THE EUMORFOPOULOS COLLECTION

W. PERCEVAL YETTS

THE GEORGE EUMORFOPOULOS COLLECTION

CATALOGUE

OF THE CHINESE & COREAN BRONZES, SCULPTURE, JADES, JEWELLERY AND MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

By W. PERCEVAL YETTS

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PREFACE

THIS volume deals with works in stone, bronze, iron, wood, lacquer and stucco made during a period of more than a thousand years. Though only three bear inscriptions which give exact particulars, most of the others may be placed with little hesitation in their proper setting. Nearly all the chief phases of Buddhist sculpture in China are here exemplified —a signal proof of the discrimination exercised in the making of the Collection. The vastness of the subject naturally caused some perplexity in the choice of theme for the Introduction. Finally, I decided to attempt a historical sketch of early iconographic practice in China, and to combine with it an explanation of religious impulses, paying special attention to the peculiarly Chinese elements displayed in the Collection.

Besides acknowledgments in the text, I wish to express most grateful thanks to Professor Paul Pelliot and Mr. Arthur Waley for their generous help. The former gave invaluable advice concerning the long inscription, and the latter criticized parts of my manuscript.

In his review of the Second Volume, Professor Bernhard Karlgren questioned the reading *tui*, given on pages 8, 9 and 50, as the name of a certain class of bells. Whatever the ancient sound may have been, the usual pronunciation now is *ch'un*; and I am glad to take this opportunity of adopting his correction.

W. P. Y.

March, 1932.

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INTRODUCTION

LITTLE is known about the beginnings of Buddhism in China. This fact is not surprising; since Chinese histories, though conspicuous for accurate detail, are chiefly concerned with affairs of State and famous personages. As Pelliot remarks, the spread of a religion among the people, so long as it neither interfered with public order nor claimed official recognition, was not likely to leave much trace in the national annals. Until the Mongol period, Chinese texts were silent concerning the presence of Mohammedans in certain parts of the Empire, and for eight centuries a Jewish colony lived at K'ai-fêng without the slightest attention having been paid to it in any general history or even in a local record (**177**, 256).

The popular tradition, still quoted by authors, is that Buddhism was introduced into China as the outcome of a vision dreamed by the Han Emperor Ming who reigned from A.D. 58 to 76. There appeared to him a divine being floating through the air, his person golden and behind his head a nimbus like the disc of the sun. When next day he called for an interpretation of his dream, a certain wise man declared that in India was one who had attained perfect knowledge, was called Buddha and appeared thus, and that the being must have been he. Thereupon the Emperor sent a mission, numbering a dozen, to the Indo-Scythians (Ta Yüeh-chih). They brought back the *Sūtra in Forty-two Articles*. From then started the building of Buddhist temples and the making of Buddhist images in China.

Such is the tradition as told in the two oldest accounts. These occur in the Preface to the *Sūtra in Forty-two Articles* and in the *Mou Tzŭ li huo* (*v.* **152**, 98; **177**, 311, 312). Both may be assigned with some degree of certainty to the latter part of the second century A.D. Since then the tale has been repeated often, and in course of time it received additions of circumstantial detail. For instance, in the *Hua Hu ching*, at the beginning of the fourth century, the height of the apparition is said to have been sixteen (Chinese) feet, twice that of normal human stature—a conception obviously prompted by iconographic practice (**152**, 111; **177**, 386). Again, a text early in the sixth century is the first to give A.D. 67 as the year when Buddhism arrived in China, and probably about then the Emperor's dream was assigned to A.D. 64 (**177**, 395, 396). Later, an exact date corresponding to the 22nd January, A.D. 68, was fixed for the return of the mission which was supposed to have brought the first apostles of the new faith to China.

Maspero shows evidence that the alleged dream and associated events were a pious fraud invented during the latter part of the second century (**152**). Even if it contain elements of truth, the tale itself postulates an earlier knowledge of Buddhism or, at least, knowledge of a Buddha image. We know from a life of Ying, Prince of Ch'u, that as early as A.D. 65 the religion existed in China. The text is inserted as an appendix to the *Hou Han shu*, compiled from earlier sources by Fan Yeh who died in A.D. 445. In A.D. 65 the Emperor Ming issued an edict offering pardon to those who had rendered themselves liable to capital punishment, on condition that they provided rolls of silk as ransom. Prince Ying, who had revolted, took advantage of the amnesty; but the Emperor, whose half-brother he was, forgave him without accepting the ransom. The ostensible reason for this clemency was recognition of the Prince's piety in performing Taoist and Buddhist worship. When returning the silk, the Emperor expressed the wish that its value might be expended in support of the lay devotees (Upāsaka) and monks (Śramaṇa) of Buddhism (*v.* **34**, 550; **179**, 388). Thus this passage conveys the information not only that Buddhism existed as an organized religion in A.D. 65, but that it was affiliated with Taoism. The surmise seems reasonable that some sort of imagery also existed, especially since the text mentions "shrines in honour of Buddha." But Buddhist beginnings in

China may be traced still further back. A passage in the *Wei liao*, which probably was compiled about the middle of the third century, gives the year 2 B.C. So vague are the terms of this short passage that we are left in doubt whether news of the religion was imparted to a Chinese envoy at the Court of the Indo-Scythians (Ta Yüeh-chih), or whether an Indo-Scythian brought it to the Chinese Court. Also, the question whether the communication was by word of mouth or by Buddhist scriptures remains undecided (*v.* **34**, 546-550; **137**, 451-468; **179**, 372-379). At all events, the passage in the *Wei liao* is generally accepted as proof that Chinese contact with Buddhism occurred as early as the beginning of our era.

Probably about this time the figure of Buddha was first made in India as an object of worship. The *stūpas* of Bhārhut and Sānchī, among the oldest of Buddhist monuments, may be assigned to the second and first centuries B.C. on the evidence of inscriptions. In neither place is the person of Buddha represented; it was merely indicated by means of symbols: the footprint, tree, wheel, throne and *stūpa*. This restraint of the sculptors has generally been explained as due not to any prohibition, but to a supposed regard for established usage. They did not represent the Buddha "because it was not the custom to do it." Though citing this solution of the problem, M. Foucher seems to find it unconvincing, as surely it must appear to many (*v.* **77**, 7 *seq.*). The truth is that evidence of a definite prohibition does exist, despite common opinion to the contrary; and I am indebted to Mr. Waley for the following particulars. In the *Kokka* of January 1920, Mr. Iwasaki Masumi briefly alludes to the implied prohibition when he reviews *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art* by M. Foucher. The passage occurs in the *Shih sung lü*, the *Vinaya* of the Sarvāstivādin school (**159**, No. 1115). Concerning the decoration of monasteries, Anāthapiṇḍika addresses Buddha: "'World-honoured One, if images of your body are not allowed to be made, pray may we not at least make images of Bodhisattvas in attendance upon you?'" Buddha then grants this permission (**222**, xxiii 352). All branches of the Sarvāstivādin school seem, however, not to have been in agreement on this point; for in the *Vinaya* of the Cashmirian branch the same Anāthapiṇḍika asks if it is permissible to make images of the Buddha's earthly semblance, and is told that there is no objection to doing so (**222**, xxiv 434). The *Shih sung lü* was translated into Chinese in A.D. 404, and, according to Mr. Waley, the original probably goes back at least to three centuries before, some elements in it being earlier still. Probably the prohibition existed at the time of the Sānchī and Bhārhut sculptures, and this would account for the absence of the Buddha image. The second *Vinaya*, mentioned above, was translated into Chinese in A.D. 710, and is unquestionably a much later work.

Certainly the omission cannot be attributed to incapacity on the part of the craftsmen. They were well able to portray the human form, as may be observed appropriately in reliefs at Bhārhut which represent with a symbol the presence of Buddha among figures of devotees and others (**63**, pls. 13-17). One relief illustrates a famous act in the Life of Buddha which was popular in iconography, as will be noticed later (pp. 31, 33, 36). It is the descent from the Trāyastriṁśa Heaven, after preaching to his mother. The triple stairway, down which Buddha passed in company with Brahmā and Indra, is shown empty, except for two footprints on the central flight, one on the topmost step, the other at the bottom (**63**, pl. 17). Another striking instance of omission may be seen on the middle lintel of the eastern gate of Sānchī (**77**, pl. 10). Here, in four successive phases, is represented the Great Renunciation, yet in each is a riderless horse carrying only an embroidered rug, which serves as saddle, and above a royal parasol is held by the faithful groom Chandaka. The sculptors might easily have portrayed Śākyamuni a princely figure, as they have Viśvāntara on the northern gate; but they chose merely to suggest his presence. In a corner at the end of the lintel appear a pair of footprints, each marked with a wheel, and above them a fly-whisk and a parasol. Perhaps these, as well as the central tree within a railed enclosure, symbolize other events in the approach to Buddhahood.

Exactly when, where and why the Buddha image first made its appearance are still debatable questions. The problem of time is complicated by uncertainties as to the absolute chronology indicated by inscriptions. Among inscribed works of the Mathurā school are some which bear precise dates relative to the accession of the Indo-Scythian King Kaniṣka, and therefore the determination

of that year is all-important. An extensive literature on the controversy is still growing, the writers being mainly divided into two camps. One holds that the King began to reign in A.D. 78, the other that the true date was some fifty years later. The oldest known image made at Mathurā belongs to the third year of the Kaniṣka era (*v.* **235**, 108, pl. 28). In the inscription it is described as that of a Bodhisattva; but the early sculptors at Mathurā apparently did not distinguish between the two great spiritual phases of Śākyamuni's career. At Gandhāra the criteria are even less sure. Only a few images bear dates, and the eras to which some of these relate are not known with certainty. Divergences of opinion on these points are so wide that no definite conclusion seems possible. Much stress has been laid on the Bīmarān reliquary as a likely clue, since it has two Buddha figures and six others which seem to show affinity with the school of Gandhāra, so far as may be judged from repoussé miniatures less than an inch and a half high. About 1835 it was excavated by C. Masson from the centre of a *stūpa*, some six miles from Jehālābād, where he found it within an inscribed steatite vase. Alongside the vase lay four copper coins "in excellent preservation, having been inserted new" (**250**, 70, 71, *Antiquities*, pls. 2, 4; *Coins*, pl. 8, No. 1). The coins are recognized as those of Azes I who is said to have reigned in the latter half of the first century B.C. Here we are faced with the usual possibilities of fallacy when associated coins are invoked as evidence of age, and the only positive inference is that the reliquary was not deposited before the time when the coins were minted. As to the inscription in Kharoṣṭhī script on the vase, Konow goes no further than to state on palaeographic grounds that it may have been contemporaneous with the well-known Mathurā lion-capital (**125**, 51, pl. 10). Perhaps the capital may be assigned to about the beginning of our era.

Another famous reliquary is one which was excavated from the relic chamber in the remains of the great *stūpa*, near Peshawar, erected by King Kaniṣka (*v.* **211**). This building is of special interest, because probably it influenced the evolution of the pagoda. Chinese pilgrims wrote accounts of it, and some brought back models and exact measurements (*v.* **255**, 127). The reliquary, together with lid, is slightly under eight inches high, and is of gilt copper or bronze. It bears an inscription naming the first year of Kaniṣka and the Greek or half-caste who made it (**125**, 135, pl. 25). For our present purpose, the chief significance of this reliquary is that the inferior workmanship and the apparently decadent style of the figures have been advanced to prove that the finest products of the Gāndhāra school preceded it (**76**, ii 442; **211**, 50). As Coomaraswamy remarks, this is a rather bold inference to draw from a single object, even though it must have been one of importance (**51**, 33).

Though the foregoing facts are scanty, they comprise the chief positive criteria. In course of time, no doubt, fresh discovery will help to solve the problem. Negative evidence, such as that gained from the excavations at Taxila, may narrow the issue. The absence there of Greco-Buddhist sculpture from the earlier strata supports belief that the Buddha image was not made at Gandhāra long before Kaniska's reign (*v.* **147**, part 1, 12). To sum up the situation in the light of present knowledge, the balance of evidence seems to indicate the first century A.D. as the time when the Buddha was first represented with a cult image in India.

The second question, as to the locality where this image first appeared, also remains unsettled. The priority rests between Gandhāra and Mathurā, and opinions are divided. In favour of the former, coupled with the theory of Hellenistic origin from an Apollo or a Dionysus model, are the writings of Foucher, Grünwedel, and Le Coq. Led by Vogel's pioneer investigations at Mathurā, there are now many partisans of the theory that the origin is traceable to Indian sources. Among those who subscribe more or less whole-heartedly to this view are Codrington, Coomaraswamy, Goloubew and Konow. Others, for example Bachhofer, contemplate the possibility that the image was evolved independently at Gandhāra and at Mathurā.

Even more speculative are the explanations why an image came to be substituted for the symbols which, as we have seen, still served to represent Buddha some four hundred years after his entry into *Nirvāṇa*. A reasonable view is that it was made to satisfy a popular demand—the need for a personal deity. In this connection Coomaraswamy has traced the sources of theism and image worship in the religion of the masses in India, and shown that, before the beginning of our era, cults existed which were celebrated with practices similar to those in a Buddhist temple, such as the erection of statues

and the offering of flowers, garlands, incense and music (**51**, 11-15). Buddhism, like other religions in similar circumstances, followed established custom, and, incidentally, inherited the prestige of sites already sacred. Yakṣa and Nāga cults, for example, continued to flourish without exciting Buddhist hostility, and there are many references in Buddhist literature to monasteries and *stūpas* occupying the haunts of Nāgas. Two of the seven Buddha images brought to China by Hsüan-tsang were associated with such places (*v. inf.* pp. 31, 32, 34, 35).

If the Buddha image started in India during the first century of our era, a certain popular tradition loses all claim to credence. It is based on the fact that in 121 B.C. the Chinese general Ho Ch'ü-ping brought back as booty in a campaign against the Hsiung-nu, one or more gilt statues (*lit.* " golden men," *chin jên*) taken from the King of the Hsiu-ch'u, whose territory occupied the area of Liang-chou prefecture in Kansu. According to the *Han wu ku shih*, the figures were more than ten feet high, and they were worshipped with incense instead of sacrifices necessitating the slaughter of animals. Chiefly on the strength of this passage, Liu Hsün, early in the sixth century, suggested that they were in reality images of Buddha, and since then the explanation has often been repeated (*v.* **179**, 392, 393). Apart from the probable anachronism involved, against this view is the tradition that the nomads were accustomed to worship effigies of their ancestors. Indeed, there is the tale that the son of this king, when a captive at the Chinese Court, used to prostrate himself before a statue of his mother after her death. The scene is depicted among examples of filial piety on the Han bas-reliefs in Shan-tung (**32**, 149-151, figs. 77, 1204).

The statement in *Mou Tzŭ* that a Buddhist temple and Buddha images were erected at Lo-yang, and that another Buddha image was prepared by the Emperor Ming to surmount his tomb may be regarded as having no more historical substance than the famous dream, with which the statement is associated (**177**, 311, 312). Not till the fourth or fifth century is this legend of the introduction of Buddhism found with full circumstantial detail. It had received the added gloss that the mission of the Emperor Ming brought back two Indian monks, named Shê Mo-t'êng (Kāśyapa Mātaṅga) and Chu Fa-lan, who had with them sacred scriptures, carried on a white horse, and besides a copy of the traditional Buddha image made at the order of King Udayana (*v. inf.* pp. 37, 38). This image was the one which was supposed to have served as model for those made by the Emperor Ming (**152**, 108-130).

In A.D. 166 an astrologer, named Hsiang Ch'iai, took upon himself the rôle of censor and presented a memorial to the reigning Han emperor for the purpose of protesting against conditions at the Court. From his mention of the fact that in the Palace there were shrines to the Yellow Emperor, Lao Tzŭ and Buddha, we may gather that some sort of Buddha image existed (**179**, 385-387, 389). Pelliot quotes from a biography in the *Hou Han shu* which throws light on this subject (**179**, 394, 395). It relates to a man who died in A.D. 194, and it contains mention of a contemporary who diverted the taxes, connected with grain transport, from a region corresponding to a part of northern Chiang-su, in order to build a magnificent Buddhist temple. The description suggests that an Indian *stūpa* may have been copied; but, at all events, here is proof that devotees of the new religion as early as the second century were not always content with buildings formerly used for secular purposes. In the temple was an image covered with gold and dressed with brocade and flowered stuffs; and, when the periodic ceremony of washing the image was performed, a feast was given to thousands of the public. The site of the temple was probably at P'êng-ch'êng, and this had been the capital of Prince Ying, whose patronage of Buddhism is known through the account of the imperial edict of A.D. 65. There is record, too, of a *stūpa* erected about A.D. 175 on a tomb in the same locality (*v.* **151**, 231). Thus we may assume that the cult of the new religion had persisted in the region of the Grand Canal to the north of the Yang-tzŭ.

Scantiness of information concerning the progress of Buddhism in China during the opening centuries of our era is doubtless largely due to the disturbed state of the country. Wars with the Hsiung-nu, internal rebellions, and disasters brought about by eunuch domination caused the period of the Later Han to be one of turmoil, and this was followed by eighty years of strife while the country was divided into the Three Kingdoms. Few local records have survived the frequent sacking and destruction of towns, and, as has been noted, the fortunes of an alien religion interested the dynastic

chroniclers only when political issues were involved. Unfortunately the history of the early days of the new religion is concerned mainly with the translation of texts, and almost all that can be gleaned on the subject of iconography is merely by inference. We may reasonably accept the existence of Buddhist institutions as proof that devotional objects also existed. Even accounts of the communities are very incomplete. Maspero has collected evidence that one flourished at Lo-yang during the latter half of the second century (**151**, 228). Among its members was Yen Fou-t'iao, who became a monk about A.D. 180. He seems to have been the first Chinese who is recorded to have received ordination; but there may have been predecessors who were not sufficiently learned in the original language of Buddhist texts to claim the attention of writers preoccupied with the history of translations. Yen Fou-t'iao had this knowledge; for he did translations jointly with the Parthian missionary An Shih-kao and with the latter's fellow-countryman, the Upāsaka An Hsüan, as well as some on his own account (*v.* **151**, 229; **159**, Appendix II, Nos. 6, 9). Another foreign missionary, Fa-shih (Dharmakāla), who came to China in A.D. 222, translated the first book of monastic rules; and this fact, as Maspero points out, seems to presuppose the presence of religious communities. There is evidence that when the Western Chin came into power in A.D. 265, many Buddhist communities existed all over China. At the fall of this dynasty in A.D. 316 no fewer than 180 monasteries, containing 3,700 monks, were established at the capital Ch'ang-an (**151**, 223, 225).

On the south of the Yang-tzŭ a Buddhist centre had been created at Nanking, which was then called Chien-yeh. Sun Ch'üan, formerly a general in the service of the last Han emperor, founded the Kingdom of Wu in 222 and made it his capital. To this place of calm, in contrast with the turmoil prevailing elsewhere in China, there came the Indo-Scythian Ch'ien, in order to carry out his zealous project of translating Buddhist scriptures. During thirty years he published forty-nine works, including the *Vimalakīrti sūtra* and the *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* (**159**, Nos. 147 and 26). But it was chiefly due to the personality and pious fervour of another foreign missionary that the religion took root in Chien-yeh. Sêng-hui, member of a Sogdian family which had settled in Chiao-chih, arrived in 247 and, making for himself a straw hut in which he placed Buddhist images, lived as a Śramaṇa. The strangeness of his appearance and behaviour led to an inquiry by Sun Ch'üan, who threatened punishment unless the missionary could produce a holy relic. After a delay of three weeks, attended with anxious invocations on the part of Sêng-hui and his disciples, the relic, the nature of which is not disclosed, miraculously materialized within a copper vessel, accompanied with supernatural radiance. Called upon for a further prodigy, Sêng-hui asked that a strong man should attempt to smash the relic upon an anvil with an iron hammer. The relic remained unharmed; but dents appeared in both anvil and hammer. So impressed was the Emperor that he had a temple built for the relic. Thenceforth Buddhism flourished at Chien-yeh until a successor, who ascended the throne in 264, proposed to suppress the new religion. He caused Sêng-hui to be put through a cross-examination, at which he acquitted himself triumphantly. Later, in the women's quarters of the Palace was found a gilt image which evidently had been brought there by a Buddhist member of the Emperor's harem. The Emperor treated it with gross contempt; but straightway he fell ill, and got better only after he had, at the lady's suggestion, honoured the image with special attentions. His conversion and complete recovery followed; Sêng-hui was held in still higher esteem and the faith prospered (*v.* **37**).

Such is the story told in Sêng-hui's biography in the *Kao sêng chuan* which appeared in A.D. 519. It is quoted here at some length not solely because it gives a date for the beginnings of Buddhist iconography in the south of China; it is important for our present purpose also because it introduces the subject of communication with India *via* Indo-China during the early centuries of our era. In the Second Volume (p. 21) mention was made of Chiao-chih as a remote region to which fugitives of all sorts went from China. At the time of the short-lived Hsin dynasty, founded by Wang Mang in A.D. 9, many of the official and lettered class, loyal to the Han, settled there beyond the usurper's reach. Comprising a part of Kuang-hsi, Kuang-tung, Tongking and the north of Annam, it formed a kind of Chinese colony. During the disorders at the end of the second century again Chiao-chih afforded a haven of refuge. Many cultured persons made it their home, and it became also a meeting place of various nationalities. Mariners had for some time regarded it as the terminus of a southern

sea-route coasting the islands and peninsulas of Asia, including India. In A.D. 166 the so-called embassy from Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, which seems to have been really a commercial enterprise led by some Syrian merchant, arrived from Jih-nan (**112**, 42, 47, 64, 82, 94, 95), and probably the final port was in Chiao-chih (**170**, 144). Sixty years later another merchant from the Roman Orient disembarked in Chiao-chih, and was sent by the governor to the Court of Sun Ch'üan (**112**, 48). In A.D. 243 the King of Fu-nan, probably the ancient Cambodia, sent a mission to the Wu Emperor with presents of musicians and products of the country (**172**, 303), and shortly afterwards the Emperor returned the compliment with an embassy led by K'ang T'ai and Chu Ying. While in Fu-nan, the latter came in contact with an Indian envoy who had returned with an embassy sent by the King of Fu-nan to an Indian Court. From these sources the ambassadors of the Wu Emperor learnt much about India and neighbouring regions which they included in accounts of their travels, now unfortunately lost. Most of the information concerning ancient India, to be found in Chinese works, seems traceable to this origin (**172**, 275 *seq.*). Besides the sea route, there was one which connected Chiao-chih with India by way of Yung-ch'ang in Yün-nan and the waters of the Mekong, as mentioned in the third-century *Wei liao* (**112**, 74, 75). Burma appears as a channel of contact between China and Western Asia in an account of tribute missions sent by a king of Shan who received investiture from the imperial Court. In A.D. 120 he presented musicians and jugglers, natives of the Mediterranean Orient, who entertained the Han Court with wonderful performances (**112**, 36, 37). Though the passage in the *Hou Han shu* does not say so, they also may have travelled down the Mekong. Perhaps the first Hindu missionaries, Kāśyapa Mātaṅga and Chu Fa-lan, also came *via* Yün-nan (*v.* **170**, 142). The point relevant to our present theme is that Chiao-chih was an outpost of communication between the Kingdom of Wu and the greater world, especially the holy land of Buddhism. There is nothing surprising, therefore, in the fact that to Nanking came the Sogdian Sêng-hui, whose family, originally native to the region of Samarkand, had settled in India until his father migrated to Chiao-chih. We may be sure that early in our era others beside Sêng-hui imported Buddhist images from India by the southern route.

Proofs might be multiplied that during the second and third centuries Buddhism had gained a firm foothold in China, and had called into being an organized church—temples, monasteries, monks (foreign and Chinese), and congregations of lay devotees. Moreover, it had entered into amicable association with the philosophic tenets of Taoism. The union must have favoured the legend that Lao Tzŭ became the Buddha after his mysterious disappearance into the West. To gain an inkling of notions prevailing about that time, let us turn to the book of a devout Buddhist layman, which has been translated by Pelliot (**177**). Mou Tzŭ, or the "Master Mou," was one of those who took refuge in Chiao-chih towards the end of the second century. His book, *Mou Tzŭ li huo*, is written as a dialogue in which an imaginary sceptic poses doubts concerning Buddhism, to be refuted triumphantly by the author, who also shows a sympathetic knowledge of Taoism. Mou Tzŭ gives an outline of Buddha's career, which manifests a true reflection of the Indian tradition: the Birth, Renunciation, Enlightenment and *Nirvāṇa* are included. Pelliot inclines to the opinion that at the end of the second century there existed in central and southern China a Life of Buddha, partly in verse, which is now lost. This may have been the source of Mou Tzŭ's account (**177**, 264).

For the study of Buddhist imagery in China the following passage is noteworthy, since it accords with standards which guided Indian practice in presentments of the Buddha: "He had the thirty-two major signs (*lakṣaṇa*) and eighty minor signs (*vyañjaṇa*); his height was sixteen feet; all his members were of a golden hue; upon his head he had a fleshy protuberance (*uṣṇīṣa*); his jaws were lion-like; his tongue could cover his face; on each palm of his hands was a wheel with a thousand spokes; and from the nape of his neck there shone rays which reached a distance of a myriad *li*" (**177**, 290). The list ends with the statement: "such were his chief *lakṣaṇa*," and the fact is to be noticed that all, except the last, follow more or less closely the canonical distinguishing marks of a Mahā-puruṣa (*v.* **26**, 553-647). Omission of the *ūrṇā* seems strange, since it was one of the thirty-two signs which could be portrayed easily, and in actual practice was generally adopted as a distinctive feature of Buddhist iconography (*v. inf.* pp. 68, 69).

INTRODUCTION

One of the questions which Mou Tzŭ puts into the mouth of his fictitious sceptic is concerned with the last incarnation of the predestined Buddha, before he appeared in the world as Śākyamuni. This famous *jātaka* or birth-story was probably the one most often and universally portrayed, and it is alluded to in the long inscription which accompanies the stele, dated A.D. 520, in the Collection (*v. inf.* p. 49). Among early presentments are those at Bhārhut and Sānchī (**84**, pl. 2, figs. 1, 2); at Mathurā (**234**, pl. 51; at Amarāvatī (**22**, pls. 32, fig. 1 and 43, fig. 2); at Gandhāra (**76**, fig. 144); in Turkestan (**214**, figs. 146, 147; **99**, figs. 129, 317, 674); and in China (**32**, fig. 432; **203**, pl. 234). At the beginning of the sixth century the Chinese pilgrim Sung Yün visited the reputed scene of the hero's deeds in a district of Gandhāra which has been identified by Foucher (**82**, 347-359). There, on the walls of a temple, Sung Yün saw a picture of the legend which, as he says, moved the people of those parts to tears of pity whenever they beheld it (**39**, 420). This remark gives a clue to the popularity of a tale which inculcates the ideal of perfect charity and self-sacrifice. Moreover, in the minds of the devout it may have been associated with that critical phase in the Master's career when he baffled Māra's final and most formidable attempt to prevent his attainment of Buddhahood. To the tempter's demand for evidence that Śākyamuni had practised benevolence, the latter, stretching forth his hand to point downwards, called upon the Earth to witness. "Even though lacking mental perception, she will," he declared, "testify that, in my former existence as Viśvāntara, I bestowed seven hundred extraordinary gifts, to say nothing of charitable deeds in my other lives." The Earth replied with such a thunderous voice that Māra and his hosts were completely discomfited (**122**, 1, 76, 77). The birth-story is that long ago Viśvāntara was the heir-apparent of an Indian king and, married to a beautiful princess, he had a son and daughter. Full of compassion for the poor and suffering, he persuaded his father to distribute the royal treasure without stint or refusal. Hearing of this generosity, a rival king conceived the plan of acquiring a wonderful white elephant, which was the pride of the Prince's country, and to that end sent envoys. Mindful of his vow never to deny a gift that was asked of him, the Prince willingly assented; but this act caused the King to banish him to a distant mountain for twelve years. He started thither with his wife and children, after he had given away all his possessions save a horse and cart for the journey. Before they had gone far, a Brahman asked for the horse, which was given to him; and they went on their way, the two children sitting in the cart drawn by the Prince in the shafts, and pushed by the Princess behind. Soon they met another Brahman, whose request for the cart was granted also. In turn other beggars, met on the road, took the clothes of the Prince, his wife and his children. Arrived at the mountain, they lived happily in huts built of branches, the plants and wild animals contributing to their sustenance and comfort, until a Brahman came and demanded the children as slaves for his wife. The Prince gave his children, and even tied their hands so that they might be led away without offering resistance. Then Indra, having transformed himself into a hideous Brahman, put a final test by asking for the wife; yet the Prince never faltered from his vow of charity. How all came right in the end, and the Prince and his family were received back into their home may be read at length in the *sūtra*, which is translated by Chavannes (**28**, iii 362-395; **159**, No. 254).

Since this text is not known to have been translated into Chinese till about A.D. 400, it can hardly have been the one used by Mou Tzŭ. An earlier translation of the legend had been made between 247 and 280 (**159**, No. 143); but, if the Preface to *Mou Tzŭ li huo* is to be accepted as authentic, this also was too late to have served as the source (**177**, 376). Probably Mou Tzŭ derived his knowledge from a text, since lost. In the Chinese versions the Prince Viśvāntara is called by another name, variously written, of which the original is a matter of conjecture (*v.* **69**; **160**, 830, 1087, 1485, 1487; **177**, 375). It suffices here to mention the variants Hsü-ta-na and Su-ta-na, and that the former appears in the *Mou Tzŭ li huo*. The imaginary critic asks Mou Tzŭ if he can reconcile the claims of filial piety and ordinary humanity with the Prince's treatment of his nearest relatives in favour of strangers. The answer contains the pith of Buddhist doctrine: "Hsü-ta-na paid regard to the impermanence of the world, the impersonality of riches; that is the reason why he gave himself up to his idea of distributing [his riches] in order to attain the true Way. Thereby his father's kingdom gained greater fortune, and enemies could not penetrate. And when he had become Buddha, his

father, his mother, and his brothers obtained deliverance. If you do not see filial piety in that, if you do not see humanity in that, pray what do you call humanity and filial piety? " (**177**, 305, 306).

Though the foregoing quotations from the tract of a lay propagandist of Buddhism, about A.D. 200, afford a useful index to popular notions then current, doubtless the true guide to iconographic practice should be sought in the early translations of Buddhist scriptures. Images, imported from abroad, could hardly have been always available to serve as models; and, besides, there is concrete evidence, notably in the Vimalakīrti motive to be explained later, that the Chinese did not confine themselves to Indian prototypes. The artisan, when commissioned to execute a work, must often have turned for inspiration to the texts. These would have been expounded for his benefit by a professional Buddhist, and we may reasonably surmise that the procedure followed was similar to that gleaned by Waley from a correspondence between an abbot and his parishioners in Japan, written early in the twelfth century. " By intending donors he is again and again consulted concerning the proper method of representing the various Paradises and divinities. In every case he replies by citing a text " (**240**, xix).

Unfortunately, we cannot attempt to connect texts of the first three centuries with the corresponding Chinese sculptures; for no piece is at present known to have survived. Written evidence, such as that advanced in the foregoing pages, leaves little room for doubt that images did exist from the time that Buddhism entered China. Their disappearance is explainable in several ways. Such perishable materials as wood, clay and lacquer may have been most commonly used; and images thus made must have shared the fate of buildings constructed in the insubstantial mode of Chinese architecture. Works in bronze and stone suffered severely not only from war and other chance vicissitudes, but from intentional destruction. The history of the Buddhist church in China shows periods of persecution, attended with the ruin of temples and sacred figures; and there have been frequent occasions when metal objects, irrespective of religious associations, have been requisitioned throughout the country to be melted down for the minting of coin. Official attacks on religion in China have usually been dictated by political or social expediency, not by doctrinal intolerance. The first serious persecution of Buddhism is said to have arisen through certain votaries having been suspected of complicity in a rebellion, and the discovery of a secret still for making liquor, and other evidences of debauchery in a monastery. But it may have been due to the intrigues of Taoist rivalry. The outcome was that, during the eight years prior to his death in A.D. 452, the third Emperor of the Northern Wei caused a general destruction of Buddhist buildings and images. More than a century later, at the end of A.D. 573, the reigning emperor of the Northern Chou dynasty, from his capital at Ch'ang-an, decreed the abolition of Buddhism and Taoism, when the sacred images and books are said to have perished. For the next three hundred years Buddhism flourished until in 884 it experienced a calamitous set-back. Again as the result of Taoist enmity, an imperial edict ordered some 4,600 monasteries and 40,000 lesser structures to be pulled down. A collection was made of the bronze statues, bells and gongs to be recast into money, and of the iron statues to be re-made into agricultural implements. Only the clay, wood and stone images were left in the buildings that remained. In A.D. 955, under the Later Chou, Buddhist buildings were again destroyed in great numbers. Of the 6,030 monasteries then standing, more than half were demolished. Official hostility took practical effect towards the end of the Ming dynasty; but not till the middle of the last century was iconoclasm repeated on a vast scale. The T'ai-p'ing Rebels devastated eleven provinces, and directed their attacks specially against objects of Buddhist worship. A history of governmental persecution, briefly outlined above, may be found in J. J. M. de Groot's work relating to the subject (**96**, 27-95).

If we take into account also the several occasions, mentioned in the First Volume (p. 40), when bronze in any and every form was swept into the official melting pot to replenish a depleted treasury, and besides chance destruction from other causes, the survival of bronze figures is surprising. While the larger pieces inevitably have been lost, there still remain numerous small figures which, through accidental or intentional concealment, have escaped the succession of perils during the last fifteen

centuries. These must be merely a fraction of those originally in existence; for we know that they were cast in thousands, notably under the Northern Wei dynasty. Multiplication of votive images was considered meritorious as a means to spread the faith; but other impulses also moved the donors, as will be explained later. Many bear dates; though these are not always reliable, because inscriptions were often added at later periods to satisfy the demands of collectors for pieces with epigraphic interest. If the inscription be genuine on a votive bronze formerly in the Tuan Fang Collection, the piece may be regarded as the oldest of the kind known (**228**, viii 3). The date is equivalent to A.D. 390, five years after the Northern Wei dynasty was established. Relics of the next century are more numerous; and most of them bear Northern Wei dates in the latter part of the century. A few are inscribed with reign-periods of southern dynasties: for instance, two made under the Liu Sung, the first, dated 437, which belonged to Tuan Fang, and another, dated 451, in the Freer Gallery (**203**, pl. 16 *a* and *c*; **228**, viii 1, 2). Many votive bronze figures bearing sixth century dates survive, those inscribed with the reign-periods of northern dynasties being the more plentiful. An example of the latter is the first item in the Catalogue. Of the two sixth-century dynasties in the south, the Liang has left the greater number of bronze pieces (*v.* **162**, pl. 155).

Stone, or rather the living rock, is the medium in which early Buddhist sculpture in China has been preserved most abundantly. The use of natural and artificial caves for the purposes of religious cults is among the most ancient practices of mankind. There is a story that the forefathers of the Northern Wei sovereigns, somewhere in the region of Lake Baikal, were accustomed to worship their ancestors in a natural cave (**249**, ii 1314). Since the earliest extant Buddhist rock-shrines in China were made under this dynasty, some have traced a connection between them and the legendary ancestral shrine. But, apart from the fact that the first recorded instance was prior to the Wei, there seems no need to seek such a remote and problematic origin. A more reasonable view is to find it in the home of Buddhism. In India rock-hewn chambers, devoted to Buddhist purposes, existed as early as the last century or two B.C., and the excavation of shrines was practised in Central Asia along the road to China. Against the acceptance of these as prototypes the argument may be advanced that they show an essentially architectonic character which is lacking from the Chinese caves. They are made to copy the internal features of wooden buildings, the imitative aim often being so meticulously carried out that even the nail-heads of the timbering are carefully reproduced. Though they serve no structural purpose, actual wooden rafters are sometimes inserted under the vaulted ceilings. The general plan, too, of the Indian rock-hewn *stūpa*, *caitya* hall, and *vihāra* or living quarters of the monks follow that of free-standing buildings. For instance, the *caitya* hall or chapel, remarkably similar in general arrangement to the early Christian *basilica*, comprises a nave, divided by two rows of pillars from narrow side aisles which are continued round an apse to allow of circumambulation. A close parallel to such a strictly architectural scheme cannot be found in China, where an enduring medium for votive images in secluded places, far removed from dangers to which buildings are ordinarily exposed, appears to have been the primary consideration. Indeed, the multiplication of sculptures in seemingly haphazard fashion is a striking feature of the Chinese caves, though the possibility should be recognized that repeated utilization of the excavated rock for votive purposes at successive periods may sometimes have masked the original plan.

Yet certain architectural elements do occur in Chinese caves, and some unquestionably proclaim Western or Central Asian origins: the horse-shoe arch with up-turned plant terminals; the pyramidal roof with " lantern " arrangement of beams; and the dome upon quadrangular support. The very fact that these are often represented, notably at Tun-huang, with painted designs, which display scant familiarity with their structural basis, testifies that they are borrowed traditions. As to the so-called " lantern " roof, it is still to be found constructed of wooden beams on peasant houses in Armenia, Cashmir, Ladakh, the Hindu-Kush and Pāmīrs. It consists of superimposed square frames gradated in size, the largest being the lowest. The frames are so arranged that, above the lowest, each has its corners resting upon the centres of the four sides of the square immediately below, and the topmost provides an aperture in the apex of the roof for light and air to enter and smoke from the hearth to escape. This mode of construction, imitated in quarried stone or the hewn rock, occurs

in temples of Afghanistan, Cashmir, and Central Asia. The more easterly examples are often merely painted indications of the original, thus serving as designs to decorate the ceilings. At Tun-huang, for instance, the device appears both at the apex of a vaulted ceiling and so retains memory of the architectural structure, and also in a series of contiguous panels, where it has lost significance (**174**, pls. 179, 186). This vestigial form of the " lantern " roof appears in many of the early cave-shrines of Central Asia (*v.* **98**, figs. 645-649) and China; and in the latter country it is still used as a ceiling decoration. Faithful reproductions of the superimposed beams exist, however, in numerous Buddhist rock-temples of Corea (*v.* **93**, pl. 36; **131**, 31-33, figs. 231-236, 238, 240-247). Chinese parallels to the Indian practice of making rock-hewn copies of architectural structures are chiefly limited to pillars, doubtless left during the excavation of caves to serve the primary purpose of supporting the roofs. These pillars are generally fashioned like the lower storeys of a square pagoda, the woodwork and tiles being fairly closely imitated, and images being cut in niches ranged round each tier (*v.* **32**, pl. 130; **203**, pls. 18, 22, 28, 64). Such a pillar gives opportunity for circumambulation, and offers comparison with the *stūpa* in a cave *caitya* hall. Replicas of roofed porticos are rarely found (*v.* **203**, pl. 87). For the rest, pagodas and other buildings are represented on the walls of the caves, merely as parts of votive bas-reliefs among the niches containing images.

The earliest recorded cave-shrine in China was made at Tun-huang under the Former Ch'in (A.D. 351-384), a dynasty of Tangut origin whose capital was Ch'ang-an. It is attributed to the monk Lo-tsun who, in 366, thus started the famous " Caves of the Thousand Buddhas," formerly called Mo-kao K'u. Notice of the event occurs in an inscription, dated 698, which Chavannes quotes from a copy published last century (**29**, ii 58-60). The inscribed stele still exists in one of the caves at Tun-huang (**169**, 521; **215**, 798). Neither Lo-tsun's cave nor one nearby, assigned in the same inscription to another monk, can now be traced with certainty. The second monk is specifically stated to have come from the east, and therefore the inference seems to be that Lo-tsun was a native of India or Central Asia. If this surmise be justified, we find here further support for belief that the notion of excavating shrines from the rock was one of the Buddhist importations. During the first twenty years of the fifth century, Tun-huang was in the hands of a Turkic dynasty, the Western Liang, who made it their capital. In 421, on the extinction of the Western Liang by another Turkic dynasty, the Northern Liang, it became part of the latter's territory. To the piety of the second ruler is ascribed the next cave-shrine at Tun-huang, and the site is said to have been eastward of the first, in a cliff called San-wei Shan (**162**, 174, 175). The fact that Tun-huang passed into the control of the Northern Wei in 439, when the latter extinguished the Northern Liang, may explain the disappearance of these earliest rock-hewn sanctuaries of Buddhism in China. Perhaps they were destroyed at the time of the first great persecution of the Buddhist church under the Northern Wei. Though the chronology of the existing " Caves of the Thousand Buddhas " has not yet been fully investigated, there can be no doubt that some date from the Northern Wei period. For instance, the figures in Caves 111*a* and 111 (**174**, pls. 191-194) show undoubted affinity with certain sculptures at Yün-kang.

