painting. The Chin model (a), which clearly reveals the importance of Ning-p'o models in the early Japanese tradition, Ning-p'o model (b), and the old tenth century Type B tradition coexisted with traditional Japanese motifs, particularly subject matter indicative of the enduring hell painting tradition, and together resulted in successful Japanization of the Ten Kings paintings.

One of the best examples of the flexible blend of source materials is the scroll of the first King, in which the hell scene is fully depicted in a manner compositionally identical to Chin model (a) while the subject matter is derived from the tenth century Type B tradition. The co-existence of Chinese traditions both old and new in Japan was the result of artistic eclecticism, and Japanese painters, the Nison-in artist in particular, most likely adopted Chinese elements regardless of their date of origin in the creation of art works.

In addition to the combination of diverse prototypes and the elaboration of the Honjibutsu as major means of Japanization, minor devices such as reversal in the arrangement of motifs, substitution of Japanese figures for Chinese (even demonic ones), and heightened ornamentation of fabrics, were employed. Of these techniques, the one that offers the best insight into the intrinsic meaning is the embellishment of the Honjibutsu. The fact that the kings are paired iconographically with Buddhist deities is notable, but it is the drastic increase in the Honji's size, to the extent that they seize the viewer's attention and overpower the other figures, and their "symbolic" attendance at the "Chui-shan" ceremony that is significant. The Nison-in paintings, supposedly created for use in the "Chui-shan" ceremony, and including the elaborate Honjibutsu indicative of the esoteric element, would have been highly appropriate in ritualistic presentation and could be understood in the context of fourteenth century Japanese Buddhism, Zen in particular, as it was both influential and powerful at this time and the recipient of patronage from emperors, Ashikaga Shoguns, and court nobles. The aforementioned ritual, representative of the absorption of esoteric ritual into Zen Buddhism facilitated by the monk Musō Soseki 夢窓疎石 and his successor Shun-oku Myōha 春屋妙葩, played an important role in the popularization of the Buddhist funeral ceremony.<sup>3</sup>

The cult of the Ten Kings, which stemmed from the Ti-tsang cult, never became part of mainstream Buddhism but remained a popular sub-sect that was utilized, from time to time, by such influential sects as Pure Land Buddhism and Zen Buddhism. As long as the fear of death was prevalent in society, the pictorial presentation and practises of the Ten Kings cult remained rooted in popular Buddhist custom.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Fo-shuo Yü-hsiu Shih-wang Sheng @h-i Ching 仏説預修十王生七經 in Dai-nihon zokuzō kyō 大日本統藏經 vol. 150, p. 385.
2. There are some different ideas on the provenance of the cult of the Ten Kings of Hell. 1. Gessho Sasaki 佐々木月樵 suggests that the connection between Ti-tsang and the Ten Kings originated in India. 2. Minao Hirose 広瀬南雄 and Yusho Tokushi 兎氏祐祥 and Kan'ichi Ogawa 小川貫一 suggest that the cult of the Ten Kings was indigenous to China and stemmed from Taoism and folk cults. 3. Tadao Sakai 酒井忠夫 and Eiichi Matsumoto 松本栄一 emphasize the connection with Manichean as well as with certain Chinese beliefs. The references are as follows:  
Manabe, Kosai 真鍋広清, Jizō-bosatsu no kenkyū 地藏菩薩の研究, pp. 111-112, Kyoto: Sanmitsu-dō Shoten, 1960.  
Tokushi, Yusho and Ogawa, Kan'ichi, "Jūō shōshichi kyōsan zukan no kōzō 十王生七經讃因卷の構造 in Chūō-ajia Bukkyō-bijutsu 中央アジア仏教美術, pp. 255-296, Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1962. This article will hereafter be referred to as "Jūō zukan no kōzō."  
Sakai, Tadao, "Jūō-shinkō ni kansuru shomondai oyobi enraō juki kyō 十王信仰に関する諸問題及び閻羅王受記經 in Saito-sensai koki-shukuga ronbun-shū 斎藤先生古稀祝賀論文集, pp. 611-656, Tokyo: Tōkō Shoin, 1937. This article will hereafter be referred to as "Jūō-shinkō shomondai."  
Matsumoto, Eiichi, Tonkō-ga no kenkyū 敦煌画の研究, pp. 368-416, Tokyo: Toho-bunka Gakuin, 1937.

3. Textual investigation of the Shih Wang Ching has been done by the following scholars:

Tokushi Y. and Ogawa, K., "Jūō zukan no kōzō."

Sakai, Tadao, "Jūō-shinkō shomondai."

Tsukamoto, Zenryū 塚本善隆, "Inro-bosatsu-shinkō to jizō-jūō shinkō 引路菩薩信仰と地藏十王信仰 in Tsukamoto zenryū chosaku-shū 塚本善隆著作全集, vol. 7, pp. 315-400, Tokyo: Daitō Shuppan, 1975. This article will hereafter be referred to as "Jizō jūō shinkō."

Izumi, Hōkei 泉瑠景, "Jūōkyō no kenkyū 十王經の研究", Ōtani Gakuho 大谷学報 23-4, pp. 1-24.

4. The titles of Type X are various. The simplest Type X text is Fo-shuo Yen-lo Wang Shou-chi Kuan-hsiu Sheng Ch'i Chai Kung-te Ching 仏説閻羅王受記勸脩生七齋功德經 in Tsukamoto zenryū chosaku-shū vol. 7, pp. 366-371.
5. Most Type Y texts are entitled Fo-shuo Yen-lo Wang Shou-chi Yü-hsiu Sheng-ch'i Wang-sheng Ching-t'u Ching 仏説閻羅王受記預脩生七往生淨土經 and have remarks of the monk, Tsang-ch'uan, at the head of the title.
6. Ti-tsang P'u-sa Fa-hsin Yin-yüan Shih-wang Ching 地藏菩薩發心因緣十王經 in Dai-nihon zokuzō kyō vol. 150.
7. As scholars such as Eiichi Matsumoto and Genmyō Ono 小野玄妙 have suggested, this sutra should be re-examined in the context of Chinese texts of Shih-Wang Ching. See E. Matsumoto, "Tonkō-bon jūō zukan zakkō" in Kokka No. 621, pp. 229-230 and G. Ono, "Tōmatsu-godai jō-sō no bukkyō-ga-3- 唐末五代趙宋の仏教畫 3" in Kokka No. 516, pp. 30, and Rokudō-e 六道絵, Kyoto National Museum, pp. 64.

8. E. Matsumoto in Tonkō-ga no kenkyū, dated the Tun-huang paintings of the Ten Kings broadly to the Five Dynasties and Northern Sung Period. Lothar Ledderose stated in his recent article, "A King of Hell" in Suzuki kei-sensei kanreki kinen ronbun-shū 鈴木敬先生還曆記念論文集, that the Tun-huang Ten Kings of Hell paintings all belong more or less to the same period, namely the tenth century (p. 37).
9. The study of the Japanese Ten Kings painting tradition has been done by Ryōji Kajitani 梶谷亮治 in his article, "Nihon ni okeru jū-ō-zu no seiritsu to tenkai 日本における十王國の成立と展開" Bukkyō geijutsu 仏教芸術 No. 97.
- The identification of each King will be based upon that in Kokka No. 786. There is a replica of the Nison-in type owned by Jōfuku-ji 淨福寺 in Kyoto. See "Nikumi no jū-ō-zu" written by Jiro Umezu 梅津次郎 in Bukkyō-geijutsu No. 36, pp. 32-36, 1958, and Reflections of Reality in Japanese Art (Cleveland Museum of Art, 1983, pp. 220-222).
- There is a fragment of the Nison-in type in the collection of Yamato Bunka Kan 大和文華館 in Nara. See Yamato bunkakan shozohin zuhan mokuroku 大和文華館所蔵品圖版目錄 Vol. 2, Catalogue No. 16.
10. Umezu, Jiro 梅津次郎, "Nikumi no ju-o zu 二組の十王圖," Bukkyō geijutsu No. 36, pp. 32-35, 1958.
11. Miyashima, Shin'ichi 宮島新一, "Jūyon seiki ni okeru edokoroazukari no keifu 14世紀における絵所預の系譜," Bijutsu-shi 美術史 No. 88, pp. 87-104.
- Tani, Shin'ichi 谷信一, "Muromachi jidai bijutsu shi ron 室町時代美術史論," Tokyo: Tokyo-dō, 1942, pp. 389-417.
12. The names of the Ten Kings and their Honjibutsu are as follows, based upon Ti-tsang P'u-sa Fa-hsin Yin-yüan Shih-wang Ching:

The first King, Ch'in-kuang Wang	Pu-tung Ming-wang 不動明王
The second King, Ch'u-chiang Wang	Shih-chia Ju-lai 釈迦如来
The third King, Sung-ti Wang	Wên-chu P'u-sa 文殊菩薩
The fourth King, Wu-kuan Wang	P'u-hsien P'u-sa 普賢菩薩
The fifth King, Yen-lo Wang	Ti-tsang P'u-sa 地藏菩薩
The sixth King, Pien-ch'eng Wang	Mi-lo P'u-sa 弥勒菩薩
The seventh King, T'ai-shan Wang	Yao-shih Ju-lai 藥師如来
The eighth King, P'ing-cheng Wang	Kuan-yin P'u-sa 觀音菩薩
The ninth King, Tu-shih Wang	A-ch'u Ja-lai* 阿閼如来
The tenth King, Wu-tao Chuan-lun Wang	A-mi-t'o Ju-lai 阿弥陀如来

\*Another Honjibutsu of Tu-shih Wang is Shih-chih P'u-sa 勢至菩薩 noted in a different version of the Ti-tsang P'u-sa Fa-hsin Yin-yüan Shih-wang Ching. See Rokudō-e, Kyoto National Museum, 1982, pp. 63-64.

13. Matsunaga, Alicia, The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation - The Historical Development of the Honji-Suijaku, Rutland and Tokyo: Sophia University in cooperation with Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1969, pp. 213-214.

