

Images of Monks with the U•)x•a from the Kucha and Turfan Regions

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According to the scriptures, | kyamuni is supposed to have been born with thirty-two *mah puru•a lak•a* (characteristics/body-marks of the Great Person) and eighty *anuvya jana* (minor marks). The *u•)x•a*, “the protrusion on top of the head,” is one of the thirty-two *mah puru•a lak•a*. In standard Buddhist iconography, the *u•)x•a* is almost an exclusive attribute of the Buddha image. However, some monk images are clearly shown with the cranial protuberance. They are mainly found in Buddhist caves and temple sites in the Kucha and Turfan regions in Central Asia and a few in the Aja)€ caves in India. These images have long been overlooked until recently when Monika Zin conducted research on this unusual iconography. Based on an extensive study of Aja)€ paintings and a survey of the rest of the Buddhist world, she proposes that the *u•)x•a* on monk figures was meant to indicate either that they were members of the | kya clan (|nanda and Nanda) or that they were future Buddhas.¹ However, in Kucha paintings, monk figures with the *u•)x•a* are not restricted to these two categories. They include | kyamini’s principle disciples who are out of | kya clan. Yet, the question of why this iconography only appears in the limited areas and is absent in the Theravada/P li tradition in South India and Southeast Asia and in the Mah y na tradition in East Asia is still unanswered. This paper attempts to search for the possible connection among the regions where this iconography appears and how it may relate to the Sarv stiv da, a Hxnay na school which is believed to have dominated Kucha and also existed at the sites of Turfan and Aja)€. The purpose of the paper is to study the significance of endowing the *u•)x•a* on the non-Buddha figures in Buddhist theory and practice. Since the Kucha caves yield the most intensive depictions of such images and the images at Turfan bear inscriptions that are crucial for interpreting the meaning of the iconography, I will focus on the images from these two areas, which have not been previously examined at length.

¹ Monika Zin, “The *U•)x•a* as a Physical Characteristic of the Buddha’s Relatives and Successors,” *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 9 (2003: 107-130).

Images

Kucha region: Kizil caves

The ancient state of Kucha was located on the Northern part of the trade route in Central Asia, which is now part of present-day China. A number of Buddhist cave sites have been found in Kucha including the renowned Kizil. It is one of the earliest and also the largest Buddhist cave sites in Central Asia.¹ Images of monks with the $u \bullet \rangle x \bullet a$ can frequently be found in the central-pillar type of caves at Kucha and appear in virtually all the themes of the iconographic program of the caves (Fig. 1): the Buddha's assemblies on the side walls of the main hall, the depictions of *avadānas* on the vaulted ceiling, the *parinirvāṇa* and related episodes in the back chamber, the First Council in the left corridor, and among the devotee and monk figures on the side wall of the central pillar. A monk bearing an $u \bullet \rangle x \bullet a$ can either be the key figure of the narrative or just as a member of the audience. As the discussion below will show, they are either \mid kyamuni in his past incarnation or one of the Buddha's principle disciples, but they are not necessarily from the \mid kya clan. Only a limited number of these depictions at this cave site have been identified while most of them still remain undetermined. The following are examples of each theme.

Group I. Buddha's teaching assemblies

Monks with $u \bullet \rangle x \bullet as$ can frequently be found in paintings of the Buddha's preaching assemblies. Among these monks, Purna Maitr yaniputra has been identified,² and can be seen in Kizil Cave 14 (Fig.2a) and 181 (Fig.2b).

According to the *Buddha P'rvacary Saṃgraha S'tra* (*Fo benxing ji jing*),³ Purna Maitr yaniputra was born in a Brahman family of the imperial priesthood, the same day that \mid kyamuni was born. The night when \mid kyamuni renounces worldly life, Purna Maitr yaniputra also secretly leaves his family to begin his

¹ Since only Kizil caves are relatively well published, examples in this paper are mainly from Kizil.