Three inscriptions have been found at Yün-kang, and they contain dates corresponding to A.D. 483, 489, and 495 (**225**, English text, ii 18, 41, 47). Thus we must turn to Yün-kang for the oldest extant rock-hewn images which are accompanied with definite documentary evidence as to chronology. Whether the art of Tun-huang directly inspired that of Yün-kang is a question that remains to be answered. The fact is significant that in A.D. 439, when the Northern Wei annexed Tun-huang, more than 30,000 families residing in that region are recorded to have been moved by the conquerors to their capital at P'ing-ch'êng, the modern Ta-t'ung in Shan-hsi. The passage in the *Wei shu* indicates that among those transplanted were monks and other devotees of Buddhism, and that they exercised a strong influence on the progress of the religion under the Northern Wei. With the revival of Buddhism in 452, after the eight years of persecution, doubtless the traditions thus introduced again served for the guidance of sculptors (**225**, English text, ii 22, 23).

The prevalent notion that Tun-huang was a mere outpost of Chinese civilization, where belated echoes of metropolitan culture found rustic expression, may have a basis of truth as regards painting

under the T'ang; but as regards Buddhist iconography and other importations it played a primary rôle. For hundreds of years, since the time when it became the gate of China on the main land route to the West, it remained a place of cultural, political and strategic importance. The recognized date for this event was the end of the second century B.C., being that of the traditional opening up of communications by Chang Ch'ien. Tun-huang was the first on the chain of oases affording natural facilities for the perilous journey across the desert. Through it passed those elements of Mediterranean, Iranian, Indian and Central Asian civilization which, during the early centuries of our era and long afterwards, were carried to China by Buddhism and other agencies. As might be expected, therefore, the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas manifest a mingling of various cultures. The frescoes provide the fullest evidence; and, since they range from the end of the fifth century to the beginning of the eleventh, they provide also invaluable criteria for the study of Chinese painting during a period from which few other examples of the art survive. In a recent thesis on the representation of space in Chinese painting till the end of the first millennium A.D., Bachhofer is obliged to turn to them frequently for lack of more representative material (**12**). Guided by the style, he dates the wall-paintings in Cave 110 (**174**, pls. 189, 190) not later than the last decade of the fifth century. These are probably among the earliest remaining works at Tun-huang, and he points to the fact that they display close affinities with the art of Kuchā (**12**, 208, 210).

Kuchā, like Tun-huang, owed much of its cultural significance to geographical position. This small kingdom also occupied an oasis on the road between China and the West. When in 2 B.C. the two routes of traffic across the Tārīm region were increased to three, the new northern route joined the earlier one at Kuchā. For centuries it remained a halting-place for all who travelled to the north of the Taklamakān Desert. A stream of Chinese pilgrims, going to or returning from the Holy Land, and also Buddhist missionaries on the way to China, made it their abode for varying periods. There was every inducement to linger in a place which was accounted one of the most important centres of their religion east of the Pāmīrs. When Kuchā first appears in Chinese history, in the second century B.C., it was then a well-organized and flourishing State, famed for the metal casting with which it long continued to be associated. The earliest known king married about 65 B.C. the daughter of a Chinese princess, sent to replace a predecessor who, more than forty years before, had been given as wife to the decrepit chieftain of the Wu-sun in order to further her country's interests. This nomad race dwelt near Lake Issyk-kul, to the north of Kuchā, whither they had migrated some four centuries earlier from east of Tun-huang. An alliance with them in their new abode had been advised by Chang Ch'ien as a diplomatic move to counter the attacks of the Hsiung-nu, China's horse-riding enemies on the northern frontiers. The lady Hsi Chün, the first of these imperial princesses to be sacrificed in the cause, left a pathetic poem lamenting her unhappy fate in this strange land, where she lived in a felt tent and had only nomad food. It ends: " Would I were a yellow stork, and could fly to my old home! " (*v.* **241**, 53). Given a status secondary to the chieftain's other wife, a Hsiung-nu, she received ceremonial visits but once or twice a year from her aged husband, with whom she had no language in common. When it was proposed to pass her on as wife to the grandson of the chieftain, her protests were overridden by the Emperor's decision that she must conform to local custom in the interests of Chinese diplomacy. At her death, the other princess, named Chieh Yu, was sent from China in her stead. The chieftain died and was succeeded by his cousin, to whom the lady Chieh Yu was handed on. A daughter of this union was she who became the wife of the King of Kuchā. On the death of her second husband in 60 B.C., the lady Chieh Yu was allotted to the next chieftain, the son of her first husband by a Hsiung-nu wife. In the *Ch'ien Han shu* (xcvi *b*, 1-5) are told these matrimonial vicissitudes and the intrigues, in which the hapless princess and her lady-in-waiting worked for China's advantage, and also the abortive project of sending out her niece as an imperial princess to wed another Wu-sun chieftain. At the age of seventy the lady Chieh Yu was in 51 B.C. allowed to return with three of her grandchildren to the Chinese capital, where she was honoured as befitted her dignity and the services she had rendered to her country (*v.* **251**).

One of the conditions of the first marriage pact with the Wu-sun was a gift of a thousand horses. The gift was demanded in order to satisfy the earnest desire of the Han Emperor Wu to possess horses

of the superior breed reported by Chang Ch'ien on return from his mission to the Yüeh-chih. But those sent by the Wu-sun were found to be inferior to the kind, seen by Chang Ch'ien in Ferghāna, which was said to sweat blood and belong to the breed of *t'ien-ma*, the " celestial horse "—probably to be identified with the Nisæan steeds of classic fame. Accordingly, the Emperor determined to obtain some of the superior horses from Ferghāna, and to this end sent an embassy and later two military expeditions which eventually, after the loss of several hundred thousand lives and a vast expenditure of material, resulted in a score or two of the superior horses being brought to China. The outcome amounted to much more than that: by 101 B.C. Chinese prestige had been firmly established all along the route to the Pāmīrs, and the road became free to communication with the West (*v.* **113**). If we may accept as true the foregoing account, which is given in chapter 123 of the *Shih chi*, the quest for the superior horse was a primary factor in bringing about the introduction of Buddhism into China, since the latter is to be counted among the foreign importations rendered possible by the newly-secured contacts, notably with the Yüeh-chih or Indo-Scythians. A minor result may have been Chinese familiarity with the animal art of Western Asia, perhaps exhibited on trappings carried by the horses from Ferghāna. Support for the surmise is found in the fact that certain Luristan bronzes and Chinese buckles of the Han period have features in common (*v.* **254**).

Before bringing this digression to a close, the fact may be remarked that probably the Wu-sun came from the same Indo-European stock as the people of Kuchā who, in common with the inhabitants of the other oases on the north of the Tārīm, had blue eyes and fair hair, and spoke a language in some respects like Slavonic and Celtic. Another point to add is that, as a result of the Chinese alliance with the Wu-sun, the lady, who afterwards married the King of Kuchā, had been sent by her Chinese mother to the Han Court ostensibly to learn to play the lute. Later, the King, proud of his marriage connection with the imperial family, made repeated journeys to Ch'ang-an together with his wife. He became imbued with love of Chinese culture, and so far changed his own city in imitation of the Chinese capital that he excited the ridicule of neighbours.

About a century later Kuchā passed under the domination of the Hsiung-nu, but it came again within the sphere of Chinese influence through the victories of the famous general Pan Ch'ao towards the end of the first century A.D.

At the time of the Western Chin (265-316) a thousand *stūpas* and temples are said to have existed in Kuchā. In 382 an expedition under Lü Kuang was sent to the Tārīm region by the Emperor Fu Chien, of the Former Ch'in dynasty, who had already brought northern China under his sway through a series of conquests, and now contemplated the formation of an empire comparable in extent to that of the Han (**249**, 1143-1188). Lü Kuang received the submission of the kingdoms of the oases except Kuchā, which he proceeded to invest. During the siege, the general one night had a vision of a golden figure leaving the city. Taking this as an omen that Buddha had abandoned the place, he renewed the attack victoriously. Among the captives was Kumārajīva who was born at Kuchā in 344.

Kumārajīva exercised such a profound influence on the progress of Buddhism in China that a brief account of his career seems called for. His father, a member of an important Indian family, had settled in Kuchā and married the king's sister. At the age of seven, the son showed a precocious knowledge of Buddhist scriptures. Two years later his mother took him to Cashmir, where for three years he was the pupil of Bandhudatta. On their way home, the couple stayed for a year at Kashgar, and it was in the course of religious studies there that Kumārajīva was converted to the Mahāyāna doctrine. He was welcomed with honour by the King of Kuchā, to whose daughter he gave Buddhist teaching. Aged twenty, he received ordination at a ceremony in the royal palace. Buddhism was then flourishing in Kuchā, as is evidenced by the fact that the monks numbered as many as 10,000—a large proportion of the population in that kingdom. The invasion by Lü Kuang interrupted this peaceful and pious existence. In cynical defiance of propriety, the victorious general forced the monk into a union with the princess who, as a nun, had received religious instruction from him more than twenty years before. Lü Kuang at first thought of settling down as ruler of Kuchā; but the disastrous defeat of the expedition against the Chin empire in the South, and Fu Ch'ien's death in 385

seemed to offer him chances of achieving a higher destiny in China. According to one account, Kumārajīva's advice persuaded him to return (**249**, 1187). With his booty, Lü Kuang went eastward and, at the city now called Kan-chou, set himself up as governor of that region. In 396 he assumed the title of King of Liang, and continued to depend on the monk for counsel. At the beginning of the fifth century, when the Kingdom of Liang was extinguished by the Later Ch'in, Kumārajīva was taken to Ch'ang-an and received into high favour while he continued his translations of Buddhist scriptures and preached Mahāyāna doctrine to more than 3,000 disciples. A scandalous tradition states that, far from being wholly occupied with propagating the gospel, he lived in a secluded building with ten concubines, assigned to him by the Emperor in order that so distinguished a man might propagate more of his kind (**249**, 1226). Kumārajīva is credited with having been a most prolific translator of Buddhist texts. No fewer than ninety-eight bear his name; but, neither Sanscrit nor Chinese being his mother tongue, he followed the usual practice of expounding the Indian text in colloquial Chinese, which was committed to writing in proper style by a native scholar. He died at Ch'ang-an in 413 (*v.* **167**, 392, 422).

Though numerous finds have been made, especially during the present century, at the oases of the Tārīm basin and in the region of Turfān, it is still too early to assert which of these centres of Buddhism exercised the strongest influence on iconography in China. Much work still remains to be done on the results of the various expeditions — the French under Pelliot, Vaillant and Hackin; the German under Grünwedel and Le Coq; the Japanese under Ōtani and Tachibana; the Russian under Oldenbourg, Kozlóv and the two Berezovskys; the Swedish under Hedin; and the British under Stein. Beyond doubt Eastern Turkestan has more revelations in store for us; the good preservation of buried remains, owing to extreme dryness, is one reason why this field is an ideal one for archaeological discovery.

In a historical account of Kuchā, which has been consulted frequently while the foregoing paragraphs were being written, Lévi advances evidence to prove that this small kingdom was of major Buddhist importance during the early centuries of our era. He gives instances of certain items in Chinese Buddhist terminology which he traces to an origin in Kuchā, not in India. In short, he suggests the theory that the language of Kuchā was the vehicle by which the doctrine reached China (**141**, 379). Regarded from the religious aspect, Kuchā marked a linguistic frontier: to the west the texts were read in Sanskrit, to the east in Chinese, and the language of Kuchā served as the intermediary (**141**, 344, 345). On the other hand, the earliest recorded missionaries were Indo-Scythians, Sogdians and Parthians, not natives of Kuchā; and the first known Chinese pilgrim, Chu Shih-hsing, made Khotan his objective when in A.D. 258 he went in search of Buddhist scriptures. The rival claims of Khotan to pre-eminence in Central Asia were strong. It was an important headquarters of Mahāyānist doctrine, as the pilgrim Fa-hsien observed when he visited the place at the beginning of the fifth century. The monks numbered several myriads, and the inhabitants were so devout that their custom was to build in front of each dwelling a *stūpa* some twenty feet high. The pilgrim describes the magnificence of Buddhist buildings and the ritual processions in which the royal family took a pious part. He ends with the statement that the kings of the " six countries " on the east of the Pāmīrs contributed most of their treasures to adorn a splendid monastery, to the west of the city, the building of which took eighty years (**135**, 16-20). This prominence of Khotan may explain the superior sanctity assigned to it in a Mahāyānist text which was among those expounded to the Kuchān princess by Kumārajīva. The *Candragarbha sūtra*, which was translated into Chinese in 566, gives a religious survey of the Buddhist world stretching from Benares to China and including northern India and Turkestan (**138**, 261-286). One section enumerates the manifestations of Buddha resulting from the rays which his countenance emitted, illumining every region of space. Khotan is second only to the whole territory of China with its 255 manifestations; for no fewer than 180 are assigned to it, while the next in order of numerical superiority are Kuchā with 99 and Kashgar with 98. The foregoing reflects the fact that Khotan was a most active centre for the dissemination of Mahāyānist literature, and thus played a leading rôle in Buddhist missionary enterprise, notably as regards China. Fa-hsien found the Hīnayāna being practised at Shan-shan (near Lob Nor) and Wu-i

(probably Kuchā) on his way along the northern route (**135**, 12-15). He complains that in the latter place he and his companions met with a niggardly reception, which is hardly surprising since they arrived but seventeen years after Lü Kuang's expedition. Two centuries later, at the time of Hsüan-tsang's pilgrimage, the Hīnayāna still prevailed there; probably Turfān was the only Mahāyānist centre to the north of the Tārīm. Kumārajīva's conversion and subsequent zeal as an exponent of the Mahāyāna did not change the traditional tenor of religious life in Kuchā.

The remark was made on an earlier page that most of the oldest known examples of Buddhist sculpture in China are preserved in the cave-temples. A past tense would have been more accurate; for, during the last quarter of a century, the caves have suffered ruthless spoliation, and now many of the best works are to be found in museums and private collections all over the world. An ugly feature of the traffic is the mutilation brought about by the callous cupidity of those concerned. Much may be said in favour of moving certain portable sculptures to places of greater safety; but nothing can excuse the decapitations and the separating of figures from groups to which they belong. Fortunately some photographic records were taken before the destruction had become general.

About ten miles to the west of Ta-t'ung in the north of Shan-hsi there is a sandstone cliff, named Wu-chou Shan, which contains more than twenty cave-shrines, commonly called after the village of Yün-kang, lying at the foot of the cliff. The sandstone is coarse and friable, and probably that is the reason why so few of the votive inscriptions have survived. By the author of the *Hsü kao sêng chuan*, writing about A.D. 655, they are said to have been numerous (**32**, 298); but only three are now known, and they are dated within the last two decades of the fifth century (*v. sup.* p. 10). Evidence exists, however, in the *Wei shu* and other texts, that caves were begun soon after A.D. 460 by the monk T'an-yao, acting under the orders of the Emperor Wên-ch'êng. One aim was to propagate the faith, but the chief motives seem to have been to invoke benefits beyond the grave for his imperial predecessors and to atone for the war waged against Buddhism by the Emperor's grandfather, who died in A.D. 452. Scriptural sanction for the iconography was probably derived mainly from the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* and the *Vimalakīrti sūtras*. Work in the caves went on after removal of the capital to Lo-yang in A.D. 494, as may be gathered from the presence of the inscription dated a year afterwards; and one cave, judged by the style of the sculpture, must have been made a century later at the time of the Sui dynasty (*v.* **32**, 294-298; **225**, English text, 13-23).

The Wei came of nomad Tungus stock from Eastern Mongolia. Patronage of Buddhism seems strangely incongruous with their blood-stained record; yet written accounts show that under them the religion flourished, except during one brief period of persecution. If existing remains be taken as the criterion, the art of Buddhist sculpture in China achieved its most characteristic expression within Wei territory. For instance, it displays certain features that have no close parallel elsewhere in the Buddhist world, excepting, of course, the derivatives in Corea and Japan. These are the leaf-shaped aureole, edged with flames; the flat, broad face with straight wedge-like nose from which spring arched supra-orbital ridges; the peculiar smile expressed in the upturned angles of a fully modelled mouth; the voluminous drapery with out-curved projections, like those that end a swallow's tail, and multitudinous formal pleats having edges elaborately tortuous, like those of our linen-fold design, and unnaturally long and ample skirts overflowing the thrones of images that are seated; the long narrow scarf crossing low in front of the figure and having each end looped up to hang over a forearm. More arresting than such peculiarities is the pervading air of sincerity which seems to proclaim a genuine religious impulse. Perhaps this impression comes partly from the primitive directness and spontaneity of the mason's handiwork. I am writing now of those figures which display features typical of Wei sculpture. They may be observed in the earlier works at Yün-kang, Lung-mên, Kung Hsien and Li-ch'êng Hsien, and in the pieces of this period in the Collection (PLATES I-XII). Guidance in the choice of iconographic motives was doubtless derived from Buddhist scriptures; but the mode of expression was a product of the country. Are we to believe that this art owed its quality to the Wei who, like other nomads of the north lacking culture of their own, took over the civilization of their newly conquered realms? A far more plausible explanation is that Buddhist

sculpture at that time was essentially Chinese. Records show that the Wei, straining to become sinicized, modelled their dynastic institutions and governmental machinery on Chinese patterns. In A.D. 496, when the royal House exchanged their original name of T'o-pa for that of Yüan, high officials and leading families followed suit by adopting Chinese surnames. The fact is significant, too, that this powerful race is not known to have left a single monument inscribed with their own language.

At the beginning of this essay evidence was cited which seemed to indicate that the making of Buddhist images in China started as early as the opening century of our era, and that the art existed in the central and southern regions. The first works must have been merely copies of imported models, and no doubt, from time to time, fresh arrivals in the country renewed the influence of alien prototypes. Yet there seems no reason to believe that the progress of Buddhist iconography differed from that of other cultural elements adopted from abroad. While always ready to welcome the products of foreign civilizations, the Chinese have consistently transformed whatever they borrowed into something of their own; and probably the distinctive style, which we are accustomed to link with the Wei, was in fact the outcome of this national aptitude.

Extant criteria for the study of this problem are unfortunately scanty, owing to destruction caused in various ways, the persecution of 884 having been the most far-reaching in its effects (*v.* p. 8). The fact that now the earliest Buddhist sculpture in China is almost unrepresented, except by Wei examples, may be attributed less to that dynasty's pious patronage than to the protection afforded by the cave-shrines within their territory. These escaped the fate which, sooner or later, overtakes buildings framed in wood; and, at times when the religion was proscribed, the factors which combined to save them were inaccessibility, resistance to attack offered by the hard rock, and absence of material that could be turned to other uses. Most of the few surviving works known to have been made under contemporary dynasties in other parts of China are too insignificant to inform us fully concerning standards of style. Such, for example, are two votive bronzes inscribed with the years of a Liu Sung reign-period, corresponding respectively to A.D. 437 and 451 (*v.* **203**, pl. 16 A and C; **228**, viii 1, 2). Each has the leaf-shaped aureole, edged with the flame design, at the back of the seated Buddha; but the drapery is treated in a schematic manner, reminiscent of Indian prototypes. The latter fact does not, however, disprove the present theory, since Indian tradition and " Wei " style are manifested side by side among the earliest sculptures at Tun-huang and Yün-kang, as will be remarked later. Another piece made under a Chinese dynasty, having Chien-k'ang (Nanking) as capital, shows all the distinctive features of the " Wei " style, so far as may be judged in its damaged condition (**203**, pl. 16 B). This small stone stele, now in the Boston Museum, bears a date, corresponding to 494, of the short-lived Southern Ch'i dynasty which supplanted the Liu Sung. The modelling is confined to a summary presentment of the seated Buddha's form, incised outline being used to express the attendant Bodhisattvas and details of the robes clothing the central figure. An outstanding exception to these inconclusive criteria is a votive group in Ssŭ-ch'uan, about fifty miles to the north-east of the provincial capital. The sides of two stone funerary pillars of the Han dynasty have been utilized for Buddhist sculptures: some partly modelled figures in niches, and others in low relief, accompanied with the usual representations of the devotees (**197**, pl. 107-111). Though they are sadly defaced and weather-worn, enough remains for the distinctive features of the so-called Wei style to be clearly recognized; and, according to Segalen, one of the inscriptions contains a Liang dynasty *nien-hao*, naming a date equivalent to A.D. 529 (**196**, 149).

Further support for the theory that denies a monopoly to the Wei may perhaps be found among early Buddhist sculpture in Corea and Japan. The religion was first introduced into Corea by the monk Shun-tao, who went there in 372 with a mission carrying Buddha images and sacred scriptures. He was sent by the Emperor Fu Chien of the Former Ch'in dynasty, the same who is recorded to have commissioned the monk Lo-tsun to start the " Caves of the Thousand Buddhas " at Tun-huang (*v. sup.* p. 10). Fu Chien's immense empire stretched so far eastward as to march with Kōkuli, the northern of the three kingdoms into which Corea was divided; and to the ruler of Kōkuli Shun-tao was sent. Two years later another monk, named O-tao, followed him. To Paikché, the

south-western kingdom, the monk Mo-lo-nan-t'o came in 384 from the territory of the Eastern Chin dynasty whose capital was Chien-k'ang (Nanking). Silla, the third kingdom, owed knowledge of Buddhism to the teaching of a monk from Kōkuli during the first half of the fifth century; and there is record of vestments and incense sent by the Liang (**59**, 320, 321). From the foregoing one gathers that the Wei were not concerned in the first introduction of Buddhism into Corea. Nevertheless, they must have shared in later propaganda: Warner mentions certain cave-shrines near the Wei-Kōkuli frontier, which were made in 502 by the commander of a Northern Wei punitive expedition (**245**, 26). Corea was the intermediary in making Buddhism known to Japan. The recognized date is 552, at the time when both Paikché and Japan were at war with Silla, and the King of Paikché, wishing to enter into alliance with Japan, sent presents to the Emperor which included Buddhist images and scriptures. I should exceed the scope of this essay if I attempted to trace the influences which controlled the early practice of Buddhist iconography in Corea and Japan. Works existing in those countries supplement the meagre remains in China of contemporary sculpture outside Wei territory, and they reflect an art which may have been an essentially Chinese product.

As might be expected, connections with Central Asia have left noticeable traces in the early cave-shrines of China. For instance, striking similarities exist between certain wall-paintings at Tun-huang and those at Kuchā (*v.* **98**, figs. 237, 238; **99**, figs. 42-45; **132**, v pl. 9; **174**, pls. 189, 190, 280, 282). Among the plastic works at both Tun-huang and Yün-kang are some which reflect the mannerisms of Indian traditions. In the treatment of drapery they display vestiges of that methodic idealization of the *himation*, the creation of Greek sculptors, which was imitated with varying degrees of intelligence by the artizans of Gandhāra. Here, in China, we find a clumsy rendering of the Hellenistic prototype. Note, for example, on the arms a series of forked ridges which lack both grace and significance (*v.* **174**, pl. 193; **225**, ii 46). The standing figure beside the one last mentioned and three in another cave at Yün-kang (**32**, pl. 128) have the folds expressed with a scheme of parallel ridges which are far removed from Gāndhāra usage, yet a similar device occurs among the early sculptures of Mathurā (*v.* **235**, pls. 26, 27). Several examples of this mode of treatment by means of parallel ridges may be observed in the Collection (C4, 6, 9). Perhaps the ultimate prototype is to be found in the technique employed for the colossal Buddha images at Bamian, the oldest of which probably dates from the first century, prior to the Mathurā sculptures. Cords were stretched between rows of wooden pegs inserted into the rock, and these served as cores for the mortar ridges representing folds (**93**, 13, pl. 11; **104**, 109). Though this schematic mode of expressing the drapery by means of a lifeless pattern of seemingly padded folds occurs among the stucco images of Central Asia (*v.* **132**, i 39), the conclusion that it reached China solely by that route would not be warranted. It may have been among the Indian elements which also came by sea, and concerning these more will be said later. The fact should be remarked, however, that we find at Yün-kang a feature which seems to have been a Central Asian development. Over the point of the right shoulder an edge of the garment passes, as if there had been reluctance to adopt unmodified the Indian tradition of leaving the shoulder bare (**32**, pls. 142, 148). Among the wall-paintings at Kyzyl, near Kuchā, Buddha figures with bared and partly covered right shoulders appear side by side (**98**, figs. 339-344, 351-354). Another type at Yün-kang seems to offer a close parallel to the Gupta style, though modern restoration may mask to some extent the original features (**32**, pl. 127). The drapery on the lower row of images in this cave has no plastic independence; it clings to the figure, and the folds are indicated but slightly.

Among motives which seem likely to have traversed the overland route are some used to adorn architectural structures more commonly than detached and portable images. The *kīrtimukha* mask, carrying festoons of pearl ropes or valances of canopies, occurs frequently in the Yün-kang caves (**203**, pls. 62, 77, 78, 79, 80), and at a later date it appears unchanged on a stele in the Collection (*v.* C 28). How closely it conforms to the Indian prototype may be recognized by turning to the frieze on the terrace round the temple at Bodh-Gayā (**155**, pl. 9). Its ultimate source is traceable to Greco-Roman ornament. Ubiquitous are the fairy-like beings who float in the air with long trailing draperies, and hold various objects. Several examples occur in the Collection (*v.* C 3, 11, 16). Writers call them

differently: Apsaras, Vidyā-dhara, Dakini, and, when they function as musicians, Gandharva. Since these names may convey mythological implications which seem hardly to fit the part played by the figures in Buddhist iconography, I prefer to use the vague but unexceptionable term Devatā, "divine being"; and this has the advantage of being equivalent to the Chinese *t'ien shên*. Le Coq's attempt to relate these aerial figures to Nike, the Greek goddess of victory, seems unconvincing (**131**, 26, 27, figs. 167-175). On several of the Bhārhut bas-reliefs garland bearers hover in the sky, and other instances might be given where no Hellenistic influence is discernible (*v.* **63**, pls. 13, 30, 31). One of the most ancient of all ornamental designs is the palmette. It occurs frequently in the Buddhist sculptures of China: at both Lung-mên and Kung Hsien in caves which are assigned to the Northern Wei period (*v.* **225**, ii 76, 108, 114 (1)); but more plentifully later, and among these examples are some in the Collection (*v.* C 28, 29). Ancient India provides numberless palmettes which might be cited as prototypes. To name a few: one on a votive tablet inscribed with Brāhmī characters of the Kuṣāṇa period (**208**, 19, pl. 12); from Bhārhut another which also serves as a finial to a gateway (**63**, pls. 6, 7), and one on a balustrade in the Boston Museum (**235**, pl. 15 A); from Sānchī there are many variants (**146**, pl. 5). Probably the palmette came to China not only from India in association with Buddhist iconography. It is to be counted among the many decorative elements transmitted through Iranian channels from the art of the Hellenized Near East. The ultimate origin of the palmette was no doubt Asiatic, and so may have been that of a related device—the symmetric undulating meander from which spring leaves, flowers, and fruit. Certain manifestations of the latter became endowed with the symbolic import assigned to the lotus, and in such the meander may be held to represent the rhizome from the nodes of which, at regular intervals, leaves and flowers rise to the surface of the water. Variants of the vegetative meander occur frequently among early Buddhist sculpture in China; two may be seen, for instance, on the stele in the Collection which is dated A.D. 520 (C 13). Commoner items in this symbolic cycle are the lotus support (*padmāsana*) for images and the lotus petal mouldings of architectural basements. Primarily the lotus was understood to represent the Waters, and hence the Earth; for the Earth is conceived as resting upon and supported by the Waters, and the lotus flower and leaf offer an obvious analogy. This is why the expanded lotus bloom is chosen as a fitting basis for figure or building. Another symbolic implication is the notion of purity; since the flower is unsullied by the mud from which it springs (*v.* **55**, ii 23, 56, 57).

A general survey, however brief, of iconography in the early cave-shrines would be incomplete without mention of Hindu elements. They occur at both Tun-huang and Yün-kang as ancillary to Buddhist imagery (**174**, pl. 265; **32**, pls. 116-120). The sculptures at the entrance to the Fo-lai Cave at Yün-kang are noteworthy, since they include not only what are probably manifestations of Śiva and Viṣṇu expressed in Indian fashion, but two guardian figures which are survivals of an indigenous Indian cult, earlier than Buddhism and Jainism. This couple claims our special attention because analogues in a later guise appear on a bas-relief in the Collection (C 37, 39, 40). Yakṣa is a term which may be safely applied to them; yet arguments might be advanced in favour of recognizing Brahmā in the figure whose hair is tied in a top-knot without ornament, and Indra in the figure crowned with a decorated head-dress. This head-dress has wings which have given rise to questionable theories. For instance, Chavannes points out an apparent resemblance to the *petasus* of Hermes, and he goes further in recognizing the trident of Poseidon, and also the *thyrsus* of Dionysus to explain the ill-defined object which rises above the other's right shoulder (**32**, 309). Later writers elaborate his surmise that here is an indiscriminate jumble of attributes adopted from Greco-Roman sources. The fact should be remembered that these two figures at Yün-kang have suffered not only from decay, but from restoration by ignorant hands to such an extent that many original features are either lost or masked. At all events, the search for Greco-Roman origins seems unnecessary. The supposed *thyrsus* may be suitably explained as a *vajra*—an alternative suggested by Chavannes, though he omits to note its significance (**32**, 310). The *vajra* is, indeed, a recognized attribute of Indra, who often appears in Gāndhāran sculpture, grasping it while attendant on the Buddha (*v.* **76**, figs. 155, 156, 157A, 264). Whatever was the object held in his left hand by the companion figure, it is no longer recognizable; for the restorer has modelled a meaningless fold of drapery which hides any remnant

of the original sculpture. As to the supposed *petasus*, among the figures found in Chinese tombs are some which wear a head-dress in the form of a bird with wings partly extended. Two examples in the Eumorfopoulos Collection show the bird naturalistically (Hobson, *Cat.* i, figs. 284, 270); and the first, being of the Lokapāla type, may be assumed to have functioned as a protector, like similar figures in numerous Buddhist temples in China and Japan. The position of the Yaksas at Yün-kang and that of another couple at the entrance to a grotto on Pao Shan, to be described later, is evidence that they served as door-guardians. The foregoing leads up to the question whether the so-called *petasus* is not a variant of the bird head-dress which appears on many tomb figures. The elaborate examples at Pao Shan and elsewhere (*v. inf.* pp. 30, 31, 56, 57) plainly have a pair of wings, but the presence of a bird's head and neck is not apparent. A tall frontal ornament rises from the circlet of the head-dress, and perhaps it hides some of the details. Pelliot remarks the lack of evidence that the bird head-dress existed in real life, and the facts which I have cited support his theory that it was a mythological attribute (*T'oung Pao*, xxii (1923) 4-5).

Though we must depend mainly on the cave-shrines, there are certain detached pieces of sculpture which provide significant criteria. A votive stele, inscribed with the date of a Northern Wei reign-period corresponding to 457, displays affinity with the school of Gandhāra in the general treatment of the drapery. No earlier date than this, two years after the arrival of the monks from Ceylon (*v. inf.* p. 19), is known to Sirén on any Buddhist stone sculpture in China (**203**, pls. 116, 117). The right shoulder of the Buddha is bare, save for an edge of the robe covering the point. This peculiarity appears in another Northern Wei stele made thirty-seven years later (**203**, pl. 118), and it is one which, as already suggested, may have been evolved in Central Asia. None of the features typical of the " Wei " style can be traced in either of these works, except such minor details as the confronted lions on the pedestals. Another Northern Wei stone stele, dated 495, has on the front a standing Buddha with drapery schematized after the manner of the colossi at Bamian and their parallels at Yün-kang (**203**, pls. 70, 48, 54). On the reverse of this stele are three figures in typical " Wei " style (**203**, pl. 71). Scarcely modified copies of Indian prototypes appear side by side with " Wei " creations on a stele in the Collection (C 4, 6). A stone stele in the Ōkura Museum presents many unusual features, the most noteworthy being the presence of a standing Buddha image which combines in itself the two sets of characteristics just described. Though markedly clumsy and lacking plastic significance when compared with the best Wei sculpture, it unquestionably displays many of the mannerisms commonly associated with that school. Here are seen the flat, broad face with straight wedge-like nose; an obvious, but unsuccessful, attempt at the distinctive smile; and a somewhat voluminous skirt with out-curved projections and numerous pleats having elaborately tortuous edges. In contrast is the upper part of the drapery which shows an unskilful rendering of the formal kind of treatment found at Bamian. Are we to regard this piece as one of the earliest of Buddhist sculptures in China? Sekino, when describing it in the *Kokka* (No. 471, Feb. 1930), concludes that it is, and he finds indications of date in the costume of votaries represented on the reverse of the stele. The men wear girdles and short tunics which button on the left, an attire which certainly is not Chinese, but, according to Sekino, may be identified with the Hsien-pei. He suggests an attribution to the reign of Mu-jung Ch'ui (384-396) of the Later Yen dynasty, who had his capital on the site of Ting Chou in Chih-li, the province now called Ho-pei. Lack of definite information about this piece, which has remarkable features other than those noticed above, seems to preclude a decision on the point whether it helps to solve the problem of Wei sculpture.

Sirén remarks that the pointed, leaf-shaped aureole, edged with flames, is probably a Chinese product, since it seems not to exist among contemporary or earlier works elsewhere in the Buddhist world (**203**, xxxv, xxxvi). An admirable example is in the Collection (C 1, 2). I have included this type of aureole among the features distinctive of the so-called Wei style. On the other hand, it may have had an Indian prototype in a class of which few examples survive. A small bronze figure in the Peshawar Museum, of unknown provenance, is backed with an aureole in the form of two elements, a lower oblate and an upper circular, which are partly merged (**2**). The two edges of flamed glory end at the top in an ornamental finial in such a way that the whole aureole has the general shape of a

pointed leaf. The anonymous writer of the descriptive note in *Rūpam* assigns the bronze to " about the third or fourth century " on seemingly insufficient grounds. He finds resemblances in the figures of early Chinese votive bronzes, and argues therefrom that this piece may have been one of the kind which he supposes Chinese pilgrims took home and copied. It has that slimness of the hips which in Chinese bronze figures contrasts with the familiar Indian mode of representation. If Chinese parallels be taken as criteria of date, the bronze in the Peshawar Museum can hardly, in my opinion, be much earlier than the Sui dynasty. Perhaps more examples will come to light in India and solve this interesting problem. The leaf-shaped aureole may be found to have been evolved specially to suit the technique of small votive bronzes. A single form, such as this, provides a more effective backing as regards both durability and presentment of the figure. Turning to C 1, we find, marked on the aureole, vestiges of a nimbus encircling the head and another surrounding the body—the same combination that appears in the bronze in the Peshawar Museum. The maker of the latter had good reason to merge these two into a simpler form which thus avoids interference with the significance of the figure contours. He achieved this aim by means of an edging of flames ending in a pointed finial. Chinese artisans, with their customary attention to practical issues, have carried the device further to its logical conclusion and produced a single, massive backing which is graceful and yet avoids fussy and breakable detail. Sirén suggests that the leaf-shaped aureole was not evolved in a stone technique, and with reason, since detached examples in this medium are specially vulnerable, and few are to be found of which the point has escaped damage. He seeks an origin in painting; but, in the absence of evidence to support this surmise, the technical needs of the smaller portable bronzes seems to me a more plausible explanation.

In the foregoing rapid survey of the beginnings of Buddhist sculpture in China an attempt has been made to notice the salient features of the earliest surviving examples. We have seen that the progress of the art, if it may be so called, was not a homogeneous one, sprung from iconographic standards introduced with the religion and evolved through the uninterrupted application of Chinese genius to the task of interpreting sacred writings. Fresh models were constantly coming from abroad, and often these underwent but slight assimilation and modification at the hands of Chinese craftsmen. Thus is explained the presence, side by side, of scarcely changed foreign types and products characteristic of the country. Foremost among the latter is the main body of works made during the fifth century and the late and early parts of the fourth and sixth centuries, respectively. This development, which is certainly the most distinctive and in many respects also the most impressive in the whole range of Buddhist sculpture in China, is generally linked with the Wei. The habit is, moreover, to suppose that the so-called Wei school was to a great extent isolated and independent, and that it received fresh inspiration almost entirely through importations *via* the overland route across the Tārīm basin to India. Contrary to this assumption, I have set forth evidence for the theory that it was merely a branch of a national Chinese art fostered equally, if not more powerfully, in the South. The fact that the most numerous extant manifestations of this art are linked with Wei territory may be traced to fortuitous circumstances—chiefly the presence of cave-shrines which escaped destruction. Early Buddhist sculpture in the South was not so favoured, and it suffered from a series of misfortunes. That is why material evidence in support of the theory is so meagre; yet I venture to think that enough can be found to establish a good case.

Written accounts, some of which have been cited at the beginning of this essay, plainly show that the making of Buddhist images flourished from earliest times in the South. Missionaries, coming by the sea route, constantly brought scriptures and images which contributed fresh impulses to iconographic practice; and they did not always stay in the South. For instance, a passage in the *Wei shu* notes the arrival in 455 at the Wei capital of five monks from Ceylon carrying with them three Buddha images, the workmanship of which excited admiration (**225**, Text, ii 29). The designation of these monks as " Hu " leaves in doubt the question whether they were natives of India or Central Asia. At any rate, this event establishes the fact that influences did reach Wei territory by a route other than the Tārīm basin, and at the same time it indicates Buddhist communication with Southern China. Perhaps it was but one among several such importations which would help to explain the presence of markedly foreign types beside the distinctive " Wei " sculptures.

A stream of missionaries continued to arrive in the South. One of the most notable was the learned Paramārtha, a native of Ujjain in Western India, who came to Nanking in 548. Nine years before that a tribute mission had arrived at the Liang Court from the King of Fu-nan, bringing a live rhinoceros and the offer of a hair of the Buddha, twelve feet long. The emperor sent envoys to acquire the relic and to seek eminent monks and sacred texts. After seven years they returned with a large collection of manuscripts and accompanied by Paramārtha who spent twenty years in translating them (**65**, 15-21). Earlier during the fifth century, a number of tribute missions had come from Fu-nan. Among the gifts was a Buddha image in coral and a figure in Indian sandal wood (**172**, 269-271).

Recognition of the religious motives expressed is, of course, an essential part of a cataloguer's duties when describing Buddhist sculpture. To perform his task fully, he should have extensive knowledge of contemporary Buddhist thought, as evidenced in the literature, and familiarity with iconographic practice, not only in China, but elsewhere throughout the Buddhist world. The problems are formidable enough when the issue is confined to a single period. But the pieces to be described in this volume exemplify almost the entire known range of the art in China; for they date from about the end of the fifth century till more than a thousand years later. In the light of present knowledge it is hardly feasible to trace over this vast field the varying meaning of iconographic presentment. The basic criteria have not yet been assembled. Collaboration by specialists, each contributing the results of research within a limited compass, will be necessary. Waley's recent catalogue (**240**) of Tun-huang paintings, which belong to the latter half of the T'ang period, is an example of what may be done towards fulfilment of this aim. Meanwhile we have for reference the extensive material brought together in the great works of Chavannes (**32**), Ōmura (**162**), Pelliot (**174**), Sirén (**203**), Stein (**215**, **216**), Tokiwa and Sekino (**225**) and other Japanese scholars.