CHAPTER ONE

1. Information on literary sources for the Ten Kings has been provided by Tsukamoto, Zenryū in his article "Jizo-juo shinko."
2. Ibid., pp. 377-378.
3. Wu-tai Ming-hua P'u-yi 五代名畫補遺, compiled by Liu Tao-ch'un 劉道醇, in Ssu K'u Ch'üan Shu Chen Pen Vol. 5 四庫全書珍本五集.
4. T'u-hua Chien-wen Chih 國畫見聞誌 by Kuo Jo-hsü 郭若虛 translated by Alexander Soper, Kuo Jo-hsü's Experiences in Painting, p. 29, Washington, D.C.: American Council of Learned Societies, 1951.
5. Photocopies of the Guimet painting are found in Kokka 515 (1933) and Tonkō-ga no kenkyū. Hanging scroll, color on silk, 2.25 x 1.59 m in size.
6. Ti-tsang Shih-lun Ching 地藏十輪經 in Taisho Tripitaka Vol. 13, p. 721c.  
Sūtra of the Past Vows of Earth Store Budhisattva, a translation of Ti-tsang P'u-sa Pen-yüan Ching by Heng Ching, p. 187.
7. Kakuzen shō by Kakuzen in Dai nihon bukkyō zensho 大日本仏教全書 Vol. 48, p. 197. The same description of the Ti-tsang iconography as Kakuzenshō is also found in Ryūbu mandara giki 兩部曼荼羅儀軌 (datable to 1377) in Dai nihon bukkyō zensho edited by Honyen 本圓 Vol. 44, p. 450.
8. Ibid., pp. 189-190.
9. In esoteric iconography Ti-tsang is usually depicted as a prince-like Bodhisattva, but monkish figures were also executed as described in the Ti-tsang I-kuei 地藏儀軌 translated by Śubhakarā (datable to 8th century) Taisho Tripitaka Vol. 20, p. 652 a-b.
10. Fo Tsu T'ung Chi 佛祖統紀 in Taisho Tripitaka Vol. 49, Shih Men Cheng T'ung 經門正統 in Dai-nihon zoku-zō-kyō, Vol. 30, p. 401.

11. Huan Hun Chi, undated, generally thought to be a Five Dynasties text. See Eiichi Matsumoto, Tonkō-ga no kenkyū, pp. 378-379.
12. Matsumoto, Eiichi, "Jizō-jūō-zu to inro-bosatsu  
," Kokka 515, pp. 266-267. He suggests a tenth century date for this document.
13. Bodhisattva Ti-tsang is usually depicted as either a monk or a prince-like figure. The "atypical appearance of the Ti-tsang figure" which E. Matsumoto refers to is that of the hooded Ti-tsang figure.
14. E. Matsumoto, in Tonkō-ga no kenkyū, considers Tao-ming and the lion to be connected with Ti-tsang and the Ten Kings (p. 379). However, through examination of Huan Hun Chi and the Ti-tsang painting in the Musée Guimet, it can be concluded that the Ten Kings were later additions to the integrated iconography of Ti-tsang and Tao-ming and the lion.
15. Ti-tsang P'u-sa Hsian-ling-yen Chi in Dai-nihon zoku-zō kyō Vol. 149, p. 184..
16. Kokka No. 515, p. 270.

CHAPTER TWO

1. The four versions of the illustrated sūtras of the Ten Kings are as follows:
  1. The Kubosō Museum version 久保惣美術館本 (Plates 10,11) (previously in the Nagao Collection).
  2. The Pelliot version (Pelliot 2003) (Plates 12-16).
  3. The Stein version (Stein 3961) (Plates 12-16).
  4. The Hōju-in version 宝寿院 . This version is considered to be a Japanese copy of a Chinese original. Tokushi and Ogawa suggest that this was probably copied in the Muromachi period ("Jūō-zukan no kōzō," p. 275). E. Matsumoto suggests that this probably is a copy from a Sung original (Tonkō-ga no kenkyū, p. 398) (Plates 12-16).
2. The Kubosō Museum version is a handscroll, 11 3/4 in. x 22 ft. 5 1/4 in. in size, and done in color on paper. E. Matsumoto has written articles on this handscroll in Kokka 621, pp. 227-231 (1943) and in Tonkō-ga no kenkyū, pp. 405-412.
3. E. Matsumoto mentions in Kokka 621, p. 228, that the prototype of Type A paintings such as the British Museum painting (Plate 17), might have been based on the standard format for the preaching scene, as exemplified by the first scene of the Kubosō Museum version. In other words, he considers the Type B painting tradition to have been prior to that of Type A.
4. There are no iconographical distinctions or identifying cartouches except for Ti-tsang.
5. I gratefully acknowledge Dr. Leon Hurvitz's assistance in translating the gathas of the Ten Kings. References for this translation are the Kubosō Museum version, the Pelliot version, the Stein version, the Hōju-in

version, and the text in the Dai-nihon zoku-zō kyo Vol. 150, pp. 385-387. Xerox copies of the text of the Pelliot version (Plates 18-26, lower section) are included in the illustrations accompanying this paper.

6. Ti-tsang P'u-sa Fa-hsin Yin-yüan Shih-wang Ching, in Dai-nihon zoku-zō kyō Vol. 150, p. 381.
7. In the Hōju-in version, this subject matter appears in the scene of the first King, Ch'in-kuang Wang (Plate 13-4). It is particularly notable that an old woman appears in this version.
8. See Introduction Notes, No. 7.
9. The motif of the mirror of deeds and an ox-headed demon appear in the British Museum version of the Type A painting (Plate 4). They are arranged beneath figures of Ti-tsang, Tao-ming and the lion, and are not represented as specific attributes to Yen-lo Wang in this arrangement.
10. Dai-nihon zoku-zō-kyō Vol. 150, pp. 382-384.
11. The motif of animal skins on a bar in this scene is not described in either the accompanying text or in the Japanese text.
12. Y. Tokushi and K. Ogawa suggest that the monkish figure in the Kubosō Museum version and the Pelliot version is Tao-ming and that he may be a manifestation of Ti-tsang. See "Juo zukan no kōzō," p. 286.
13. Y. Tokushi and K. Ogawa dated the Kubosō Museum version to 911. See "Jūō zukan no kōzō," p. 286. E. Matsumoto takes the date of 971, although he subtly suggests that there is another possible date, 1031, when discussing the origin of the Japanese text, Ti-tsang P'u-sa Fa-hsin Yin-yüan Shih-wang Ching, which describes the original date of this text as the tenth year of T'ien-sheng 天聖 (1032). The date of 1031 for the Kubosō Museum version has been considered by other scholars such as G. Ono, Z. Tsukamoto and H. Izumi. See "Tōmatsu-godai-jō-sō-jidai no bukkyō-ga," p. 301; "Jizō-jūō shinkō," p. 389; "Jūō-kyō no kenkyū," pp. 18-19.

CHAPTER THREE.

1. Type X: There are approximately twenty-two extant versions, nine in the Peking National Library, eleven in the Stein Collection, one in the Pelliot Collection and one in the Nakamura Collection. Wang Chung-min 王重民 ed., Tun-huang Yi-shu Tsung-mu So-yin 敦煌遺書總目索引, p. 418, Peking: Shang Wu Yin Shu Kuan, 1962. I have examined most of the above mentioned texts except for two of the Peking versions.

The datable versions of the Type X text are as follows:

1. The Stein 4530 (a cyclical date, Mou Ch'en, 戊辰)
  2. The Stein 5544 (a cyclical date, Hsin Wei, 辛未)
  3. The Stein 5531 (a cyclical date, Keng Ch'en, 庚辰)
  4. The Stein 6230 (dated the fourth year of T'ung Kuang, 同光 and a cyclical date, Ping Hsü, 丙戌, 926)
  5. The Nakamura version (dated the third year of Ch'ing T'ai, 清泰, 936)
2. See the Type B painting list, note 1 of Chapter Two.
  3. See Plate 23. No one except T. Sakai has noted the discrepancy in the order of the Ten Kings in Type X and Type Y. T. Sakai in "Jūō-shinkō shomondai" (p. 615), says the order of the Ten Kings in Type X is simply a mistake. However, all versions of Type X that I have examined consistently show Sung-ti Wang as the second King and Ch'u-chiang Wang as the third King. Thus the order of the Ten Kings in Type X is not an error but a well-established iconographical order.
  4. All scholars who have published articles on the Ten Kings agree that Tsang-ch'uan added the seven-syllable verses. See Y. Tokushi and K. Ogawa, "Jūō zukan no kōzō," p. 273; T. Sakai, "Jūō-shinkō shomondai," p. 642; Z. Tsukamoto, "Jūō-jizō shinkō," p. 358; H. Izumi, "Jūō-kyō no

kenkyu," p. 19-20.

5. The iconographic change in the order of the Ten Kings was probably due to the fact that the name of the King, Ch'u-chiang Wang means "the first river," and refers to Nai Ho, 奈河 (the River Styx). Nai Ho is a river which people must cross after death in order to proceed to the interval between incarnations (Ming-chie, 冥界) (Iwamoto, Hiroshi, 岩本裕, Gokuraku to jigoku, 極樂と地獄, p. 191). The King, Ch'u-chiang Wang, should have been placed at the beginning in the order of the Ten Kings. When Tsang-ch'uan changed and modified the old text of Shih Wang Ching, he might have exchanged the order of the second and third Kings so as to more effectively characterize Ch'u-chiang Wang.
6. Y. Tokushi and K. Ogawa in "Juo zukan no kozo" suggests that Type Y is prior to Type X (p. 271). T. Sakai, in "Juo-shinko shomondai," hesitantly suggests that Type Y is contemporary with Type X (p. 645). Z. Tsukamoto in "Juo jizo shinko" offers a sequential order in which Type X is prior to Type Y, and Type Y is dated 971 at the latest, that being the year that he takes as the date for the Kuboso Museum version (pp. 288-289).
7. See line 16, lower section Plate 18, I-ch'u Liu-tieh by I-ch'u, Vol. 13, No. 33, p. 362, Kyoto: Hoyu Shobo, 1979.
8. The dating of 911 offered by Y. Tokushi and K. Ogawa is too early. See "Juo zukan no kozo" (p. 286). As the Ten Kings sutra, Ti-tsang P'u-sa Fa-hsin Yin-yüan Shih-wang Ching indicates that the original date of the Ten Kings text was in the tenth year of T'ien-sheng 天聖 (1032), a 1031 date for the Kuboso Museum version is also possible. The dating problem of this version should be scrutinized further in terms of its stylistic properties in the wider context of the Tun-huang painting tradition. This, however, must remain a subject of further study.

9. Pen-yüan Ching, hereafter, refers to the full title, Ti-tsang P'u-sa Pen-yüan Ching.
10. Taisho Tripitaka Vol. 13, p. 784 b.
11. See the last line, upper section Plate 19, line 5, upper section Plate 20 and line 2 upper section Plate 26.
12. The services of Yü-hsiu might have been popular in the second half of the tenth century. According to the Sung Kao-seng Chuan 宋高僧傳: 卷二十五, the monk, Shou-chen 守真 built two towers for the merits of Yü-hsiu and died in 971, soon after the consecration of the two towers. See Ogasawara, Senshū 小笠原宣秀, Chūgoku kinsei jōdo-kyō-shi no kenkyū 中国近世浄土教史の研究, pp. 289-290.