² This subject in Cave 181 is identified in Duan Wenjie, *Zhongguo meishu fenlei quanji* (Zhongguo Xinjiang bishu quanji III Kizil) (Tianjing: Tianjing meishu sheying chubanshe & Tianjing renmin chubanshe, 1995: 30, 32,) fig.66.

³ *Taisho* 3:190. 824a-825a. The *Buddha P'rvacary Saṃgraha S'tra* is the most developed form of the biography of the Buddha, and commonly attributed to the Dharmaguptaka school. Hajime Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, first edition: Japan 1980, reprint 1999), p.132.

ascetic life in the Snow Mountains. Through his practice, he reaches the Four Dhy na Heavens⁴ and obtains the Five Supernatural Powers. After | kyamuni has achieved enlightenment, Purna Maitr yaniputra comes to follow the Buddha. Just as depicted in the paintings, when the two meet, Purna Maitr yaniputra prostrates himself with his head at the feet of the Buddha. He holds the Buddha's feet with both hands and kisses the teacher's feet. Then, Purna Maitr yaniputra kneels down on one knee and praises the Buddha. In the paintings of Cave 14 and 181, Purna Maitr yaniputra is shown twice: first prostrating and then kneeling by the Buddha. Purna Maitr yaniputra is one of the ten chief disciples of Ś kyamuni. He appears as one of the interlocutors in the Ś(rangama-sūtra. According to the same s(tra, Purna Maitr yaniputra is said to be born with the mah puru •a marks, which explains why he is depicted with the u•)x•a in the Kizil paintings.⁵

Other unidentified monk figures possessing the u•)x•a also seem to be close disciples of the Buddha. For example, in Kizil Cave 227, one such figure attends the Buddha of the main niche (Fig.2c). In Cave 123 (Fig. 2d), a similar figure stands to the Buddha's immediate top left. The close position of these figures to the Buddha speaks to their importance. These figures clearly represent the monks, not the Buddhas. Unlike the Buddha images in Kizil paintings that are shown with a high, round protuberance, the u•)x•as on the monk figures are small and low. In addition, the Buddha figure's hairline is round and smooth; while the hairlines on the images on the monks with the u•)x•as recess in sharp zigzag angles. Further, in contrast to | kyamuni, these monk figures usually do not have halos around them.

Group II. The avad nas

Among the avad nas on the ceiling, two scenes with images of monks possessing the u•)x•a have been identified: the "poor woman offering a lamp" and "Buddha

⁴ The eighteen Brahmaloḥas are divided into four levels and are reached through the four stages of dhy na (meditation) practice.

⁵ *Taish* 3: 190.824a-825a.

Fu•ya painting a self-portrait.”⁶ However, the *u•)x•a* on the attendants in these paintings has not been recognized and remains unexplained.

According to the *S(tra of the Wise and the Foolish (Xianyu jing)*, a poor woman, Nanda, gives all that she has collected in order to buy oil to offer an oil-lamp to the Buddha. Her lamp shines throughout the night when all the other lamps die out. Even Maudgaly yana, one of | kyamuni’s top disciples, who is on duty the next day, is not able to extinguish the light.⁷ The depiction of this story in Kizil Cave 196 (Fig. 3a) shows an image of a monk with an *u•)x•a* besides Nanda. Scholars have been using the *S(tra of the Wise and the Foolish* to identify the story.⁸ Based on this text, the monk figure in the painting could be Maudgaly yana. This story is also seen in the Sanskrit *Divy vad na*⁹ and *M(āsarv stiv da Vinaya*¹⁰, in which the woman then makes a vow in front of the Buddha, “May I become a Buddha just like you in the future.” Afterwards, the Buddha predicts her enlightenment.