In the preparation of this volume an attempt has been made to consult the chief literature, as entered in the Bibliography. The list is far from complete, and every student of the subject will notice omissions. Attention has been paid to Indian items in order to emphasize the prime importance of turning to that country for light on problems in China. The remainder of this essay is concerned with notes on the interpretation of early iconographic practice especially in regard to examples in the Collection.

A fundamental clue to the impulse for the making of Buddhist images is to be found in the second chapter of the *Lotus sūtra* (*Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*). Buddha in the course of a long address to Śāriputra, declares: "All who caused jewel images to be made and dedicated, adorned with the thirty-two characteristic signs, reached enlightenment. Others who had images of Sugatas [Buddhas] made of the seven precious substances, of copper or brass, have all of them reached enlightenment. Those who ordered beautiful statues of Sugatas to be made of lead, iron, clay, or plaster have all of them reached enlightenment. Those who made images (of the Sugatas) on painted walls, with complete limbs and the hundred holy signs, whether they drew them themselves or had them drawn by others, have all of them reached enlightenment. Those even, whether men or boys, who during the lesson or in play, by way of amusement, made upon the walls (such) images with the nail or a piece of wood, have all of them reached enlightenment; they have become compassionate, and, by rousing many Bodhisattvas, have saved *koṭis* of creatures" (**123**, 50, 51).

Here is promise of personal salvation; for the making of Buddha images is declared a meritorious deed which affects favourably individual destiny. Buddhism adopted the belief in metempsychosis, the endless sequence of deaths and rebirths to which every being is subject. Rebirth is occasioned by desire for life, and each succeeding existence is conditioned for better or for worse by the balance of merit or demerit acquired during past lives. Final release from the bondage of desire—the instinctive clinging to physical existence and the consequent phases of care and suffering—may be gained only through supreme enlightenment, in other words, by becoming a Buddha. But the announcement to Śāriputra expresses also the fundamental teaching of the Mahāyāna or "great vehicle," so called by its followers to distinguish it from the rival system to which they give the unwelcome name of Hīnayāna, "small or inferior vehicle." Mahāyānism is essentially the Buddhism of Bodhisattvas, those

who, possessing the potentiality of perfect enlightenment (*bodhi*), strive to develop it for the sake of their fellow-creatures. The Bodhisattva might, if he so willed, enter into the eternal tranquillity of *Nirvāṇa*, and escape from this world's tribulations. That is the aim of the Hīnayānist, a logical outcome of the belief that salvation can be attained only by his own unaided effort. Having become an Arhat and "reached the other shore," as is the common phrase, he enjoys his secluded bliss undisturbed and surveys the suffering masses with cold detachment. Mahāyānists protest against what they consider the callous and selfish attitude of the rival system, though they may not be wholly justified in their estimate. Reason upholds the inflexibility of the principle that as a man sows so shall he reap, that he enjoys or suffers through a series of births the consequences of previous acts. But human instinct craves some relief from this relentless fate. In response, Mahāyāna Buddhism conceived the Bodhisattva, the ideal of devotion and self-sacrifice to the spiritual welfare of one's fellowmen. It proposed the doctrine of the turning over of one's own merits to the service of others, so that hope is offered to the ignorant and misguided masses, ever subject to rebirth in the Triple World (*trailokya*) of desire, form and formlessness. Thus the bliss of enlightenment is made accessible to all, and no being is debarred from the final goal of Buddhahood.

This selfless spirit of the Mahāyānist is manifested in the inscriptions which often accompany the sculptures in China. The custom for votaries thus to record the circumstances of their service to the faith in the setting up of images enables us to learn their professed motives. Hope for immediate and tangible reward to themselves is seldom expressed. A dedication such as one at Lung-mên, dated 659, is rare (**32**, 489, figs. 643, 1590). It says: "Ma Fu-t'o, a disciple of Buddha, and Dame Liu, his wife, wishing that they may enjoy tranquillity, have respectfully made this niche containing a figure of Amitābha (O-mi-t'o)." Generally, the prospect of personal share in accruing benefits is only indirectly implied in the formulas which are most commonly used, like that on the small bronze in the Collection (C 1, 2): "May all members of the [votary's] family be reunited in lasting happiness." And one may infer that the desired "happiness" is not chiefly of the material and worldly kind, but that it means spiritual satisfaction and deliverance from the miseries of further births, to be gained by dead and living through attainment of Buddhahood in another and not too distant life. There exist, it is true, certain legends conveying a self-centred purpose, such as hope for recovery from an illness or gratitude for a cure (*v.* **32**, 558, 559). At the same time, the avowed motive is also to benefit others. For instance, a Wei inscription at Lung-mên runs as follows: "The monk Tao-chi, being ill and desirous to be healed, made this image; he wishes, moreover, that all living beings may be freed from sickness and ultimately attain Buddhahood" (**32**, 429, fig. 1527). Here is another inscription at Lung-mên: "Chao Hsing-chêng, a disciple of Buddha, having recently recovered from a malady of the foot, reverently made these two images: one of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (Kuan-shih-yin), Saviour from Affliction (Chiu [-k'u]), and the other of the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha (Ti-tsang). He dedicates these with his whole heart for the benefit of his forbears, male and female, to the seventh generation" (*v.* **32**, 407, fig. 1473). This form of dedication occurs in countless votive inscriptions, and often the donor's own parents are coupled with his distant ancestors. The same phraseology is found in the *Fo shuo yü lan p'ên ching*, a short *sūtra* which was translated into Chinese about the end of the third century by Dharmarakṣa, a native of Tun-huang (**159**, No. 303), and of which there is a French translation by Chavannes (**29**, 53-57). The *sūtra* contains the Buddha's answer to Maudgalyāyana when the latter, having perceived his late mother in torment, inquired by what means he could alleviate her condition. It teaches the efficacy of the *avalambana* ritual, at which an offering of food is made annually in Buddhist assemblies. The primary purpose is to satisfy the filial piety of those anxious concerning the fate of their ancestors, and the beneficent influence of the ceremony embraces also parents still alive. Inscriptions testify that those who set up images sought to turn the merit thus acquired not solely to the profit of their kinsfolk. We find an edifying extension of filial duty in numerous expressions of solicitude for the prosperity of the emperor, the reigning dynasty, the empire, and the donors' religious teachers. Sometimes the wishes are so comprehensive as to take in all the worlds of sentient beings. Such would seem to be the impulses which most often actuated the pious deed, if we are to accept the written words at their face value. Doubtless certain of the votive legends, like our

customary epitaphs, are framed chiefly to comply with ethical propriety; yet the majority are clearly frank documents revealing genuine religious hopes and human affections. The long series at Lung-mên, which Chavannes renders accessible to Western readers in his great work (**32**), manifests the intimate workings of this compassionate faith from the close of the fifth century during more than two hundred years while it signally flourished. Here is a far truer guide to its influence on the life of the people than can be found in the cold records of history.

The inscription on the stele of A.D. 520 in the Collection (C 11-20) is a typical one. It starts, as usual, with a statement of iconographic needs: " Since the divine doctrine is of subtle transcendence, it can be truly manifested only with words and images; since perfect knowledge is profoundly deep, there is no means of displaying the glorious signs [of Buddhahood] unless with representative figures." Preambles, similar to this in sense though varied in expression, occur in many of the inscriptions (*v. e.g.* **32**, 416, 475, 501, 504, 507, 578-9; **38**, 9, 17, 21-2). Just as the " words " are the sacred scriptures which echo the Buddha's voice, so the images, " displaying the glorious signs," serve to keep present a memory, a reflection of his person. Such aids are needed to vivify the faith of those unfortunate beings who are destined to be born in a Buddhaless age. Three periods follow a Buddha's *Parinirvāṇa*: the first is that of the correct Law when the torch continues brightly burning, the second when it becomes partly extinguished, and the third that of spiritual darkness. Thus, between the death of Śākyamuni and the coming of Maitreya, his next successor, ages must elapse, and countless millions pass their lives without the light of a Buddha. That is the meaning of the allusion, towards the end of the inscription, to Śākyamuni's historic death in the *sāla* grove at Kusinārā: " Between the twin trees he returned to the Infinite, and has been afar off for a thousand years; so clergy and laity may stray from the correct path, and become submerged in this dark age." Images, though merely faint and distant reflections of the Buddha's personality, do help to substantiate the force and fact of his teaching and thus illumine the way of salvation for the benefit of humanity fated to a world long bereft of his presence. In the words of the inscription: " By such means [the living] are helped to cross this [world's] troubled ocean [of suffering], and a bridge is provided to the other shore [of *Nirvāṇa*] . . . [That is why] Chi Li-chih, by carving this block of stone, has caused the bodily forms to appear as mementoes displaying semblances [of the holy figure] which shall spread their fragrance for a myriad generations." Furthermore, evidence exists that the semblance was regarded as something more than a lifeless symbol. For instance, inscriptions often mention the ceremony at which " the light of the image was opened "—the finishing touch given by painting the pupils of the eyes, whereby the image became animated. The phrase commonly occurs, as it does on the stele under discussion, among the list of various benefactions concerned with the setting up of sculptures. There are other links with the actual person of the Buddha. Many of the votive inscriptions record the eighth day of the fourth month as the date of dedication. Now, this is the day assigned by tradition to Śākyamuni's birth; and the choice of it for the ceremony of inauguration is clearly significant. A further parallelism may be found in the custom of performing the annual washing of Buddhist images on the same date, in imitation of the first bath of Śākyamuni immediately after he was born (*v.* **32**, 558).

The preamble of our inscription has been cited except the following: " Wherefore the monastery of the Jetavana was wonderfully completed in the Western Regions (*i.e.* India), and the [tree with] scented blooms of the divine dragon spreads its fragrance beyond the frontiers." These lines provide the complement or antithesis of those which go before and declare the need for Buddhist images. Mention of the Jetavana monastery or *vihāra* implies, in the words of Fa-hsien, " the very first of all the images (of Buddha), and that which men subsequently copied " (*v.* **135**, 56-7 and *inf.* pp. 32-3). The sole hint given by the inscription that the stele commemorates any other than Śākyamuni is the allusion to the tree of dragon flowers, to be discussed later. Like all Buddhas, Śākyamuni was a Bodhisattva in his former lives, and this status was assigned to him on account of his deeds of self-sacrifice throughout innumerable incarnations. The *jātaka* stories minutely describe how the sum of accumulated merit led to the reward of Buddhahood, which he reached in his last sojourn on earth as Siddhārtha Gautama, son of the chief of the Śākya clan. His ponderous antecedents are here merely

indicated by allusion to the most famous of his former births as Prince Viśvāntara, the one immediately prior to his historical career. Thus he is called the Heir Apparent (*T'ai-tzŭ*), and his name, in the form of Hsü-ta-na or Su-ta-na, is added. This popular tale, in which the Prince realizes the extreme perfection of charity and selflessness, and its representation in Buddhist sculpture, has been mentioned already (pp. 7, 8). While it alone suffices to typify the long series of former births, the inscription names two events in the historical life: the Enlightenment and the *Parinirvāṇa*.

But he is not the mortal Śākyamuni who is described in the last paragraph of the inscription, thus: " Sublime is the Compassionate One who manifests himself on the Vulture Peak (Gṛdhrakūṭa). His form has no fixed abode; in the Triple World (*trailokya*) he is omnipresent." The Buddha did not die at the age of eighty under the *sāla* trees at Kusinārā, nor was his personality dissipated into nothingness save for a few burnt relics divided among devotees. His spiritual presence is unchangeable, and abides for ever on the summit of the Vulture Peak where he preaches endless bliss to a vast assemblage of beings (*v.* **123**, 307-310). Such is the doctrine of the Mahāyānists, who have a mystic and deified conception of the Buddha after his death, just as the Hīnayānists endow him with a supramundane existence besides the earthly one. The latter suppose him to have been a Bodhisattva in the Tuṣita Heaven, where, feeling pity for the distressed world below, he resolved to descend and be born again for the last time in order to deliver humanity from " the ocean of misery." While accepting this view, the Mahāyānists enlarge it and declare that he has existed and preached and will continue to exist and preach in countless millions of worlds. This embraces the doctrine of the Three Bodies (Trikāya). The first is the Dharmakāya, the essence of supreme Enlightenment or *bodhi*, which is never born and can never perish—the one eternal reality underlying all phenomena. Manifestation on the Vulture Peak does not imply that this personified Dharmakāya or idealized Buddha reveals himself only in one favoured spot. In the words of the inscription, " his form has no fixed abode; in the Triple World he is omnipresent." At all times and in all places the Dharmakāya responds to the spiritual needs of sentient beings. Secondly, the Nirmānakāya or Body of Transformation in the human form is assumed by Śākyamuni and other Buddhas during an earthly existence on which they enter in the spirit of universal love and pity for suffering mortals, and thus demonstrate the Great Compassionate Heart (*mahākarunācitta*). The third of the trinity is the Sambhogakāya, the Body of Bliss which partakes of the other two, and perhaps may be said to lie half way between them. It has been explained as a radiant form which Buddhas take when they appear in their paradises or elsewhere as beings of celestial splendour; but the conception is not so simple as that.

With such ample clues provided in the inscription, one might hope to identify the figures on the stele. Doubtless the large seated figure in front (C 11), which is given the place of chief importance, represents the everlasting spiritual presence of Śākyamuni on the Vulture Peak, manifested in the Dharmakāya. The four figures, standing beside him, and the Devatā, floating in the air, symbolize the countless hosts of Bodhisattvas and others who listen to his teaching, as described in the *Lotus sūtra*. Here Śākyamuni expounds the mystic truth that, though the world believes that he attained supreme enlightenment at Gayā, he has existed as a Buddha from eternity (*v.* **123**, 298 *seq.*). All the other Buddha images on the stele cannot, so far as I know, be identified with certainty; some may represent phases in the Śākyamuni cycle. Yet there are strong arguments in favour of recognizing the standing Buddha, attended by two monk-like figures, as Ting-kuang or Dīpaṅkara (C 11, 15). He is variously accounted the twenty-fourth or the fifty-second predecessor of Śākyamuni; and the tale is that the historical Buddha, when a young student in a former birth, offered flowers to him and, kneeling in the mud, spread his long hair and deer-skin cloak upon the ground so that Dīpaṅkara might not soil his feet. In reward for these acts of homage, the latter predicted that the student would attain Buddhahood in a future birth. Hsüan-tsang mentions the legend when relating his visit to the spot, near Nagarahāra, where these famous incidents were reputed to have occurred (**120**, 97). They provide favourite motives for Buddhist sculpture in India (**76**, i 273-279; **101**, 142, 143) and they are commemorated in China in both inscriptions and sculpture (**32**, 586, 590, fig. 432). At a still remoter period of time, Śākyamuni, when incarnated as a Brahman, had among his disciples one who, pouring oil upon his head, turned it into a lamp wherewith to light his master. For this signal proof of devo-

tion, the young man was promised Buddhahood in a future birth, and the Brahman was assured that, when the prophecy should be realized, his disciple would in turn give him a like prediction. The disciple was none other than the future Dīpaṅkara Buddha (**28**, 85-87). A standing figure of Dīpaṅkara, similar to that on the stele except that one arm is generally extended, is common in Buddhist iconography (*v.* **79**, 77-84). Two figures of this type at Yün-kang probably should be so identified (**203**, pls. 35, 38 b), and at Lung-mên are two inscriptions naming Dīpaṅkara, though the images to which they belong are not easily traced in the published photographs (**32**, 492, 509). In the Kyōto University Museum there is a four-sided stone stele which bears the date of a Western Wei reign-period corresponding to A.D. 551. On one side is carved a standing Buddha in similar *mudrā*, and also flanked with a couple of monks. Fortunately the name Dīpaṅkara is given in the inscription, and so there can be no room for doubt (**162**, 294, fig. 577). The other sides display the named figures of Śākyamuni, Maitreya and Samantabhadra. As regards the stele in the Collection, another point to be remarked is that Dīpaṅkara is mentioned several times in the *Lotus sūtra* (**123**, 22, 28, 300), and so his presence here is appropriate, if this *sūtra* be the source of inspiration.

One of the problems of Buddhist imagery in the Far East is the meaning of a figure which appears in somewhat unusual guise on two panels of this same stele (C 12, 14, 17, 18). It is that of a Bodhisattva, seated with one foot on the ground, the other leg resting horizontally upon the opposite thigh, and the hand of his flexed arm raised to his face—a posture of meditation, as it is generally termed. The nomenclature adopted in Japan shows lack of uniformity, the habit there being to call this numerous type either Miroku (Maitreya) or Nyoirin Kwannon without apparent reason for such discrimination (**162**, xiii fig. 56; **245**, 35, 36, figs. 47-68). The latter name, equivalent to Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara, would seem more suited to the Tantric form (*v.* **160**, 1348), and the use of this designation is traceable to an old tradition which in later years became superseded by an identification with Maitreya. One of the Japanese examples bears a seventh century inscription which names it Maitreya (**1**, No. 13; **7**, fig. 9). Wegner, who examines the matter, states that there is no inscription in China to justify the Maitreya identification; on the contrary, he advances evidence that the figure represents Śākyamuni (**248**, 217-219). At Yün-kang numerous instances may be seen of this type occurring in couples, each flanking a central larger figure which probably represents Maitreya; and perhaps the clue to the problem is to be found in the fact that the meditating Bodhisattva appears to be seated upon a bundle of grass or reeds (**32**, figs. 235, 239, 269, 276; **203**, pls. 46, 50). A well-known incident in the life of Śākyamuni is his encounter with the grass-cutter Svastika, when on the way to the Tree of Enlightenment. Reflecting that all his predecessors had attained *bodhi* upon a grass-covered seat, Śākyamuni asks for some grass so that he may conform to the tradition (*v.* **18**, 196; **74**, i 244-246). Svastika's gift (sometimes said to be reeds) is portrayed at Gandhāra, Barabuḍur and Pagān (**76**, i 389-395, figs. 197-199; **126**, No. 90; **198**, pls. 68, 69). The question is whether the Chinese presentment of a meditating Bodhisattva, seated upon something which appears to be a bundle of long grass tied round the middle, actually reflects this legend. If it does, we may recognize Śākyamuni about to attain *bodhi* under the *pippala* tree at Gayā as the motive of the two panels of the stele in the Collection, though the ample robes here obscure the support. In short, these panels should be linked with the words of the accompanying inscription: "Seated under the Tree of Enlightenment, he has been called the Śākya." Here then is an additional clue towards the solution of the problem. Further named examples appear on a stele of A.D. 554 published by Chavannes (**38**, 27, 28, pl. 43), and on a stele, dated three years earlier, in the Art Institute of Chicago (**121**, pl. 5). The same type of Bodhisattva is portrayed on an undated pedestal, and beside it is inscribed the name of the donor of this "figure of the Heir Apparent in meditation." A second donor is named in another inscription which refers not only to the seated Bodhisattva, but also to the rest of the picture, including the kneeling horse Kaṇṭaka, thus: "the figure of the Heir Apparent at the moment when he attained Buddhahood and the white horse licked his feet" (*v.* **38**, 30, 31, pl. 46). This inscription manifests some confusion as to the sequence of events, since established tradition places the Enlightenment long after the incident when the Śākyamuni sent back his favourite horse and finally severed all links with his princely career (**122**, i 55 *seq.*). Nevertheless, both inscriptions serve to support the argument that

the type of figure under discussion sometimes, if not always, represented Śākyamuni under the Tree of Enlightenment at Gayā. Again, at Yün-kang, association with the kneeling horse Kaṇṭaka demonstrates identity with the historical Buddha (**32**, fig. 220). As a presentment of the Enlightenment, the type differs entirely from Indian standards (*v. inf.* pp. 36, 37), and it seems to be one of those items of Buddhist iconography which were evolved in China.

The presence at Yün-kang of meditating Bodhisattvas in couples, each flanking an image of Maitreya, has been noted. This combination may be recognized also on the stele in the Collection; for, though the two Bodhisattvas appear on separate lateral faces, they both turn towards the seated figure on the reverse (C 13), and the latter is Maitreya, as I shall attempt to prove. But first let us seek the significance of the duplication. A reasonable explanation seems to be that, if one represents Śākyamuni, the other represents Maitreya. In favour of this identification is the scriptural sanction for the notion that the Maitreya cycle is a counterpart of that of Śākyamuni. All the chief phases in the latter's life are mirrored in the standard accounts of the future Buddha. Of the six chief *sūtras* devoted to Maitreya (**184**, 444), four (**159**, Nos. 205, 207–209) are translated into German from the Chinese versions (**136**, ii 227-280), and in these the parallelism may be followed. Just as Śākyamuni attained Enlightenment under the *pippala* tree, so will Maitreya reach Buddhahood under the tree of dragon's flowers (*nāgapuṣpa*). Hence the allusion on the stele in the Collection to "the [tree with] scented blooms of the divine dragon," and numerous similar phrases in the inscriptions at Lung-mên (*v.* **32**, 422, 490, 492, 516, 596). Votive legends often express the wish for participation in the "three assemblies" under this tree (*lung hua san hui*). There Maitreya will preach with such good effect that he will make in all 282 *koṭi* of converts. The idea uppermost in the minds of these pious donors of images is that, having the misfortune to be born when there is no Buddha in the world, they may still be living or be reincarnated during the advent of the next Buddha and thus find salvation (*v. sup.* p. 22). Towards the end of the fifth century and in the sixth, Buddhists in China were preoccupied with speculations concerning the last phase of spiritual darkness, attended with persecutions and calamities, which would cease at Maitreya's coming. The wretched state of the country aggravated their anxieties. Common opinion placed the onset of this phase in A.D. 433, and we find sixth-century writers dating events in such and such a year after the onset. The duration of the last phase was variously estimated; but evidently some of those living in that century hoped to witness the advent of Maitreya, and gain release from their sufferings (*v.* **240**, xxxviii). Hence the frequent allusions to the "three assemblies," and vaguer expressions of hope for peace. There was also belief in a paradise of Maitreya; and as early as the fourth century Tao-an and his disciples vowed before an image of Maitreya that they would do all in their power to ensure rebirth in his paradise (*v.* **184**, 447; **240**, xxxvii-xxxix). During the seventh and eighth centuries the increasing attention paid to the paradise of Amitābha somewhat obscured the cult of Maitreya; but still in 664 we find Hsüan-tsang with his dying words express the wish "to see the merits acquired through his good deeds turned to the profit of his fellow-men, to be born with them in the Tuṣita paradise, thus to join the company of Maitreya, and to serve that Buddha with tender devotion" (**119**, 344).

So a figure of Maitreya under his distinctive *bodhi*-tree, the champac, was of peculiar significance in the sixth century. While it was an exact counterpart of Śākyamuni's Enlightenment, it manifested another notion which strongly coloured religious thought of those times—the hope of salvation, if not during that incarnation, in the not too distant future. The presence of the two meditating Bodhisattvas, one on either side of Maitreya, provided a complete and satisfying group, since it combined memory of the Founder's teaching with promise of bliss to be realized through personal contact with the coming saviour.

Within the scope of this essay it is not feasible to attempt a general survey of so wide a subject as the iconography of Maitreya in China; it has been explored by Wegner (**248**). As regards Indian prototypes, the frequent occurrence of Maitreya images at Gandhāra should be remarked, and these display the popularity of a cult which seems to have claimed greater devotion than even that of Śākyamuni. The Bodhisattva appears holding the small water-flask, either standing or seated with legs interlocked (**76**, figs. 418-422); his hands are shown in the *dharmacakra mudrā* when he is seated

with legs interlocked or with pendent crossed legs (**76**, figs. 423-426). Images of Maitreya are among the earliest known Chinese works, being especially numerous during the Northern Wei period and becoming rarer as time goes on until they almost cease about the middle of the eighth century. At first two types are commonest: that of a Bodhisattva sitting with pendent crossed legs and generally with right hand raised in *abhaya mudrā*, the left on his knee; and that of a Buddha sitting with vertically pendent legs in the so-called " European fashion," and with hands in various *mudrās* (*v.* C 73). Between these comes a type which shows Maitreya in the Bodhisattva phase and in a posture similar to the second (*v.* C 13, 28, 32). Early in the sixth century Maitreya is portrayed sometimes as a standing Buddha, indistinguishable from Śākyamuni or Dīpaṅkara, except when an accompanying inscription gives the name, as it does in respect of the well-known figure at Lung-mên, dated A.D. 648, and a number of detached pieces (**32**, 345-349; **162**, figs. 513, 544; **203**, pls. 149, 152, 153; **225**, ii 55 (2), 57; **248**). This erect Buddha type often has the right hand in *abhaya mudrā*, and the left against the thigh or in *vara mudrā*. These diverse presentments seem to be related to definite phases in the Maitreya cycle. The first three, including the intermediate type, represent the Bodhisattva in the Tuṣita Heaven, either awaiting incarnation or on the point of coming down to this world, after having chosen a suitable mother in the city of transcendent beauty, called Ketumatī. Evidence for the latter identification is afforded by the phrase " descending to be born " (*hsia shêng*) which occurs inscribed on a stele, dated 571, at the Shao-lin Ssŭ, and refers to a Bodhisattva image seated in *pralambapāda āsana* (**32**, 585, figs. 426, 427). That this presentment should be recognized as that of Maitreya still in the Tuṣita Heaven may be inferred from the fact that it is carved (though in Buddha form) on a stele of A.D. 670, where it is described as a representation of " Maitreya, in accordance with his veritable appearance in the Tuṣita " (**38**, 34, 35, pl. 50). This is an allusion to the tale told by Fa-hsien when narrating his visit to a place in Northern India. " Formerly in this country there was a Lo-han who, by his supernatural power, took a skilled craftsman up to the Tuṣita Heaven to observe the stature, complexion and features of the Bodhisattva Maitreya, so that he might, on his return, carve an image of him in wood. Altogether he ascended thrice to take his observations, and as the result made an image eighty feet high on a pedestal eight feet high. . . . It has remained here ever since " (**222**, li 858). Hsüan-tsang says the same with slight variation (**120**, i 149, 150). As Pelliot remarks, it must have been a standing image (**178**, 270); yet this fact hardly discredits the supposition that Maitreya images, seated with pendent legs, symbolize Maitreya's abode in the Tuṣita and his resolve to become incarnate in order to release mankind. At this stage he should, of course, be represented as a Bodhisattva, and that is the usual form; yet the fact that sometimes he is shown as a Buddha is perhaps traceable to the image-makers' lack of strict discrimination between the spiritual phases. We have examined the theory that Maitreya appears also as a Bodhisattva, seated in meditation under the *bodhi*-tree, in order to provide a counterpart to Śākyamuni. In the *sūtras* devoted to him the parallelism between the two is carried out in detail, even, for instance, to the cutting off of the hair, the final act in the Great Renunciation (*v.* **136**, 263). The presentment as a standing Buddha, similar to Śākyamuni and Dīpaṅkara, symbolizes the full realization of Maitreya's destiny.

To return to the stele in the Collection: the reverse (C 13), in accordance with usual practice, is devoted to Maitreya. The elaboration of the lower scene is probably intended to represent the splendours of the Tuṣita Heaven, and thus again the parallelism is exemplified, since here is a counterpart to Śākyamuni enthroned on the Vulture Peak (C 11). If this identification be correct, the fact that Maitreya's future is prophesied in the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* supports the explanation that the iconography of the stele is inspired mainly by the *sūtra* (*v.* **123**, 29, 290). Another parallel is the presence of Kāśyapa and Ānanda on either side of Maitreya; authority for thus recognizing the two monks is to be found on certain named sculptures (*e.g.* **121**, pl. 4). A reasonable surmise is that the standing Buddha, flanked by two Bodhisattvas, at the top of the reverse is Maitreya. As for the Buddha and Bodhisattva in *pralambapāda āsana* on each of the lateral faces (C 12, 14, 19), I cannot identify them with confidence. There remains only the scene on the lower third of the front (C 11, 16).

That this is inspired by the *Vimalakīrti sūtra* is evident at first sight, if only from the presence of two descriptive legends upon the lateral borders. On the right are the words: " Wei-mo-chieh

(Vimalakīrti) . . . in his ten cubits square house "; on the left: " Wên-shu-shih-li (Mañjuśrī) . . . [come] to inquire after [the sick man]." The narrative of the *sūtra*, which may be read in Izumi's translation (**115**) of Kumārajīva's Chinese version of the lost original, is briefly as follows. The Buddha, surrounded by myriads of Bodhisattvas, gods, disciples and other beings, is preaching the Law at Vaiśālī. At the request of the son of a wealthy merchant, he expounds the way to the pure land, which Bodhisattvas ought to walk; and Śāriputra is admonished for his lack of comprehension. Vimalakīrti, a wealthy householder in the city, has become ill through ceaseless endeavour to teach the Law to his fellow-men. While continuing to preach for the benefit of those who visit him on his bed of sickness, he thinks to himself that surely the Blessed One, who possesses great mercy, would never leave him unregarded. Knowing his thought, the Buddha proposes that Śāriputra should visit Vimalakīrti, and inquire after his health. Śāriputra declines on the plea of unworthiness, and describes how Vimalakīrti had once worsted him in argument. Nine great disciples in turn are invited, but all refuse for similar reasons to meet the formidable dialectician; and they are followed by others to the total number of five hundred, each relating his story and declaring himself unworthy. Then Buddha asks Maitreya Bodhisattva, who excuses himself likewise. After him, a certain young man; a Bodhisattva; a son of a rich merchant; and all the Bodhisattvas declare themselves unworthy, each relating his story of discomfiture when engaged in debate with Vimalakīrti. At last Mañjuśrī, personification of wisdom, accepts the mission, saying: " O Blessed One, it is very difficult to discuss with that excellent man; he has attained to such a profound knowledge of the true nature of things; he is able to preach the essence of the Law; he is in possession of unchecked eloquence and unimpeded wisdom; he is well acquainted with the lawful manners of a Bodhisattva; he has unravelled all the secrets of the Buddhas; he has subdued all evil ones; he is free in supernatural powers; he is perfect in wisdom and the necessary means; yet in compliance with the order of the Buddha, I will go to inquire after his health." Thereupon the myriads of Bodhisattvas, great disciples, deities and other beings present accompany Mañjuśrī into the city of Vaiśālī in order to listen to the discourse. Vimalakīrti, perceiving their approach, causes everything except the bed on which he lies to vanish from his chamber. There is a reason for this; since he intends to turn his visitor's questions to the subject of emptiness. The two then engage in a dialogue which displays the principles of Mahāyānist doctrine. Next, the first of the miracles occurs. Vimalakīrti, perceiving Śāriputra's wish for a seat, rebukes him suitably for such a material desire. Nevertheless, by exercise of his supernatural powers, he causes to appear from a world in the eastern quarter 32,000 excellently adorned lion-thrones; and on them the Bodhisattvas and others seat themselves. To Śāriputra, who expresses his amazement that so many thrones can be contained in one chamber, Vimalakīrti expounds the principle of Inconceivable Emancipation which transcends space and time and every other mundane limitation for those illumined. Next Mahākāśyapa calls upon himself the sage's reproof, because of an unenlightened remark made to Śāriputra. This is followed by a sermon, addressed to Mañjuśrī, on the duties of Bodhisattvas. Then occurs the incident of the celestial maiden who manifests herself in the chamber, and scatters celestial flowers upon the assembly. Again Śāriputra appears in an unfavourable light, when lectured by the maiden on the essence of Mahāyānist teaching. He tries to slight her profundity by asking why she is content to retain female form. She replies by turning him into a semblance of herself, and taking on herself his outward shape; and then she points the moral by quoting Buddha's saying: " all things are neither male nor female." After that, the spell being removed, they return to their former state, the disciple having learnt his lesson. Vimalakīrti continues to preach, and then invites each of the Bodhisattvas to explain his notion of the doctrine of non-duality. After they have done so, Mañjuśrī asks Vimalakīrti to express his view. He remains silent; whereupon the former exclaims: " Well done, well done, ultimately not to have any letters or words, this is indeed to enter the doctrine of non-duality." Now, Śāriputra allows his mind to dwell on the approaching meal-time. Vimalakīrti, reading his thoughts, blames him for his carnal longings, yet undertakes to obtain such food as he had never tasted before. Accordingly, by exercise of his miraculous power, he causes to appear an incarnate Bodhisattva, whose form, splendour, and dignity are magnificent, far surpassing any in the assembly. Him Vimalakīrti bids go to the land of perfume inhabited by the Buddha called

Gandhakūta, and request a portion of the repast set before the latter and a countless throng of Bodhisattvas. Gandhakūta Buddha hands a perfume-bowl filled with perfume-food to the messenger, who is accompanied back to the Sahā world by nine millions of Bodhisattvas, wishful to do homage to Śākyamuni, and see the Bodhisattvas led by Vimalakīrti. The latter creates in an instant nine million lion-thrones, so that his visitors may be seated. As the bowl is received by Vimalakīrti, the fragrance of the food spreads over Vaiśālī and fills the universe, attracting to the chamber Candracchatra, a leader of wealthy householders, followed by 84,000 men. Besides these come all the gods of the earth, the gods of the sky, and the gods of the worlds of Form [and Formlessness], all inhaling the fragrance. All are invited to partake of the Buddha's bowl of food, which satiates that vast concourse, yet remains undiminished. The Bodhisattva, who brings it, says: " The food spared by one who is infinitely endowed with the virtues of discipline, meditation, wisdom, liberation, and knowledge of liberation, could never be exhausted." Then the entire assembly, lion-thrones and all, are transported in the palm of Vimalakīrti's right hand to the place near Vaiśālī where Śākyamuni is preaching the Law. Each pays reverence to the Blessed One, who proceeds to discourse on the ways of salvation in the various Buddha-lands, and the shortcomings of Hīnyānist doctrine. One of his utterances is: " The supernatural power which this Vimalakīrti manifested for a moment could not be manifested by all the Śrāvakas and Pratyeka-Buddhas even with their utmost effort counting through hundreds of thousands of *kalpas*." The Bodhisattvas from the world of Gandhakūta Buddha pray Śākyamuni to expound the Law for their benefit, and afterwards they return to their own land, praising what they have heard and seen. Near the end of the *sūtra* another miracle is described. Having learnt that Vimalakīrti, when born on earth, came from Abhirati, the land of Akshobhya Buddha, the assembly longs to see it. So Śākyamuni asks Vimalakīrti to manifest Abhirati and its inhabitants. His response is to transfer the land into this world " as one shows a garland in his hand," yet there is " neither increase nor decrease in the land of Abhirati." The last two chapters detail the benefits promised to those who hold, recite, and practise the *sūtra*; and finally Maitreya and Ānanda are charged by Śākyamuni to proclaim and propagate it, and never allow it to become extinct.

Considering how abundant is the written and iconographic evidence that it was one of the most popular scriptures during the early centuries of Buddhism in China, the fact seems strange that Western writers have almost ignored the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa sūtra*. The main theme of this essay being iconography, I must keep to that aspect of the subject, and merely remark that the first of the Chinese translations was done in A.D. 188 and was followed by at least six others, four being no longer extant (*v.* **115**, ii (1923), 363, 364; **159**, Nos. 144-147, 181; **240**, xli, xlii). The commentaries are numerous (*v.* **115**, ii (1923), 364-366). Representations of the *sūtra* often appear sculptured in the rock-shrines and on detached stelae, and painted at Tun-huang, yet they pass unrecognized in several of the chief relevant works published in the West (**32**, **91**, **203**). So numerous are these scenes that I cannot attempt to note them all. The following must suffice: at Yün-kang (**225**, ii 29 (2)); at Lung-mên (**32**, 327, 343, 344, 362, 366, 367, 369-371, 618, 1732, 1735-1738; **225**, ii 75, 94, 95 (1)); at T'ien-lung Shan, **225**, iii 35; at Tun-huang (**174**, pls. 11, 15, 20, 87, 91, 174, 175; **215**, pls. 76, 95, 97; **216**, pl. 24; **240**, 52, 91-94, 111, 112); and detached pieces of sculpture (**121**, pl. 5; **185**; **203**, pls. 96, 109, 140, 153, 233, 235).

Among these examples the *sūtra* is represented with varying degrees of completeness. The irreducible minimum is to show only two figures—those of Vimalakīrti and Mañjuśrī. This symbolic brevity is exemplified on the stele, dated 535, in the Collection (C 3). Here the two disputants are shown under one roof—that of Vimalakīrti's sick chamber. There can be no doubt as to identification, since Vimalakīrti holds his characteristic attribute, the oblong fan, and Mañjuśrī the equally characteristic " handle for discussion " (*t'an ping*). The fan seems to be invariably present, and I can find only one instance of Mañjuśrī without his attribute (**216**, pl. 24), which appears on the stele (C 3) in a rare trifid form; usually it looks like a stick with a curved end, and there is a variant which has the appearance of a ladle (C 16). In one passage it is described as a pine branch; but perhaps this should not be taken as of general application (**29**, 85; **32**, 556). The common way of depicting the disputants is to give each a separate setting with varying elaboration—Mañjuśrī under a canopy or in a pavilion,

and the other in his " ten cubits square house," of which more will be said when the stele of A.D. 520 is described. The most complete representations of the *Vimalakīrti sūtra* occur among the wall-paintings at Tun-huang. It is a subject which lends itself more readily to graphic than to plastic treatment, because of the multitude of Bodhisattvas and other beings, and the hyperbolical accounts of splendour and immensity associated with the various incidents. Probably the spectacular possibilities, coupled with popular demand, explain why many famous painters were moved to choose it, from Ku K'ai-chih in the fourth century to Li Lung-mien in the eleventh, as noticed by Waley who was among the first of Western writers to give the matter recognition (*v.* **167**, 391; **240**, **242**). In sculpture, detail being of necessity restricted, the miracles are presented with their wealth of circumstance, as narrated in the *sūtra*, reduced to the barest essentials; for instance, the celestial maiden carrying a bowl symbolizes the inexhaustible repast of perfume-food, and a single lion-throne the limitless supernatural powers of Vimalakīrti. Beyond the introduction of a few subordinate figures, attempt is seldom made to indicate the countless hosts of onlookers, and such minor characters as Śāriputra and the heavenly maiden are rarely portrayed. The example in the Collection (C 16) is unusually comprehensive; I know of only one other which surpasses it in fulness of illustrative detail, and that is the large stele of A.D. 543 in the New York Metropolitan Museum (*v.* **185**).

Several reasons may be given for the ubiquity of the Vimalakīrti motive and the frequent association with presentments of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, such as we find on two stelae in the Collection (C 3-8, 11-20). Both *sūtras* were rated among the foremost scriptures of Mahāyānist propaganda. Moreover, the *Vimalakīrti* is short, packed with trenchant argument, enlivened with dramatic and imaginative episodes, and free from those repetitions which render many *sūtras* wearisome. It inculcates the altruistic compassion and benevolence, with which the Bodhisattva serves his fellow-beings, in contradistinction to the self-centred aims of the Śrāvaka or the Pratyeka-Buddha of Hīnayānist doctrine. Vimalakīrti asks Mañjuśrī: " How is it that you declare all [human] passions and errors are the seeds of Buddhahood? " Mañjuśrī replies: ". . . Only the Bodhisattvas, who dwell in the midst of passions and errors, and who, passing through the [ten] stages, rightly contemplate the ultimate nature of things, are able to awaken and attain intelligence. Just as the lotus-flowers do not grow in the dry land, but in the dark-coloured, watery mire, O son of good family, it is even so [with intelligence]. In non-activity and eternal annihilation which are cherished by the Śrāvakas and the Pratyeka-Buddhas, there is no opportunity for the seeds and sprouts of Buddhahood to grow. Intelligence can grow only in the mire and dirt of passion and sin " (*v.* **219**, 350, 351). The Mahāyānist conception of *Nirvāṇa* realizes in this life the all-embracing love and supreme intelligence of Dharmakāya. It does not involve passivity nor aloofness from worldly affairs. He who seeks *Nirvāṇa* aims not to escape himself from endless transmigration through extinction of human ties. Rather he faces bravely the prospect of continuous incarnations in the service of others. In this *sūtra* the layman Vimalakīrti appears as the ideal of one who lives in the world, but is not of the world. The ideal also reflects resentment against a corrupt clergy who, immuring themselves in their monasteries, pursue only their own contentment. Lay devotees felt dissatisfied with such inactivity, and saw in themselves the Bodhisattva spirit as propagators of a living faith. Śāriputra and other great disciples of Śākyamuni, portrayed as devoid of understanding and supernatural power, served to typify the priesthood. Furthermore, the miracles invited pictorial presentment, and none made a stronger appeal to imagination than the feeding of the multitude, which to us recalls the Loaves and Fishes. It provides the main motive of the scene on C 16. Perhaps the chief reason why the representation of the *Vimalakīrti sūtra* has received scanty recognition on the part of Western writers is the absence of it from Indian imagery. The only example known to me outside China is a painting on the pedestal for a lost group of figures in a cave-temple at Murtuq, to the east of Turfān. Grünwedel, who fails to identify the scene, assigns it to the Uighur style of the ninth century (**98**, 227, 280, fig. 580). Probably this example was derived from the Chinese, who seem to have been the first to introduce the Vimalakīrti motive into Buddhist iconography.