CHAPTER FOUR

1. The study of the Ning-p'o professional paintings and painters has been done by the following scholars:  
Watanabe, Hajime 渡辺一, "Shakki aru sōgen butsuga 款記ある宋元仏画," Bijutsu kenkyū 美術研究 No. 45, 1935.  
Suzuki, Kei 鈴木敬, Min dai kaiga-shi kenkyū . seppa 明代絵画史研究・浙派, Tokyo: Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo, 1968.
2. The ink monochrome landscape is suggestive of the "pure land" heavenly realm in contrast to the realm of hell. Both ink monochrome landscapes and hell scenes are a new development in the later phase.
3. Cheng-fa Nien-ch'u Ching 正法念処經 in Taisho Tripitaka Vol. 17, pp. 1-379.  
Ti-tsang P'u-sa Pen-yüan Ching in Taisho Tripitaka Vol. 13, pp. 781.
4. Kajitani, Ryōji, "Riku shinchū hitsu jū-ō zu 陸信忠筆十王図," in Kokka No. 1020, 1979.
5. Nichiren 日蓮, Jū-ō santan shō 十王讃歎鈔, pp. 1967-1993.  
Ryōki 良季, Futsū shōdō shū 普通唱導集 in Kodai bukkyō no chūseiteki tenkai 古代仏教の中世的展開, by Shūichi Murayama 村山修一, Kyoto: Hōzō-kan, 1976.
6. Ryōchū 良忠, Hōji san shiki 法事讃私記 Vol. 1, in Jōdo-shū zensho Vol. 4.  
Gukan 愚管, Shijū hyaku innen shū 私聚百因縁集 Vol. 4 in Dai-nihon bukkyō zensho Vol. 148, pp. 60-73.
7. Washizuka, Hiromitsu 鷺塚泰光, "Ennō-ji no emma jū-ō-zō ni tsuite 円応寺の閻魔十王像について," Bukkyō Geijutsu No. 89, 1972.
8. Ōgushi, Sumio 大串純夫, "Jukkai-zu kō 十界圖考," in Bijutsu kenkyū No. 120, p. 30.

9. Ōgushi, "Jukkai-zu-ko" No. 119, No. 120, 1941.
10. This speculation can be made if it is assumed that the systemic order of Type I-IV corresponds to the chronological order, and that the Chinese and Japanese art traditions are both in the same area of the East Asian painting tradition.
11. The following Ten Kings of the Nison-in paintings are identical to those of the Hōfuku-ji version. The identification of the Ten Kings of the Hōfuku-ji version follows that found in Jūyō bunka zai

The Nison-in Version

The Hofuku-ji Version

The second King

The eighth King

The third King

The sixth King

The fourth King

The first King

The fifth King

The second King

The sixth King

The tenth King

The eighth King

The seventh King

The ninth King

The fourth King

The tenth King

The third King

12. Suzuki, Mindai kaiga-shi kenkyū . seppa

\_\_\_\_\_, "Riku shinchū jū-ō-zu 陸信忠十王圖", Kanazawa bunko kenkyū  
金沢文庫研究, No. 136, 1967.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Chūgoku kaiga - Rakan-Jūō zu 中国絵画 羅漢・十王圖",  
Kanazawa bunko kōen-kai shirīzu No. 10, 1974.

13. Hell story: An attractive woman is on the top of a needle tree. She lures a man and he climbs up to the top of the tree, impaling himself on the sharp spines in the process. When he arrives at the top of the tree he finds that the woman is on the ground and proceeds to climb down again. The tree has reversed the direction of its spines and he now impales himself going downward. This karma will repeat without end for

countless years. (From Genshin 源信 of Nihon shiso taikai 日本思想大系, pp. 15-16, 1970.)

14. See page 22 of Chapter Two.
15. Tamamura, Takeji 玉村竹二, "Kitayama jidai zenrin no shichō 北山時代禅林の思潮" in Suiboku bijutsu taikai 水墨美術大系 Vol. 6, Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1978, pp. 55-62.
16. Miyashima, "Jūyon seiki ni okeru edokoro azukari no keifu," p. 90.
17. It seems that after the thirteenth century a set of Ten Kings scrolls was used for both the "Chui-shan" and "Yü-hsiu" ceremonies. The fourteenth century diary, Moromori ki 師守記, and the historical record, Zoku shi gu sho 続史愚抄, contain references to the "Chui-shan" ceremonies held on the appropriate days after the emperor's death. The fifteenth century diary, Kyōgaku shiyō shō 経覚私要鈔, includes annual records of "Yü-hsiu" ceremonies. Moromori ki Vols. 7-11 in Shiryō sanshū 史料纂集, Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruiju Kansei-kai, 1971. Zoku shi gu shō Vol. 2 in Shitei zoho kokushi taikai 新訂増補国史大系 Vol. 14, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1966, p. 64. Kyōgaku shiyō shō Vols. 1,2,3,4 in Shiryō sanshū.

## CONCLUSION

1. I, (Tsang-ch'uan), deferentially open and read the text of Yen-lo Wang Yu-hsiu Sheng Ch'i Wang Sheng Ching-t'u Ching 閻羅王預修生七往生淨土經). I note that the Buddha vowed to encourage all having a nexus to read the scriptures in the five tunes to praise and to recollect Amitabha. See lines 3 and 4, lower section Plate 18. This translation was suggested by Dr. Leon Hurvitz.
2. The mention of Amitabha emerging here, as well as the "five tunes," indicate that the Type Y text was to be in some way regarded as stemming from, or belonging to, the tradition of Fa Chao's 法照 Pureland Buddhism. Fa Chao (late 8 c. - early 9 c.), from the Ssu-ch'uan, invented the practice of reciting Amitabha and promoted Buddhism in the T'ang dynasty. Ts'ang-ch'uan, who was also active in Ssu-ch'uan, was familiar with the Pureland Buddhist practice of reciting in five tunes (Wu Heui Nien Fo, 五會念仏).  
  
In fact, in the early Sung Buddhist tradition, we find various established sects such as those of Ch'an 禪, T'ien-t'an 天台, and Lü 律, adopting the popular, practical aspects of Pureland Buddhism into their own religious system. It is therefore quite understandable that such a minor tradition as that of the Ten Kings of Hell incorporated the invocation of Amitabha into its canonical text.  
  
This tendency of conflation in the tradition of the Ten Kings of Hell became more accelerated in the later Sung dynasty, as exemplified by the Type Y text from the Ta-li kingdom housed in the Freer Gallery of Art.  
  
Z. Tsukamoto, "Jizo juo shinko," pp. 384-388.

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3. Tamamura, Takeji, Muso kokushi 夢窓國師, Kyoto: Heirakuji shoten, 1958.

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# APPENDIX

## Ning-p'o Painting Tradition Types and Models

Types, Descriptions	Model a (Chin Model)	Model b (Lu Model)	Model c (Lu Model)	Model d
Type I Fully depicted hell scenes divided from court scenes by full-fringed clouds and rocks	*The Metropolitan-Boston version, signature of Chin Ta-shou *Hōfuku-ji version *Shitenno-ji version		*Morimura version, signature of Lu Chung-yüan	
Type II Some hell scenes, but in much less space with remnants of cloud and rock motifs that have no divisive function		*Eda version (Princeton) *Fukuoka Seigan-ji version *Kōtō-in version, signature of Lu Hsin-chung	*Hōnen-ji version, signature of Lu Hsin-chung *Kanaza Bunko version, signature of Lu Hsin-chung	
Type III A few hell scenes with no clouds or rocks and a sense of spatial depth toward the standing screens		*Zendo-ji version, signature of Lu Hsin-chung *Bunkachō version, signature of Lu Hsin-chung	*Eigen-ji version, signature of Lu Hsin-chung *Jodo-ji version, signature of Lu Hsin-chung	
Type IV No hell scenes, no clouds and rocks, much less spatial depth, and fewer figures				*Daitoku-ji version *Kanagawa Municipal Museum version



Ti-tsang and the Ten Kings  
The Musee Guimet

Plate 1



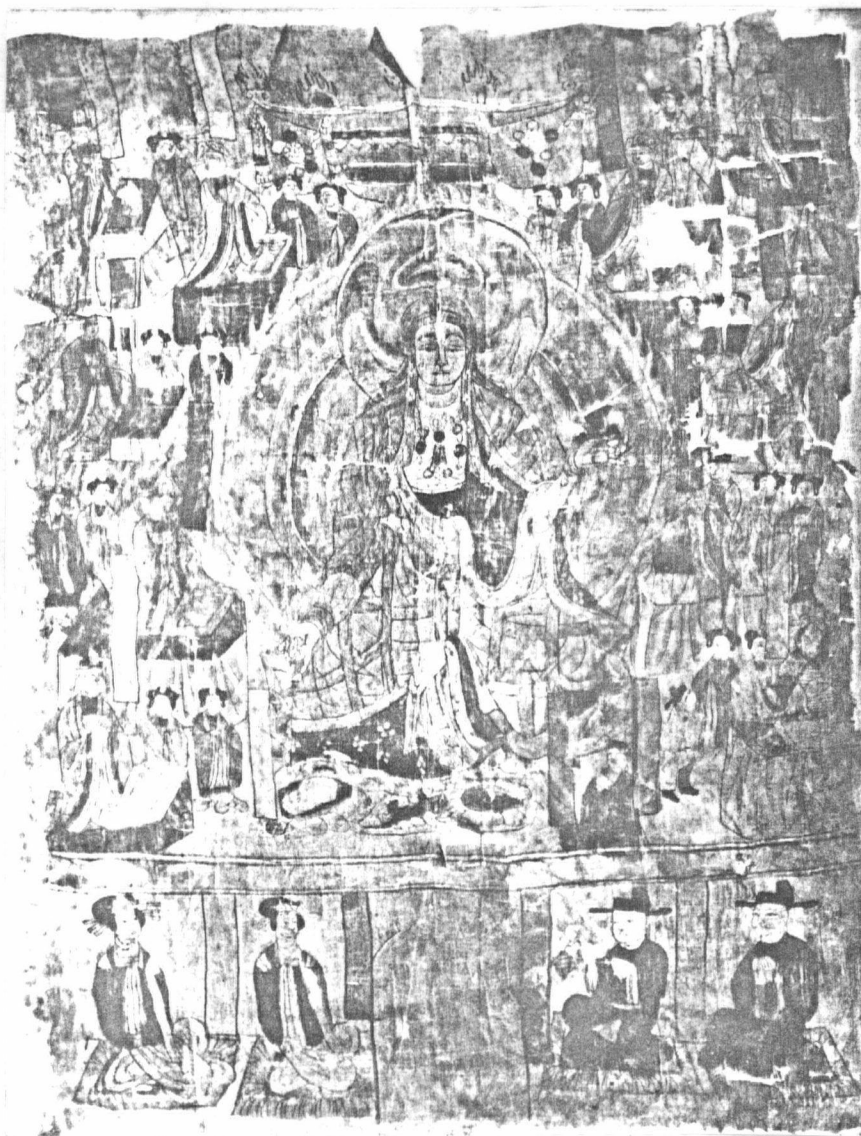
Ti-tsang and the Ten Kings  
The National Museum, New Delhi