The scene of Buddha Fu•ya painting a self-portrait appears in Kizil Cave 34 (Fig. 3b) and 38 (Fig. 3c). This event is also explained in the *S(tra of the Wise and the Foolish*. At the time of Buddha Fu•ya in the remote past, the presiding ruler, King Boseqi (V suki?), wanted to make images of the Buddha for his people to venerate. All the court painters fail to capture the auspicious marks of the Buddha. Finally, Fu•ya picks up the brush and paints a self-portrait for the court painters. When | kyamuni at a future time relates the story of Fu•ya as an *avad na*, he explains that King Boseqi was himself in one of his previous lives. The merit accrued by Boseqi for making images of the Buddha, insured that he

⁶ Ma Shichang, “Kizil zhongxinzhū ku zhushi quānding yu hōushi de bihua (The Paintings on the Vaulted Ceilings of the Main Halls and the Back Chambers of the Central-pillar Caves at Kizil),” *Zhongguo shiku – Kizil shiku II* (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 1996: 174-226).

⁷ *S(tra of the Wise and the Foolish*, *Taisho* 4:202.370c-371c. Its Tibetan version also exists: *Mdsas buun shes bya ba l mdo*. Tohoku Cat. No.341. The Sanskrit original is lost. According to Hajime Nakamura, the Sanskrit title may be *Dama-m(ka-mid na-s(tra*. Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism*, p.140.

⁸ Xinjiang Uighur zizhiqū wenwū guānlǐ weiyuánhui et al., *Zhongguo shiku-- Kizil shiku III* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1997: 221). fig.102. For identification of the theme in general, see Ma Shichang, “Kizil zhongxinzhū ku zhushi quānding yu hōushi de bihua,” pp. 174-226, fig. 27; and Emmanuelle Lesbre, “An Attempt to Identify and Classify Scenes with a Central Buddha Depicted on Ceilings of the Kizil Caves,” *Artibus Asiae* vol.XLI, (2001: 305-354). This subject is also depicted in the Kizil Caves 38, 188, 193, and 244, in which, however, only the woman is shown.

⁹ E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil ed., *The Divy vad na – A Collection of Early Buddhist Legends* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1886: 80-90).

¹⁰ N. Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts* (Srinagar, 1947), vol.3,i, 123.15-159.16.

would always be reborn as a king with the *mah puru•a lak•a* and eventually became a Buddha.¹¹ The Kizil paintings show the Buddha seated painting on a piece of cloth held by a monk with a low *u•)x•a*. This monk is presumably King Boseqi who commissioned the painting. Interestingly, even though he is a king here, he is shown as a Buddha-to-be, already possessing the body marks like the Buddha.

Group III. The *parinirvāṇa* and related scenes

In the *parinirvāṇa* and related scenes located in the back corridors of the caves, every so often, images of monks with *u•)x•as* are portrayed among the mourning crowds. In Kizil Cave 38 (Fig. 4a), a monk with an *u•)x•a* kneels down holding the feet of the Buddha.¹² In Cave 224, a similar figure stands with K. •yapa in the cremation scene (Fig.4b). In the *parinirvāṇa* scene of Cave 161, three monks are endowed with the *u•)x•a* (Fig.4c). One stands near the Buddha's head, and the other two near the feet. In Cave 171 (Fig.4d), a monk with an *u•)x•a* stands under a tree, frowning, seemingly contemplating the Buddha's final passing. Similar images appear in Caves 7, 163, and 205 (cremation) as well. Since •nanda plays an important role in the various textual accounts of the Buddha's last days, it is possible that one of these figures is meant to represent him.

Group IV. The First Council

In a number of caves at Kizil, the First Council is depicted in the left corridor. The First Council was held shortly after •kyamuni's *nirvāṇa* in order to settle debates over doctrine. •nanda is said to have recited the *sūtras*,¹³ and Up. li, another disciple of the Buddha, recited the *vinayas*.¹⁴ The central monk in the Council scene in Kizil Cave 178 and 224 (Fig. 5) bears the *u•)x•a*. Given the importance of •nanda to this event, the central monk is likely depicting him.

¹¹ *Taishō* 4:202.368c-369a.