Another outstanding example of Chinese independence of Indian prototypes is the combination of Śākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna. Like the Vimalakīrti motive, it occurs in profusion among the

[7.] An image of Buddha, carved in sandal wood, which, together with aureole and pedestal, was one foot three inches in height. It was a copy of the image [of Buddha] when he walked about the city, making converts to his teaching, in the land of Vaiśālī." (**222**, li 946; *cf.* **119**, 293-295; **203**, lxxxviii; **222**, l 252.)

For information concerning the reasons why these seven were chosen by Hsüan-tsang, let us turn to the account of his pilgrimage as well as to the scanty records left by his predecessors. The image first named portrayed the future Buddha when, after practising austerities for six years, he had awoken to the futility of attempting to reach Enlightenment by such means. On his way to Gayā, he came to a mountain by the side of a great river. Attracted by its solitude, he deemed it a fitting place in which to attain Buddhahood; but an earthquake, which happened when he reached the summit, was interpreted by the mountain spirit as an adverse omen. Descending the other slope, he came upon a large cave facing a waterfall. Here he settled himself in the attitude of meditation; but again the mountain shook. Thereupon, voices of celestial Devas called from the skies: " This is not the place where the Tathāgata should attain Enlightenment. Some five miles from here, not far from the scene of your asceticism, is a *pippala* tree and below it the adamantine throne (*Vajrāsana*) upon which all past Buddhas have attained and all future Buddhas shall attain full Enlightenment. Pray go thither." The Bodhisattva rose with the intention of doing so, when the Nāga, who lived in the cave, approached him and said: " This chamber being of perfect purity, you can obtain here the fruit of saintliness. My one desire is that you may be compassionate and not abandon me entirely." In answer to this prayer, the Bodhisattva left behind his shadow. Hsüan-tsang notes that in after years King Aśoka caused monuments to be erected on the Mountain at the various sites associated with the Bodhisattva's visit. These became recognized objects of pilgrimage by pious persons from abroad, and the scenes of prodigies, such as flowers raining from the sky and the shining of mysterious lights. As Watters remarks, this account of the Mountain and the shadow image was probably derived from local legend, since it is absent from the classic stories of Buddha's life. The name Prāgbodhi means " Prior-to-full-Enlightenment " (*v.* **120**, i 457-459; **246**, ii 112).

Two centuries earlier the pilgrim Fa-hsien visited the spot, and found the " cavern in the rocks, into which the Bodhisattva entered, and sat cross-legged with his face to the west. (As he did so), he said to himself, ' If I am to attain perfect wisdom (and become Buddha), let there be a supernatural attestation of it.' On the wall of the rock there appeared immediately the shadow of a Buddha, rather more than three feet in length, which is still bright at the present day. At this moment heaven and earth were greatly moved, and Devas in the air spoke plainly, ' This is not the place where any Buddha of the past, or he that is to come, has attained, or will attain, perfect Wisdom ' " (*v.* **135**, 87-88). In 404, four years after Fa-hsien, there set forth from Ch'ang-an a second band of pilgrims which included Chih-mêng and fifteen other monks. Though the account written by Chih-mêng of his travels has been lost, his biography in the *Kao sêng chuan* contains some particulars, and among them is a brief allusion to the shadow image as one of the famous vestiges of Buddha which he visited (**39**, 433, 434).

The second image on the list may have been copied from the life-size image of Buddha which Hsüan-tsang saw within the Monastery of the Deer Park near Vārāṇasī (Benares). He describes it as made of *t'u-chi*, which may be bronze or brass, and the attitude that of turning the Wheel of the Law (**120**, i 355).

Hsüan-tsang's account of the famous sandal-wood image at Kośāmbī (probably near Śrāvasti), which served as model for the third on the list, is as follows: " Within the ancient palace site in the capital is a large Buddhist temple, more than sixty feet high. It contains an image of Buddha, carved in sandal wood, over which hangs a stone canopy, made to the order of King Udayana. The image often causes supernatural manifestations, and emits an unearthly radiance. Kings of various countries, relying on their power, once wished to take it away; but, though they employed a multitude of men, none was able to move it. Therefore copies were made for dedication. All true presentments of Buddha have been derived from this image. At the beginning, the Tathāgata, just after he had

attained full Enlightenment, ascended to the Palaces of the Devas to expound the Law for the benefit of his mother, and did not return for the space of three months. The King of this country, thinking of him with devotion, wished to have his image made. So he prayed the venerable Maudgalyāyana-putra to exercise his supernatural power in order that a skilful artisan might mount to the Palaces of the Devas, and there, having observed with his own eyes the admirable person of the Buddha, might carve an image in sandal wood. When the Tathāgata had descended from the Palaces of the Devas, the image, which the artisan had carved in sandal wood, rose in the air and went to meet the World-honoured One. The World-honoured One reassuringly addressed it with these words: ' My earnest wish is that by manifesting the doctrine during future ages you may be the means of converting those unhappily in error ' " (**222**, li 898; *cf.* **120**, i 283-285). A shorter account appears in the pilgrim's Life (*v.* **119**, 121, 122). In a later passage of his Travels, Hsüan-tsang mentions the Buddha image which he found in a small brick shrine built on the site of the famous Jetavana Monastery, near Śrāvasti. This image was said to have been copied at the order of King Prasenajit from the one made for King Udayana (**120**, i 296). On the other hand, Fa-hsien assigns to King Prasenajit the initiative in the making of the image, and emphasizes the point by adding that his " was the very first of all the images [of Buddha], and that which men subsequently copied " (**135**, 56, 57).

Next on the list is the image representing Buddha as he returned to earth from the Trāyastriṁśa Heaven. The site of this event is localized differently: Hsüan-tsang puts it in the Kapitha country, Fa-hsien at Sānkaśya, the Harṣa poem, transliterated by Fa-t'ien, at Kanyākubja, and others, omitting to name a definite place, merely allude to the Descent from Heaven (*devāvatāra*). Hsüan-tsang's account is as follows: " About twenty *li* west of the capital is a large monastery, finely designed and excellently built. The sacred figures and honoured images are finished with the highest degree of ornamental detail. Several hundred monks of the Sammitīya Sect are in residence, and several myriads of lay disciples live close by. Within the monastery precincts is a triple stairway of precious materials, ranging south and north, and sloping towards the east. It was here that the Tathāgata descended on his return from the Heaven of the Thirty-three Devas. The Tathāgata had ascended from the Jetavana to the Palaces of the Devas, where he resided in the Hall of the Good Law, and expounded the Law to his mother. At the end of three months he was about to descend below. Then Indra, with his divine power, set up a stairway of precious materials: the central flight was of gold, the left of crystal, the right of silver. The Tathāgata, having quitted the Hall of the Good Law, came down by the central flight, attended by a throng of Devas. Brahmā, holding a white fly-whisk, on the silver stairs kept pace with him to his right; while to his left, on the crystal flight, Indra stepped, holding a jewelled canopy, and in the air the throng of Devas showered blossoms and extolled his virtues. This stairway had continued in existence for several centuries; but by now [at the time of the pilgrim's visit], it has become a ruin and lost to sight. The kings of several countries, lamenting its absence, built [a stairway] of brick and stone, adorning it with precious materials, on the old site and in imitation of the original gemmy stairway. It is more than seventy feet high, and on the top is a temple, in which is a stone image of Buddha. On the left and right flights of the stairway are images, respectively, of Indra and Brahmā; and, like the originals, they appear in the act of descending " (**222**, li 893; *cf.* **120**, i 237-239). A similar description is given in the Life of Hsüan-tsang (*v.* **119**, 110-111).

Fa-hsien's account differs on a few minor points. This is Legge's translation: " As Buddha descended from his position aloft in the Trāyastriṁśa Heaven, when he was coming down, there were made to appear three flights of precious steps. Buddha was on the middle flight, the steps of which were composed of the seven precious substances. The king of Brahma-loka also made a flight of silver steps appear on the right side (where he was seen) attending with a white chowry in his hand. Śakra, Ruler of Devas, made (a flight of) steps of purple gold on the left side (where he was seen) attending and holding an umbrella of the seven precious substances. An innumerable multitude of the Devas followed Buddha in his descent. When he was come down, the three flights all disappeared in the ground, excepting seven steps, which continued to be visible. Afterwards King Aśoka, wishing to know where their ends rested, sent men to dig and see. They went down to the yellow springs without

reaching the bottom of the steps, and from this the King received an increase to his reverence and faith, and built a vihâra over the steps, with a standing image, sixteen cubits in height, right over the middle flight " (**135**, 49, 50).

Concerning the silver image, fifth on the list, there is the following passage describing Hsüan-tsang's travels in Magadha: " From the capital (Old Rājagṛha) he went north-east for fourteen or fifteen *li* to the Vulture Peak (Gṛdhrakūṭa) Mountain, which joins the southern slope of the Northern Mountain. Its solitary peak rises to a lofty height which is frequented by vultures. Looking like a high tower, it blends with the azure of the sky, and at times it appears now dark now light in hue. During the fifty years when the Tathāgata governed the world, he often dwelt on this Mountain and fully expounded the sublime Law. King Bimbisāra, for the purposes of hearing the Law, raised a levy. In order [to make a means of approach] from the foot of the mountain to its summit, he put his men to bridge the valleys and scale the cliffs by the piling up of stones into steps which were ten paces wide and extended for five or six *li*. In the middle of this path are two small *stūpas*. One is called ' Dismounting,' because at this spot the King was wont to continue the climb on foot; the other is called ' Riddance from the Crowd,' because here [the King] separated from the common folk, and would not allow them to go further with him. The summit of the mountain stretches far from east to west, but in the opposite direction it is restricted in extent. Beside a cliff on the western slope is a brick monastery, which is tall, wide and excellently built, and has its entrance facing east. Formerly the Tathāgata often dwelt here, and expounded the Law. At the present day there is a life-size image of the Tathāgata in the act of expounding the Law " (**222**, li 921; *cf.* **120**, ii 20, 21).

The account mentions other sites on the Vulture Peak associated with events of Buddha's life—his place of exercise, the spot where Devadatta attempted to murder him, a cave in which he once entered into ecstatic meditation (*samādhi*), the scene of his giving comfort to Ānanda when the latter was terrified by Māra, and a *stūpa* marking the place where he expounded the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*. A passage in the Life notes that the Mountain was a favourite residence of the Buddha, and it was there that he preached also the *Prajñāpāramitā* and countless other *sūtras* (**119**, 154).

Fa-hsien also alludes to these famous places of pilgrimage, and he names the *Sūrāṅgama-samādhi sūtra*. The fact that some of the *sūtras* contain the statement that they had been delivered on the Gṛdhrakūṭa was accepted by pious Mahāyānists as evidence that they were genuine utterances of the Buddha, though actually they were composed long after his death. As to Hsüan-tsang's description of the fine brick monastery which contained the " life-size image of the Tathāgata in the act of expounding the Law," evidently it had not yet been rebuilt at the time of Fa-hsien's visit. He says: " The hall where Buddha preached his Law has been destroyed, and only the foundations of the brick walls remain " (**135**, 83). Presumably the monastery stood on the same site.

The sixth image was reputed a copy of another shadow left by Buddha for the benefit of posterity. Hsüan-tsang in his Travels tells at length the story of the Nāga whom Buddha turned to better ways. The scene of this incident is identified with a range of hills near Haḍḍa in Afghanistan; but, owing to changes in the rocks, there is little hope of finding the actual cavern (**83**, 278). The pilgrim came to a ravine down which a torrent fell in cascades. " In the rocky wall of the eastern cliff of the ravine is a large and deep cavern, the abode of the Gopāla Nāga. The entrance is small, the interior dark, and from the rocky cliff water continuously trickles on to the path. Formerly there was here a shadow-image of Buddha, luminous as his actual self, with all the *lakṣaṇas* true to life. To later generations it has not been wholly visible; for, although something may be seen, it is but a faint resemblance. He who prays with perfect faith receives a mystic manifestation—a clear but momentary and passing glimpse. Formerly, when the Tathāgata was on earth, this Nāga was a cow-herd and supplied milk to the King. Having received a severe reprimand in consequence of having once neglected his duty, he cherished bitter resentment. So with gold coins he bought flowers which he presented as a votive offering at the Stūpa of the Prediction [by Dīpaṅkara Buddha to Śākyamuni in a former birth that the latter would ultimately attain Buddhahood], expressing the wish that [he might be reborn] as a wicked Nāga to destroy the country and injure the King. Straightway he climbed the rocky cliff, threw himself down and died. Thus it happened that he became a great Nāga

king and made this cavern his abode. Then he purposed to go forth and fulfil his former evil desire. When these intentions were surging in the Nāga's mind, the Tathāgata perceived him, and, being anxious for the people of the country threatened with destruction by the Nāga, summoned his supernatural powers and transported himself thither from Central India. Immediately he saw the Tathāgata, the Nāga stayed his malignant thoughts, and, having accepted the precept against murder, vowed to uphold the true Law. Then he begged the Tathāgata: ' Abide for ever in this cavern, so that your holy disciples may constantly receive my offerings.' The Tathāgata answered: ' When I am about to die, I will leave my shadow-image for you, and send five Lo-han who shall constantly receive your offerings. When the term of the true Law ends, your services shall not be interrupted. Should malignant thoughts arouse your passions, you must gaze on the shadow-image which I have left, and, by reason of its merciful and kindly virtue, your evil intentions shall cease. All the World-honoured Ones who are due to appear during this present *Bhadra-kalpa* shall take pity on you and leave behind their shadow-images ' " (**222**, li 878, 879; *cf.* **120**, i 98-100).

In the second chapter of his Life an account is given of Hsüan-tsang's courage and pertinacity in visiting the cavern, and his ultimate reward. His companions being deterred by the reported difficulties of the road and danger from brigands, he went on alone. With some trouble he found a guide, and when on the way encountered five robbers who advanced sword in hand. The pilgrim's gentle words so touched the robbers that they allowed him to proceed. At first Hsüan-tsang failed to see the image. Then, reproaching himself for his shortcomings and expressing profound grief, he recited in a spirit of utmost faith and reverence the *Shêng-man* (*Srīmātā-sinhanāda*) and other *sūtras* and Buddhist *gāthas*, with a prostration after each verse. Having done obeisance more than a hundred times, he perceived for an instant on the eastern wall a bright light, the size of an alms-bowl. He repeated his adorations with still greater fervour, and the momentary light again appeared, but larger. Then he vowed not to depart until he had witnessed the actual shadow-image, and renewed his acts of worship. Suddenly the cavern was flooded with light, and the shadow-image of the Tathāgata appeared on the wall with realistic splendour. " The Buddha's person and his robe (*kaṣāya*) alike were of a ruddy-golden hue; from his lap upwards the distinguishing marks (*lakṣaṇa vyañjaṇa*) were brilliantly displayed; but the lotus throne below appeared misty. On either side and behind, the shadow-images of a throng of kneeling Bodhisattvas and holy monks were visible." Hsüan-tsang called on his guide and the five robbers, who were waiting outside the cavern, to bring a flame to kindle incense; but, as soon as they came, the apparition vanished. The flame being extinguished, the shadow-images returned for a few minutes, and were visible to five of the men (*v.* **222**, l 229, 230; **119**, 78-82).

Fa-hsien visited the cavern and saw the shadow-image. " Viewed from a distance of some ten paces," he says, " it appears like Buddha's actual self. The golden hue and distinguishing marks (*lakṣaṇa vyañjaṇa*) are clearly and brilliantly displayed. The nearer one approaches the fainter it becomes, yet seems to be still there. Although kings of neighbouring countries have sent skilful artists to portray it, none has succeeded. The people of this country have a tradition which says that ' the Thousand Buddhas [of the present *kalpa*] are all destined to leave their shadows here ' " (**222**, li 859).

About fifty years after Fa-hsien, the Chinese pilgrim Tao-yo went to India and wrote an account, now lost, of his travels. Several passages survive in the fifth chapter of the *Lo-yang chia lan chi*, a book written in the middle of the sixth century to celebrate the monasteries at Lo-yang. In one of these passages, which occur among the narratives of Sung Yün and Hui-shêng, the pilgrim Tao-yo describes his visit. " I arrived at the cavern, inhabited by the Nāga-king Gopāla, where I saw Buddha's shadow-image. The entrance faces the west. If one penetrates into the mountain to the depth of fifteen paces, and looks from afar off, all the distinguishing marks appear clearly defined; if one approaches for a closer view, they fade and then vanish; if one feels with the hand the place where the vision was, there is nothing but a rocky wall; if one steps backward slowly, the countenance begins to reappear in a remarkable manner. A phenomenon such as this is rare " (*v.* **39**, 428).

The circumstances commemorated by Hsüan-tsang's seventh image are not so easily determined. At Vaiśālī occurred the momentous episode of Śākyamuni's decision to end his life; but pictorial

needs seem to have moved the image-makers to choose a more tangible and distinctive motive, that of the monkey presenting the bowl of honey (*v.* **21**, *27*, pl. *226*; **77**, pl. 19).

These passages clearly reveal a primary factor in Buddhist iconography. Devotion to the person of the Founder was exploited for the benefit of local interests in places associated with his deeds and teaching. Among Buddhists the custom of pilgrimage seems to have arisen soon after the *Parinirvāṇa*, and it was encouraged by the cult of Buddha's relics. The Emperor Aśoka is known by his edicts to have erected relic *stūpas*, and himself to have made pilgrim journeys in the third century B.C. Hindu example must have already made pilgrimage a familiar habit, and there is no doubt that the Buddhists attached to their own system many spots long held sacred in popular animistic belief. The question whether Śākyamuni himself enjoined or sanctioned the virtue of pilgrimage remains undecided. He is supposed to have named to his well-beloved disciple, Ānanda, four places which claimed the worship of devotees because they were linked with great events of his life: the Nativity in the Lumbinī Garden at Kapilavastu; the Enlightenment at Gayā; the First Preaching of the Law at Vārāṇasī; and the *Parinirvāṇa* at Kusinārā. These four are invariably portrayed together on the square bases of the small *stūpas* of Gandhāra and the stelae of Amarāvatī, though at the latter place the spiritual birth in the form of the Great Renunciation is often substituted for the Nativity at Kapilavastu (**77**, 10, 148, pls. 2-4). Fa-hsien, in the fifth century, mentions the same group of four as having been held in special honour since the Buddha's death (**135**, 90). There is a poem attributed to King Harṣa who was an ardent Mahāyānist, and, during the first half of the seventh century, ruled over most of northern India, and revived the glories of the Gupta empire. It celebrates the eight great sites of Buddhist worship which, besides the four named above, are the Jetavana, the place of the Descent from Heaven, the Vulture Peak, and Vaiśālī (*v.* **139**). The same eight were visited by the pilgrim Wu-k'ung in the middle of the eighth century (*v.* **143**). Five of these canonical pilgrim resorts were represented by Hsüan-tsang's images: the second to the fifth and the last, in the order of the list. They are, respectively, the First Preaching, Jetavana, Descent, Vulture Peak and Vaiśālī. Thus there remain unrepresented the Nativity, Enlightenment and *Parinirvāṇa*. Perhaps the second of these three should not be regarded as entirely unrepresented, since the shadow-image left by Śākyamuni in the cave of Mount Prāgbodhi was closely connected with the Enlightenment, as the pilgrims' stories relate. Omission of any presentment of the supreme event in the Founder's career would be difficult to explain in view of the fact that Hsüan-tsang himself devotes a long account to Bodh-Gayā and the making of one of the two most famous and sacred among all Buddha images.

He tells the legend that the temple, in which he found the image, was built by a Brahman who had been advised by Śiva to perform this deed in order to acquire merit. Having finished the building, he invited the most skilful craftsmen to make an image of the Tathāgata at the moment when he began to attain Buddhahood. Years passed before anybody responded to the appeal. Then a Brahman came and offered to carry out the task, asking only to be left undisturbed for six months with a lamp and a supply of fragrant clay. Four days short of that period, the monks, unable to restrain their impatience longer, opened the doors to see. They found no sculptor there, but only his handiwork, almost finished, which Hsüan-tsang describes in detail as follows: " It was a dignified figure of the Buddha seated with interlocked legs upon a pedestal, the right foot being uppermost, the left hand at rest and the right pendent. It sat facing the east, looking majestic as [the Buddha] when alive. The support was four feet two inches high, and twelve feet five inches wide; the image was eleven feet five inches in height, and the measurement between the two knees was eight feet eight inches, and between the shoulders six feet two inches. All the major and minor physical signs [of a Great Man], and the compassionate mien, true to life, were there; only a part above the right breast was not completely modelled and finished." The account describes the general amazement at the miracle, and curiosity concerning the sculptor, who presently appeared to a monk in a dream and announced that he was the Bodhisattva Maitreya. He said that he had engaged to do the work, because to achieve it successfully was beyond human power. Also, he explained that the earth-pointing gesture (*bhumisparśa mudrā*) represented the action of Buddha at the moment when, disturbed from his meditations by the assaults of Māra, he called Earth to witness (*v. sup.* p. 7; **74**, i *271*, *272*). The monks covered the

unfinished spot with gems, and placed a jewelled coronet upon the head (**222**, li 916; *cf.* **120**, i 464-468). There is another version of the legend. The Tibetan Lama Tāranātha, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, tells of the task being undertaken by several divine sculptors who had stipulated for seven days of undisturbed seclusion. On the sixth day entry was made in order that the aged mother of the donors might judge whether the image was a true likeness, since she was to die that night and was the sole survivor of those who had known the Buddha during his lifetime. The toe of the right foot and the locks of hair are cited among the unfinished parts (**76**, ii 730-737).

It would be rash to assume that the Prāgbodhi image, brought back by Hsüan-tsang, conformed to the *Chin kang tso* (*Vajrāsana*), that being the name by which the famous Bodh-Gayā image is generally known. *Vajrāsana* or " adamantine seat " is the term used for the spot under the *bodhi*-tree where the Thousand Buddhas of this *kalpa* have attained and will attain Enlightenment, and the connotation is extended to the type under discussion which shares only with the Udayana image the repute of being an actual portrait of Śākyamuni. Chinese pilgrims were wont to call it *chên jung*, the " veritable form " (**39**, 396). Representing that supreme moment when Śākyamuni changed from a Bodhisattva into a Buddha, it is a conception which has claimed special reverence throughout the Buddhist world, among Mahāyānists and Hīnayānists alike (**75**, 344, 348; **79**, 90-94). Although Śākyamuni at first elected to attain Buddhahood in the mountain cave, the shadow-image, which is said to have persisted as a vestige of that episode, could hardly have manifested the characteristic *bhumisparśa* gesture in anticipation of the later event. Presumably, therefore, Hsüan-tsang's golden image was one seated with interlocked legs and hands lying, palms upwards, upon the lap (*dhyāna mudrā*), the attitude of meditation. Knowledge of the *Vajrāsana* did, however, come to China in the great pilgrim's time through the agency of one who was scarcely less famous as a traveller. Wang Hsüan-ts'ê made three or four journeys to India between the years 643 and 665, the first two being on embassies to King Harṣa. The illustrated accounts of his travels have been lost, except certain passages, quoted in other works, which have been studied by Lévi and Pelliot (*v.* **137**, **142**, **167**, 351-380; **178**, 274-285). While on his first visit he made pilgrimages to holy places, and left inscriptions on the Vulture Peak and at Bodh-Gayā (**31**, 27-30; **137**, 332-341). At the latter place, either during his first or third visit, he had a drawing done of the *Vajrāsana*. In 665, perhaps in order to fulfil a wish of Hsüan-tsang just before his death the previous year, this drawing was used as the pattern for an image which was made for the Ching-ai Temple at Lo-yang (**178**, 269, 270, 274-285). Among the Tun-huang finds there is a tattered painting illustrating various types of temple figures—evidently a sort of image-maker's vade-mecum. One is undoubtedly the *Vajrāsana*. The accompanying inscription relates it with Maghada, and mentions the jewelled head-dress which appears in the picture together with a circlet across the breast. Perhaps this manifests the tradition carried to China in the drawing made for Wang Hsüan-ts'ê (*v.* **215**, 877, pl. 70; **216**, pl. 14; **240**, 268, 269).

Affinity with Hsüan-tsang's images is traceable in another figure of this painting, and in the admirable embroidery also brought back by Stein from Tun-huang (**215**, 983, 984, pl. 104; **216**, 48-50, pls. 34; **240**, 209-211, 271). Both show the Buddha standing with right arm pendent, the left bent and the hand grasping a fold of his robe in front of the breast. These doubtless give the clue to the form of Hsüan-tsang's silver image of Buddha preaching the *Lotus sūtra* on the Vulture Peak.

The last Buddha image to be considered is the most famous in Far Eastern iconography. It specially engages our attention, because the imposing marble piece in the Collection (C 34-36) may be recognized as conforming to the type. Legend makes for it a stronger claim than for the *Vajrāsana* that it was an actual portrait, since the latter was the result of Maitreya's intervention some hundred years after Śākyamuni's death. The tale that a skilful artisan was miraculously taken to the Trāyastriṁśa Heaven, where the Buddha stayed for three months in order to convert his mother, has been quoted from the memoirs of Hsüan-tsang and Fa-hsien (*v. sup.* pp. 32, 33). Details of the accounts are conflicting; for instance, Hsüan-tsang states that the first statue was carved in sandal wood to the order of King Udayana, and that a copy in gold was made by King Prasenajit; but Fa-hsien assigns the priority to the latter with a sandal wood image. Mr. Waley points out to me that these reflect equally contradictory statements in early scriptures. While the *Ekottarāgama sūtra* gives the same

version as that cited by Hsüan-tsang (**222**, ii 706), according to the *Kuan fo san mei hai ching*, King Udayana makes a golden image (**222**, xv 678). More commonly there is only a single image, and that is a wooden one made by King Prasenajit. Hsüan-tsang repeats a sequel to the legend, describing how the wooden statue of King Udayana, after Buddha's death, transported itself through the air to a town in the region of Khotan. A sandstorm overwhelmed the inhabitants who neglected to treat it with proper respect (**120**, ii 243-245).

According to ancient tradition, this famous image eventually reached China. A detailed account of its fortunes, giving the duration of stay in each place, is the subject of an inscription of A.D. 1721, written in Chinese, Manchu and Mongol. It is attributed to the reigning emperor, and is cut on a stone stele at the Sandal-wood Temple (Chan-t'an Ssŭ) in Peking, where the reputed image of King Udayana was preserved from the middle of the twelfth century till it disappeared during the troubles of 1900 (**88**, pl. 26). The following is derived from Pelliot's translation (**180**, 188-190). The story goes that Buddha, when he descended from the Trāyastriṁśa Heaven, caressed the image and prophesied that it would go to China a thousand years after his death, in order to benefit gods and men. The image visited in turn Kuchā, Liang-chou, Ch'ang-an, Chiang-nan, Huai-nan, again Chiang-nan, K'ai-fêng, Peking, the northern capital of the Chin, and then finally came back to Peking.

While the list of these vicissitudes can hardly be accepted as historical, beyond doubt the " veritable form " associated with King Udayana was a type which persisted honoured and unchanged in China from early times. It is often named in the inscriptions of the rock-shrines (*e.g.* **32**, 391-2, 396, 422, 570). A Japanese tradition helps us to trace the features of the type as it existed towards the end of the tenth century in the Sung capital of Pien (K'ai-fêng). An image, now in the Seiryō Temple in Kyōto, is recorded to have been copied at that time from the original in Pien, to the order of a Japanese priest who carried it back with him in A.D. 987 (**154**). It represents Buddha erect, the right hand being in *abhaya* and the left in *vara mudrā*—a posture which occurs frequently in Buddhist iconography. The distinctive part of the Udayana type is the treatment of the drapery, and it is this that indicates uninterrupted descent from an early Indian ancestor, as will be demonstrated when C 34-36 is described.

CATALOGUE
OF THE BUDDHIST SCULPTURE

C 1 and 2, Plate I

Gilt bronze figure of Kuan-yin (Avalokiteśvara), cast in one with the aureole and the three-tiered and four-legged pedestal. Two intersecting nimbi, around head and body respectively, appear in low relief upon the leaf-shaped aureole; and thus the figure is backed with a glory (*prabhāmaṇḍala*) which is three-fold. The head of the Bodhisattva is crowned with a five-lobed diadem. In the hand of his flexed right arm is held the long stalk of a lotus bud; and his pendent left arm ends in a spindle-shaped form which may represent in summary fashion an ambrosia flask (*kalaśa*) carried in the hand, or perhaps merely the hand grasping a fold of the drapery. This bronze manifests in marked degree a characteristic feature of much early Buddhist sculpture in China—the subordination of the figure itself to the accessories. Here there is little indication that the elaborated robe, with its ample folds and " swallow-tail " projections, clothes a living being.

Identification of this figure as that of the Bodhisattva Kuan-yin is supported with evidence derived from four inscribed pieces which also show the long-stalked lotus bud, held in the right hand. They differ in respect of the costume, since all the parallels, which I am about to cite, bear a closer resemblance to the prototype, inasmuch as they wear the scanty attire of tropical India. The fact that three are dated earlier than the bronze under discussion is consistent with the theory they represent the imported tradition before it assumed new characteristics in the land of its adoption. In two instances the left hand holds a flask, and in two the end of a scarf. Three of these named figures are in the Freer Gallery at Washington, and I am indebted for particulars to the courtesy of the Curator, Mr. J. E. Lodge. They bear dates of Northern Wei reign-periods corresponding to the years 453, 482 and 541. A photograph of the last-mentioned has been reproduced by Dr. Sirén (**203**, pl. 205 C), and it is representative of the others. Inscriptions on the two earlier pieces include the name Kuan-shih-yin, that on the last the characters *Kuan hsiang*, *i.e.*, " image of Kuan [-yin]."

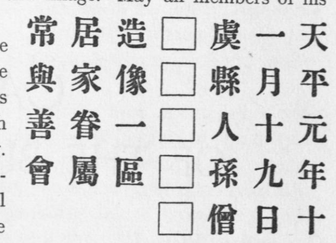
A fourth named parallel, dated A.D. 490, was formerly in the Tuan Fang Collection (**162**, fig. 469; **228**, viii 7). The inscription gives Kuang-shih-yin, which may be literally translated " sound of the world of light," a not uncommon variant of the usual epithet. Note should be added that four characters in the first column are wrongly deciphered in the Tuan Fang catalogue, but a correction is published by Ōmura (**162**, 188).

Three other examples, made in bronze and with a four-legged pedestal, are inscribed with various dates of Northern Wei reign-periods, corresponding to 484, 492, and 501; but they lack the Bodhisattva's name (*v.* **162**, figs. 465, 470, 495). As regards general design, the closest parallel known to me is a clay piece which is inscribed with the name Kuan-shih-yin and a date of an Eastern Wei reign-period corresponding to A.D. 543 (**5**, No. 9; **162**, fig. 571). Unfortunately, the inked-squeeze is not clear enough to afford unmistakable evidence concerning the attributes. Perhaps the right hand holds the stalkless bud which belongs to a variant of the icon under discussion (*v. e.g.* **203**, pl. 205 A).

The inscription, comprising some thirty-two characters, is crudely engraved upon the sides and back of the lowest tier of the pedestal. Corrosion has obliterated some of it, and the missing

part is indicated with squares in the decipherment (FIG. 1). The translation is as follows: " On the nineteenth day of the eleventh month of the first year of the *t'ien-p'ing* period (10th Dec., A.D. 534), Sun Sêng . . , native of Yü Hsien, ... made this image. May all members of his family be reunited in lasting happiness " (*v. sup.*, p. 21).

Since the Eastern Wei dynasty was established in the tenth month of this year, it follows that the date here given was not many days after that event. Yü Hsien was the name, during the Six Dynasties, of the town which under the Sui and afterwards has been called Yü-ch'êng. It lies some twenty miles to the north-east of the prefectural city of Kuei-tê, in the eastern projection of central Honan. Thus it was situated within the territory of the Eastern Wei dynasty.



ACTUAL SIZE. FIG. 1

C 3-8, Plates II-V

Various views of a four-sided stele which evidently fitted into the socket of a plinth. The material is a hard, grey stone of coarse texture. Apart from loss of definition in the reliefs and incised legends due to weathering, there is lack of finish owing to somewhat careless workmanship. For instance, the fact that small effort was made to shape the stele symmetrically is apparent in C 3 and C 5. In the former view, the two sides do not correspond; and C 5 shows that the mason was content with an irregular block; for he cut the framing line across the faulty right-hand top corner. Though the technique is rough and ready, the design is vigorous and expressive; and the whole piece has an air of primitive directness which dispels any suspicion that it might be a later archaistic forgery.

In accordance with common practice, there are two sets of figures: Buddhist icons and those of devotees. The former comprise a Buddha attended by two Bodhisattvas, two Buddhas seated side by side, three solitary Buddhas, two figures under a roof, and two beings of the air (Devatā); the devotees are three officials on horseback, each with two attendants, three adults and a child. There is also a bird (C 6).

Evidently the main motive of this stele is the *sūtra* which inspired many of the early Buddhist sculptures in China. The *Lotus of the True Law* (*Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*) was among the most popular Mahāyānist scriptures. Dharmaraksha first translated it into Chinese between A.D. 265 and 316 (**159**, No. 138); but Kumārajīva's version, done about a century later under the title *Miao fa lien hua ching* (**159**, No. 134), had wider currency. Here, as on another stele in the Collection (C 11), chief importance is given to the figure of Śākyamuni, seated on the Vulture Peak (*v. sup.*, p. 23). We see the familiar gestures of the right hand in *abhaya* and the left in *vara mudrā* (C 3, 7). His lion-throne (*siṁhasāna*) is indicated by the two beasts which are even less like lions than a pair at Yün-kang appearing in a similar combination (*v.* **225**, ii 44). Typifying the multitudes, who listened to his preaching, are the two standing Boshisattvas, and above a couple of Devatā, floating in the air and holding a censer. Both Bodhisattvas wear coronets, and their aureoles have strange trifid tops. On Buddha's left the Bodhisattva's hands are joined in adoration (*añjali mudrā*), while the one on the right holds a sort of bag which often occurs, but has not yet been explained.

As usual, the reverse bears the icon of next importance (C 5). The presence of the two Buddhas, seated side by side, supports the explanation that here the religious impulse is traceable to the *Lotus sūtra*. They are To-pao (Prabhūtaratna) and Śākyamuni, and their prominence in the *sūtra* and in early Buddhist imagery in China has been discussed (*v. sup.*, pp. 29, 30). Identification is warranted by a number of inscriptions. Two are found at Lung-mên (**32**, p. 500, pl. 233, p. 518, pl. 253; and **225**, ii 93), the first bearing a Northern Wei date corresponding to 515. A small four-legged bronze of the same dynasty, dated 519, is also named (**5**, No. 12 and **162**, fig. 537), and Chavannes mentions several other instances (**32**, 550). Generally the name To-pao

appears alone; but at least one has Śākyamuni specified also. Among the many representations of this couple in the rock sculptures, probably the finest examples are two at Yün-kang (**225**, ii 39) and another in the Lao chün Cave at Lung-mên (**32**, fig. 388). Each Buddha commonly appears with one hand raised in *abhaya* and the other in *vara mudrā*. Here the fingers seem to be interlocked, the tips of the thumbs being joined. A small pedestalled bronze of a Northern Wei date, corresponding to A.D. 512, offers a parallel (**162**, fig. 500).

The three seated Buddhas on the sides of the stele (C 4, 6) can hardly be identified with certainty. Perhaps they serve to symbolize the predecessors of Śākyamuni, and Maitreya, the coming Buddha. Indian prototypes of the conception, represented as a group of Seven, are well known. The Seven Buddhas occur frequently among presentments of the *Lotus sūtra* in the early Chinese cave-shrines and also, not thus associated, as late as the Sui dynasty (*v. sup.*, p. 30). A Northern Wei example at Lung-mên bears an inscription of A.D. 521 which names the large central figure, combined with the Seven, as that of Śākyamuni (**32**, 506, figs. 608, 1650; **225**, ii 94). A group of Four also existed in India. Fa-hsien visited shrines " where the three Buddhas that preceded Śākyamuni Buddha and he himself sat; where they walked, and where images of their persons were made " (**135**, 51, 63, 64). The Four, like the Seven, were adopted in Chinese iconography. The two groups appear close together at Lung-mên, the larger being dated A.D. 523 (*v.* **225**, ii 95 (1)). If the three smaller Buddhas on the stele in the Collection are to be thus identified, the large figure of Śākyamuni must be counted as part of the group. This would not accord with usual practice; and, besides, there is the question whether Maitreya is represented. He generally is when the *Lotus sūtra* provides the inspiration. Possibly the mason sculptured these three figures merely to multiply the Buddha images.

In the Introduction attention was called to the symbolic brevity with which Mañjuśrī's visit to the sick Vimalakīrti is represented on C 3, and an account of this popular motive was given (pp. 26-29). Combination with representations of the *Lotus sūtra* is frequent. Remark should be made that Mañjuśrī's attribute, the " handle for discussion," here assumes the rare form of a trifid sprig, like the object held by the three minor votaries portrayed on C 4 and 6.

At the top of C 6 is the outline of what appears to be a three-legged crow. Perhaps it was intended for the traditional emblem of the sun which occurs on a few stelae, generally enclosed within a circle and balanced with the corresponding lunar emblem. Presence of the solitary crow may be due to the mason's urge to fill an empty space, though this explanation does not seem entirely satisfying.

The inscriptions are hard to read. They were carelessly cut at first, and the weathering of fourteen centuries has rendered them less legible. Personal particulars of the votaries, who caused the stele to be carved, seem to be the sole purport, unless some iconographic clue is contained in the third column on C 3, which I have failed to read.

First to be considered is the inscription of fifty-five characters on the left side of the stele (C 4 and FIG. 2). The fourth column is carried above the level of the others, part being alongside the figure of a votary who holds a trifid object in his right hand—presumably a variant of the customary lotus bloom. Four characters on the other side of the figure are almost obliterated, and, since they apparently record no more than this person's name, I have not attempted even an approximate reading. The inscription is translated as follows: " On the twenty-third day of the third month of the second year of the *t'ien-p'ing* period (10th May, A.D. 535), the revolution of Jupiter being in the signs *i-mao*, Chu Po-shêng, together with all the members of his family, old and young, caused this stone sculpture to be made—first, for the benefit of the Sovereign; secondly, for the benefit of [Chu Po-shêng's] ancestors, male and female to the seventh generation, as well as the parents who gave him birth. The disciple of Buddha, Chu Po-shêng, [who holds the military titles of] Ling-shui ts'an-chün and Kuang-wu chiang-chün."