Ti-tsang and the Ten Kings  
The Musee Guimet



Ti-tsang and the Ten Kings  
The British Museum

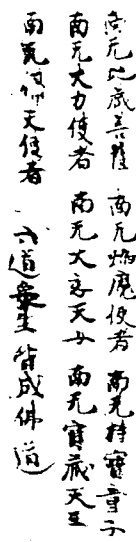


Ti-tsang and the Ten Kings  
The National Museum, New Delhi



Ti-tsang  
The British Museum

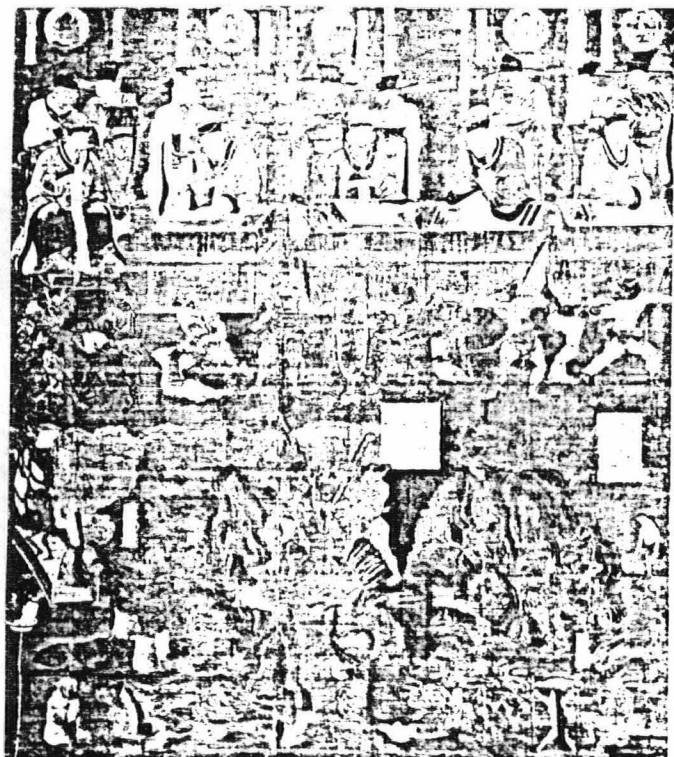
Plate 6



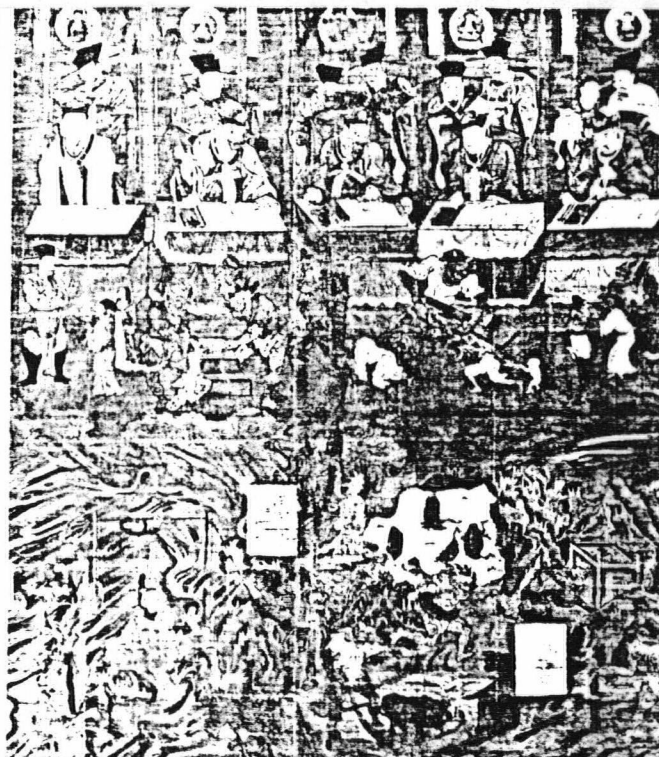
An Esoteric Drawing of Ti-tsang  
Ninna-ji



Detail: Ti-tsang, Tao-ming,  
and the Lion  
The Musee Guimet



The Ten Kings with Hell Scenes



Kimiko and John Powers Collection

Plate 9



2

1



6

5

4

3

The Ten Kings Illustrated Texts  
The Kubosō Museum

Plate 10



7

8

9

10

11

-87-



12

13

14

The Ten Kings Illustrated Texts  
The Kubosō Museum

Plate 11



The Pelliot  
Version



The Stein  
Version



1. Sakyamuni preaching

2. Six Bodhisattvas

3. A messenger riding  
on a black horse

The Hōju-in  
Version

Plate 12



The  
Pelliot  
Version



The  
Stein  
Version



4. The fifth King,  
Ch'in-kuang Wang

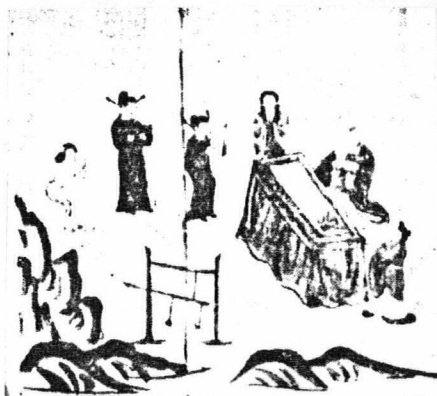


5. The second King,  
Ch'u-chaing Wang



6. The third King,  
Sung-ti Wang

The  
Hoju-in  
Version



The  
Pelliot  
Version

7. The fourth King,  
Wu-kuan Wang



8. The fifth King,  
Yen-lo Wang



9. The sixth King,  
Pien-ch'eng  
Wang



The  
Stein  
Version



The  
Hōju-in  
Version

The Ten Kings Illustrations

Plate 14



The  
Pelliot  
Version



The  
Stein  
Version



The  
Hoju-in  
Version

10. The seventh King,  
T'ai-shan Wang

11. The eighth King,  
P'ing-cheng Wang

12. The ninth King,  
Tu-shih Wang

Plate 15



13. Wu-tao Chuan-lun Wang



The  
Pelliot  
Version



The  
Stein  
Version

14. The exemption of the ten  
cardinal sins and the  
permission to be born  
among the gods.

The  
Hoju-in  
Version



Ti-tsang and the Ten Kings  
The British Museum

佛說閻羅王受記四衆逆修生七齋往生淨土(經)

如是我聞一時佛在鳩尸那城阿維跋提河邊娑(羅雙樹間臨)

涅槃時普集大衆及諸菩薩摩訶薩(諸天龍神王天主) 帝釋四天王大梵天王閻羅天子太山府(君司命司錄) 五道大神地獄官典悉來聚集禮敬世尊(合掌而立)

爾時佛告大衆閻羅天子於未來世當(得作佛名曰) 普賢王如來國土嚴淨百寶莊嚴國名華(嚴菩薩) 充滿

Type X

佛國國民圖書館本(P第二〇〇三號)

第一圖 說法圖

謹啓諷 1閻羅王預修生七往生淨土經誓勸有  
緣以五會啓經入讚念阿彌陀佛成都府大聖慈寺沙門藏川<sup>2</sup>述  
佛說閻羅王授記四衆預修生七往生淨土經  
讚曰 如來臨般涅槃時 廣召天龍<sup>4</sup>及地祇  
因爲琰魔王授記 乃傳生七預修儀  
如是我聞一時佛在鳩尸那城阿維跋提河邊娑羅  
雙樹間臨般涅槃時舉身放光普照大衆及諸  
菩薩摩訶薩天龍神王天主<sup>5</sup>帝釋四天王大梵天  
王阿修羅王諸大國王閻羅天子太山府君司命司  
錄五道大神地獄官典悉來集會禮敬世尊<sup>6</sup>合掌而立  
讚曰 時佛舒光滿大千<sup>S</sup> 普臻龍鬼會人天  
釋梵請天冥密衆 咸來稽首世尊前  
佛告諸大衆閻羅天子於未來世當得作佛名曰  
普賢如來十號具足國土嚴淨百寶莊嚴國  
名華嚴菩薩充滿  
讚曰 世尊此目記閻羅 不久當來證佛陀  
壯嚴寶國常清淨 菩薩修行衆甚多  
爾時阿難白佛言世尊閻羅天子以何因緣處斷冥  
間復於此會便得授於當來果記佛言於彼冥塗<sup>7</sup>爲  
諸王者有二因緣一是住不可思議解脫不動地菩

1 (誦)

2 (讚)

3 逆

4 衆

5 王

6 敬禮

B 本以下五行缺、S 衆

S 伏、7 途

S 說

Type Y

多生習善爲犯戒故退落瑛魔天中作大魔（王管）  
攝諸鬼科斷閻浮提內十惡五逆一切罪人繫閉（六牢日夜）  
受苦輪轉其中隨業報身定生住死。」

若復有人（修造此）  
經受持讀誦捨命之後必出三塗不入地獄。」

在生日殺父

害母破齋破戒殺牛殺羊鷄狗毒蛇一切重罪應入地獄（十劫）

五劫若造此經及諸尊像記在業鏡閻羅歡喜判放（其）  
人生富貴家免其罪過

若善男子善女人比丘比丘

尼優婆塞優婆夷預修生七往生齋者每月二時十五日卅日  
若是新死家依從一七計至乃七七日百日一年三年普須請

# Type X

薩爲欲攝化極苦衆生示現作彼瑛魔王<sup>9</sup>等二爲多  
生習善爲犯戒故退落瑛魔天中作大魔王管攝諸  
鬼科斷閻浮提內十惡五逆一切罪人繫閉牢獄  
日夜受苦輪轉其中隨業報身定生死<sup>11</sup>注今此瑛魔  
天子因緣以熟是故我記來世<sup>13</sup>尊國證大菩提汝等  
人天應不<sup>14</sup>疑惑  
讚曰 悲憎普化是威靈<sup>15</sup> 六道輪迴不（繫）停  
教化默苦思安樂 故現閻羅天子形

若復有人修造此經受持讀誦捨命之後不生三  
塗不入一切諸大地獄

讚曰 若人信法不思議 書寫經文聽受持  
捨命頓超三惡道 此身長免入阿鼻

在生之日殺父害母破齋破戒殺猪牛羊鷄毒蛇一  
切重罪應入地獄十劫五<sup>17</sup>劫若造此經及諸尊像記在  
冥案身到之日閻王歡喜判放其人生富貴家免其  
罪過

讚曰 破齋毀戒殺<sup>20</sup>猪鷄 業鏡照然報不靈<sup>22</sup>  
若造此經兼畫像 閻王判放罪消除<sup>23</sup>

若有善男子善女人比丘比丘尼優婆塞優婆夷預  
修生七齋者每月二時供養三寶所設十王修名納<sup>24</sup>

S 是 9（彼）、10等主

S（ナシ）、11令

12已、13（實）

14不應

15示

16（ナシ）

B 本ノミ以下六行缺文

17（十）

18業鏡、19（四字ナシ）

20鷄猪、21明、22虛

23銷

24祈

# Type Y

此十王名字每七有一王下檢察必須作齋功德有無卽報  
 天曹地府供養三寶祈請十王唱名納狀狀上六曹善惡童  
 子奏上天曹地府冥官等記在明案身到日時當便配生快  
 樂之處不住中陰四十九日身死已待若得男女六親眷  
 屬追救命過十王若闕一齋乖在一王并新死亡人留連受  
 若不得出生遲滯一劫是故勸汝作此齋事如至齋日到無  
 財物及有事情不得作齋請佛延僧建福應其齋日下食  
 兩槃紙錢餼餉新亡之人并隨歸一王得免冥間業報飢餓  
 之苦若是生之日作此齋者名爲預修生七齋七分功德  
 盡皆得知若亡沒已後男女六親眷屬爲作齋者七分功德  
 亡人爲獲一分六分生人將去自種自得非關他人與之爾時  
 普廣菩薩若善男子善女人等能修此十王逆修生七及亡人  
 齋者得善神下來敬禮凡夫凡夫云何得賢聖善神禮我凡夫  
 一切善神并閻羅天子及諸菩薩欽敬皆生歡喜

爾時地藏  
 菩薩 龍樹菩薩 救苦觀世音菩薩 普廣菩薩 常悲菩  
 薩 常慘菩薩 陀羅尼菩薩 金剛藏菩薩 文殊師利菩薩  
 彌勒菩薩 普賢菩薩等稱歎世尊哀愍凡夫說此妙經拔  
 死救生頂禮佛足

十王生七經讚圖卷の構造

Type X

第二圖 六菩薩像圖

(地藏像) (菩薩像) (菩薩像) (菩薩像) (菩薩像) (菩薩像)

狀奏上六曹善惡童子奏上天曹地府冥官等記在  
 名案身到之日便得配生快樂之處不住中陰四十九  
 日不待男女追放命過十王若闕一齋滯在一王留連  
 受苦不得出生遲滯一年是故勸汝作此要事祈往生報  
 讚曰 四衆修齋及有時 三旬兩供是常儀  
 莫使闕緣功德少 始交中陰滯冥司

25 業 S 典  
 S 冥  
 26 生  
 S 若 27 (出)  
 28 陰  
 29 足膝 30 臂

爾時地藏菩薩 龍樹菩薩 救苦觀世音菩薩  
 常悲菩薩 陀羅尼菩薩 金剛藏菩薩各各  
 還從本道光中至如來所異口同聲讚世尊哀  
 愍凡夫說此妙法拔死救生頂禮佛足  
 讚曰 是勝齋咒口及眉 六光菩薩連深悲

Type Y

The Texts of Shih Wang Ching

爾時二十八重一切地獄主與閻羅天子六道冥官  
禮拜發願若有四衆比丘比丘尼優婆塞優婆夷若造此經  
讚誦一偈我常免其罪過送出地獄往生天宮不令繫滯受  
諸苦惱

爾時閻羅天子即說偈白佛

南无阿波羅 日渡數千河 衆生無定相 猶如水上波

願得智慧風 漂與法輪河 光明照世界 巡歷悉經過  
普拔衆生苦 降鬼攝諸魔 四王行國界 傳佛修陀羅

顛倒信邪多 持經免地獄 書寫過灾痾 超度三界難  
永不見夜叉 生處登高位 富貴壽延長 凡夫修善少

至心誦此經 天王恒記錄 欲得免罪過

Type X

各各同聲咸讚歎 慇懃化物莫生疲<sup>31</sup>  
爾時一十八重一切獄主閻羅天子六道冥官禮拜發  
願若有四衆比丘比丘尼優婆塞優婆夷若造此經  
讚誦一偈我皆免其一切苦楚逆出地獄往生天道不  
令稽滯隔宿受苦<sup>33</sup>

讚曰 冥官注記及閻王 諸佛弘經禮讚揚

四衆有能持一偈 我皆送出往天堂

爾時閻羅天子說偈白佛

南无阿羅訶 衆生惡業多<sup>S</sup>

輪廻無定相 猶如水上波

讚曰 閻王白佛說伽陀 愍念衆生罪苦多

六道輪廻無定相 生滅還同水上波

願得智慧風 漂與法輪河<sup>34</sup> 光明照世界 巡歷昔經過<sup>S 35</sup>

普救衆生苦 降伏攝諸魔<sup>S</sup> 四王行國界 傳佛修多羅

讚曰 願佛興揚智慧風 漂歸法海洗塵濛

護世四王同發願 當傳經典廣流通

凡夫修善少 顛倒信邪多<sup>36</sup> 持經免地獄 書寫過灾痾<sup>37</sup>

超度三界難 永不見藥叉<sup>38</sup> 生處登高位 富貴受追長<sup>S 39</sup>

讚曰 惡業凡夫善力微 信邪倒見入阿鼻<sup>40</sup>

欲求富貴家長命 書寫經文聽受持

至心誦此經 天王恒記錄<sup>S 41</sup> 莫殺祀神靈 爲此入地獄

31 勤  
32 二、S(地)

33 當

S 罪苦

34 飄、S 靡、35 悉

S 鬼

36、S 邪、37 災

38 度、39 壽、S 延

40、S 毗

S 賜、41 (欲得無罪皆無過  
廣作福) S 三九六一、C 木  
アリ

Type Y

莫信邪師卜 候鬼殺衆生 爲此入地獄 念佛把眞經  
應當日誠躬 手把金剛刀 斷除魔衆族

佛行平等心 衆生不具足 修福似微塵 造罪如山岳  
欲得命延長 當修造此經 能除地獄苦 往生豪族家  
善神恒守護

造經讀誦人 忽爾无常至 善使自來迎 天王相引接  
携手入金城

爾時佛告阿難一切龍天八部大神閻羅  
天子太山府君司命司錄五道大神地獄冥官等行道天王當  
起慈悲法有寬縱可容一切罪人若有慈孝男女六親眷屬修  
福薦追拔亡人報生養恩七七修齋造經佛像報父母令得生  
天

爾時閻羅法王白佛言世尊我當發使乘黑馬把黑幡着黑衣  
檢亡人家造何功德准名放牒抽出罪人不違誓願

十王生七經讀圖卷の構造

Type X

念佛犯眞經<sup>42</sup> 應當自誠躬 手執金剛刀 斷除魔種族  
讀曰 罪苦三塗業易成 都緣殺命祭神明  
願執金剛眞惠劍 斬除魔族悟無生

佛行平等心 衆生不具足 修福似微塵 造罪如山岳<sup>43</sup>  
常修造此經 能持地獄苦 往生豪貴家 善神常守護<sup>46</sup>  
讀曰 罪如山岳等恒沙<sup>47</sup> 福少微塵數未多

猶得善神常守護 往生豪富信心家<sup>S</sup>  
造經讀誦人 忽爾無常至 天王恒引接 菩薩俸花迎<sup>48</sup>  
願心往淨土 八百億千生 修行滿證入 金剛三昧成<sup>50</sup>

讀曰 若人奉佛造持經 菩薩臨終自往迎<sup>51</sup>  
淨國修行因滿已<sup>51</sup> 當來正覺入金城<sup>S</sup>  
爾時佛告阿難一切龍天八部及諸大神閻羅天子太山<sup>52</sup>

府君司命司錄五道大神地獄冥官等行道天王當起<sup>53</sup>  
慈悲法有寬縱可容一切罪人慈孝男女修<sup>54</sup> 福薦<sup>55</sup>  
拔亡人報生養之恩七七修齋造像以報父母恩令<sup>56</sup>  
得生天<sup>57</sup>

讀曰 佛告閻羅諸大神<sup>S</sup> 衆生造業具難陳<sup>58</sup>  
應爲開恩容造福 教蒙離苦出迷津<sup>59</sup>

第三圖 黑衣持幡乘馬冥使

閻羅法王白佛言世尊我等諸王皆當發使乘黑<sup>S</sup>  
馬把黑幡着黑衣檢亡人家造何功德准名放牒抽<sup>61</sup>

42 S 把

43 獄、44 (欲得命延長) S 三  
九六一、C 本アリ

45 S 除、46 S 恒

47 獄

S 聖貴

48 捧、把

49 隨、50 城

51 則、S 以、S 成

52 神、53 臣

S 臣、S 典、54 天

55 毫、56 (齋造)

57 (ナシ)

S 臣、58 罪、業似微塵

59 閻、60 殺

S (ナシ)

61 著、S (ナシ)

Type Y

伏願世尊聽我檢齋  
十王名字

第一七齋秦廣王下

第二七齋宋帝王下

第三七齋初江王下

Type X

出罪人不違誓願

讚曰 諸王遣使檢亡人 男女修何功德因

依名放出三塗獄 免歷冥間遭苦辛

伏願世尊聽說檢齋 十王名字<sup>62</sup>

讚曰 閻王向佛再陳情 伏願慈悲作證明

凡夫死後修功德 檢齋聽說十王名

第四圖 秦廣王廳

第一七日過秦廣王<sup>63</sup>

讚曰 一七亡人中蔭身 駝羊隊隊數如塵

且向初王齋點檢<sup>66</sup><sup>67</sup> 由來未渡奈河津

第五圖 初江王廳

第二七日過初江王

讚曰 二七亡人渡奈河 千群萬隊涉江波

引路牛頭肩挾棒<sup>S</sup> 催行鬼卒手擎叉

第六圖 宋帝王廳

第三七日過宋帝王

讚曰 亡人三七轉惺惶 始覺冥途嶮路長

各各點名知所在<sup>S</sup> 群群駈送五官王

S 歷

62 以下三行四十二字三本皆  
ナシ、S(ナシ)