His official dignities being thus recorded on the side of the stele, there is no need to repeat them on the reverse, where on the right half of the lower third, Chu Po-shêng appears in full dress, mounted on a prancing charger and attended by two boys, one carrying a canopy, and the

other a fan (*v.* C 3 and 8). The accompanying inscription (FIG. 3) reads: " The Upāsaka and disciple of Buddha, Chu Po-shêng, serving Buddha." From these data we learn that the chief donor of the stele held military rank somewhat comparable to a colonelcy, his duties being perhaps that of commandant of troops guarding water communications.

Alongside the figure of Chu Po-shêng another warrior is portrayed in exactly the same manner, and with this legend (FIG. 4): " Chu Ts'ê-hsien, a disciple of Buddha, [who holds the military rank of] Chung-ping ts'an-chün in the Department of Chien, serving Buddha."

A replica of the same design, but enlarged to fill the middle third of the reverse, commemorates another member of the family. Probably this greater space is given to him because of his

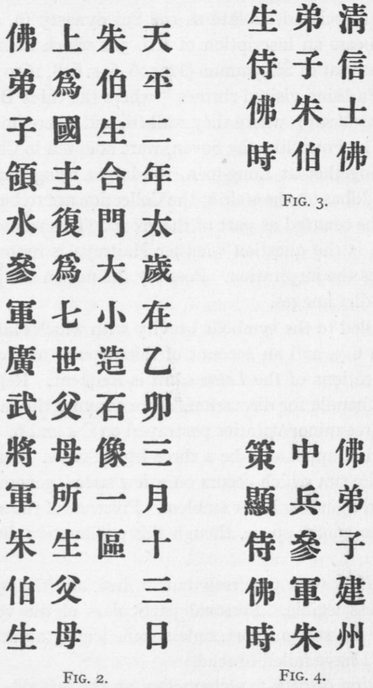

天平二年太歲在乙卯三月十三日
朱伯生合門大小造石像一區
上爲國主復爲七世父母所生父母
佛弟子領水參軍廣武將軍朱伯生

FIG. 2.

清信士佛
弟子朱伯
生侍佛時

FIG. 3.

佛弟子建州
中兵參軍朱
策顯侍佛時

FIG. 4.

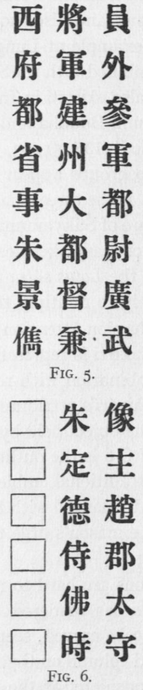

員外參軍都尉廣武
將軍建州大都督兼
西府都省事朱景儁

FIG. 5.

□朱像主
□定趙郡太
□德守侍
□佛時

FIG. 6.


佛弟子吳文顯妻史

FIG. 7.

more exalted rank. The inscription (FIG. 5) is: " Chu Ching-tsun, [who holds the titles] Yüan-wai ts'an-chün tu-wei and Kuang-wu chiang-chün, and the combined offices of Military Governor-in-Chief in the Department of Chien and Inspector-General of Hsi-fu."

The sixth inscription (FIG. 6) occurs on the front of the stele without a corresponding portrait. It is as follows: " A subscriber to the cost of this sculpture is Chu Ting-tê, Governor in the Commandry of Chao, serving Buddha. . . ."

The last of the inscriptions runs in a single ragged column alongside three figures occupying the right side of the stele in its lower half (C 6). The two adults are carved in slight relief, while a very perfunctory outline suffices for the child. Apparently eleven characters are inscribed; but the last two are illegible, and the reading of the ninth as *hsi*, " son," is uncertain. The first eight (FIG. 7) are translated: " The disciple of Buddha, Wu Wên-hsien; his wife, [whose family name is] Shih."

Two place names occur in these inscriptions, and from them a clear indication of provenance is obtainable. According to the *Wei shu* (cvi, A, 5), the Commandry of Chien was reduced to the

status of a Department (*chou*) during the reign-period *yung-an* (528-30) of the Northern Wei dynasty. Its capital was the city of Kao-tu, lying about ten miles north-east of the present Tsê-chou which is situated in the south-east of Shan-hsi, close to the Ho-nan border. Chien Chou was then within the administrative area of Ho-nei Commandry which included the neighbouring part of Ho-nan. The Commandry of Chao lay some 120 miles to the north-east. We may reasonably surmise that this family of Chu lived somewhere in the same region, and probably near their dwelling the stele was erected. This would have been within the territory of the Eastern Wei dynasty, whose reign-period is inscribed on the stele, recording a date some five months after the first emperor had established himself on the throne.

TOTAL H. 3′ 2″. C 7. H. 1′ 5.5″. C 8. H. 1′ 9.6″

C 9 and 10, Plates VI and VII

Front and side views of a votive group carved in hard, grey stone, which is partly covered with calcareous incrustations. The main figure is that of a Bodhisattva seated with pendent legs, crossed at the ankles, and with hands joined in *dharmacakra mudrā*. Behind the figure is part of an aureole which probably in its unbroken state formed a leaf-shaped backing to the stele. Evidently there were two small standing figures in low relief upon the aureole, one on either side of the central figure. The remains of one on the left, with hands in the posture of adoration (*añjali mudrā*), indicate that the attendants were Bodhisattvas. A pair of seated lions, whose heads are missing, occupy the basal platform beside the throne.

The long hair, parted in the centre, falls upon the shoulders; an anterior tress, passing behind each ear, is plaited below. The incrustations prevent a clear view of the features; but the visible part shows summary treatment. Both eyebrow and eye are expressed each with a simple incised line, and the orbit is but slightly modelled.

The coronet of the large figure is composed of a circlet from which arise two palmettes alternating with three rounded forms. A long wide scarf, arising from the coronet and covering the shoulders, is twisted over the arms at the elbows and then falls away from the figure. The trunk and legs are clad in a closely fitting robe which, low-necked and sleeveless, reaches to the ankles. A necklace with pendents rests upon the chest. While the forearms are bare of jewellery, a coiled bracelet encircles the middle third of each arm.

Criteria exist which allow the Bodhisattva to be identified and also the stele to be dated with certainty. He is Maitreya who will become incarnate as the Buddha of the future (*v. sup.*, pp. 24-26). His posture here in the *dharmacakra mudrā* is emblematic of his destiny to cause the wheel of the Law to be turned once again in the present *kalpa*. As has been stated above, representations of Maitreya belong chiefly to the earliest period of Buddhist sculpture in China: they are most frequent under the Northern Wei dynasty; and examples later than the first half of the eighth century are rarely found. Of the various presentments of Maitreya, seated with legs pendent and crossed, those with the *dharmacakra* posture are far less numerous than those which have the right hand in *abhaya mudrā*. Forerunners of the cross-legged type may be found among the Gāndhāra sculptures (*v.* **76**, fig. 426).

At least two parallels to C 9 and 10 exist at Yün-kang (**32**, fig. 202 and **203**, pl. 46), and the same type appears in the early caves of Tun-huang (**174**, pl. 194). The fact that figures of Maitreya at Yün-kang and the earliest dated examples at Lung-mên are generally associated with only two Bodhisattvas and a couple of lions is an additional indication that the date of this piece is also early. In short, the evidence seems to point to the latter half of the fifth century, or the beginning of the sixth, as the probable date. H. 1′ 0.8″

C 11-20, Plates VIII-XIII

Various views of a four-sided stele carved in soft grey stone of fine texture. It is in two pieces: an upper which is sculptured and inscribed, and a lower which is bare save for the inscription on

one face (C 20). The latter ends below in a roughly rounded process which evidently was made to fit into a socket. The severing of the stele is recent, and, since the upper and lower pieces do not fit exactly, one may infer that a section is missing from the middle. The intact stele must have been six or seven feet high—an awkward thing to handle; and probably it was cut up in order that it might be transported more easily. An important question is, of course, whether we can be sure that formerly these two pieces were one, the hypothetical missing length having joined them. There seems no doubt on this point; for the two are similar as to material and shape, and the style of script. Moreover, the name of a certain donor is found on both.

Bordering the rounded top are four hornless dragons (*ch'ih*), such as from early times have been used to adorn the heads of memorial stone tablets (*pei*). They have no Buddhist significance.

Recognition of the *Lotus* and *Vimalakīrti sūtras* as sources of inspiration for the imagery of this stele has been advanced in the Introduction, and the several iconographic problems that arise have been studied together with the main purport of the inscription (*v.* pp. 22-29). It remains to discuss the details which have not been noticed previously.

The chief icon is the large figure of Śākyamuni on the front (C 11), seated in the classic adamantine posture, the right hand being in *abhaya*, the left in *vara mudrā*. A nimbus of lotus petals encircles the head. The elaboration of the pleated robe, typical of Wei sculpture, is here exaggerated to such an unusual extent that it serves more as an independent decorative display than mere clothing for the figure.

Before passing to the presentment of the *Vimalakīrti sūtra* on the lower third of the front (C 11 and 16), a note is due concerning the being who holds aloft a gigantic censer, since from analogy with other sculptures this motive seems to belong properly to the Śākyamuni group rather than to the other, in the centre of which it appears. Clearly the object portrayed here is a "hill censer" (*po shan lu*) of the type which persisted from the Han dynasty till the T'ang and probably later. Two examples are in the Collection (A 96 and B 318). It is called a censer in two inscriptions at Lung-mên (**32**, 554). Perhaps it was adopted in Chinese iconography as a sort of counterpart to the object, flanked with devotees, which appears on the pedestal of many Indian sculptures in various forms—censer, *vihāra* and alms-bowl (*v.* **76**, figs. 344, 345, 459). In China the supporting figure often has unmistakable female breasts, and the *ūrṇā* is sometimes present: an example occurs on the well-known pedestal which is dated A.D. 525 (*v.* **32**, fig. 525). Whether the resemblance is merely fortuitous that exists between this upper half of a female form, emerging from a lotus bloom, and certain figures appearing in Gāndhāra sculpture has yet to be decided. One type of these problematic Indian forerunners is a figure in some of the Enlightenment groups. It appears coming out of the ground amid foliage, and in some instances has the arms raised as if to support the *Vajrāsana* upon which Śākyamuni is about to compose himself for the great event. Both Grünwedel and Foucher agree in recognizing it to represent the future incident, during the assault of Māra, when Śākyamuni invokes the Earth as witness (*v. sup.*, pp. 7, 36; **76**, i 389, 399, figs. 200, 341; **101**, 100, 101). According to the account in the *Lalita-vistara*, the great Earth-goddess, named Sthāvarā, caused the earth to quake while she manifested above the ground half her body, decked with ornaments and bowed forward with hands joined (**74**, i 272). Various Indian sculptures display the other type of supporting figure, uplifting the hoofs of Śākyamuni's horse as he leaves the palace at the time of the Great Renunciation. But, such figures are not always full-breasted; sometimes they are moustached men (**76**, figs. 181, 182, 187). Consequently Grünwedel's theory tracing the origin of the conception to the Greek Gaia, goddess of the Earth, is not entirely convincing (**101**, 100-103, figs. 50-54). Whatever their remote prototypes may be, it would seem safer to call these supporting figures in Chinese Buddhist art by the name Yakṣa or Yakṣī, whether male or female, and to regard them merely as a kind of Atlantes. We find one, emerging from a lotus bloom, under each foot of the seated Maitreya on this stele (C 13). Numerous examples of Maitreya being thus supported occur at Lung-mên, though generally there is but one Yakṣa who supports a foot with each hand (*v.* **225**, ii 29 (2)-93).

Let us now turn to the presentment of the *Vimalakīrti sūtra*, the narrative of which has been outlined in the Introduction, together with comments on the use of this motive in early Buddhist sculpture in China (pp. 26-29). As previously remarked, the scene is rarely represented so fully as here (C 11, 16). Besides the two disputants and their immediate attendants, thirty-three figures, all exactly alike in four serried rows, serve for the countless multitudes of onlookers—a device poorly conceived and executed. Perhaps the figure standing on the left of Mañjuśrī is Śāriputra, whom the *sūtra* presents in such an unfavourable light; but the chief incident that appears here is that of the inexhaustible perfume-food brought from the world of Gandhakūta Buddha. The Bodhisattva sent to fetch it is shown, above Vimalakīrti's house, as he descends through the air with the bowl in his left hand. Comparison should be made with the messenger as portrayed in the version of this motive in the New York Metropolitan Museum (**185**, fig. 3), and the stucco relief in the Collection which so closely resembles the latter (C 105). Opposite the messenger is a companion figure which may represent the heavenly maiden who scattered flowers upon the vast assembly. Two cherub-like forms at the top, also with long floating draperies, hold between them a bowl. Presumably this portrays the first stage of the miracle, when the perfume-food is being conveyed to the Bodhisattva messenger. The bowl appears again at the foot of the relief. It is held in his left hand by someone whose other hand lifts a vessel and pours its contents into the receptive hands of another. No doubt this symbolizes the fragrant food that satiated the entire assembly. Being an essential feature of the narrative, it calls for representation; and the mode of doing so in some of the Tun-huang paintings is to portray a figure pouring from the bowl a copious flood of rice upon the ground (*v.* **215**, iv pl. 95; **216**, pl. 24). The other figures at the foot of the scene doubtless represent members of the assembly waiting to receive in turn their shares of the perfumed repast.

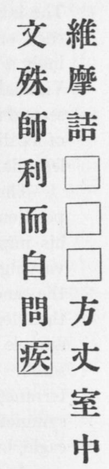


FIG. 8.

As usual, a distinctive difference is shown between Mañjuśrī's canopied throne and Vimalakīrti's "ten cubits square" house. The tiled roof is a noteworthy feature; it is essentially Chinese, and it is slightly curved. Some writers have declared that the curve, which grew pronounced during later centuries, is not known to have existed in China before the T'ang period; but here is definite evidence to the contrary. The curve seems to be absent from roofs represented in the rock carvings at Yün-kang and Lung-mên.

Another object of archaeological interest is the pillared support upon which Mañjuśrī rests his forearms. This is an ancient article of Chinese furniture. The word *chi* of the *Canon of History* (*Chinese Classics*, iii 544-5, 553, 558) may denote it, and it is pictured repeatedly in the Shan-tung sculptures of the second century A.D. (*v.* **32**, figs. 129, 150, etc.). It occurs seldom in Buddhist sculpture; but the images of the Jade Emperor, the supreme deity of Taoism, are generally represented with one of these arm-rests (*v.* **203**, pls. 386, 403B).

Two mutilated columns of script run down the lateral borders (FIG. 8). On the right are the words: "Wei-mo-chieh (Vimalakīrti) . . . in his ten cubits square house"; on the left: "Wên-shu-shih-li (Mañjuśrī) . . . [come] to inquire after [the sick man]". The latter column is followed by some nine partly obliterated characters which appear to record the name of a subscriber to the ceremony of opening the eyes of the images. The character *Wên*, presumably the first syllable of the Chinese transcription of the name Mañjuśrī, is cut in large size between the canopy on the left and the censer.

A note is due concerning the term "ten cubits square" (*fang chang*) which occurs both here and in the third column of the long dedicatory inscription (FIG. 12). The pilgrim I-ching mentions it in his autobiography as current about A.D. 675, when he passed through Vaiśālī. Commenting on this passage, Takakusu repeats the usual explanation that the origin of the term is to be traced to Wang Hsüan-ts'ê (**221**, xxxiii), whose journeys to India have been mentioned above (p. 37). Some uncertainty exists as to which of his missions, between the years 643 and 665, was the

occasion of his visit to the site of Vimalakīrti's house. Wang Hsüan-ts'ê measured what remained of the building with his official audience tablet (*hu*), and found that in both dimensions it was exactly ten times the length of the tablet, so he called it *fang chang*—" ten cubits square " (**137**, 315, 316; **167**, 380-382). In course of time the meaning of *fang chang* became extended to denote a head priest's abode and hence a Buddhist monastery and further the abbot himself. The presence of the term on this stele of A.D. 520 as applied not only to the legendary house, but apparently also to a Buddhist foundation (*vihāra*), contradicts the tradition that assigns its inception to the diplomat. Indeed, there is evidence that it was so used earlier still—in the latter half of the fifth century. The *Inscription of the Dhūta Temple* by Wang Chin contains the statement that in A.D. 461 the roof of the *fang chang* was repaired in order to protect the images and *sūtras* (*Wên hsüan*, lix).

Recognition of Vimalakīrti's house among the famous sites goes back to early times. Pelliot quotes mention of it in the *Wai kuo shih*, which was written under the Chin (265-419), as a complete ruin located seven *li* south of the palace of Vaiśālī (**167**, 382). Fa-hsien does not allude to it; Hsüan-tsang names it as a pilgrim resort, but places its site to the north-east of the palace. The latter describes there the remains of two buildings associated with Vimalakīrti: his residence, on the foundations of which he found a *stūpa* built, and another house close by, " seemingly a pile of bricks, but according to tradition ' amassed stones ' " marking " the place where Vimalakīrti, displaying sickness, preached " (*v.* **120**, i 387-8; **246**, ii 66-67). Obviously the second is the one connected with the *sūtra*. As Pelliot remarks, the discrepancies in the accounts of locality point to a shifting tradition. The house was a fictitious creation, as probably was the legendary owner.

The reverse, C 13, is mainly in honour of the seated Bodhisattva who occupies the central position of the lower third. Above is an elaborate combination of accessories which emphasize his importance. The canopy at the top is composed of a series of superimposed flounces of varying lengths, the lower being pleated and tied with ribbons. Filling the space between the canopy and the arch, which crowns the median niche, are eight Devatā who float in the air, their long draperies trailing. The pointed arch repeats the general contour of the leaf-shaped aureole below; it is formed of outer and inner fields, each containing a semi-symmetric floral scroll. The motive of the outer is the acanthus, that of the inner the grape vine—both of Mediterranean origin and freely adopted in China through Gāndhāra and Iranian agencies. A central symmetric device, at the tip of the aureoles, appears at first glance like the heraldic double-eagle, but it is really a lotus design.

As seen in C 13, the lower three-quarters of the sculptured face seem top-heavy as a glorification of the seated Bodhisattva. Yet the fact must be remembered that, as explained above, the stele originally extended below for at least eighteen inches and perhaps further, and thus the Bodhisattva did actually occupy a position more central than would appear from a view of the stele in its present truncated state.

The Bodhisattva is undoubtedly Maitreya in the Tuṣita Heaven, about to be incarnated (*v. sup.*, p. 26). Several facts point to this identification: the position on the reverse of the stele is the usual one for Maitreya; the seated posture with pendent legs (*pralambapāda āsana*) is characteristic; and since the early part of the sixth century Maitreya was generally associated with two monks and a pair of lions. The rule was for two Bodhisattvas also to be in attendance. Unusual features to be observed here are the strangely shaped nimbus, and the monks' cranial protuberances (*uṣṇīṣa*), properly a mark distinguishing a Buddha. Kāśyapa, standing on Maitreya's right, has the wrinkled face which contrasts with that of the companion Ānanda—the customary indication of his greater age (*cf.* C 92, 93). In common with most of the figures on this stele, Maitreya's right hand is in *abhaya* and the left in *vara mudrā*. Here again the robes display the characteristic Wei treatment. Pleats and folds are elaborated and, together with the swallow-tailed processes, are arranged in an evenly balanced design.

Half of the remaining icons on this stele have been tentatively recognized. For instance,

the standing Buddha on the front (C 11, 15) is probably Dīpaṅkara (*v. sup.*, pp. 23, 24); the corresponding figure on the reverse (C 13) may be Maitreya (*v.* p. 26); and the two meditating figures on the sides (C 12, 14, 17, 18) may be Śākyamuni and Maitreya (*v.* pp. 24, 25). Identification of the other two figures on each side seems problematic. Before passing to the inscriptions, a word is due concerning three characters *p'u kuang yüeh*, scratched on one of the lateral panels (C 12, 17). Since they are clearly not part of the original work, they may be disregarded.

Names of the subscribers appear on the two sides. Those on the left (C 12 and Fig. 9) may be read first, and unfortunately the loss of parts through damage complicates the problem and precludes a definitive rendering. M. Pelliot is inclined to the opinion that these lists designate those who contributed to the cost of the ceremony at which someone, whose name is probably effaced, performed " the opening of the light of the images," in other words, animated the icons by dotting the pupils of one or more of the principal figures. This act is denoted by the four characters which are cut on either side of the tip of the central Buddha's aureole, and copied as the middle column of Fig. 9. M. Pelliot further suggests that the names should be taken in this order: first the column on the proper left, then the one opposite, and finally the nine columns at the base, read from left to right. Accordingly, they are translated as follows: " The teacher and monk of the Law, Shêng; Ho Pêng-pêng; his son, Ho Ho-pin; Li Tao-hui, sub-prefect of P'ing-yao; his sons [Li] Ting-kuang and [Li] Hsien-kuang; . . . [Ho] . . . -luan; his sons, Ho Yin-hu, [Ho] Tang-shih and [Ho] Huan-tsu; and [Ho] Tung-k'uan, the son of [Ho Huan-] tsu."

The last group, copied in Fig. 10, opens with the character *tang* which here is taken to mean an association of donors. The names are: " Liu Fu-shêng; Ch'ao Shih-lo; Yo Tao-kuei; Lan Fu-lang; Chang Huan-hsi; Wei Min-shih; Ch'êng Kung-lüeh; Wei T'ung-chien; Liu Shuang-an; Wei Hui-hsing; Chin Kai-nien; Liang Shuang-an; Chang O-yeh; Kuo Chên-p'ang and Lin. . . ."

On the right side of the stele (C 14) the inscriptions are limited to five short columns (Fig. 11). Of these, the second and third are incomplete, for they lack the names. Such omissions, frequent on Buddhist sculptures, evidence the practice to anticipate subscriptions, the blanks being left for the recording of future gifts. The two characters of the second column mean " local donor "; the third column may be rendered either " chief donor of the images " or " donor of the chief image." If the latter, the reference would be, of course, to the large central figure of Śākyamuni on the front. The three completed columns are translated thus: " The local donor, Li Sêng-chih, when he began to turn his thoughts to Enlightenment (*bodhicitta*); P'êng Wu-huo, chief subscriber to the priests' repast [on the occasion of the stele being dedicated]; and Yang Ts'ai-hsi, chief accountant of Ting-yang Commandry."

Li Sêng-chih is he who is named as a donor in the fifth column of the long dedicatory inscription. This fact has been previously remarked as one of the proofs that these two pieces of stone were originally united. P'êng Wu-huo is a doubtful name; but the characters are difficult to transcribe otherwise. Mention of the two places gives an inkling as to the provenance of the stele. P'ing-yao lies some thirty miles east of the prefectural city of Fên-chou; while the Commandry of Ting-yang corresponds to the later department of Chi, west of P'ing-yang and abutting on the Yellow River. Thus both were situate in southern Shan-hsi, not more than a hundred miles apart.

The dedication, running to 308 characters (C 20 and Fig. 12), is an important contribution to the body of known Buddhist inscriptions. Considering the excellence of the composition and script, I had expected to find some record of it among the voluminous literature devoted to this subject. My search, however, was in vain; and Mr. P'u Chiang-ch'ing most obligingly hunted in the Peking libraries, but with like result. Unfortunately, the inscription has suffered damage. The top line was partly mutilated when the stele was severed, so that at least one character cannot be deciphered with certainty. This is the first of the last column, which I have read as the family name *Chi*, yet with hesitation, because of the context. Though other injuries to the soft stone have caused some obliteration, there is only one missing character

which cannot be replaced, and that is at the end of the last column but one. While the first column has suffered most, enough remains to indicate its original state. For instance, the still legible notation for the first day of the fifth month serves to identify the cycle, and so the year can be no other than A.D. 520. As to the inscribed reign-period, it must have been that of the Northern Wei dynasty; for evidence of locality within Wei territory is provided by the two

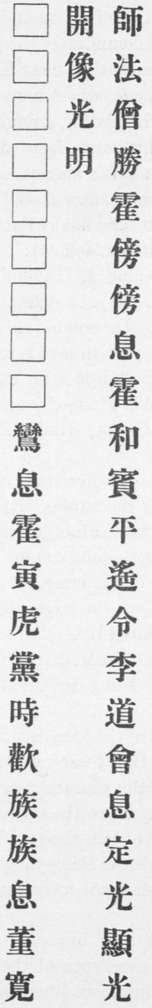


Fig. 9.

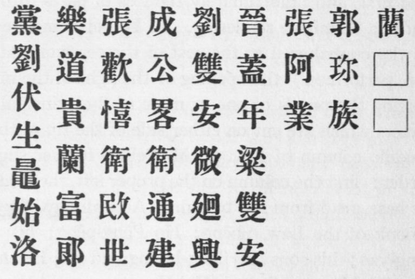


Fig. 10.

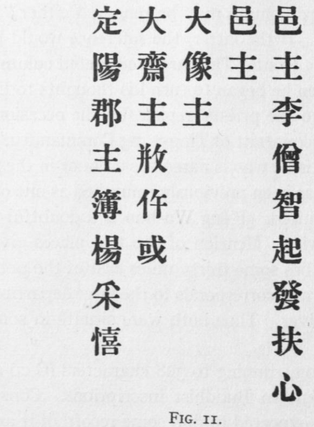


Fig. 11.

place names. The reign-period was changed during the year 520, of which the cyclical notation was *kêng-tzŭ*; but we know that *shên-kuei* remained the designation until the seventh month of that year (**243**, xxix 1). Hence the three characters at the beginning of the first column may be restored with confidence. Traces of the thirteenth and sixteenth characters, though but

faintly visible, are clear enough to allow the date to be completed at the foot of the column also. In Fig. 12 the restored characters are printed within squares.

The general tenor of this long inscription accords with the usual formula. Its construction and religious purport have been discussed in the Introduction (*v. sup.*, pp. 22-24). Two rare features, calling for special comment, are the use of the term Compassionate One (Tz'ŭ shih) as a designation of Śākyamuni Buddha, and the allusion to the last of Śākyamuni's former incarnations in the person of the Prince Hsü-da-na or Su-da-na, the subject of the *Viśvāntara Jātaka* which provided a popular motive in the Buddhist iconography of India and China (*v. sup.*, p. 7).

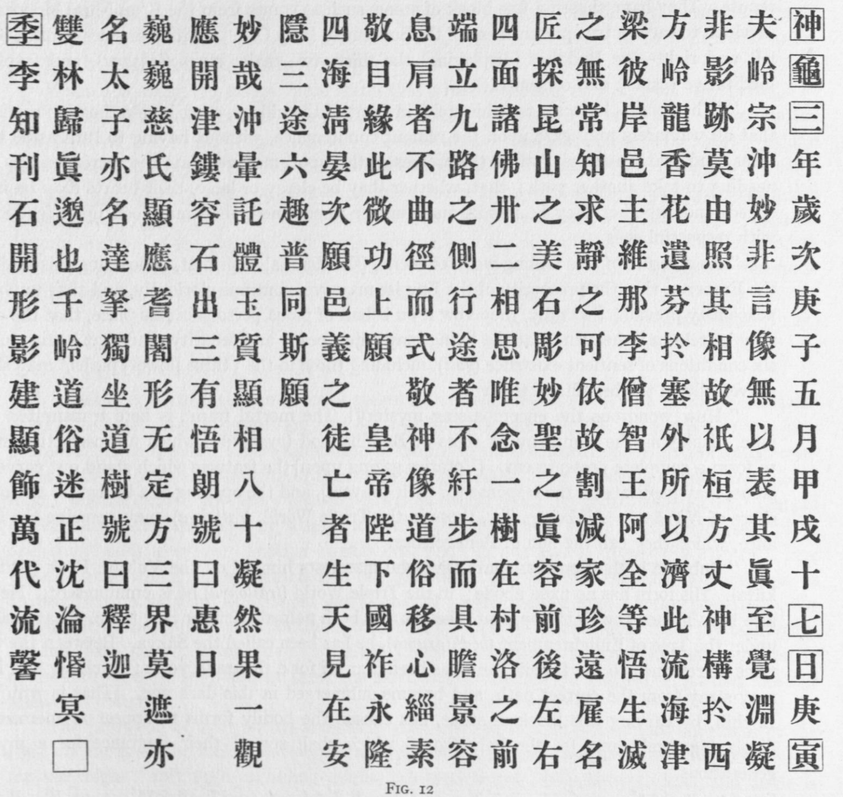


Fig. 12

The name Tz'ŭ shih is commonly applied to Maitreya; but the context seems to leave no doubt that the historical Buddha is meant. To M. Pelliot I owe the suggestion that here the name should be taken as equivalent to Mahākaruṇa, which is generally represented in Chinese with the characters *Ta pei*. *Tz'ŭ* and *pei*, epithets of kindred meanings, are used together as a general designation of Buddhas.

The translation is as follows: "On the [seventeenth day,] *kêng*[-*yin*,] of the fifth moon [of which the first day was] a *chia-hsü* day, the year being in the *kêng-tzŭ* signs, [and being the third of the *shên-kuei* reign-period (19th June, 520 A.D.)].

"Since the divine doctrine is of subtle transcendence, it can be truly manifested only with words and images; since perfect knowledge is profoundly deep, there is no means of displaying the glorious signs [of Buddhahood] unless with representative figures. Wherefore the monastery

of the Jetavana was wonderfully completed in the Western Regions (*i.e.* India), and the [tree with] scented blooms of the divine dragon (*nāgapuṣpa*) spreads its fragrance beyond the frontiers (*i.e.* into Central Asia). By such means [the living] are helped to cross this [world's] troubled ocean [of suffering], and a bridge is provided to the other shore [of *Nirvāṇa*].

" The local subscribers [to the cost of this sculpture], the Controllers of Religious Observances and Donations (Karmadāna) Li Sêng-chih and Wang O-ch'üan, and others, perceiving the impermanence of mortal existence, and aware that reliance should be placed in the pursuit of tranquillity, have parted with their family treasures in order to hire from afar craftsmen of repute. They have chosen a fine block of stone, such as comes from the K'un [-lun] Mountains, in which to carve a true presentment of the Supremely Holy One. On its four sides—front, back, left and right—are Buddhas [displaying] the thirty-two major signs (*lakṣaṇa*), and [rapt] in meditative ecstasy and concentration.

" [The donors] have set up [this stele] in front of the village, erect beside the nine roads, so that all wayfarers may gaze upon the radiant countenance, without having to turn aside their steps, and that travellers, resting themselves at this spot, may venerate the sacred images, not needing to take another path; that, whether they be clergy or laity, their hearts may be influenced, and, whether they be monks and nuns or unordained, they may look upon [the stele] with respectful eyes.

" As a result of this trifling work of merit, [the donors] wish first, concerning His Majesty the Emperor, that the prosperity of the Empire may ever continue gloriously, and that universal peace may prevail. Secondly, they vow it on behalf of pious persons in this place, that the dead may be reborn in heaven, that the living may enjoy peace and security, and that beings in the six conditions of sentient existence (*gāti*), including those in the ' three [lower] paths,' may share universally in the benefits of this vow.

" How wondrous the encompassing mystery! The mortal frame is here transmuted into jade, displaying the eighty minor signs of Buddhahood (*vyañjaṇa*) which are perfectly united to form a complete presentment. [Votaries gazing upon] the features which stand out carved in stone, may meditate on the response [to their prayers], and the opening of a bridge [to the other shore of *Nirvāṇa*]. All beings (lit., those in the Triple World, *trailokya*), may perceive the radiance, which they call the Sun of Benevolence.

" Sublime is the Compassionate One who manifests himself on the Vulture Peak (Gṛdhrakūṭa). His form has no fixed abode; in the Triple World (*trailokya*) he is omnipresent. He has also been named the Heir Apparent; he has also been named [Hsü- or Su-] ta-na. Seated alone under the Tree of Enlightenment (*bodhidruma*), he has been called the Śākya. Between the twin trees he returned to the Infinite, and has been afar off for a thousand years; so clergy and laity may stray from the correct path, and become submerged in this dark age. [That is why] Chi Li-chih, by carving this block of stone, has caused the bodily forms to appear as mementoes displaying semblances [of the holy figure] which shall spread their fragrance for a myriad generations."

C 11-14. H. 4′ 5.5″. C 15. H. 1′ 3″. C 16. H. 1′ 5.5″. C 17. H. 9.75″. C 18. H. 9.5″. C 19. H. 2′ 5.5″. C 20. H. 1′ 8.75″

C 21-23, Plates XIV and XV

Three views of a Bodhisattva in hard stone of coarse texture. The figure stands on the base of an inverted cone, 6.5 inches high, evidently made to fit into a pedestal. Only the base of the cone is shown in the photographs. The right hand is in *vara mudrā*, and enough remains of the damaged left hand to indicate that probably it was in *abhaya mudrā*. A band encircles the base of the chignon into which the long hair is gathered upon the apex, and from the front of the band a low diadem rises. Two ribbons, hanging from the lateral processes of the circlet, are broken away between the ears and the shoulders. A cape-like shawl clothes the shoulders, and it is the only garment defined on the back of the image (*v.* C 23). It seems to have but remote affinity with

the Indian *uttarīya*; and distinctively Chinese are the long ends which are threaded through the ring in front and then fall to the knees where they are looped up, each to be caught over a forearm and finally to reach the ground. Like the ribbons hanging from the circlet, the ends have become broken where unsupported by solid structures, that is, between the lower edge of the skirt and the base. The small roll upon each shoulder is a feature typical of the period. Avoidance of detail is nowhere more marked than in the treatment of the skirt or *paridhāna*; the sole attempt at showing folds being a slight stylized pattern above the plain girdle. A mere band, with a central point, forms the necklet; and there is an undecorated bracelet on each wrist. Otherwise, apart from the diadem, no jewellery adorns the figure. In short, this extreme simplification of the rich attire, proper to a Bodhisattva, might cause doubt as to the identification, but for the gestures of the hands.

When describing this image, Sirén states that a halo is missing (**203**, i 71-2); and perhaps he was influenced by the fact that many examples of this type have a circular halo. Examination fails, however, to find any trace of a halo. The same author assigns the piece to the short Northern Chou period (A.D. 557-581). No close parallel seems to be known. Several sculptures bear a general resemblance in point of costume, notably one at Lung-mên dating from the Northern Wei period (**225**, ii 79), though the treatment lacks the severe restraint so signally displayed here. Several features of the costume and the same square stance persisted as late as the Sui dynasty in the rock carvings at Yün-mên and T'o Shan (**225**, iv 80, 93). Probably a safe attribution is one not long before or after the beginning of the seventh century.

H. FROM THE SOLES OF THE FEET 3′ 1.25″

C 24 and 25, Plates XVI and XVII

Two views of a Bodhisattva on a lotus pedestal in hard, grey stone of fine texture. Remains of red, blue and green pigments suggest the original appearance of the image when it was fully coloured. Here the fussy over-elaboration of detail, to the detriment of statuesque unity, compares with the studied simplicity of the image last described. The garments of both are alike in kind; but here there are heavy jewelled garlands which recall the Indian *channavira*. Instead of the simple ring seen in C 21, a large medallion, studded with gems, holds the crossed ropes and shawl ends in place. Another similar ornament, at the knees, adorns the loop of a long jewelled rope which seems unrelated to any garment. The diadem, encircling the chignon, is covered with a network of stringed gems; and the wide necklet is also richly jewelled. The treatment of the drapery also contrasts with that of C 21-23. The ribbons from the head-dress become here pleated streamers; the shawl at the back assumes a complex and symmetric pattern of folds (C 25); and in front the skirt, which reaches the ground, is pleated like our linen-fold design.

The profusion of adornments somewhat conceals and mitigates a curious shortness of the legs. If the trunk be reckoned to reach a level just above the lower medallion, no room is left for the thighs; and, even excluding thighs, the total length of leg between knee and ankle is unduly short. This is no isolated instance of abbreviated lower limbs; a similar defiance of anatomical fact appears often among the standing Buddhist images—notably in the presentment of this particular type of icon—though seldom in such marked degree as here.

Instead of the ambrosia flask (*amṛta kalaśa*), Kuan-yin's attribute, the left hand holds the Vase of Plenty (*pūrṇa kalaśa*), the commonest of auspicious emblems in Indian art, and shared by all sects. Perhaps the latter indicates some affinity with Srī-Laksmī, goddess of beauty and abundance (*v.* **49**, 175-189; **55**, ii 61-64). In many respects a figure in the possession of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer is a close parallel (**203**, pl. 312). It, too, has a flask brimming over with luxuriant lotus vegetation; and the same notion is expressed somewhat differently in another Kuan-yin image belonging to the Eumorfopoulos Collection (C 106, 107). According to Sirén, the figure in the Havemeyer Collection " holds a lotus flower in the raised right hand which is now partly broken," and this offers a clue to the missing part of C 24. PROBABLY SUI. H. 3′ 7″

C 26 and 27, Plates XVIII and XIX

Two views of a group in stone comprising a Buddha, seated with interlocked legs upon a lotus dais (*padmāsana*), two Bodhisattvas, each standing on a lotus pedestal, and two lions. Judging from similar icons, which are less damaged, we may conclude that originally the backing to the figures was a leaf-shaped aureole that ended in a point about three inches above the Buddha's head (*cf.* **162**, figs. 679, 682; **203**, pl. 276B).

Not only is the technique coarse, but there is a general lack of significant form, specially noticeable in the treatment of the drapery. In brief, the work is that of a mere artisan. Nor is understanding shown in the treatment of the head. The *uṣṇīṣa* is widened so that it merges with the crown, and absence of curls gives the appearance of a cap. The missing right hand was doubtless in *abhaya mudrā*. Two similar pieces in Japanese collections show the Buddha grasping part of his robe with the left hand, and one is named as the figure of Śākyamuni (**162**, figs. 463, 594). The Bodhisattva with *kalaśa* and lotus bud is probably Kuan-yin. The companion Bodhisattva is too much damaged for identification to be attempted.

Among the parallels which may be turned to for evidence as to date are two stone groups inscribed with the *k'ai-huang* reign-period (581-601) of the Sui dynasty (**162**, 396, 409, figs. 679, 682). An attribution to the latter part of the sixth century is consistent with the known criteria.

H. 10.7″

C 28-33, Plates XX-XXII

Various views of a four-sided stele carved in soft, grey stone of fine texture. The main motive seems to be the *Lotus sūtra*, as it is in the two stelae previously described. Here Śākyamuni, attended by Ānanda and Kāśyapa, occupies the lower third (C 28, 33). A noteworthy point is that his right shoulder is bared. Below the plain pedestal throne, four stalked lotus blooms are symmetrically arranged on either side of a median censer. In the middle third Śākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna are seated together upon a raised dais, and one has a hand in *abhaya* while the other has a hand in *vara mudrā*. At the top is Maitreya, seated with pendent legs in the pose (*pralambapāda āsana*) traditionally associated with his presence in the Tuṣita Heaven when about to be born in this world (*v. sup.*, p. 26). Though both arms have been broken off, enough remains to indicate that the right hand was in *abhaya* and the left in *vara mudrā*. Two attendant Bodhisattvas, with hands in *añjali mudrā*, are among the features resembling those of the stele, dated A.D. 570, at the Shao-lin Ssŭ (*v.* **225**, ii 125). The two monks are named Ānanda and Kāśyapa on a stele, dated A.D. 551, in the Chicago Art Institute (**121**, pl. 4). Such combinations manifest the habit of representing the future Buddha in settings indistinguishable from those of Śākyamuni. The Bodhisattva rests each foot upon the head of a lion. A pair of lions is often present in a Maitreya group; but this arrangement is most unusual. Though damaged, the supports for the feet of the Maitreya image at the Shao-lin Ssŭ appear to conform to the common device of lotus blooms (*cf.* C 73). The niche of the reverse contains a motive which I fail to identify (C 30). A Bodhisattva sits cross-legged upon a raised stage, and his open left hand supports a flask-shaped object from which arises a curling flame. In front of him kneels another Bodhisattva, the palms of his hands joined in the gesture of veneration (*añjali mudrā*). On each of the sides (C 29, 31) is a Buddha who can hardly be named with certainty.