63 奏。

64、65 駝將、S 隨業

66、67 檢點、S 納

S 那

S 中

S 如、68 途、S 險

S 那郡、S 近

Type Y

The texts of Shih Wang Ching

第四七齋五官王下

第五七齋閻羅王下

第六七齋變成王下

第七七齋太山王下

百日齋平正王下

Type X

第七圖 五官王廳

第四七日過五官王

讀曰 五官業秤向空懸<sup>S</sup> 左右雙童業薄全<sup>S</sup>  
轉重<sup>69</sup>豈由情所願<sup>S</sup> 假昂<sup>70</sup>自任背因緣<sup>S</sup>

第八圖 閻羅王廳

第五七日過閻羅王

讀曰 五七閻羅息諍聲<sup>71</sup> 罪人心恨未甘情<sup>S</sup>  
策髮仰頭看業鏡<sup>S</sup> 始知先世事分明<sup>S</sup>

第九圖 變成王廳

第六七日過變成王

讀曰 亡人六七滯冥塗<sup>72</sup> 切怕生人執意愚<sup>73</sup>  
日日只看功德力 天堂地獄在須臾

第十圖 太山王廳

第七七日過太山王<sup>74</sup>

讀曰 七七冥塗中蔭身<sup>75</sup> 專求父母會情親  
福業此時仍未定 更看男女造何因

第十一圖 平正王廳

第八百日過平正王<sup>76</sup>

S 疑

69. S 輕, S 起, 70 過, S

71 (王), S 悉

S 住, S 罪

72 途, 73 坐

74 泰

75 陰

76 等

Type Y

The texts of Shih Wang Ching

Plate 24

一年齋都市王下

三年齋五道轉輪王下

爾時閻羅法王歡喜又更廣勸信心善男子善女人等努力修此十王齋具足免十惡五逆之罪

並得天王當令四大野叉王守護此經

不令陷沒

稽首世尊地獄罪人多用三寶財物并造諸惡業人在此諸

獄受罪喧鬧無億報諸信心可自誠慎勿犯三寶財物業報難

Type X

讚曰

百口亡人更慚惶 身遭枷杻被鞭傷

男女努力修功德 免落地獄苦處長

第十二圖 都市王應

第九一年過都市王

讚曰 一年過此轉苦辛 男女修何功德因

六道輪迴仍未定 造經造像出迷津

第十三圖 五道轉輪王應

第十三年過五道轉輪王

讚曰 後三所曆是關津 好惡唯憑福業因

不善尙憂千日內 胎生產死拔亡人

第十四圖 地藏放免生天圖

十齋具足免十惡罪放其生天

讚曰 一身六道苦忙忙 十惡三塗不易當

努力修齋功德具 恒沙諸罪自消亡

我當使四藥叉王守護此經不令陷沒

讚曰 閻王奉法讚弘揚 普告人天衆道場

我使藥叉齊守護 不令陷沒永流行

稽首世尊獄中罪人多是用三寶財物喧鬧受罪

識信之人可自誠慎勿犯三寶報業難容見此經

77 亡人百口、S 杻、78 械  
79 造、80 從茲(慈)妙見天堂

81、82、83 齋福業  
84 佛

85 (至)、S (過)

86 歷、87 開  
S 上、88 天

S 立、89、90 茫忙、91、92  
二途

93 銷

94 常

S 願

S 王、95 隱

S 物

Type Y

容見此經者應當修學離地獄因

爾時瑤摩羅法王歡喜頂禮退坐一面佛言阿難此經名閻  
羅王受記令四眾預修生七新死亡人斷功德往生淨土經  
汝等此丘比丘尼優婆塞優婆塞天龍八部鬼神諸善  
薩等當奉流傳國界依教奉行

佛說閻羅王受記經一卷

十王生七經讀國發の機

Type X

讀者應當修學<sup>S</sup>  
 讚曰 欲求安樂住人天 輒莫侵凌三寶錢<sup>96</sup>  
 一落冥間諸地獄 墮受苦不知年  
 爾時瑤摩羅法王歡喜踊躍頂禮佛足退坐一面佛言  
 此經名爲閻羅王授記四眾預修生七往生淨土<sup>S</sup>  
 經汝當流傳國界依教奉行<sup>97</sup>  
 讚曰 閻王退坐一心聽 佛更慇懃囑此經  
 名曰預修生七教 汝兼四眾廣流行<sup>98</sup>  
 佛說閻羅王授記四眾預修生七往生淨土經普勸  
 有緣預修功德發心歸佛轉願息輪迴<sup>99</sup> 讚二首<sup>100</sup>  
 第一讚<sup>100</sup> 一身危肥似風燈 二風侵凌嘴井騰<sup>104</sup>  
 苦海不修航筏渡 欲憑何物得超昇<sup>105</sup>  
 第二讚<sup>106</sup> 航橋不造以人疑 遭峻嶮惶惶始知<sup>109</sup>  
 若悟百年彈指過 修齋聽法莫交遲<sup>110</sup>

佛說 111 十王 112 經 一卷

111	108	107	106	105	104	100	S	98	97	S	96	S
預修	預	(日)	(歸佛修心讚) S 本	橋	首	首	(ナシ)、99 (ナシ)、S	傳。	時	(ナシ)	必。	覺
112	109	110			101	102						
生七	教	教			修	修						

Type Y

The texts of Shih Wang Ching



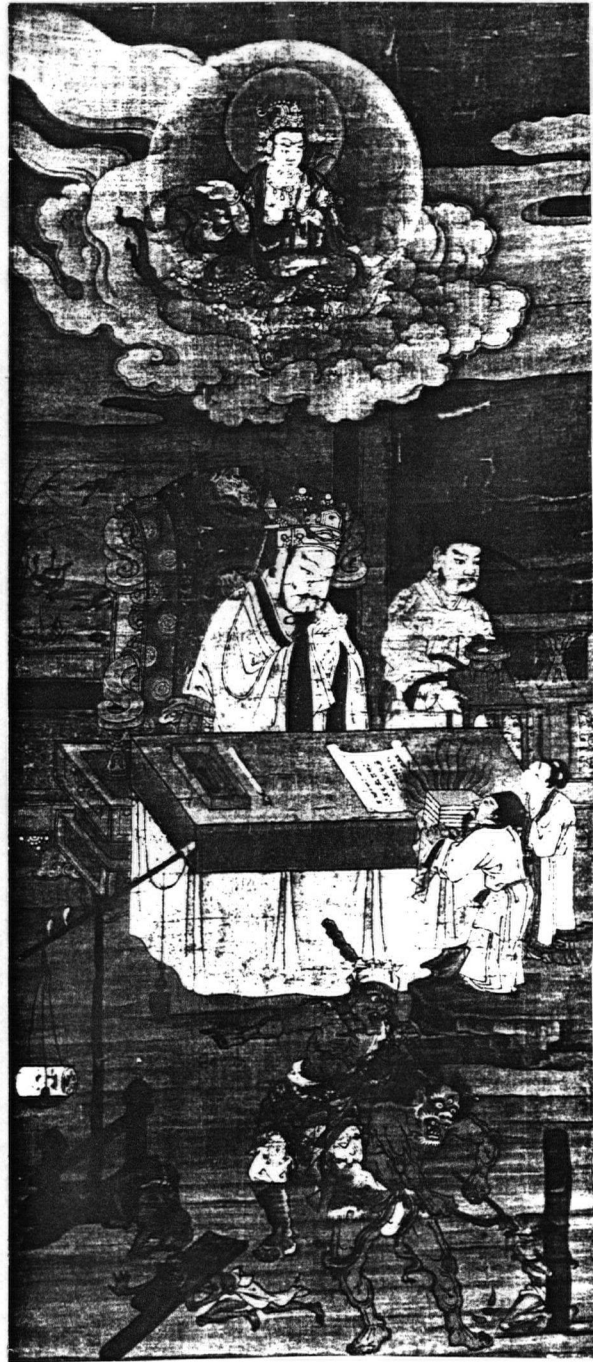
The First King, Ch'in-kuang Wang  
Nison-in



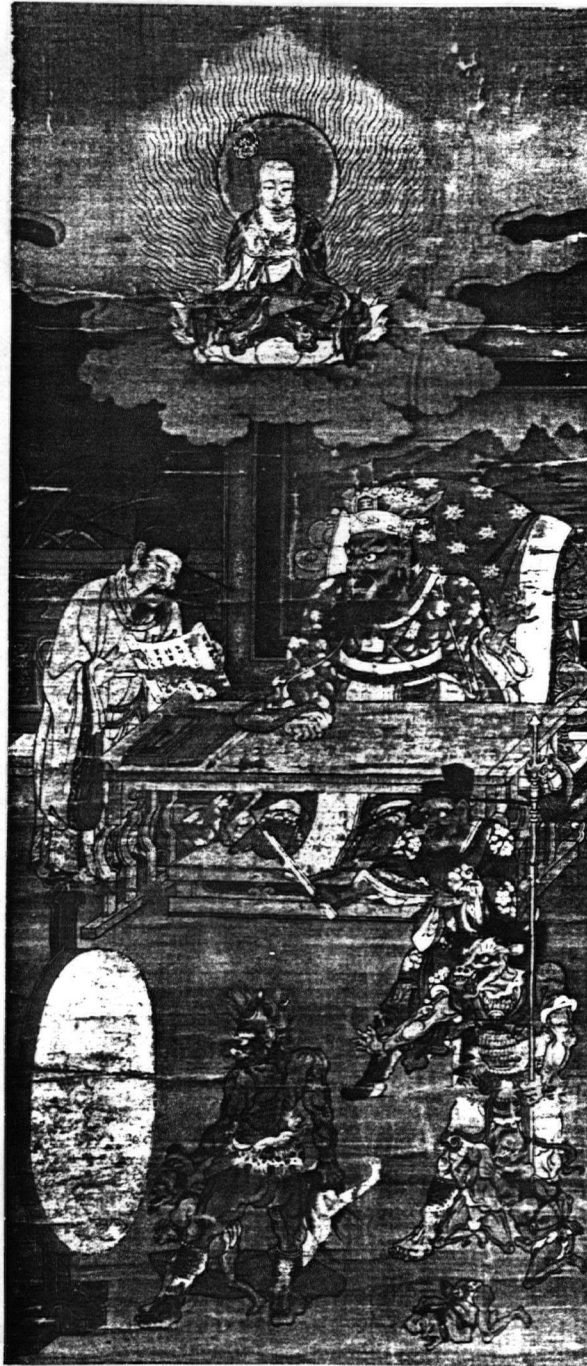
The Second King, Ch'u-chiang Wang  
Nison-in