Many of the decorative designs may be paralleled among Chinese works of the sixth and seventh centuries, and some are traceable to much earlier Indian prototypes. Take, for instance, the canopy-like ornament over the uppermost niche of the front (C 28, 33). The bird-head terminals occur in Northern Wei caves at Lung-mên (*e.g.* **225**, ii 76); and the festoons of stringed gems in the niche below were common at that period and later, often being shown, as they are here, pendent from the jaws of *kīrtimukha* masks (*v.* **225**, ii 92, 95, 97). Tasselled festoons, also emerging from a *kīrtimukha*'s mouth, appear on a stele dated A.D. 679 (**203**, pl. 509). The latter stele offers a parallel also as regards the coiled dragon, which in C 28 is so poorly expressed that

it might hardly be recognizable except in the light of other examples. The surviving three sides of a shrine, assigned by Kümmel to the Northern Ch'i dynasty, manifest the same combination—*kīrtimukha*, coiled dragon, and the lotus motives to be described later—executed with admirable spirit and diversity of detail. And above the inner group of this shrine there again appear the jewelled festoons, hanging from a *kīrtimukha* mask, and the tasselled sonorous stone (**127**). The fish seems to be a rare addition. Elsewhere on the stele the lotus motive appears in various forms. The symmetrically arranged blooms at the foot of the pedestal of C 33 have counterparts, not so stiffly expressed, on an unpublished stele in the Yale University Gallery. At the top of each face (C 28-31), are types of palmette-like ornaments which were used plentifully by Chinese masons about the sixth and seventh centuries. The palmette motive has been noticed above (p. 17). In the Ta-chu Grotto at Pao Shan, which is dated 589, almost exact replicas of those on C 30 and 31 appear between figures of the Twenty-four Patriarchs (**225**, iii 135); and forms on the lower edge of the magnificent lunette in the Collection correspond as closely (*v.* C 50). The clumsily cut volute elements of the palmettes on C 28, 29, become intelligible when compared with lotus forms on one side of the shrine described by Kümmel (**127**, pl. 25).

Analogous style may be found in four works which bear dates ranging from A.D. 570 to 692. The first is the previously cited stele at the Shao-lin Ssŭ; the second is a group of rock carvings at Kung Hsien, Ho-nan (**225**, ii 111); the third the stele of A.D. 679 (**203**, pl. 509); and the fourth is one which belongs to the Rhode Island School of Design (**203**, pl. 385). All show affinity in the modelling of the faces and the poise of the figures, and the first three certain similarities in costume.

Concerning technique, the first feature to note is the depth of the niches, averaging about three inches, which allows of the chief figures being modelled almost in the round. This is combined with undercutting at the top of each recess, a treatment carried to extreme in the lowest niche of the front, where so much is cut away that the arch is left free, except at the point and springers (*v.* C 33). Presumably the intention was to repeat the procedure in the niche of C 30 and perhaps that of C 29 also. This lack of uniformity is among the evidences, to be discussed later, that the stele is in an unfinished state. That such excessive undercutting increases the liability to breakage and hence is unsuited to a monument of this kind is proved by the loss of the arch from one niche (C 31) and of parts of the festoons in another (C 32). Indeed, owing to a recent mishap one side of the arch in the lowest niche of C 38 was broken, as may be noticed in a second photograph which was taken later to demonstrate the detail (C 33). Certain details on three faces of the stele, other than the front, remain but partly finished. Two horizontal bands above the niches of C 30 and 31 are merely spaced out with compass-drawn circles, doubtless as a first step towards the carving of symmetric lotus patterns like those on C 28; and the lotus base for the standing Buddha figure (C 29) is still only sketched in outline.

Turning to the inscriptions, which appear on the reverse and sides, the first point to observe is that the characters are poorly formed and clumsily engraved. On the reverse (C 30) the term *i-tzŭ*, "local inhabitant," is repeated four times and then follows a single character *i*—evidently headings for columns of votaries' names to be filled in later within the squares marked out below.

On the side (C 31) to the proper right of the front are lists of names in two groups. The upper group of five columns (FIG. 13) commemorates members of the Ch'ên family, and fittingly the place of honour is given to the dead. The translation is as follows: "Deceased father Ch'ên-ch'u; [deceased] mother Yüan O-hui; chief local donor Ch'ên Yün-han; his wife Wang Tzŭ-ling; his elder brother Ch'ên Yüan-ch'ou; [the latter's] wife Hsi Jun-fei; [Ch'ên Yün-han's] younger brother Liang Ching-ju; [the latter's] wife Li Mo-fei; [Ch'ên Yun-han's] son Ch'ên Shan-chieh; and his daughter Niu-êrh." The name Liang in the fourth column may be explained by the surmise that the younger brother had been adopted into another family.

The second group of seven columns (FIG. 14) concerns the Chang family, as follows: "Deceased father Chang Shê-lo; deceased mother Mi-shêng; chief Karmadāna Chang Jung-pao;

his wife Lo . . . -hui; his sons Tzŭ-t'ung and Huang-jên; his daughter Niang-tzŭ; and his son Ch'ing-hsiang."

On the proper left side of the stele (C 29) vertical and horizontal lines are lightly scratched, marking the field below the niche into squares for the cutting of characters. Only a small area at the top is filled with the following inscription of five columns (Fig. 15) which presumably commemorates another branch of the Chang family: "Deceased father Chang Hui-lo; deceased mother Yang-kuei; chief donor Chang Fu-shêng; his wife T'ien-fei; his son Chang Ch'ing-ch'ien; his daughter Chao-hui; and his son Chang Shan-hua."

In conclusion, the front of the stele is the only finished face, and that requires more trimming at the top; the inscriptions are also incomplete; the figures, except those in one niche and the lions supporting Maitreya's feet, conform to known iconographic and stylistic standards; counterparts of the decorative motives are to be found in various sculptures dating from the sixth and seventh centuries; and the workmanship is mediocre.

The problem is to decide whether the piece actually dates from about the seventh century or is an archaistic work belonging to a later period. The unfinished state, the faulty and unusual technique, and the presence of an iconographic rarity are arguments which might be used in

亡父陳初母爰阿迴
兄陳元醜妻席潤妃
弟梁景儒妻李磨妃
息陳善解息女牛兒

Fig. 13.

都邑主陳雲漢妻王紫綾

亡父張舍洛
亡母密勝
都維那張榮保
妻羅□暉
息通
息荒仁息女孃子
息清香

Fig. 14.

亡父張迴洛
亡母楊貴
都化主張伏生妻田妃
息張清錢息女照暉
息張善化

Fig. 15.

favour of either view, according to one's preconceptions. Mere normality cannot be taken as a test of genuineness; the ultimate criterion is whether a work displays consistent style; for the rule seems to be unalterable that no one, except perhaps the most skilled forger, can fail to reflect the spirit of his age. In view of the evidence marshalled above, a tentative attribution to the latter part of the sixth or to the seventh century seems reasonable.

Total h. 5′ 4.25″. C 32. h. 1′ 3.25″. C 33. h. 1′ 5″

C 34-36, Plates XXIII-XXV

Four views of an image in white micaceous marble of the kind quarried near the place where the image was found in 1927. It is said to have been lying upon the ground below the north-eastern corner of the platform on which stands the Hsiu-tê Pagoda, a short distance outside the south gate of Ch'ü-yang. The town of Ch'ü-yang lies some seventeen miles to the north-west of Ting Chou, a city in the south-western region of Chih-li province, now called Ho-pei. When complete, the image must have been about six feet high. Originally the head was a separate piece, if the truncated neck and the dowel socket may be trusted as evidence. There is, of course, the possibility that at first the figure was carved from a single block, and that later the head, owing to damage, was cut off and replaced with another. Traces of another dowel socket on the left side indicate that the missing hands were fitted separately, unless here again a restoration was

made. The remains of the lower part of the image were found to be so friable that for support the insertion of iron rods combined with a stand of concrete were necessary.

Loss of the head and hands does not interfere with recognition of the image as that of a Buddha; for the monastic mantle, the *saṅghāṭi*, is characteristic. This is the outer of the three garments allowed to monks, and iconographic tradition assigns them as the dress of Śākyamuni after the Enlightenment, and of other Buddhas who are represented like the Founder. Not only is the *saṅghāṭi* Indian, but the mode in which it is here expressed is traceable to Indian prototypes. There are, for instance, two figures made at Mathurā during the Gupta period which present striking similarity (*v.* **235**, pl. 31 *a*, *b*). They too have the garment clinging to the body and the folds arranged with bilateral symmetry. But the treatment is more rigid and stylized: the folds run in uniform, equidistant and pendent loops, passing without interruption over the whole front aspect and being strictly centred in the median line. Though the folds of the statue in the Collection are methodized, they retain vestiges of the idealized realism which is typical of early Gāndhāra practice. Many examples of this Hellenistic tradition might be cited. One is a Buddha image in the Lahore Museum which displays a carefully arranged scheme of numerous folds modelled in the form naturally taken by a fine woollen fabric of substance and suppleness (*v.* **76**, pl. 2). Foucher plausibly likens the material thus imitated to the closely woven, fleecy stuff, made of Tibetan goat's hair, which is still used in Cashmir and is suited to withstand the cold Himalayan winds (**76**, ii 352). The rigours of the Gāndhāra climate would require such protection. On the other hand, the warmer environment of the Ganges Valley would call for less substantial clothing. This was no doubt a factor in the representation of thin clinging drapery (perhaps of cotton or silk), closely moulded to the figure, which appears in the Gupta sculptures at Mathurā, and differently at Sārnāth where it is a tight investing skin, devoid of folds (**76**, fig. 555).

The uniform, lifeless and seemingly padded ridges typical of the Mathurā school, which contrast with the naturalistically modelled folds of early Hellenistic sculptures, have already been noticed, and also Hackin's theory that this treatment imitated the technique at Bamian. Attention was also drawn to the unintelligent presentment of the convention at Yün-kang (*v. sup.*, p. 16). One of these examples, a standing Buddha image of the Northern Wei period, is of immediate interest, because it displays the same bilaterally symmetric arrangement of the folds as C 34-36 (*v.* **32**, fig. 260). It is poor sculpture, and it signally lacks the plastic distinction of the piece in the Collection. A closer parallel is afforded by the standing Maitreya at Lung-mên which is dated A.D. 648 by an inscription (**32**, 345-349; **225**, ii 55 (2), 57). This again is inferior in sculptural achievement, yet the general scheme of the mantle folds is the same.

Stress is laid on the bilateral symmetry of the drapery, because it is a feature which tends to identify C 34-36 with the most famous of all Buddha images. This arrangement differs from that of the commoner Indian type which has stylized folds radiating from the left shoulder: for example, the colossi at Bamian (**93**, pls. 8-12); Gupta works from Mathurā (**235**, pls. 29, 31c, 32); and a stucco image reported by Le Coq from Central Asia (**132**, i pl. 39). The main clue to identification with the famous image, claimed as an actual portrait of the historical Buddha, is the piece in the Seiryō Temple which is said to have been copied at the end of the tenth century from the reputed Udayana statue in the Sung capital (*v. sup.*, p. 38). The general arrangement of the drapery displayed by this copy in Japan closely resembles that of the marble statue, and there are later presentments of the type, but treated in a much more stylized manner (*v.* **7**, 96 and supp. 4; **104**; **154**). Two small bronzes in the Collection (C 59, 60, 64, 70) seem to reflect the same tradition. In short, direct descent from an Indian prototype is traceable, and possibly the third among the images brought back by Hsüan-tsang may have been a factor in standardizing and popularizing the conception in both China and Japan (*v. sup.*, p. 31).

Nevertheless, it would be rash to assert on no other evidence than the drapery that this marble statue was intended to represent the Udayana myth. Enough of the arms are preserved to indicate that probably the right hand was in *abhaya* and the left in *vara mudrā*, the gestures

the multiplicity of these pillars may be gathered from a recent attempt to catalogue known examples from the Eastern Wei to the Ming periods, the oldest being dated A.D. 538 and the last A.D. 1592 (**253**). The total of over 850 must represent but a fraction of those actually erected. An alternative possibility is that C 41-44 originally formed part of a memorial to a dead abbot or other Buddhist notable. The pillared sort are also built up of superimposed units, some of which often resemble those of the *ch'uang*.

To whichever type of monument the piece under discussion belonged, it displays features familiar to Buddhist tradition. Yakṣas and lions here act as Atlantes, and alternately occupy the eight niches. Among the many examples, it must suffice to cite the pagoda at the T'ien-ning Ssŭ, to the west of Peking, which is assigned to the Liao dynasty (*v.* **225**, v 137). In type the Yakṣas and lions of the pagoda closely correspond to these, and perhaps this fact affords a clue to the date, though there is evidence that the tradition persisted with little change during several centuries. For instance, similar lions appear as Atlantes on a *ch'uang*, dated 857, at Wu-t'ai Shan (**225**, v 29), and another *ch'uang*, dated 1180, has both Yakṣas and lions of the same type (**225**, iv 145, 146 (1)). Monuments to abbots, which in structure differ little from the *ch'uang* and have similar lions as supporters, occur also at Wu-t'ai Shan (**225**, v 19). Other examples of this type are to be found in the same province (**225**, iii 9, 10, 13, 14).

PROBABLY ABOUT THE TENTH CENTURY. H. 10.13″

C 45-50, Plates XXXII-XXXIV

Various views of a lunette-shaped slab of hard, fine, grey stone on the face and under edge of which designs are executed in low, flat relief and incised line. The piece probably served as a lintel. Photography fails to show the design on the face clearly, owing to the dark colour of the stone, the slightness of the relief, and damage to the surface during many centuries. So I have made an accurate copy (FIG. 16), based on an inked-squeeze and carried out with reference to both the original and a plaster cast.

The central Buddha is seated with legs interlocked upon a lotus pedestal (*padmāsana*). His left hand is in the gesture of discussion (*vitarka mudrā*), while the open right rests, palm upwards, upon the thigh. The right shoulder is bared, save for the edge of the mantle (*saṅghāṭi*) which clothes the rest of the body in ample folds. A canopy, with streamers and tasselled pendents, has a detail which should be remarked. In the centre, above the Buddha's head, is the miniature upper half of a cherub-like figure, emerging from a lotus bloom. The chief associates are the two largest Bodhisattvas seated upon lotus blooms, one on either side in the foreground, Behind these are four other Bodhisattvas, also seated upon lotus blooms. Immediately beside the Buddha are two monks similarly seated, the one on the proper right holding a bowl in his right hand. Three standing figures complete the group on either side. Of these, two on the proper right hold censers of the type exemplified in the Collection (B 303, 304), while the foremost one on the left seems to be scattering flowers. He lacks a nimbus, which may have been left out in order to avoid confusion with the tree behind. The outermost figure on the opposite side is also shown without a nimbus; and it differs markedly in other respects from the rest of the figures. Perhaps these discrepancies are due to a fault on the part of the mason. One may suppose that, when he began to cut the design, he neglected the precaution to space it out carefully on the stone. Working from right to left, he allowed the central point of his pattern to extend slightly beyond the centre of the semi-circular slab, and the displacement became greater as he neared the end, so that he found himself cramped for space. Therefore he resorted to the expedient of inventing, in lieu of the last standing Bodhisattva, a substitute which could be squeezed into the remaining corner. That would account both for the poverty of invention displayed by this figure and its obvious incongruity in regard to the surrounding design. Deduction might be carried still further. The masterly balance and expressiveness of the general composition proclaim it the work of a great artist, while this figure in the corner is the sole weak and meaningless feature. Surely here is proof that the mason was not the artist, but merely a

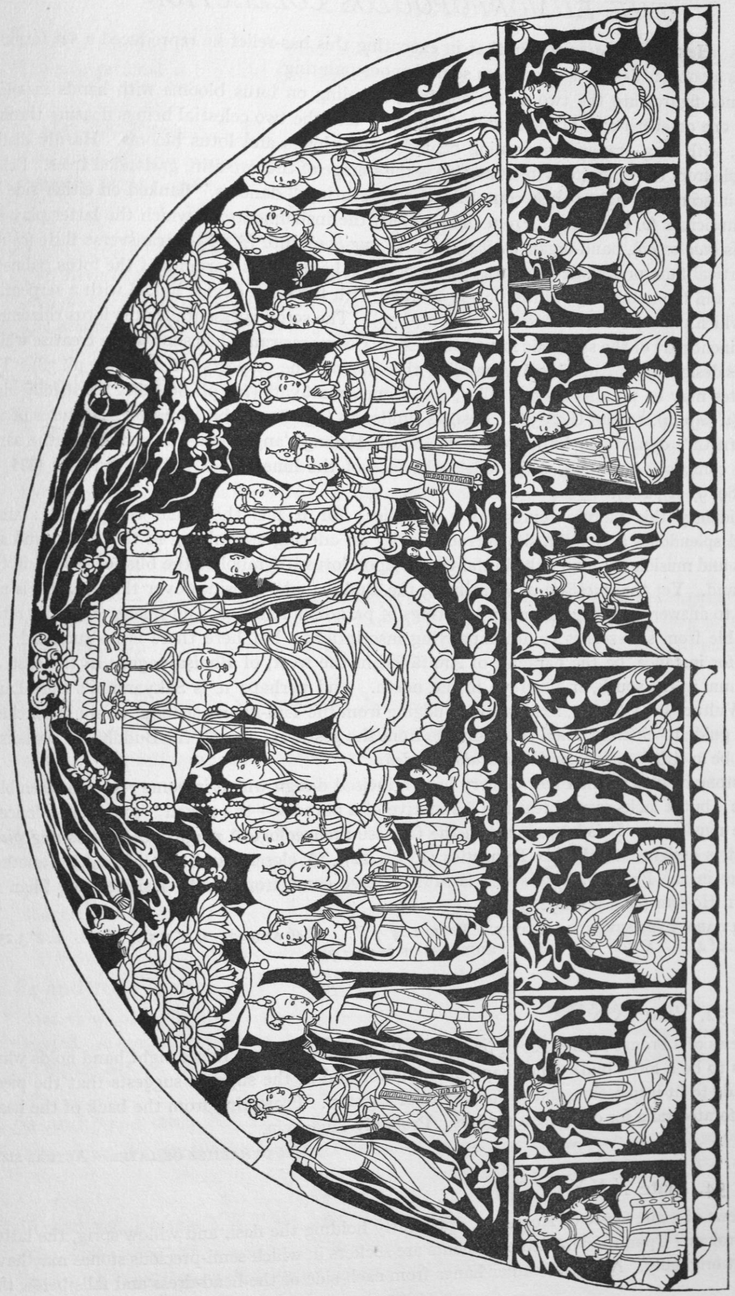


FIG. 16.

copyist. Hence we may conclude that in executing this bas-relief he reproduced a set formula, perhaps a popular design derived from some famous painting.

Minor figures are the two naked children, kneeling on lotus blooms with hands in *añjali mudrā*, one on either side of the Buddha's throne; and the two celestial beings floating through the air, with long draperies streaming behind, amid clouds and lotus blooms. Hardly distinguishable from the ubiquitous lotus motive is the foliage of the two stiff, garlanded trees. Below the main scene are eight panels containing two posturing " dancers," flanked on either side by three musicians (*v.* C 48, 49). From right to left, the instruments on which the latter play are cymbals (*nao* or *po*), hand-organ (*shêng*), harp (*k'ung-hou*), lute (*p'i-p'a*), transverse flute (*ch'ih*), and vertical flute or whistle-pipe (*ti*). In corners of these panels variants of the lotus palmette appear, and the under edge of the slab is adorned with the same device linked with a serpentine scroll which plainly reflects Indian tradition (C 50). The scroll is essentially the lotus rhizome—a prominent part of the symbolic lotus complex, as Coomaraswamy has shown in a treatise which includes designs from Amarāvatī resembling this one in some respects (**55**, ii 56-60, pl. 38). The palmettes may be paralleled on a pillar, also from Amarāvatī (**70**, pl. 89), and plentifully elsewhere (*v. sup.*, p. 17 and C 28-31). Designs similar to C 50 are to be found on sculptures of the Northern Ch'i dynasty at both North and South Hsiang-t'ang Shan. Several have the same border, composed of circles, which edges the face of the lunette below the musicians (**225**, iii 79 (2), 89, 97 (1), 106).

Evidently this picture represents a paradise; for it has the usual components: amid jewelled splendours a Buddha sits surrounded by an adoring assembly; in the foreground are dancers and musicians; and naked infant souls upon lotuses symbolize the bliss of rebirth in the Pure Land. Yet the question of identifying the Buddha who presides over the paradise is not so easy to answer. Among the many paintings of paradises found at Tun-huang, clues are often obtainable from side-scenes or accompanying inscriptions; but here there is no such aid. It might, for instance, be the paradise of Amitābha in the west, of Bhaiṣajyaguru in the east, of Śākyamuni in the south, or Maitreya in the north. And perhaps it is Śākyamuni's Pure Land on the Vulture Peak (*v.* **240**, xxiii, xxiv). Judging from the Tun-huang criteria, we must conclude that no guide to differentiation is obtainable from the gestures; for all the Buddhas of paradises seem to be in either *vitarka* or *dharmacakra mudrā*.

A stone lunette in the Freer Gallery has an incised design which in some respects resembles this one; but it lacks several features distinctive of a paradise—the naked " souls," the dancers and the musicians. It is reproduced in the Chinese archaeological magazine *I shu ts'ung pien*, where it is assigned to the Six Dynasties (**3**, Pt. 12). A closer parallel is offered by another sculpture in the Freer Gallery which is said to have come from South Hsiang-t'ang Shan in northern Ho-nan (**203**, pls. 192, 193).

PROBABLY ABOUT THE SEVENTH CENTURY. TOTAL L. 4′ 7.5″. C 46 AND 47. L. 2′ 5.5″. C 48. L. 2′ 3.25″. C 49. L. 2′ 4″. C 50. L. 3′ 2.5″. THICKNESS OF SLAB 7.75″

C 51 and 52, Plate XXXV

Two views of a bronze figure, gilt in front, of a Bodhisattva, whose raised right hand holds what appears to be a lotus bud. The shape of the lower end of the support suggests that the piece was made to fit into a slot, and so form part of a group. Projecting from the back of the head is a perforated tang for carrying a nimbus. Probably Kuan-yin.

SIX DYNASTIES OR LATER. ACTUAL SIZE.

C 53 and 54, Plate XXXV

Two views of a gilt figure of Kuan-yin, apparently holding the flask and willow sprig, the latter being broken. Upon the jewelled ornaments are sockets in which semi-precious stones may have been set originally. A long streamer hangs from each side of the head-dress and falls below the

lotus pedestal in the middle of which is a process indicating that the figure was fitted on a stand. The sole garment is the skirt (*paridhāna*). Compare **203**, pl. 418. T'ANG. ACTUAL SIZE.

C 55 and 56, Plate XXXV

Two views of a gilt bronze figure of a warrior guardian, cast with a process for fitting into a slot. Compare **162**, fig. 608. SIX DYNASTIES OR LATER. ACTUAL SIZE.

C 57 and 58, Plate XXXV

Two views of a gilt bronze figure, perhaps representing Śākyamuni during the phase of asceticism, prior to the Enlightenment. The extreme emaciation would seem to indicate this identification. The hair appears to be dressed in a knot on the crown. DATE DOUBTFUL. ACTUAL SIZE.

C 59 and 60, Plate XXXV

Two views of a bronze figure, gilt in front, of a Buddha with one hand in *abhaya* and the other in *vara mudrā*. The pose and the bilateral symmetry of the drapery suggest that it represents the famous Udayana type (*v. sup.*, pp. 31, 38). Projecting from the median line at the back are two tangs which may have served for the attachment of an aureole.

DATE DOUBTFUL. ACTUAL SIZE.

C 61 and 67, Plates XXXVI and XXXVII

Two views of a gilt bronze figure representing one of those beings (Devatā) who appear in Buddhist groups floating in the air. As may be seen in C 67, the back is flat, and a long perforated tang provides for the attachment to the figure. DATE DOUBTFUL. H. 3″

C 62 and 68, Plates XXXVI and XXXVII

Two views of a gilt bronze figure of a Bodhisattva which has been detached from the original setting. The left hand is in *abhaya mudrā*. The nimbus is fitted on the tang as a separate piece.

DATE DOUBTFUL. H. 5.87″

C 63 and 69, Plates XXXVI and XXXVII

Two views of a gilt bronze figure of a Buddha with legs interlocked and hands in the meditation pose (*dhyāna mudrā*). *Simbasāna* is the term for the quadrangular throne, if the two somewhat shapeless forms on either side of the front are to be recognized as lions.

DATE DOUBTFUL. ACTUAL SIZE.

C 64 and 70, Plates XXXVI and XXXVII

Two views of a gilt bronze Buddha image with the right hand in *abhaya* and the left in *vitarka mudrā*. A tang projects from the back of the shoulders to serve for the attachment of a nimbus. Compare **203**, pl. 281. T'ANG OR LATER. ACTUAL SIZE.

C 65 and 71, Plates XXXVI and XXXVII

Two views of a gilt bronze figure of a monk or disciple of Buddha with hands in *añjali mudrā*.

SUNG OR LATER. ACTUAL SIZE.

C 66 and 72, Plates XXXVI and XXXVII

Two views of a gilt bronze figure of one who was probably a minor personage in a Buddhist group. A jewel upon a three-lobed stand is held in the hands. MING OR LATER. H. 3.6″

C 73, Plate XXXVIII

Grey pottery plaque with figures modelled in high relief on the front. Under a tasselled canopy a Buddha sits with hands in the gesture of teaching (*dharmacakra mudrā*) and with legs pendent and nearly vertical, the feet being supported on lotus blooms. Except for the edge of the mantle, the right shoulder is bared. The Buddha is probably Maitreya. He is flanked by two monks, with hands in *añjali mudrā*, and two Bodhisattvas, the former having lotus bloom supports. Below are the remains of two confronted votaries, each holding a hand censer of the kind exemplified in the Collection (B 303, 304). Attenuation is specially marked in the standing figures; and there is a tendency to stress the bodily form to the neglect of the drapery.

In each side edge of the plaque, which is about three inches thick, there are two square sockets (each half an inch in diameter), evidently intended for dowels.

LATE SIXTH OR EARLY SEVENTH CENTURY. H. 2′ 1.5″

C 74, Plate XXXIX

A repoussé head in copper, with punched detail. This originally was part of a guardian Yakṣa figure, commonly known as the Lokapāla type, which seems to have been nailed to a flat surface.

T'ANG OR LATER. ACTUAL SIZE.

C 75 and 76, Plate XXXIX

Two views of a hollow casting in bronze of the same motive as that last described.

T'ANG OR LATER. H. 5.12″

C 77 and 78, Plate XL

Two views of a Bodhisattva image in wood, retaining traces of gilt and pigment. The missing hands were originally carved separately. Jayne relates this piece with seven other wooden figures, three being in the Toronto and three in the Pennsylvania Museum, and another, a standing figure, in a private collection (**117**). Comparison with certain of the group leads to the conclusion that originally the borders of the garments had impasto decoration. Jayne calls attention to the lack of criteria for the dating. FOURTEENTH CENTURY OR LATER. H. 3′ 11.25″

C 79, Plate XLI

A bronze figure of Kuan-yin in the so-called " attitude of royal ease " (*mahārājalīla*). A seated figure of Amitābha appears in low relief in front of the coronet which encircles the high chignon. There is a socket for the inset of a stone which represented the *ūrṇā*.

PROBABLY SUNG. H. 8.5″

C 80 and 81, Plate XLI

Two views of a bronze figure similar to that last described. The left foot rests upon a lotus bloom. PROBABLY SUNG. H. 5.87″

C 82-85, Plates XLII-XLV

Various views of a wooden figure of Kuan-yin seated in *mahārājalīla āsana* upon a rock. On a gesso ground, lost in places, are remnants of gilt, paint, and some impasto ornament. A standing figure of Amitābha fronts the elaborate head-dress. The *ūrṇā* is represented with an inset disc of crystal or glass.

This resembles more or less closely a number of known wooden pieces. Added to the fact that one of the group is inscribed with the year of a Chin reign-period corresponding to A.D. 1168 (*v.* **203**, pl. 587), all are stated to have come from temples in northern provinces, particularly

Shan-hsi, which lay within Chin territory. Accordingly the custom is to assign them to that dynasty. The question is whether attributions should be thus limited; since some of the figures seem to offer stylistic evidence that the type continued in vogue for at least a century or two after the Chin. Indeed, certain of them appear to match products of the Ming.

THIRTEENTH CENTURY OR LATER. H. 3′ 9″. C 84 AND 85. H. 1′ 3.75″

C 86 and 87, Plates XLVI and XLVII

Two views of a Bodhisattva's head in hard, veined stone. The hair is dressed in a high chignon, and, so far as can be judged from the present damaged condition, a standing figure of Amitābha originally formed part of a frontal ornament, as it appears, for instance, in a head said to have been removed from a sculpture at T'ien-lung Shan (**252**, fig. 1). Presence of this figure should identify the Bodhisattva as Kuan-yin or Maitreya—probably the former. Various mannerisms, which prevailed especially during the sixth and seventh centuries, are accentuated to the prejudice of plastic beauty. The wedged-shaped nose is here a mere wedge; the half-closed eyelids with the tendency to a double curve are expressed with a graceless slit; the arched eyebrows spring from the nose in mechanical curves; and the pursed-up mouth fails to convey the blissful serenity of the " archaic smile." A head in a Japanese collection offers a fairly close parallel, though it displays a higher standard of sculptural achievement. Ōmura assigns it to the Wei period (**162**, 297, fig. 590). Besides the previously cited piece from T'ien-lung Shan, which is labelled Sung, there are other more or less near analogues reputed to have had the same provenance. They are variously attributed to the Six Dynasties, Sui and T'ang periods, and perhaps not correctly in every instance (**252**, figs. 3, 4, 7, 8, 25, 28). This interesting head may be archaistic, or the product of a poor craftsman. DATE DOUBTFUL. H. 10.5″

C 88 and 89, Plates XLVIII and XLIX

Two views of a head severed from the colossal figure of a Buddha in cast iron. The metal is about a quarter of an inch thick, and its surface is covered with a layer of a substance like gesso, upon which traces of gilding and pigment remain. Apparently all was originally gilt except the hair, the lips and perhaps the eye-balls.

This piece calls for remarks on several points of iconographic moment. The unnaturally lengthened lobes of the ears, common in Buddhist imagery, were not included among the thirty-two major and eighty minor physical characteristics (*lakṣaṇa vyañjaṇa*). Moreover, in the rules laid down for the sculptural presentment of a Cakravartin or King of the World, the Tibetan version of the *Citralakṣaṇa* specifically states " there is no definite indication for the lobes of the ears " (**130**, 153). Commenting on the omission from the classical list of the signs in the *Lalitavistara*, Foucaux suggests that the explanation is to be found in the fact that the elongation is due to artificial means (**74**, i 95-6; ii 29). Many of the early Indian sculptures clearly show that the lengthened lobes merely portray the distortion brought about by the usual heavy ear-rings. Some, indeed, represent realistically the stretched rims of the perforated lobes, even when no jewellery is present (*v.* **10**, pls. 84, 89); and this seems to have been the rule. The Greek types noticeably minimize the deformity. In China the elongation was copied, apparently without understanding, as an essential trait of Buddhist iconography, and the shapeless pendulous lobes resulted. Perhaps this imported peculiarity gave rise to the Chinese saying: " Both ears hanging to the shoulders—a most illustrious man " (**205**, 306). It is, for instance, an abnormality credited by tradition to the great national hero Liu Pei, founder of the Shu Han dynasty. Imagination universally endows gods and supermen with physical traits distinguishing them from ordinary mortals.

No manifestation of this tendency is more striking than the strange bump on the top of the Buddha's cranium. In the form most plentifully represented it has, in common with the scalp, a covering of numerous peppercorn or snail-like curls, and this type seems to have come into

vogue about the middle of the second century A.D. From Mathurā and Gandhāra it spread through the Tārīm region to the Far East, and through the Kistna-Godāverī delta to the south-east of Asia. The Sanskrit term for the protuberance is *uṣṇīṣa*, and it is called by Chinese pilgrims *ting-ku* or " bone on the top of the head."

The reputed *uṣṇīṣa* of Śākyamuni Buddha, which in the fifth century Fa-hsien found preserved as a precious relic and guarded with such elaborate ceremonial (**135**, 36-38), and in the seventh century Hsüan-tsang also saw and described, was evidently deemed a bony excrescence of the cranium covered with skin and hair (*v.* **246**, i 195-198); but originally the conception seems to have been different. The earliest text relevant to the problem is the *Mahapadāna sutta* which probably may be dated between the third and first centuries B.C. Here the *uṣṇīṣa* is included among the thirty-two major signs (*lakṣaṇas*) assigned to a Mahā-puruṣa or Great Male who is destined to become a Cakravartin or King of the World. Whether the titles Mahā-puruṣa and Cakravartin should properly be applied only to the supreme Brāhmanic god Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu), and, if so, whether the endowment of Buddha with the *uṣṇīṣa* involves his identification with that deity are questions beyond the scope of this discussion (*v.* **200**, 146-9; **236**, 138 *seq.*). The point to be debated is whether originally the *uṣṇīṣa* was regarded as a bony excrescence.

In his study of the subject (**47**), Coomaraswamy remarks that etymologically the word means a " protection from the sun," and in Brāhmanic usage generally it meant a turban, always an honourable, and often specifically a royal head-dress; that it may have denoted also the royal umbrella; and that the earliest Indian images do not attempt to represent an *uṣṇīṣa*, either as a turban or a bony protuberance. He sums up Foucher's theory of the origin of the *uṣṇīṣa* as a bony protuberance thus: " Gandhāran sculptors made the first Buddha images, and represented the hair in flowing tresses gathered together into a top-knot, in Indian fashion, avoiding the representation of a protuberance for aesthetic reasons. Indian imitators, dissatisfied with so obvious a departure from the facts as they must have been, for all are agreed that the Bodhisattva cut off his hair, interpreted the Gandhāra chignon as covering a cranial bump and supposed that this bump was what had been referred to in the phrase *uṇhīso-sīso* of the *Mahapadāna Sutta*; they replaced the long hair with short curls (more or less in accordance with the tradition preserved in the *Nidāna-kathā*), leaving the cranial bump conspicuously in evidence. In this case, evidently the Gandhāran sculptors accepted the correction made by their Indian brethren, for the type with the protuberance and the short curls very soon predominates in both areas."

On the other hand, Bachhofer points out that evidence is against the theory that the practice of sculptors at Gandhāra underwent such a decisive change (**10**, 105-6). Marshall's finds at Taxila prove that the old type with long wavy locks persisted till the fifth century (**147**, pl. 20C, D, H; pl. 23D; pl. 24B). In China it occurs in rock carvings of the fifth and sixth centuries at Yün-kang, Lung-mên, and Tun-huang, but in a stylized form which contrasts with the realistic treatment practised at Gandhāra (*v.* **225**, ii 63-5; **174**, pls. 127, 169, 191, 192). Buddha figures found near Kara-shahr, in Eastern Turkestan, exhibit the tradition so far changed that the wavy tresses have been converted into a symmetric pattern of spirals (**132**, i pls. 23A, 39), and perhaps these manifest an intermediate stage in the process of evolution.

Many of the Gāndhāra images with flowing locks do seem to represent a protuberance covered with hair, not hair dressed in a chignon. For instance, there is a head in the Boston Museum which has the median " parting " running continuously from the forehead over the protuberance (**48**, 57-8, pl. 16), and a similar presentment is in the Louvre (**76**, fig. 446). An ancient variant of the conception appears in the inscribed group from Kaṭra, in the Mathurā Museum, which belongs to the early Kuṣāna period, about A.D. 100. Probably it is the oldest presentment of Śākyamuni of which the date may be approximately fixed by an inscription, and one of the first Buddhist images made in Mathurā (**232**, 47, 48, pl. 7). The scalp appears to be shaven, except for a tress coiled on the top of the head in the shape of a snail-shell (*kaparda*). A detached head, also from Mathurā but now in the Lucknow Museum, displays a similar treatment (**76**, fig. 551); and there

is another example in the Munich Museum of Ethnology, in which, according to Bachhofer, " the elevation upon the bare head is wrapped round from left to right with a lock of hair " (**10**, 98-9, pl. 82). Nevertheless, the question is debatable whether an actual cranial excrescence should be assumed or whether the " elevation " is composed solely of hair. The fact that the inscription on the Kaṭra figure designates it a Bodhisattva, although a prime distinguishing mark of a Buddha is present, is one of the proofs that at first the Mathurā sculptors did not discriminate between the phases of Śākyamuni's spiritual development. Foucher's explanation of the variant is that the local craftsmen thus avoided giving a shaven head to the Buddha, not so much out of respect to the Gāndhāra model as for fear that the figure might be mistaken for that of a simple monk. They adopted the single coiled lock, he supposes, in conformity with the current fashion of dressing the hair (**76**, ii 698-700). Judging from its rarity among excavated finds, we may assume that this kind of *uṣṇīṣa*, if it may be so called, did not become popular. Certainly among the Gāndhāra sculptures there are Buddha figures which have what appears to be a top-knot tied round the base with a cord (**76**, figs. 452, 456), and so are hardly distinguishable from certain Bodhisattva types which presumably manifest merely the current mode of dressing the hair (**76**, figs. 417, 419, 420). Are we to conclude therefrom that some of the sculptors at Gandhāra misunderstood the *uṣṇīṣa* principle?

Apart from literary authority, perhaps several factors entered into the conception of the *uṣṇīṣa*. Iconographic practice prior to the making of Buddha images may have been one. There is, for instance, a figure on a railing pillar at Bodh-Gayā, dating from about 100 B.C., which has a protuberance on the head, and both it and the scalp are covered with short curly hair (**11**; **50**, fig. 40). This figure, representing Indra in the form of the Brahman Śānti, encourages the theory that prototypes may have existed for the later Buddhist conception. There is, too, a passage in the *Citralakṣaṇa* which seems to lead to the same conclusion. The actual date of this book is not known, though it may have been one of the earliest of the *śilpa-śāstras* or text-books for craftsmen. Probably the Sanskrit original was lost, and the Tibetan text, translated by Laufer, is the oldest extant version. It deals entirely with Hindu deities; neither the name of Buddha is mentioned, nor is there trace of Buddhist tradition. The passage referred to, while giving the width of a Cakravartin's face as fourteen inches, states that the " parietal bone " is four inches long and six inches wide (**130**, 152). This specification must mean the *uṣṇīṣa*. Nevertheless, the fact is that in practice Hindu deities are rarely found represented with a cranial bump, though they often figure as universal monarchs or rulers of particular spheres.

Another mode of treating the hair is to omit indication of it except as a slightly raised area which, together with the protuberance, has a smooth surafce. There is a Kuṣāna example in the Mathurā Museum (**232**, pl. 15A), and it occurs elsewhere in India (*v.* **76**, fig. 554) and in Central Asia (*v.* **132**, pls. 23C, 42B and C, 43). In China it is very plentiful: examples in the Collection are C 3-7, 11, 14, 15, 19, 26-29, 31, 33, 59, 60, 63, 64, 69 and 70. Two explanations may be advanced: that it was an attempt to reconcile the need for the distinguishing *uṣṇīṣa*, with the ideal that the Buddha should resemble his monks in respect of the tonsure as well as his attire; or that considerations of technique called for a simplified treatment. Neither seems entirely satisfactory. Support for the first may be found in the fact that the same convention, without the *uṣṇīṣa*, is sometimes used to represent the monk's shaven head (*v.* 132, pl. 23B); but against it is the traditional account of the way Śākyamuni cut off his long hair, as will be described presently. The second explanation is that limitations of the material or desire to evade the task of shaping tresses or curls led to the substitution of a simpler and easier method. But in many instances arguments such as these, on the score of technique, can hardly be valid. To mention only one: the colossal triad at Lung-mên have hair and *uṣṇīṣa* expressed with smooth surfaces, while parts of the sculpture display careful detail, and throughout the workmanship is of a high order (**225**, ii 46, 47). Moreover, another gigantic figure sculptured in the same rock, that of Vairocana, has the tresses well-defined (*v.* **225**, ii 80).