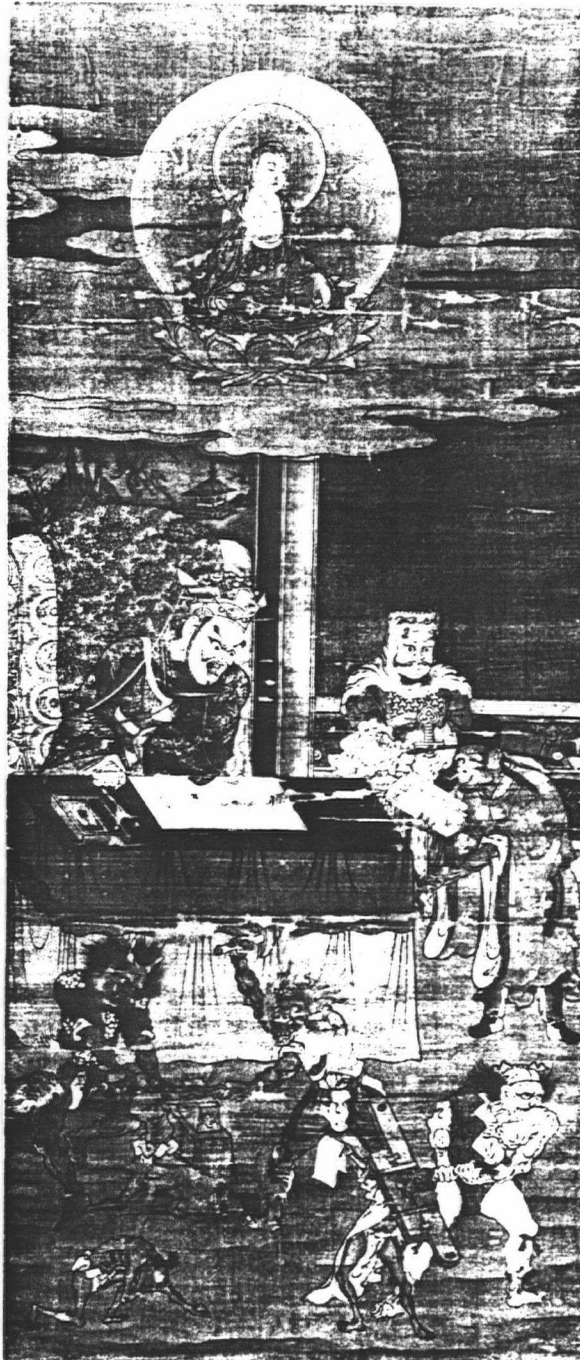
The Third King, Sung-ti Wang  
Nison-in



The Fourth King, Wu-kuan Wang  
Nison-in



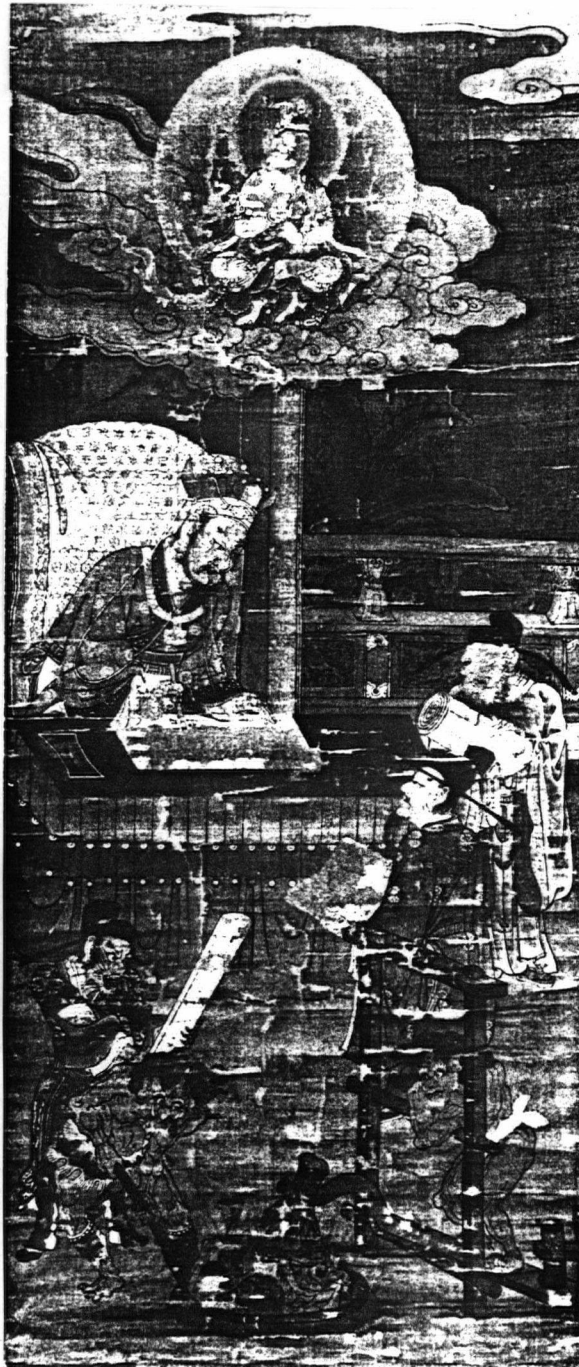
The Fifth King, Yen-lo Wang  
Nison-in



The Sixth King, Pien-ch'eng Wang  
Nison-in



The Seventh King, T'ai-shan Wang  
Nison-in



The Eighth King, P'ing-cheng Wang



The Ninth King, Tu-shih Wang  
Nison-in



The Tenth King, Wu-tao Chuang-lun Wang  
Nison-in



Five of the Ten Kings  
The Metropolitan Museum of Arts

Plate 37



(5) 閻魔王 (閻羅王)



(4) 五官王



(3) 宋帝王



(2) 江王



(1) 隋王



(10) 五道輪王



(9) 都王



(8) 平等王



(7) 泰山王



(6) 變成王

元



The Third King, Sung-ti Wang  
Seigan-ji



The Fifth King, Yen-lo Wang  
Jodo-ji



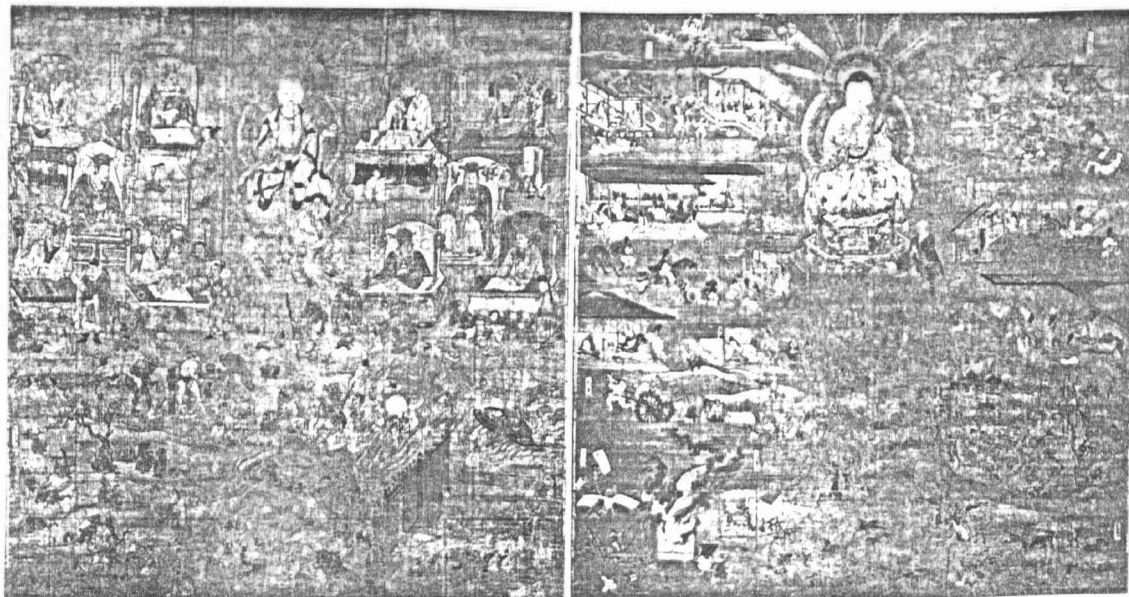
The Fifth King, Yen-lo Wang  
Zendo-ji



The Sixth King, Pien-ch'eng Wang  
Zendo-ji



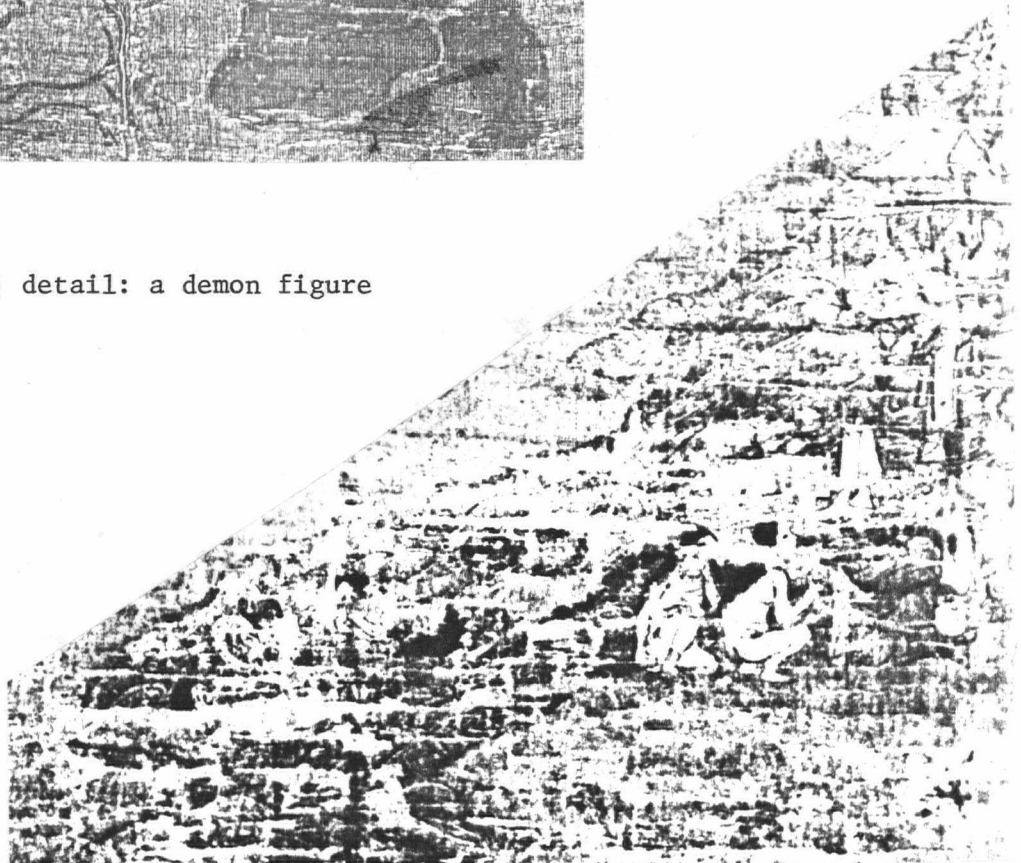
A Painting of the Ten Kings Set  
Daitoku-ji