We have passed in rapid review some of the chief elements of the complicated *uṣṇīṣa* problem,

and noted the standard types of the ancient tradition. To none of these does the bare bulbous *uṣṇīṣa* of C 88 and 89 conform. An Indian forerunner to this variant is to be found among the sculptures of the Pāla dynasty which reigned over a territory corresponding to Bihār and parts of Bengal and Agra provinces from about A.D. 750 to 1193, the date of the Mohammedan conquest (*v.* **20**, pl. 8). Buddhism flourished under the Pāla kings long after it had become almost dead elsewhere in India, and vast numbers of images were made during the four centuries and a half of their rule. Among the sacred buildings swept away by the iconoclastic tide, which extinguished Indian Buddhism, the most famous is the university of Nālandā. Many Chinese pilgrims, notably Hsüan-tsang and I-ching, visited it, and many Indian members of the foundation came to China and brought with them religious objects, including images and drawings which doubtless were used as models. Though the influence of the Pāla school on Buddhist sculpture in China has not yet been explored; enough is known to indicate its importance. The Collection contains another example of the bulb-shaped *uṣṇīṣa* (C 97, 98). It occurs also in both Siam and Burma among Pāla characteristics introduced by the T'ai. Other variants of the *uṣṇīṣa* in south-eastern Asia are found on Buddha heads from Cambodia, Ceylon, and Laos (*v.* **76**, figs. 569-571). The flame-like variant, adopted from Ceylon, which is so striking a feature of Siamese practice later than the thirteenth century, is exemplified in the Collection (C 118-120). It manifests the written tradition that the *uṣṇīṣa*, like the *ūrṇā*, was a source of radiant glory (*v.* **123**, 427). A popular Siamese account of the Buddha's life includes it among the thirty-two signs of a Great Male: " On his head there is a sirorot (or glory), like to a glorious angelic crown, in imitation of which all the kings of the world have made crowns a sign of royal dignity " (**8**, 115). Alabaster, the translator of the foregoing passage, notes that the term *sirorot* or *sirotama* is followed in the Siamese text by *kesa* which means " hair," and he concludes that *sirorot* may be rendered as " glory " in reference to the pointed flame-shaped form which surmounts the *uṣṇīṣa* in the later Siamese images of Buddha. He adds " that the Siamese regard the glory as not spreading round the head, but rising from it to a height of six cubits . . . hence the shape of their crown coincides with their idea of the form of the glory " (**8**, 207).

The convention of snail-like curls gave rise to discussions during the early part of last century, when oriental studies had not far advanced in the West, and the opinion was solemnly held that Śākyamuni must have been a negro, until Rémusat and others dispelled the phantasy. Among the thirty-two major signs (*lakṣaṇa*) of a Cakravartin, listed in the *Lalita-vistara*, the second is as follows: " The hairs of his head curl to the right. Of a deep black, they glint like a peacock's tail or iridescent collyrium " (*v.* **26**, 560). The *Citralakṣaṇa* is more explicit: " The hair of his head is fine and naturally glossy. It has the beauty of a sapphire; it is [black] as a bee or antimony; it [glints] like a peacock's neck, like the breast of a cuckoo, like the iridescence of a fixed colour. Falling on to the shoulders, it twists in locks, curling to the right, like the spirals of a lion's mane. The hair close to the head coils to the left " (**130**, 171-2). Thus, there is no fixed rule as to the direction in which the spirals turn. Chinese examples show both kinds, and sometimes the curls turn differently in alternate rows on the same head (*v.* **252**, figs. 12, 13). In C 88 and 89 the direction is clock-wise.

The *Lalita-vistara* was probably written prior to the making of Buddha images, and its origins are traceable to the oldest Brahmanic myths. Iconography was not its primary purpose; it served as a sort of astrological manual. The first care of the Brahmanic soothsayer, when called to a newly-born child, was to seek, in the order prescribed in the list, the presence of those physical signs which would enable him to foretell the infant's future (*v.* **200**, 110, 111, 149-151). At Śākyamuni's birth the marks were visible to the initiated. The wise seer Asita could recognize the thirty-two major and eighty minor characteristics of a Great Male (Mahā-puruṣa). He therefore prophesied that two careers were open: either to remain of the world and become a Universal Monarch (Cakravartin), or to deny the world and become an Enlightened One, a Buddha. Here is manifested that blending of the worldly and religious hero which is so prominent in Buddhist legend.

From the foregoing it is evident that the canonical *lakṣaṇas* do not fully account for the snail-like curls of the Buddha type which are represented in C 88 and 89. As to colour, the common practice in China of painting the hair blue rather than black is to be noted. In this instance, the remains of pigment show that a bright blue was used. The presence of these short curled locks typifies a decisive phase in the Buddha legend—the last scene in the act of the Great Renunciation. Prince Siddhārtha, having abandoned his former life, rides, attended by hosts of heavenly beings, to a lonely spot beside a river. As befits the state of an ascetic which he is about to assume, he proceeds to divest himself of his rich attire. He reflects: " These long locks of mine are unbecoming a Śramaṇa." He takes his sword, cuts off his hair, and flings it together with the crest jewel towards the sky, saying: " If I am destined to become a Buddha, let them remain in the air; if not, may they fall to the ground! " The tuft of hair and the jewel float in the sky, where Indra receives them in a golden casket, and places them within the Shrine of the Crest Jewel in the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods (*v.* **122**, i 55). In the *Lalita-vistara* it is written: " The thought occurred to the Bodhisattva: How can I retain this *cūḍā* after becoming a wandering monk? And, cutting it off with his sword, he threw it to the winds. It was received by the gods of the Trāyastriṁśa Heaven, with intent to honour it; and, still to the present day, the festival of the *cūḍāmaha* is observed among the gods of the Trāyastriṁśa Heaven " (*cf.* **74**, i 197; **76**, i 363-366). Coomaraswamy points out that both *touffe de cheveux* and *mèche* given by Foucaux and Foucher, respectively, as renderings of *cūḍā* are insufficient, and he instances other texts which leave no doubt that *cūḍā* connotes a turban together with the hair (**47**, 821-824).

This conclusion is supported by at least one of the sculptured representations which show the turban and the hair within it treasured as objects of worship. The hair is apparent in the famous carving, assigned to about 140 B.C., on one of the gate pillars at Bhārhuṭ which shows this Shrine standing beside the palace of Indra in the Trāyastriṁśa Heaven. The dome of the shrine is inscribed: " The grand crest-relic (*cūḍāmaha*) of Buddha, in the Assembly Hall of the Devas " (*v.* **63**, 136, pl. 16). Adoration of the relics in the Heaven is also the motive of a carving on the left pillar of the south gateway at Sānchī (**148**, pl. 6A), and the relics, as objects of worship, appear in several sculptures (**21**, pl. 99; **76**, fig. 186; **232**, pl. 6); but in these the hair is not visible. In short, this last act of the future Buddha in removing the outward signs of his former secular life was not centred in the hair. " True, he later established an order in which tonsure was compulsory; but it was not compulsory for all or any ascetics, and we know both from the old reliefs and from the statement in *Gautama Dharmaśāstra*, iii 22, ' A monk may either shave or wear a lock on the crown of his head,' that in some orders the hair was worn long. In all the early Buddhist reliefs, Brahmanical ascetics (Jaṭilas and others) are represented with long coiled hair " (**47**, 825, 826). For instance, among the Mathurā sculptures there is part of a *toraṇa* lintel on which appear nine figures with top-knots resembling the *uṣṇīṣa* (**232**, pl. 25; **235**, pl. 8D). Vogel surmises that they are Buddhist monks; at all events, they can hardly be Buddhas.

The foregoing remarks prepare the way for a theory which I venture in explanation of the frontal convex disc among the curls of C 88 and 89. Apparently it represents some ornament; but the absence of any head-dress or other object, with which it might be connected, seems to indicate that it is a vestige. In other words, it manifests the partly forgotten memory of something which adorned the heads of Indian prototypes. That something may be recognized either as the centre-piece of jewelled adjuncts to the *coiffure* or the ornament of a turban. The chignon has been noted above as a fashionable mode of dressing the hair in ancient India and as a likely factor in the *uṣṇīṣa* concept. It was customary among the rich and great, and it was often held in place with pearl strings and other precious ornaments. No better example could be cited than a head in the Louvre Museum (**76**, fig. 395). This sculpture displays jewelled cords encircling the base and carried over the apex of the chignon, to be secured in front with a large disc. The same disc appears in many Gāndhāra presentments of Śākyamuni in princely attire, and it survives, though in less prominent form, at the base of the *uṣṇīṣa* in figures of the Buddha garbed as a monk (*v.* **76**, figs. 452, 456).

The alternative explanation that it is a relic of the turban seems less plausible. Ancient terra-cottas and the Bhājā sculptured reliefs, dating from about the third and second centuries B.C., exhibit huge turbans, often adorned with a frontal disc or other ornament (**50**, figs. 23-27). Later sculptures at Bhārhut show a ball which may be formed of the turban material, and during the Kuṣāna period there appears a decorated disc through the centre of which the ends of the turban seem to be knotted (**47**, 819, 820; **235**, pl. 36A, B). The last-mentioned is most important for our present purpose, because it was the type in general use at the time when the Buddha image was developed and also when many of the texts describing the *cūḍā-chedana* were written (**47**, 820 *seq.*). For sake of emphasis, a fact previously mentioned may be restated here: it is that originally the term *uṣṇīṣa* meant nothing but " turban " when the first lists of *lakṣaṇas* were codified.

As displayed in C 88 and 89, the frontal disc amid snail-like curls occurs commonly in the later Buddhist sculpture of the Far East. Noteworthy examples are the iron Buddha images in the Hall of the Thousand Buddhas at Shih-pi Shan in the province of Shan-hsi (**225**, iii 4). An inscribed stone slab, built into the wall of the Hall, is dated A.D. 823 (**225**, iii 3); but of course there is no certainty that this indicates the age of the images. As to the modelling of the face and the presence of the disc, many of these images closely resemble the piece under discussion; and some have the bare bulbous top to the *uṣṇīṣa* also. Another iconographic curiosity, the *ūrṇā*, which is absent from C 88 and 89, appears in nearly all.

In order to account fully for the numerous short curls which seem to have been adopted into Chinese iconography during the latter part of the sixth century, more should be said on the subject of the *cūḍā-chedana* episode, when the future Buddha by cutting off his long hair, covered by the turban, marked his final renunciation of the world. As exemplifying written tradition, the words of the *Nidāna-kathā* may be quoted: " The hair was reduced to two inches in length, and curling from the right, lay close to the head, remaining of that length as long as he lived " (**47**, 827). This is the generally accepted tradition, as is proved by iconographic practice. Nevertheless, there are other versions of the tale. For instance, that a supernatural being appeared and shaved what remained after the hair had been severed with the sword; that the tonsure ever afterwards presented the appearance of a week's growth; or that the Buddha underwent periodic shaving (**144**, 169, 170).

Such a spectacular deed as the *cūḍā-chedana* would seem peculiarly apt to claim the attention of Buddhist sculptors. Yet it is not known to occur among Gāndhāra works (**76**, i 363-366), unless a small stone carving obtained by Stein at Khotan may be so classed (**213**, i 209, 220, ii pl. 48). It is represented in the reliefs of Sārnāth (**21**, pl. 67), and Barabuḍur (**126**, 75, 76, fig. 67), and in a Pagān temple there is a solitary figure of Śākyamuni in the act of cutting his locks (**198**, fig. 47). A sinicized version of the scene occurs on a bas-relief of A.D. 543 and on a painted silk banner from Tun-huang (**32**, 590, fig. 432; **215**, pl. 75). In both the action is entirely changed. Instead of holding in one hand a sword ready to sever the long tresses gathered up in the other, as he does in the examples just cited, Śākyamuni awaits the services of a Deva who approaches, knife in hand.

Mention has been made of the *ūrṇā* which, though absent from C 88 and 89, is displayed by numerous iron images of similar type in a Shan-hsi temple. Unlike the *uṣṇīṣa*, the *ūrṇā* is not peculiar to a Buddha; for it is shared by Bodhisattvas and others destined ultimately to reach the exalted plane of Buddhahood. But, in common with the *uṣṇīṣa*, it has to do with hair, and is therefore fittingly discussed here. It comes fourth in the *Lalita-vistara* list of the thirty-two chief physical signs (*lakṣaṇas*) which distinguish a Great Male (Mahā-puruṣa). The text is: " Between his eyebrows there grows downy hair (*ūrṇā*) which shines like snow or silver " (*v.* **26**, 563; **74**, i 95). Since it is one of the most tangible *lakṣaṇas*, offering the possibility of representation, it has been chosen as a favourite feature of Buddhist imagery. It is shown in the median line of the forehead, sometimes between the eyebrows, but generally higher, as a small disc, often raised and convex. Certain *sūtras* narrate occasions when it emits rays of light which illumine

the universe, and others describe it as a constant source of effulgent glory. The story of Buddha's life, *Fo pên hsing chi ching* (*Abhinishkramana sūtra*, **159**, No. 680) has, according to Beal's translation, this note: " Since the time of his leaving his palace to become a recluse, there had formed on his forehead, between his eyes, a circle of hair, from which was constantly emitted a flood of light " (**18**, 179). Therefore the *ūrṇā* is appropriately symbolized with an inset crystal or other colourless stone (*v.* C 82-85)—a practice which is at least as old as the Gāndhāra school (**76**, ii 289). There is, moreover, written sanction for stones of various hues; for the *ūrṇā* of Avalokiteśvara is stated to sparkle with all " the colours of the Seven Jewels " (**220**, 182). The frequency of an empty socket evidences the temptation to thieves offered by these jewels; notable instances being the colossal Buddhas at Yün-kang (**225**, ii 23, 46), and there are examples in the Collection (C 79-81).

The presence of the *ūrṇā* is by no means constant; it is, for instance, lacking from many Buddha and Bodhisattva figures included in this volume. Often the omission may be but apparent; for the fact should be remembered that ancient sculptures are rarely found still covered with their original colouring. Recent excavations at Haḍḍa provide objective proof that to paint the *ūrṇā* was a common practice (*v.* **13**, pl. 5).

As to the origin of the *ūrṇā*, evidence seems to indicate as clearly as in the case of the *uṣṇīṣa* that it is traceable to written tradition. The *Lalita-vistara* has been cited in this respect, and reference should also be made to the *Citralakṣaṇa*, which, as previously noted, is a Brahmanic, not Buddhist, treatise. When specifying, for the guidance of sculptors, the due proportions of a Cakravartin's head, the latter work lays down the rule that the *ūrṇā*, which is placed between the eyebrows, should be an inch wide (**130**, 153). A discussion of the notion which underlies the *ūrṇā* conception would lead into the realm of folklore, beyond the scope of this volume. I merely quote Grünwedel's statement that the *ūrṇā* " must have had its origin in the superstition that men whose brows run into each other are specially gifted " (**101**, 162).

A definite date can hardly be assigned to C 88 and 89. The type is a late one which continued for many centuries. H. 12.5″

C 90 and 91, Plates L and LI

Two views of a head severed from the colossal figure of a Buddha in white stone. An uneven area on the apex shows that the *uṣṇīṣa* has been broken off, and the lower parts of the ear lobes are also missing. The close snail-like curls turn contrary to the clock. Note should be made that the supra-orbital ridges are not continuous with the bridge of the nose; the eyelids have the double curve; the nostrils are but slightly modelled, the chief indication of form being the two incised curves; and the corners of the mouth are drawn up. No trace of an *ūrṇā* is visible, though it may originally have been painted. Generally, the plastic qualities fall short of the highest standard, yet an expression of serene contentment is achieved.

PROBABLY SUNG OR LATER. H. 13.5″

C 92 and 93, Plates LII and LIII

Two views of a head severed from the colossal figure of a monk in hard, dark grey stone of fine texture. Probably the figure was one of a group which included a Buddha or Bodhisattva as the chief figure. The strongly marked lines of the face suggests the identification of Kāśyapa, the disciple of Buddha. In contradistinction to Ānanda, he is generally represented with marks of extreme old age. A notable example is the relief at Lung-mên which dates from the beginning of the sixth century (**32**, fig. 323). Another group at Lung-mên, also comprising a Buddha, two Bodhisattvas and two monks, was sculptured later during the same century, if the accompanying inscriptions are to be taken as guides (**32**, 460-463, fig. 350). Here the wrinkled face of Kāśyapa, standing on the left of the Buddha, contrasts strikingly with that of the youthful Ānanda on the oppposite side. Examples are numerous (*e.g.* **32**, figs. 289, 308, 403, 410; **225**,

ii 65, 71). Kāśyapa appears again at Lung-mên among twenty-five patriarchs cut life-size in low relief about A.D. 700 on the walls of a cave behind the K'an-ching Temple (**32**, figs. 397, 398). In the Yen-hsia Grotto at Hang-chou there is a Sung figure of Kāśyapa sculptured in the round, and it resembles C 92 and 93 as to the general treatment of the head (**225**, v 81). A head in the National Museum, Stockholm, offers comparison (**202**, pl. 26). T'ANG OR LATER. H. 12.75″

C 94, Plate LIV

Stucco head of a Bodhisattva, with traces of pigment. The eyes are of glass, and presumably a glass *ūrṇā* originally occupied the empty socket. This piece is said to have come from " somewhere in the west "; and the provenance may have been beyond the frontiers of China proper. The facial type, manifesting Hellenistic tradition, is paralleled among Stein's finds at Kara-shahr (**215**, pl. 134). DATE DOUBTFUL. ACTUAL SIZE.

C 95, Plate LV

A head which resembles so closely the one last described that it may have been made in the same mould. DATE DOUBTFUL. H. 10.75″

C 96, Plate LVI

In this carving of the Buddha's death or *Parinirvāṇa* the traditional elements of the scene are simplified and abbreviated to the utmost. The material is light grey marble. As usual, the Buddha lies on his right side, with his right hand under the head. The left arm is bent, contrary to the rule which is to show it extended and resting on the body. The left foot is placed in advance of the other. Commonly the outer monastic robe covers him from neck to feet; but here two undergarments alone appear. The folds of drapery hang as they would on a standing figure, and thus the standard practice of using the stereotyped formula of the more frequent pose is followed. So summary is the treatment that the sculptor has resorted to the mechanical device of representing the multitude of spectators with a line of kneeling monks, all exactly alike (*cf.* C 16). The Buddha's couch is merged with the substantial base of the sculpture. Upon the flat upper surface, the figure of a dog is lying stretched at the Buddha's feet, its head to the front; but, not being modelled fully in the round, it is hardly recognizable when seen foreshortened, as in the photograph. Perhaps the dog symbolizes the brute creation which shared in lamenting the Buddha's death.

PROBABLY SEVENTEENTH OR EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. L. 9.25″

C 97 and 98, Plates LVII and LVIII

Two views of a Buddha image in dry lacquer (*chia-chu*), with traces of pigment. The hands are in *dharmacakra mudrā*; and other noteworthy features are the bulbous top to the *uṣṇīṣa* (*v. sup.*, pp. 66, 68), and the presence of jewellery in the form of a circlet round the head, ear-rings and bracelets. The adornment of Buddha images is too large a theme to be attempted here; it must suffice to refer to the article by Mus (**158**, 153-278). Dry lacquer was used in China for Buddhist sculpture at least as early as the fourth century, as Pelliot has shown in his study of this medium (**182**). This figure probably represents Maitreya.

MING OR EARLIER. H. 2′ 0.75″

C 99 and 100, Plates LIX and LX

Two views of a Bodhisattva image in painted, grey stone. The high chignon and frontal ornament are striking. Perhaps this figure represents Mahasthāmaprāpta, to whom the nineteenth chapter of the *Lotus sūtra* is chiefly devoted. This is a tentative identification based on the fact that a vase sometimes appears in the coronet of known representations of the Bodhisattva (*v.* **91**, 114).

SUNG OR LATER. H. 1′ 7.25″

C 101-103, Plates LXI-LXIII

Three views of an octagonal piece of sculpture in white marble which, like C 41-44, was probably one of the superimposed units of the type of pillar called *ch'uang* (*v. sup.*, p. 57). The eight deep niches contain as many seated musicians who play the following instruments: Pandean pipes (*hsiao*), so arranged that the longest are at the ends of the row; castanets (*p'ai pan*) composed of six pieces of wood strung together at one end; whistle or vertical flute (C 101); drum (*chang ku*) shaped like an hour-glass; lute (*p'i p'a*); psaltery (*ch'in*); cymbals (*nao* or *po*); and the pear-shaped clay whistle (*hsüan*). The five last mentioned appear on C 102 and 103. Most of these instruments are of Chinese origin; but the drum and the lute were probably introduced from abroad at an early date.

SUNG OR LATER. H. 1′ 2.25″

C 104, Plate LXIV

Painted stucco figure of a Bodhisattva modelled in rounded relief; probably part of a group. The face and hands have been slightly restored. MING OR LATER. H. 5′ 2″

C 105, Plate LXV

Painted stucco figure, in high relief, of a being descending through the air, and carrying a bowl: evidently part of a large composition. A fact to be noted is that this figure closely resembles in design one sculptured on the large stele of A.D. 543 in the Metropolitan Museum of New York (*v.* **185**, fig. 3). The latter represents the Bodhisattva bringing back, at Vimalakīrti's bidding, the bowl of perfume-food from the world of Gandhakūta Buddha (*v. sup.*, pp. 27, 28).

DATE DOUBTFUL. H. 2′ 9.25″

C 106 and 107, Plate LXVI

Painted wooden figure of Kuan-yin, standing upon a lotus pedestal. Remains of a gesso coating are visible, and in places the surface appears to have been repaired with paper. The cup in the left hand would seem to be a variant to the Vase of Plenty (*pūrṇa kalaśa*) present in C 24 and 25 (*q.v.*). It is difficult to find a parallel to this figure. The style of coiffure and various details of the attire recall Chinese practice about the beginning of the seventh century, while the head, which seems hardly to fit the body, suggests comparison with certain figures in Japan belonging to the early Tempyō period. Perhaps it is an archaistic product. DATE DOUBTFUL. H. 4′ 7.75″

C 108 and 109, Plate LXVII

Two views of a painted wooden image of Kuan-yin. The hands are in *abhaya* and *vara mudrā*. A seated Buddha figure in *añjali mudrā* occupies the front of the coronet. Impasto ornament decorates the skirt. MING OR LATER. H. 6′ 9.25″

C 110 and 111, Plates LXVIII and LXIX

Two views of a gilt and painted figure of a Bodhisattva, probably one of a group to which C 112 and 113 also belonged. Ornamental detail is applied in impasto. Differences in the colours on the front and back show that, when the image was last renovated, only the front was painted. Obvious points of resemblance to a figure in the Royal Ontario Museum indicate that the two are closely connected. The latter is said to have contained a tablet inscribed with a twelfth century date (**204**, pl. 113). MING OR EARLIER. H. 3′ 7″

C 112 and 113, Plates LXX and LXXI

Two views of a gilt and painted figure of a Bodhisattva which appears to have been one of the same group to which the last-described figure belonged. Contrast between the colours on the front and back is here more apparent. MING OR EARLIER. H. 2′ 6″

C 114, Plate LXXII

Head of a Bodhisattva in hard, grey stone, with remnants of paint. The device on the front of the coronet is a leaf-shaped aureole, arising from a lotus bloom and surrounded with clouds. On the flat surface of the aureole the character *fo*, " Buddha," is incised somewhat carelessly, and it is not in the centre. A reasonable explanation is that originally a figure of Amitābha in relief occupied this field, and that, becoming damaged, it was cut away.

MING OR LATER. H. 1′ 2.5″

C 115-117, Plates LXXIII and LXXIV

Three views of a gilt bronze figure of a Bodhisattva. Omitted from these illustrations are the two tangs, each projecting below a foot, which are designed to fit into slots of a pedestal. The hair is dressed in a high chignon and supported with elaborate ornaments which include two circlets, one near the apex and the other on the forehead. The latter has in front a diadem adorned with a central three-lobed device and two lateral rosettes. Between the two circlets are strings of jewels and the figure of a Dhyāni-Buddha. Ear-rings hang from the elongated ear-lobes and rest upon the shoulders, and behind these are what appear to be tresses of hair. There is a broad, jewelled necklace and armlets with palmette ornaments like those which occur in Indian imagery as early as the Bhārhut sculptures (**63**, pls. 21, 22). The belt with medallions is distinct from the sash which secures the skirt (*paridhāna*), and carries a round brooch in front. An unusual embellishment of the skirt is the festoon draped from lateral attachments across its front. Though both arms are broken off at the elbows, other known examples of the type provide criteria for the statement that originally the right arm was flexed with the hand in *vitarka mudrā*, while the left arm was slightly flexed with the hand in *vara mudrā*. The *ūrṇā* is less prominent than in most of the examples cited below. Probably the Dhyāni-Buddha, figured in the head-dress, is Amitābha, and the Bodhisattva may be identified as Avalokiteśvara.

At least six other examples of this type are known, and the fact that five of them are alike, except as regards minor details, proves that the concept was a favourite one which was repeated without variation. The singular piece is in the Sumitomo Collection (**109**, pl. 229). From the hips it bends a little sideways, and so contrasts with the square stance of the others. Photographs of all six appear among the illustrations to articles by Gangoly and Salmony (**89**, **191**) who discuss therein the difficult problem of provenance. The former writer assigns the type to about the eighth century, and is inclined to trace it to Nepal. The latter argues in favour of a Tibetan origin, and in doing so calls attention to a variant in the Baron von der Heydt Collection which obviously follows the same tradition, but with appreciable changes, and bears an inscription in debased Tibetan script.

It seems to me that probably Coomaraswamy comes nearest to the truth when describing the one in the Boston Museum. He assigns it to " Further India (Siam?), Ayuthia period " (**48**, 139, pl. 84). In Indo-China, where Avalokiteśvara is almost always named Lokeśvara (" Lord of the World "), his figure appears frequently with characteristics resembling this type (*v.* **71**; **91**, 72-75). Above the diadem his hair is dressed in a high chignon, on the covering (*mukuṭa*) of which is a seated Amitābha. The sole garment is a closely fitting skirt held round the waist by an ornate belt. He wears ear-rings, necklace, armlets and bracelets. In Siam a similar figure existed about the same period, that of Śrīvijaya during the ninth and tenth centuries. Two beautiful bronze examples, which came from Jaiyā in the Malay peninsula, are in the National Museum of Siam (*Ars Asiatica*, xii, pls. 15-17). Whatever may be the provenance of the figure under discussion, the prototype was undoubtedly Indian. Images of Avalokiteśvara with high head-dress appear in the caves at Kaṇheri which may date from the sixth century or a little later (**50**, 76, fig. 164). Also in the Peshawar Museum there is an early Indian bronze figure of a Bodhisattva offering points of resemblance to the piece in the Eumorfopoulos Collection (*v.* **2**). The face is similar, and so is the drapery which shows an absence of realism and a simplified

stylization indicating a phase midway between the Gāndhāra and Gupta styles. Noteworthy, too, is the slender cylindrical form, lacking accentuation of the hips, which characterizes Far Eastern sculpture. As previously remarked (pp. 18, 19), perhaps this rare bronze in the Peshawar Museum exemplifies one of the types taken back by Chinese pilgrims.

In short, we may recognize in C 115-117 the manifestation of an early Indian tradition which survived unchanged somewhere in Eastern Asia. Present knowledge does not allow of an exact attribution.

ACTUAL SIZE.

C 118-120, Plates LXXIV and LXXV

Bronze figure of a Buddha viewed from three aspects. The attenuate form, the type of countenance, the convention used to express the curls of hair, and the flame-shaped glory arising from the *uṣṇīṣa* characterize Siamese images (*v. sup.*, p. 66), which were made during the Ayudhyā period (A.D. 1350-1767). Unusual features are the ornamented girdle, with tasselled pendents, which serves to secure the skirt or *sarong*; and the manner in which the long double cloak or *saṅghāṭi* is represented. The rule is to treat the front part of the cloak differently from the back. In front it is usually shown as if it were clinging and diaphanous, so that the undergarments are visible through it; but behind as if it were thick and opaque. The two parts merge along the sides of the skirt, and thence extend together outwards on either side in a double fold which hangs from the arm. Here it seems that originally the cloak may have hung free below the waist, thus hiding the skirt. If so, the jagged edge seen in C 120 indicates where the back part was broken off; but in front the line of fracture is obscured through corrosion.

Though the hands are lost through breakage at the wrists, there can be little doubt that the gesture was one which occurs commonly. Both palms are held to the front with fingers pointing upwards in double *abhaya mudrā*, the gesture of imparting security. In Siamese iconography this gesture has, however, a special significance designated by the term *Braḥ hām samud*, " Buddha calming the Ocean " (**45**, ii 2). Perhaps a parallel may be found in two Nepalese miniatures which picture a Buddha walking upon the waves of a turbulent sea, infested with marine monsters, which threatens the safety of men in boats, though here only his right hand displays the gesture of assurance (**79**, pl. 2, figs. 4, 5). Both these miniatures are inscribed with the name Abhayapāṇi, " he who shows absence of fear with his hand." As Foucher points out, the motive is not that of the metaphorical ocean of existences, but rather that of the material ocean (**79**, 80). There were Buddhists among the sea-faring folk who traded between the coasts of Eastern Asia, the islands of the South, and the Occident; and the cult of saviours from the dangers of their calling was widespread. Evidence of such beliefs may be found in the sacred books; for example, this passage in the *Lotus sūtra* (*Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*): " If one happens to fall into the dreadful ocean, the abode of Nāgas, marine monsters, and demons, he has but to think of Avalokiteśvara, and he shall never sink down in the king of waters " (**123**, 413).

The identification of C 118-120 is debatable. Another Nepalese painting (**79**, pl. 2, fig. 3) shows a standing Buddha, with right hand in *abhaya mudrā* and left holding the corner of his robe, similar to the figure in the second miniature cited above. It is inscribed with the name Dīpaṅkara-Abhayahasta of Ceylon. Now, *Abhayahasta* is synonymous with *Abhayapāṇi* (*v.* **79**, 80), and here we may recognize a clue to the identity of the two Buddhas walking upon the waves, and hence surmise that C 118-120 represents Dīpaṅkara as guardian saint of sailors.

The patina is smooth and dark brown. Two vertical iron pins, not shown in the photographs, have been inserted into the soles of the feet in order to secure the piece on a wooden stand. They appear to be recent additions.

PROBABLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY. ACTUAL SIZE.

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NOTE.—Completeness is not claimed for the following list; it comprises works consulted in the preparation of this volume. References in the foregoing text are made by quoting the numerals which here precede the respective titles; and the edition indicated is that first entered, if more than one are noted. Names of the authors and the titles of Chinese and Japanese writings are repeated in native script on page 87, except those previously represented in Vols. I and II. Abbreviations are used as follows: *ASI: AR* for *Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Report*; *BEFEO* for *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*; *c.* for *chüan* or chapter; CTP for collotype; *EAEFEO* for *Études asiatiques publiées à l'Occasion du vingt-cinquième Anniversaire de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*; ff. for folios; *H.* for *hao* or pseudonym; *JA* for *Journal asiatique*; *JRAS* for *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*; *MAO* for *Mémoires concernant l'Asie orientale*; *OZ* for *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*; PHL for photo-lithographed edition; *RAA* for *Revue des Arts asiatiques*; *RHR* for *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*; *SBE* for *Sacred Books of the East*; *T.* for *tzŭ*, name or style; *TP* for *T'oung Pao*; and WB for wood-block edition.

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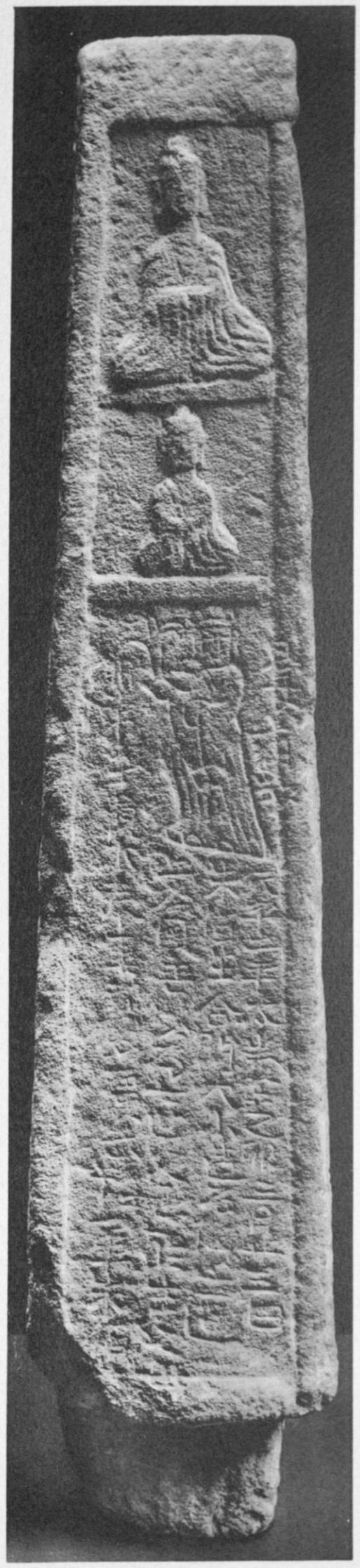

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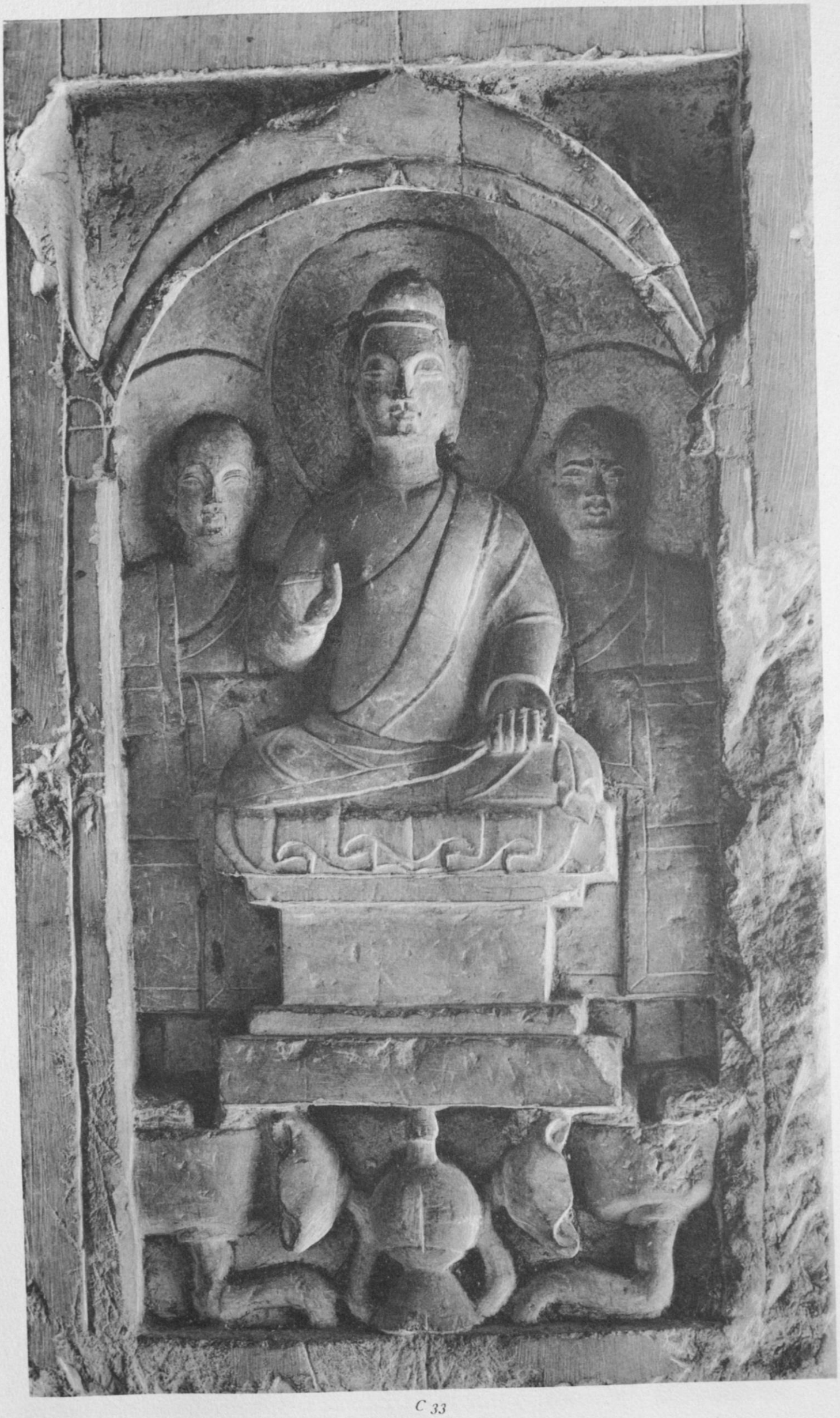

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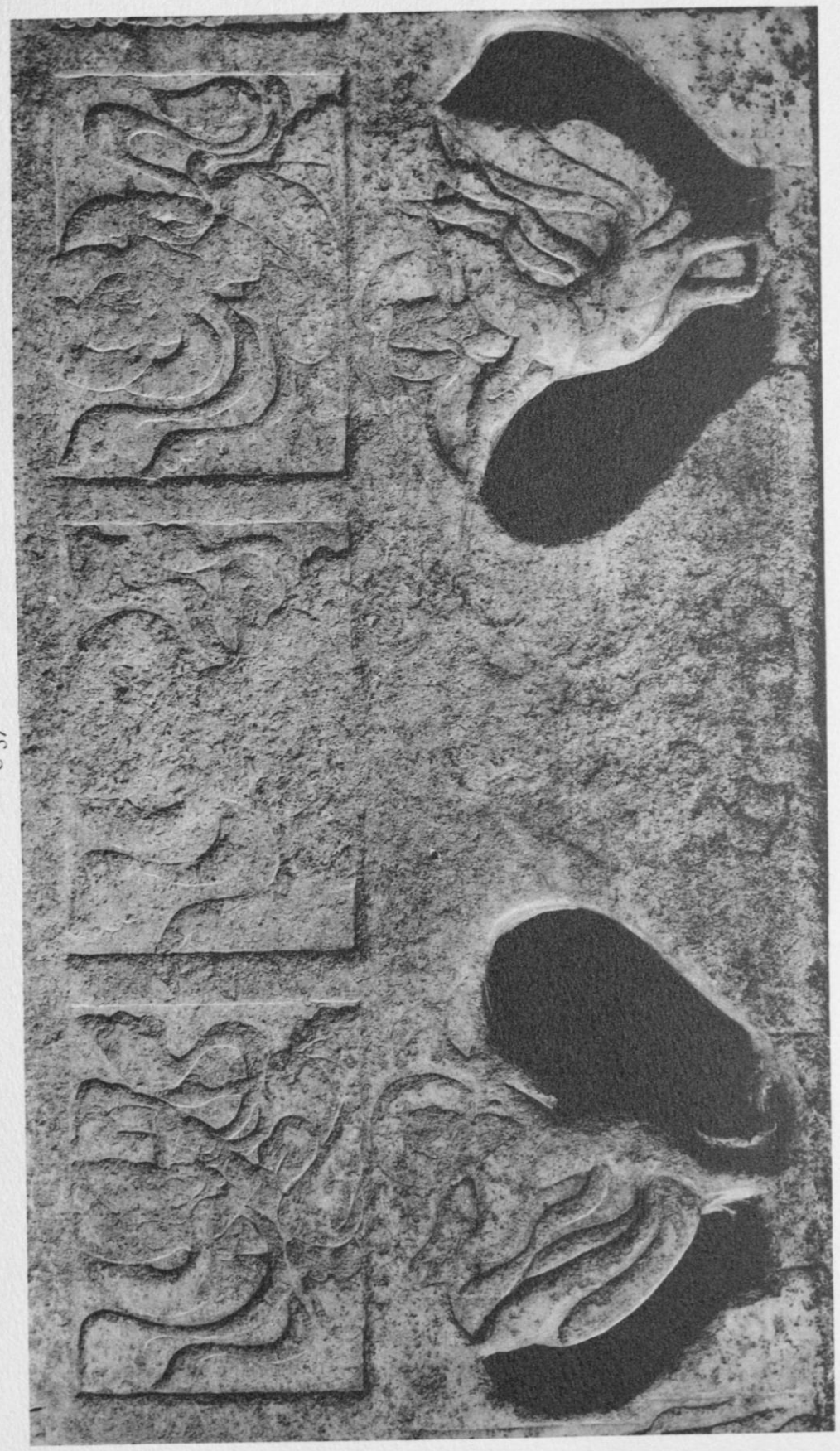

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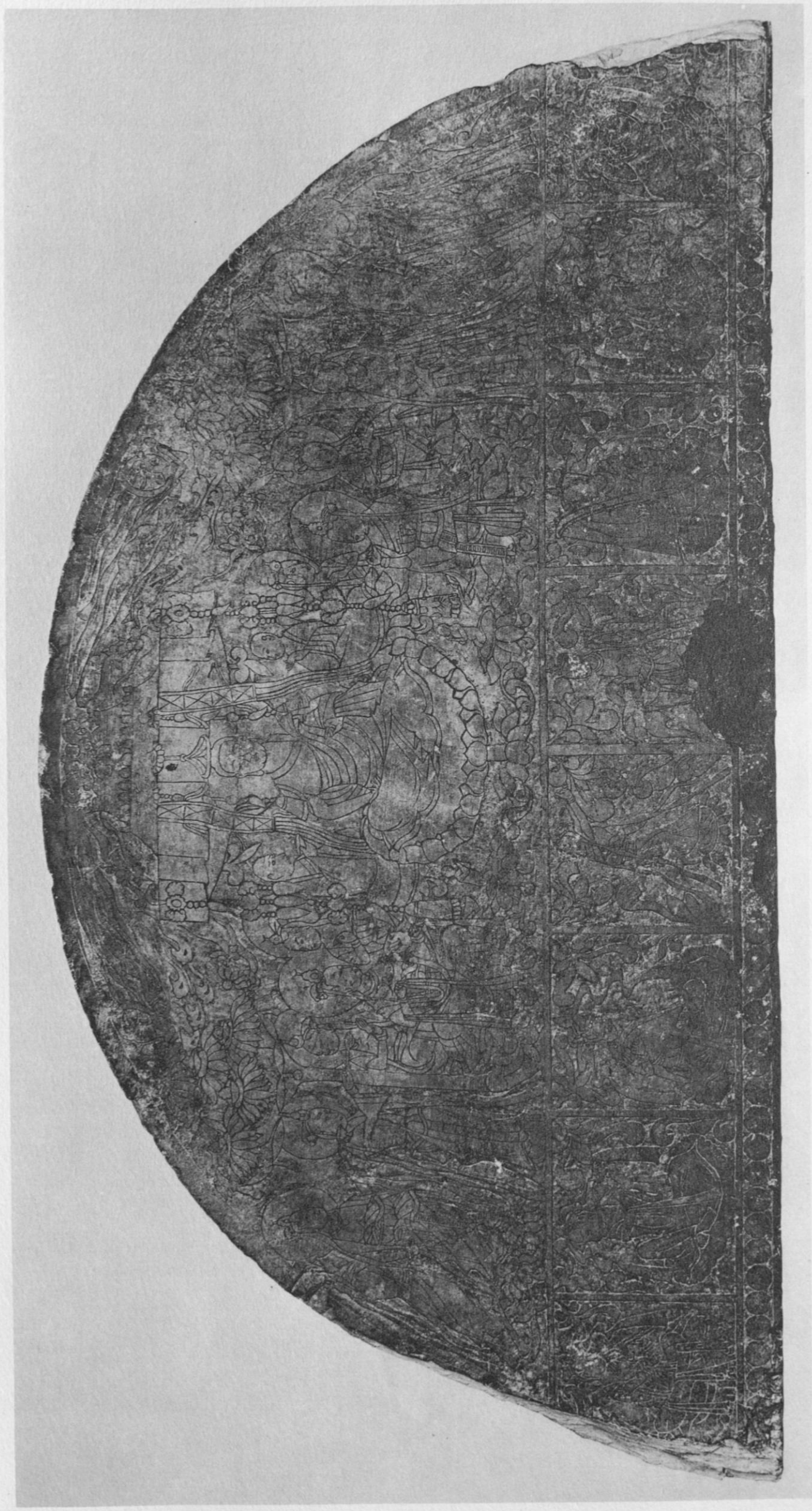

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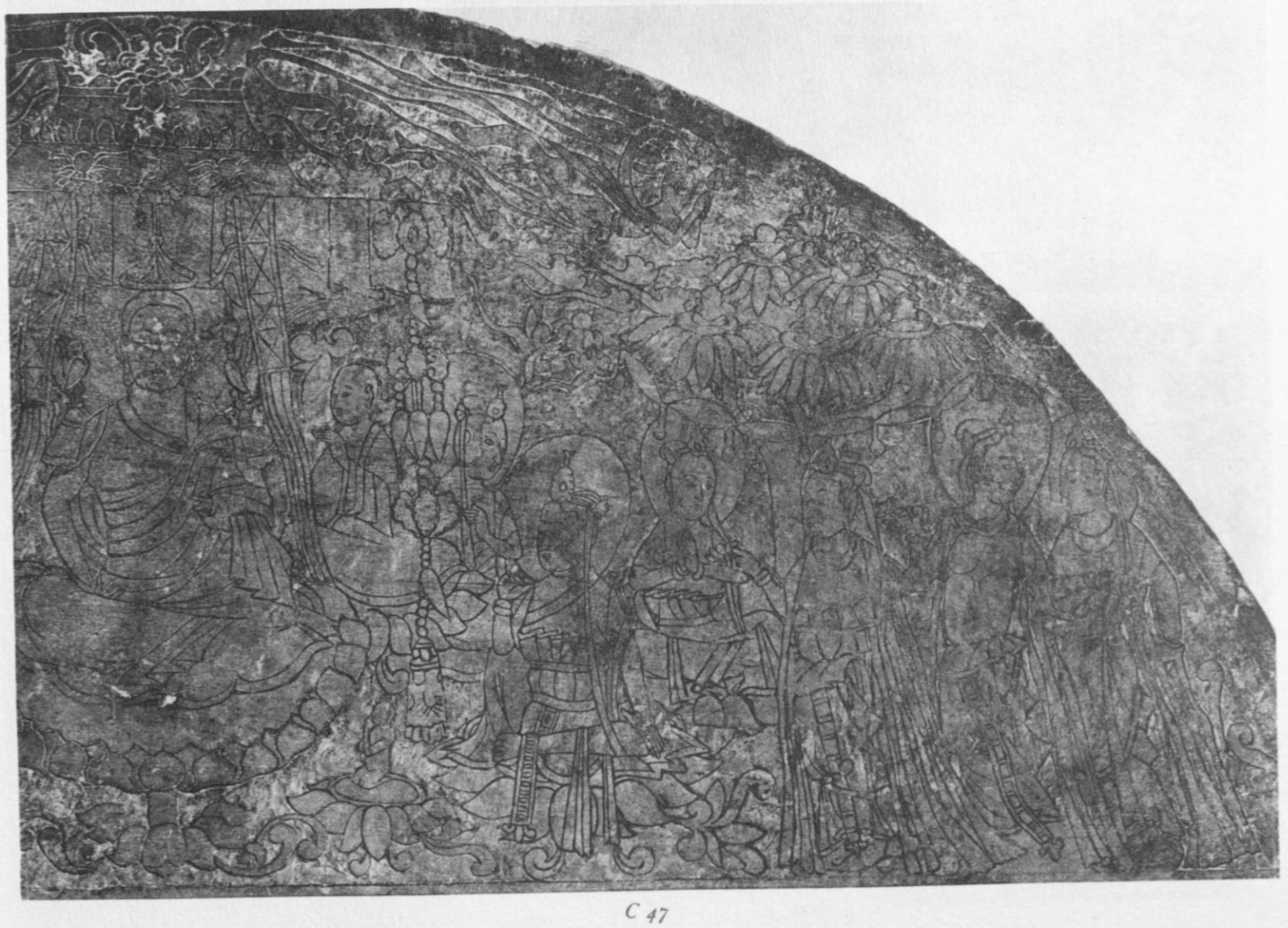

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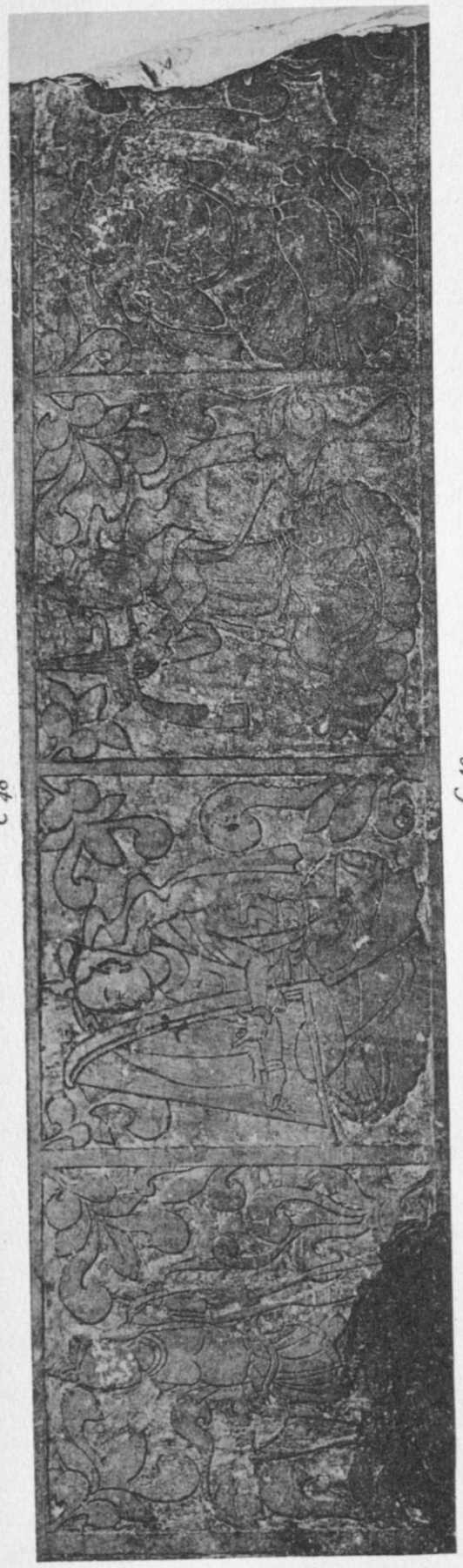

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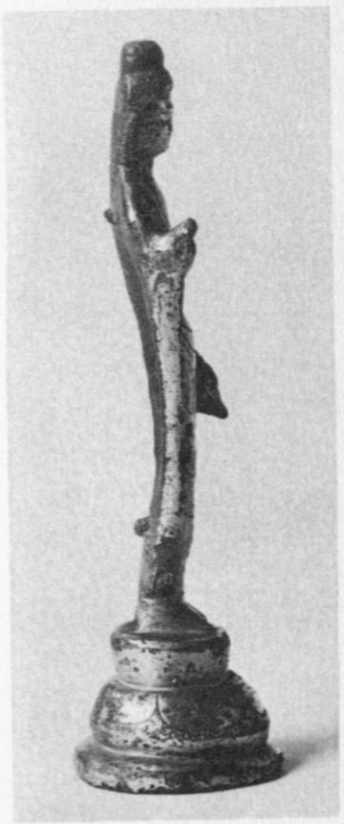

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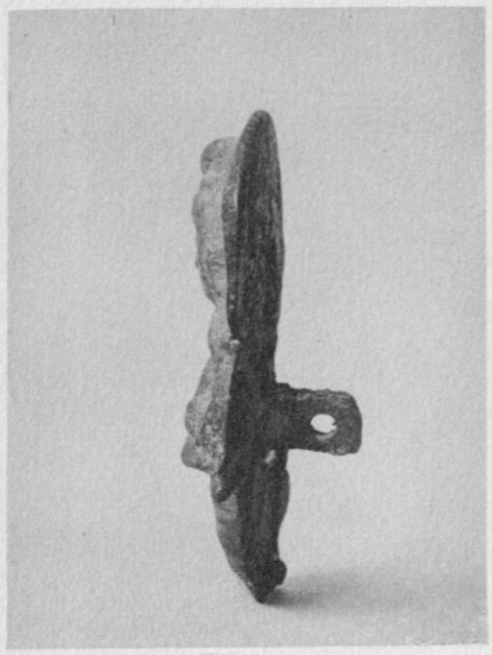

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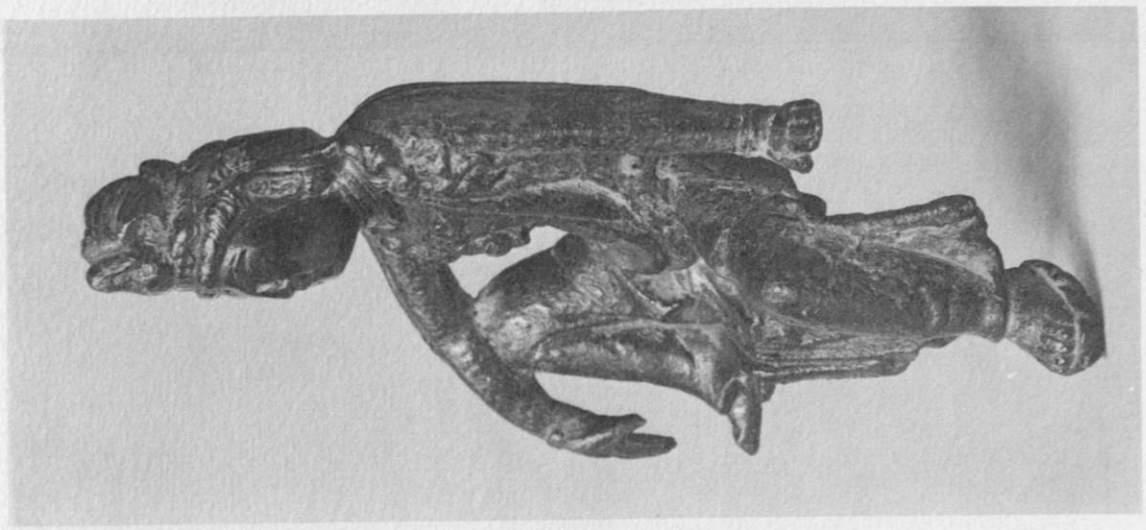

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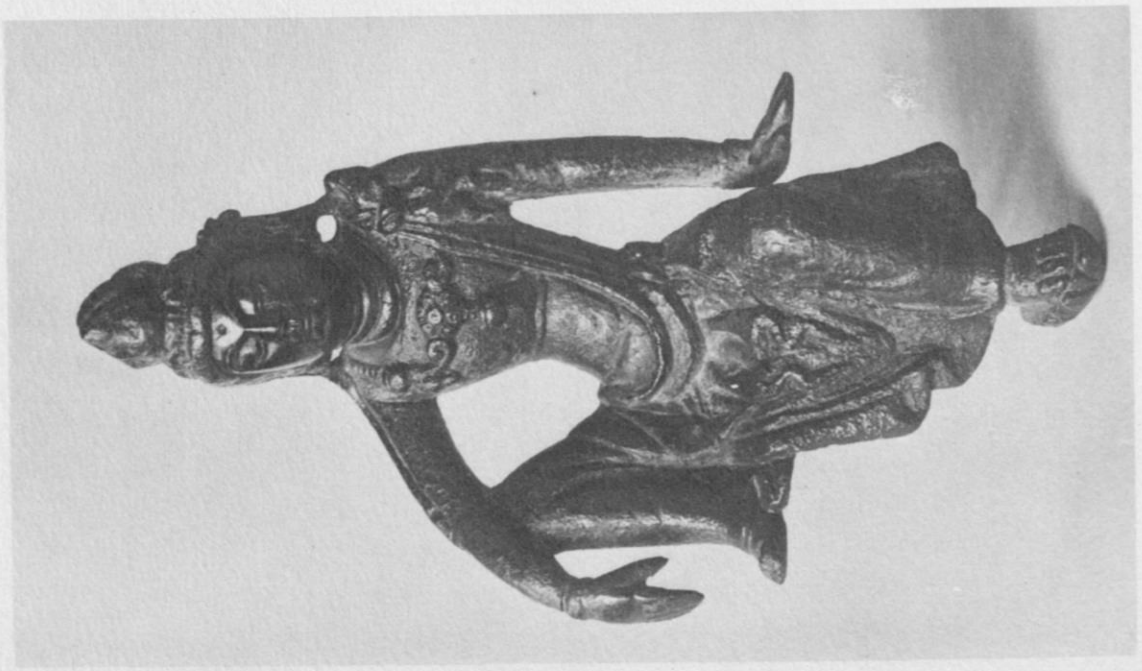

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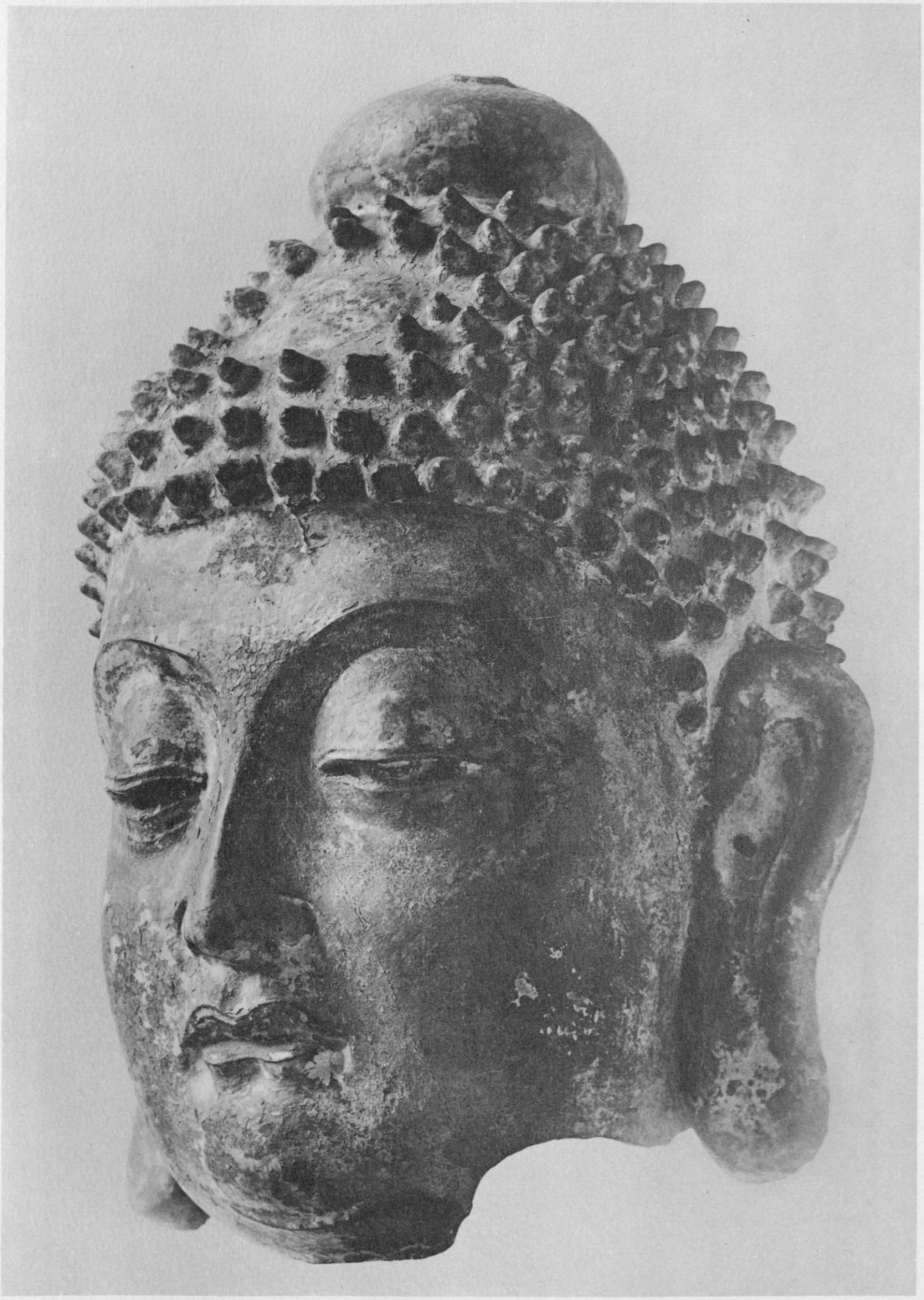

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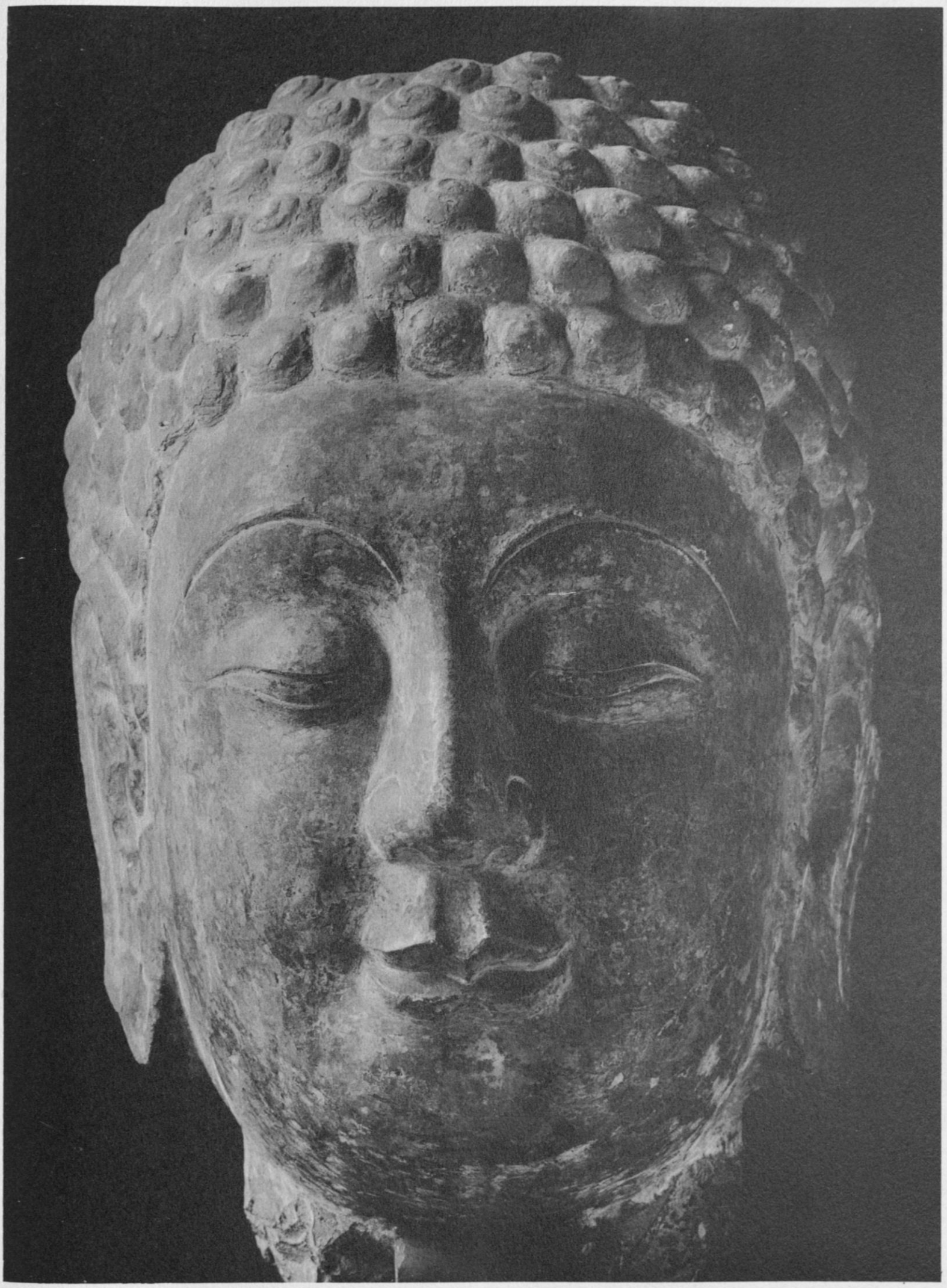

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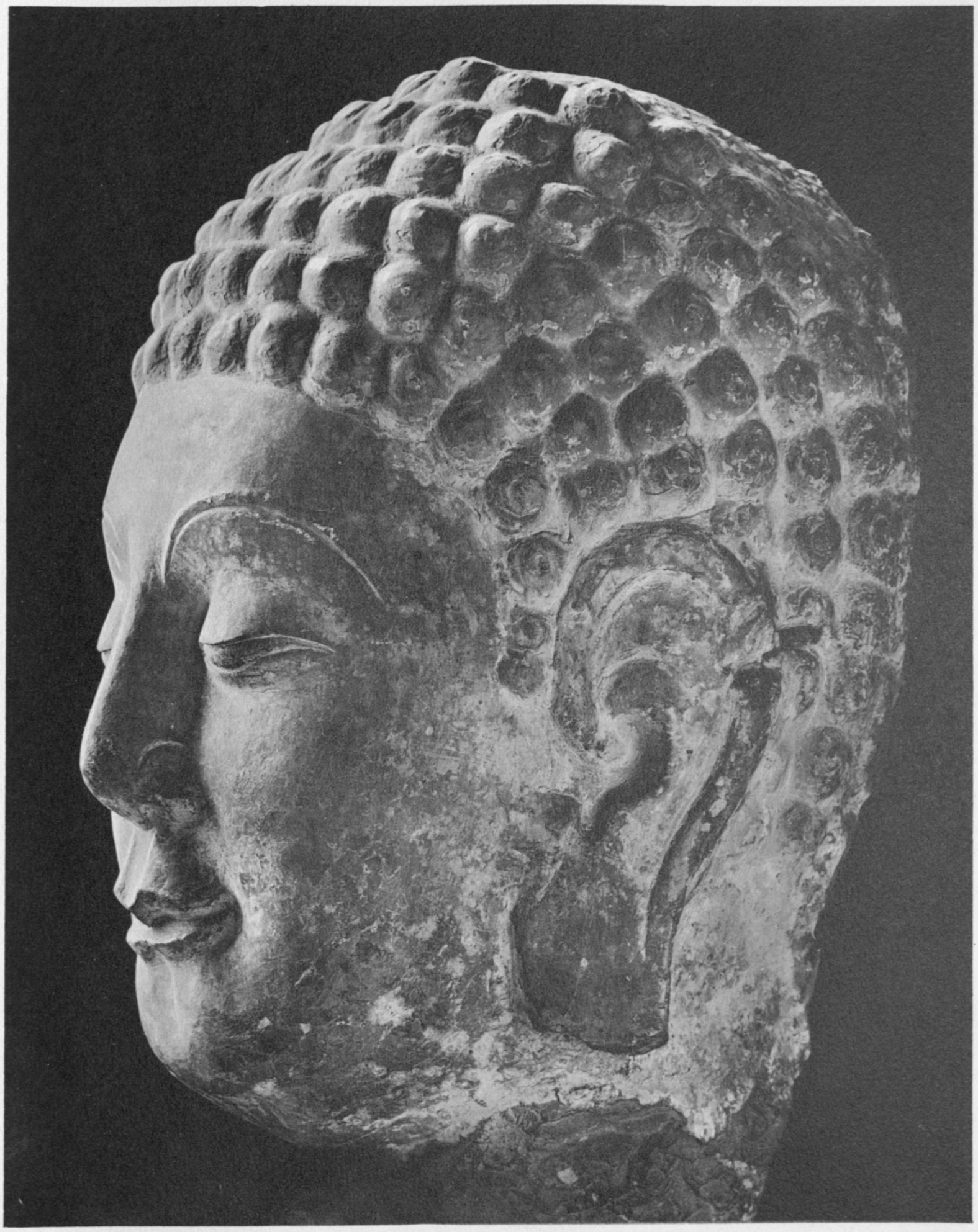

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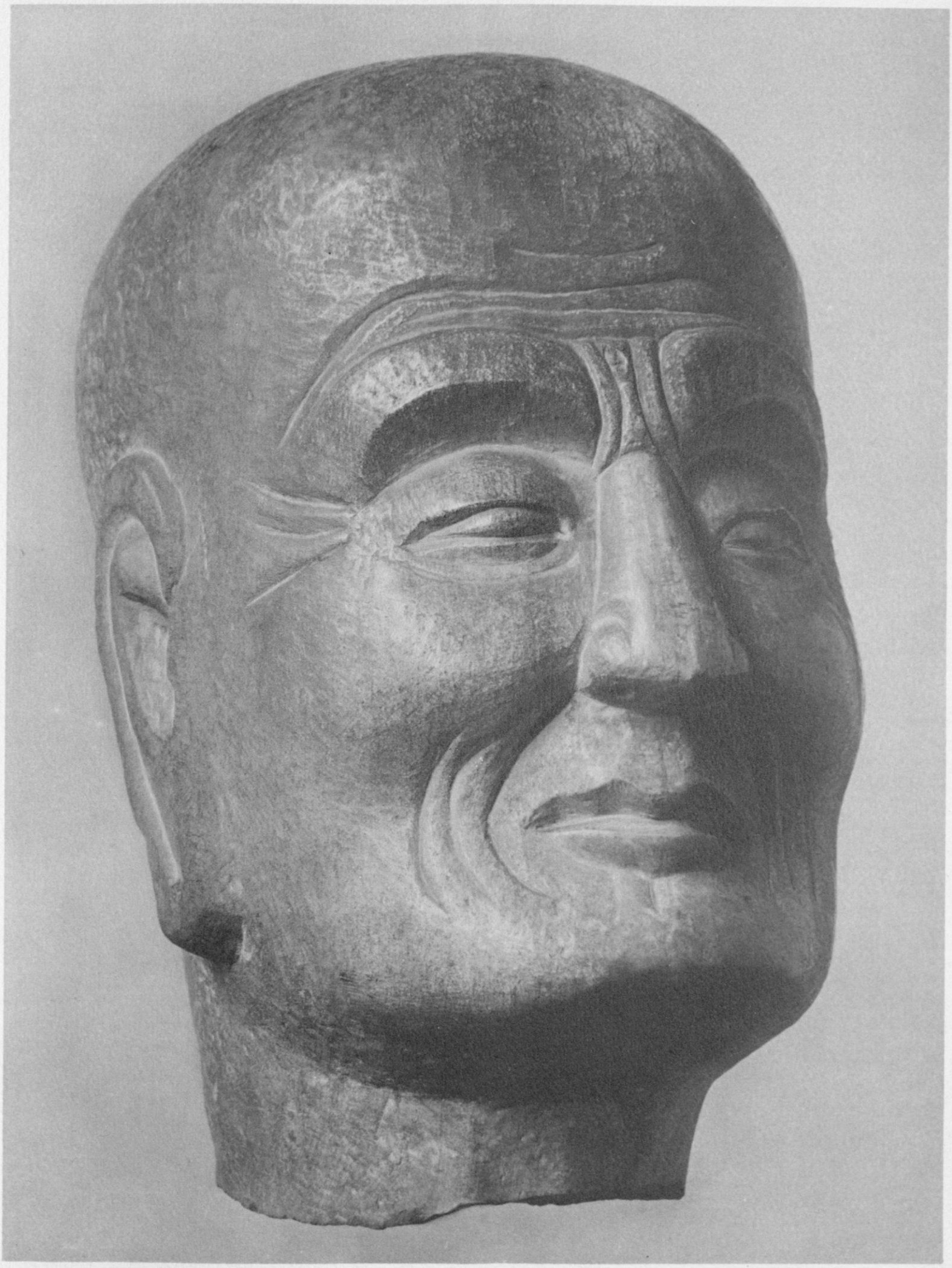

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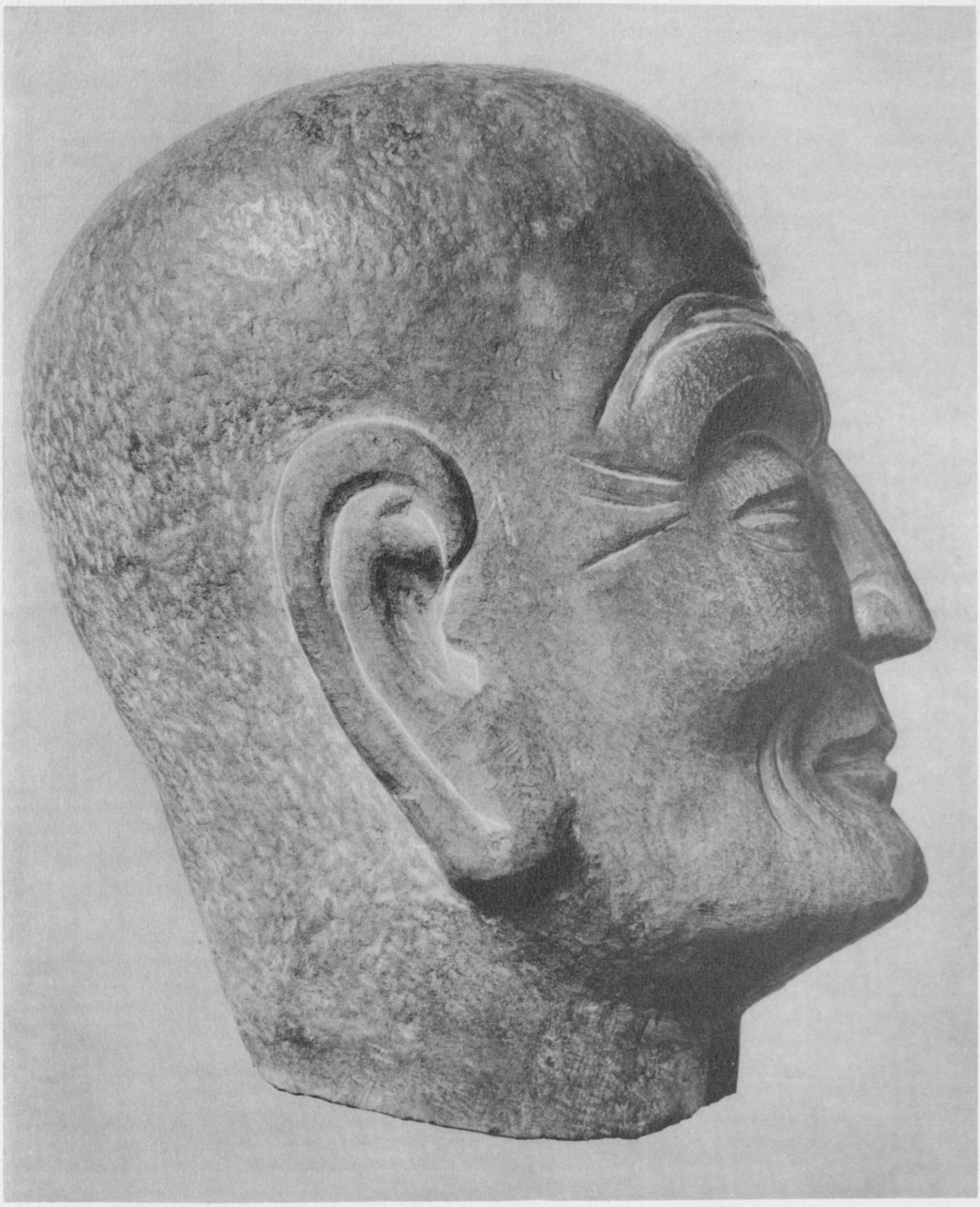

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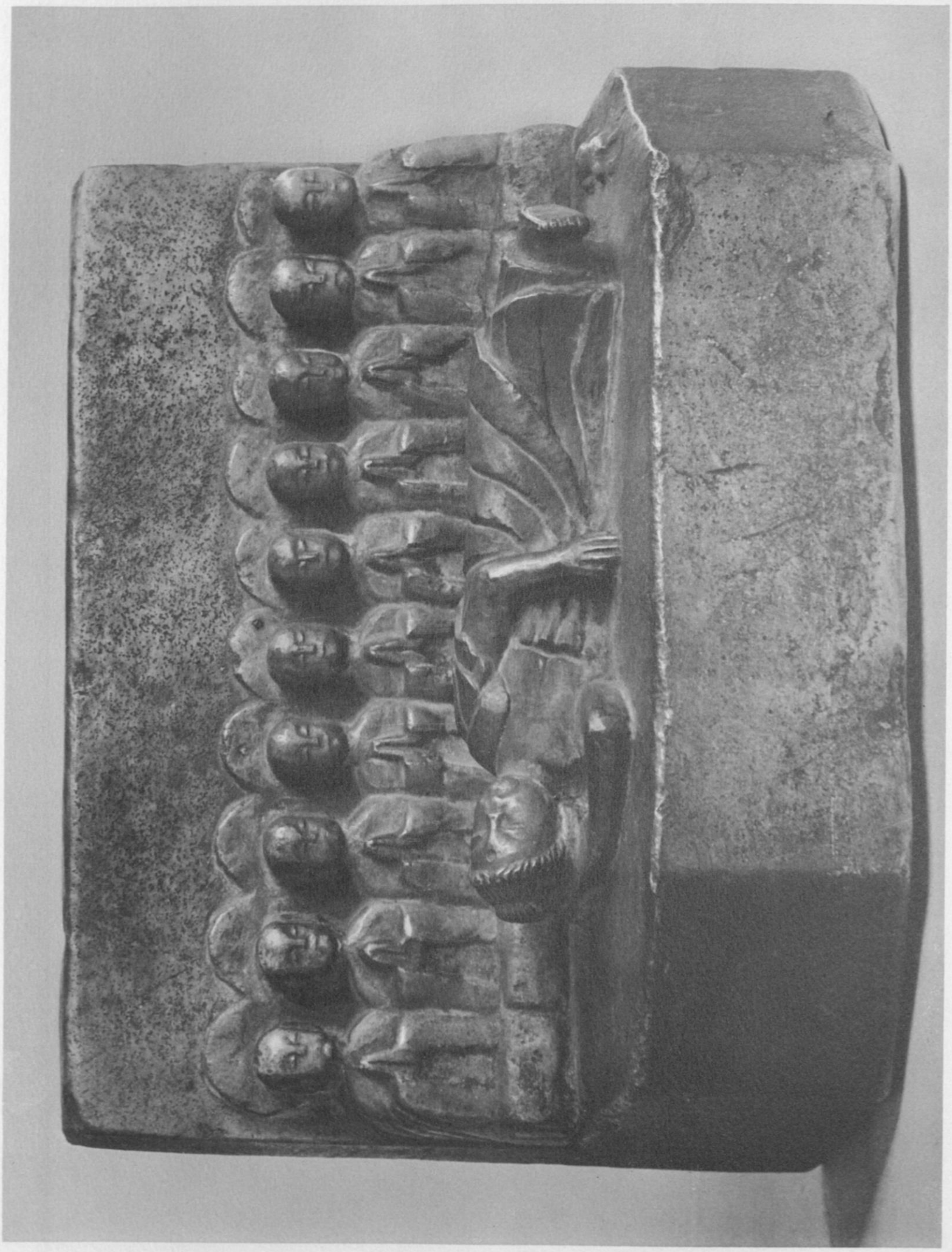

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