The Ten Categories of the Universal World  
(Jukkai-zu)  
Zenrin-ji



b) detail: a demon figure



a) detail: a hell river

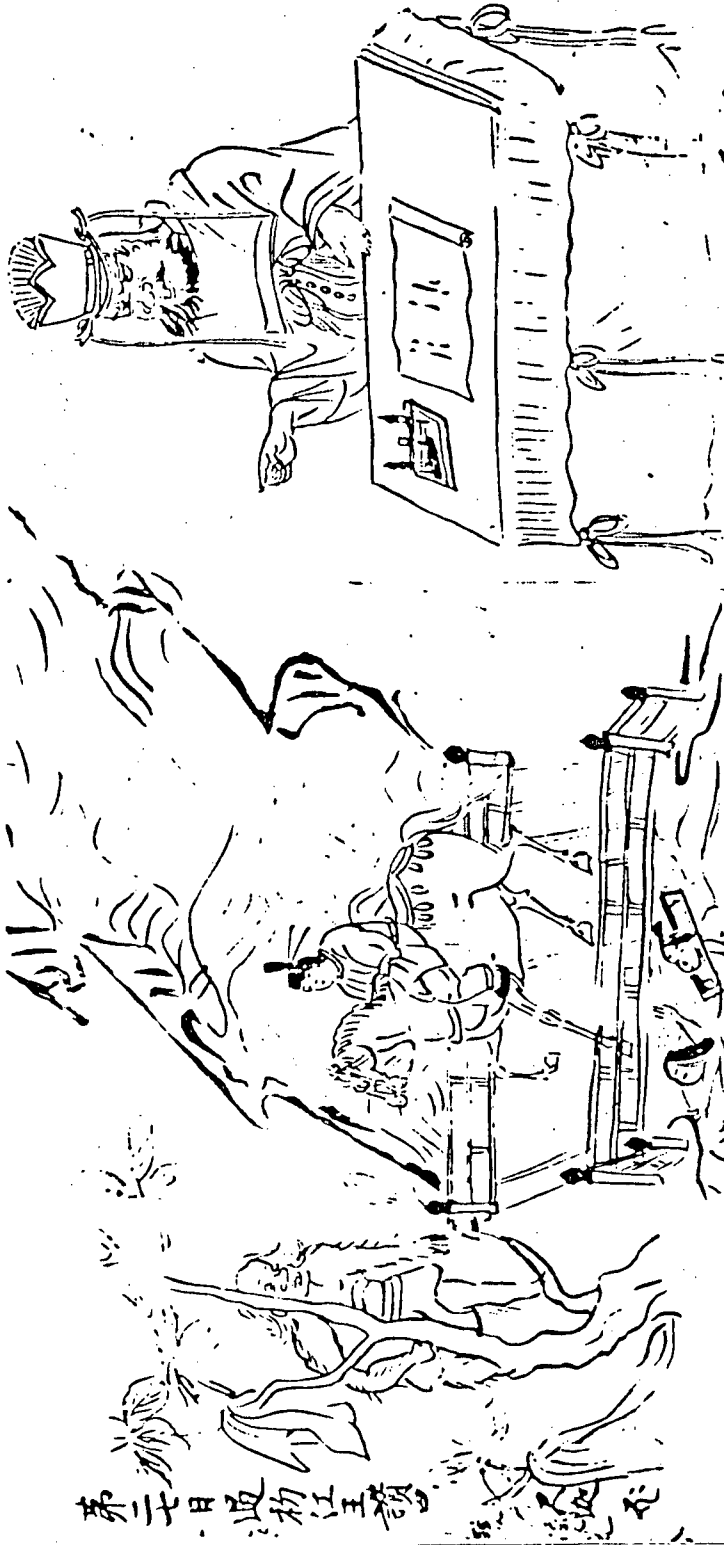


c) detail: a woman on  
a needle tree



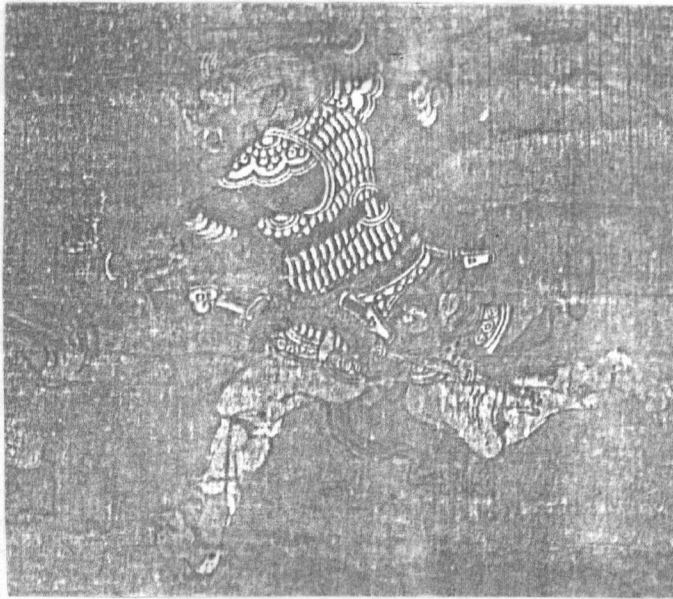
The Sixth King, Pien-ch'eng Wang  
Koto-in

且向初王登校造 申來未奈河洋



第七日返初江王讀

The First King, Ch'in-kuang Wang  
Toji

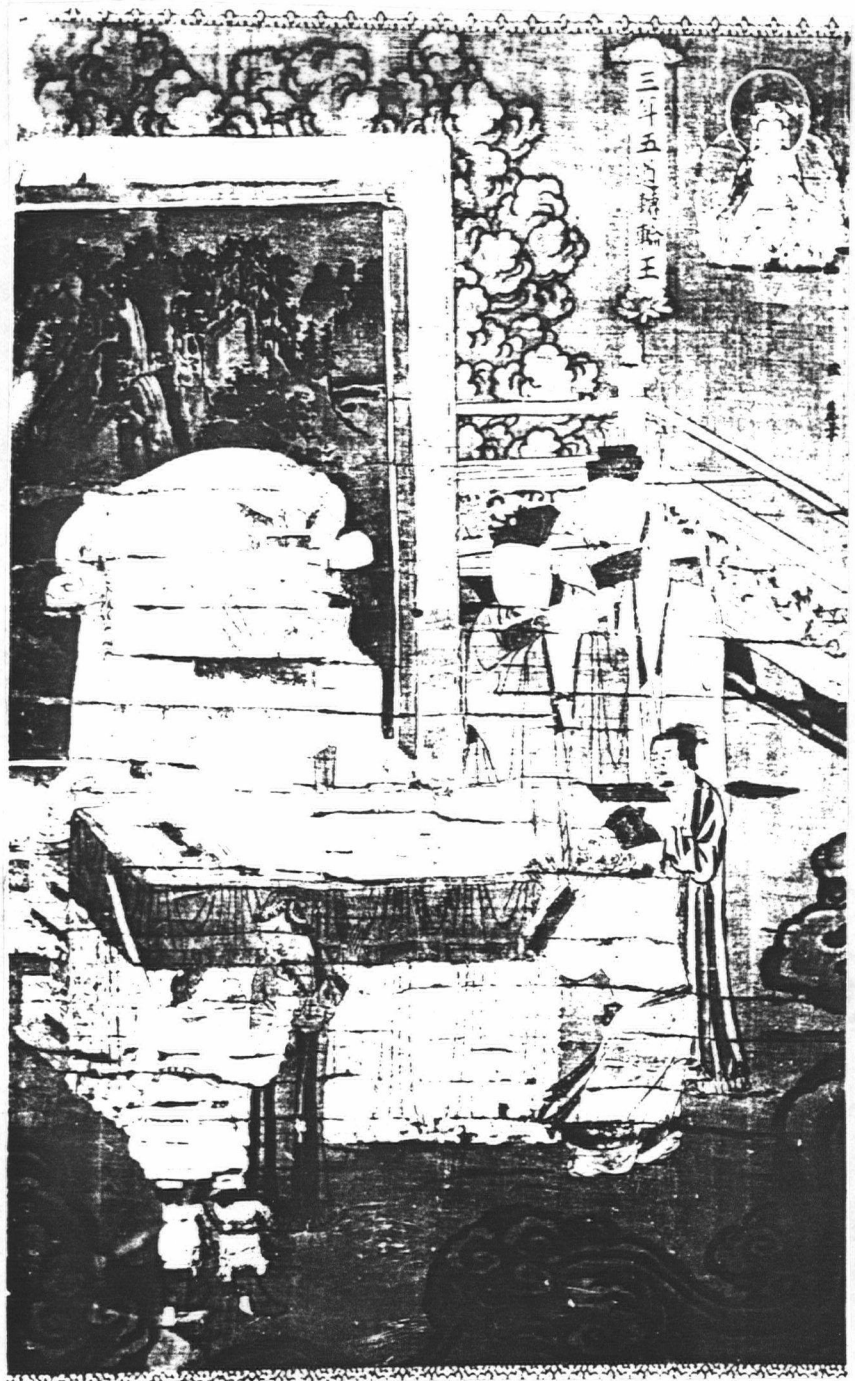


b) detail

a) detail



Details from Rokudō-e  
Shōjuraigo-ji



The Tenth King, Wu-tao Chuan-lun Wang  
Kanazawa Bunko