¹² The position at the feet of the Buddha in the *parinirvāṇa* scene is usually reserved for K. •yapa. However K. •yapa is shown as an elder wearing patch-robe at Kizil. Therefore, this figure (in Cave 38) is unlikely to be K. •yapa. For the iconography of K. •yapa in *parinirvāṇa* depictions, see Jorinde Ebert, *Parinirvāṇa: untersuchungen zur ikonographischen Entwicklung von den indischen Anfängen bis nach China* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, 1985: 77-87).

¹³ *Lidai sanbao ji* (歷代三寶記), *Taishō* 49: 2034.95b.

¹⁴ L. La Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme-opinions sur l'histoire de la dogmatique* (Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne, 1925: p.30).

Group V. Monks and devotees

One of the motifs on the side wall of the central pillars in a number of caves shows rows of monks and lay devotees. At least two images of monks with $u \bullet \rangle x \bullet a$ s can be found in this subject. In Kizil Cave 175, a row of eight standing monks and a row of gods were depicted on the upper and lower part of the right side wall of the central pillar respectively (Fig. 6b). The second monk in the line possesses an $u \bullet \rangle x \bullet a$ (Fig. 6a). Since the monks are lined up with and are even higher than the gods, they are likely to have very high status, possibly the most important disciples of | kyamuni. The third monk, old and wearing a patch-robe, seems to be K ♣yapa. The second monk is then probably also a disciple of the Buddha of no less importance. The status of the row of monk figures which appears on the side wall of the central pillar can be supported by another example in Kizil 7 ("Cave of the Frescoed Floor"). In this case, the monk images were originally inscribed in Br hmx in the strip over their heads.¹⁵ In Cave 205 (Fig. 6c), a cave patronized by the royal family, a monk with an $u \bullet \rangle x \bullet a$ is shown leading the prince's family. The prince and his wife are depicted with halos, which indicate that they are otherworldly figures. Hence, the guiding monk is probably also a figure in the celestial realm and not a local priest from Kizil.¹⁶

The image of a monk with a protuberance on his head is a quite common iconographic feature at Kizil. It seems germane to certain subjects and certain figures. Images of monks with $u \bullet \rangle x \bullet a$ s are clearly distinguishable from the Buddha figures and other ordinary monks in terms of the shape of the $u \bullet \rangle x \bullet a$ and the hairline. Regarding the date of the Kizil caves, German scholars dated them to the sixth to seventh centuries and their opinion has been largely followed in the field.¹⁷ Based on a more comprehensive typological analysis of the structure

¹⁵ Albert Gr nwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch Turkestan* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1912), pp. 48ff; Albert von Le Coq and E. Waldschmidt, *Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*. 7 vols. (Berlin: Reimer, 1928-1933), VI, pl. 9; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Along the Ancient Silk Routes – Central Asian Art from the West Berlin State Museums* (An exhibition lent by the Museum f r Indische Kunst, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Federal Republic of Germany) (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1982: 94), fig. 30.

¹⁶ In the past, the subject of the monk figures on the side wall of the central pillar of Caves 175 and 205 has been identified as donors. For example, Jia Yingyi, *Xinjiang bihua xianmiao hingpin* (Urumuqi: Xinjiang meishu sheying chubanshe, 1993: 131), fig.183. It is doubtful that a Kizil monk would have a protrusion on top of his head or dare to endow himself with an $u \bullet \rangle x \bullet a$.

¹⁷ Von Le Coq and E. Waldschmidt, *Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*. 7 vols. (Berlin: Reimer, 1923-1933), III: pp.21-23, VII: pp.27-29. For the problems of this dating and a review of the study of the

of the caves and the decorations with reference to carbon fourteen testing, Su Bai establishes a new chronology and dates the caves to the fourth through the seventh centuries.¹⁸ This early date has become very influential.

Turfan: Bezeklik and Sengin

In Central Asia, the convention of depicting the u•)x•a on certain monk-like figures extends into the Turfan region, and is seen mainly at the Bezeklik cave site and Sengin temple site. The Bezeklik Cave was active from the ninth through the twelfth centuries during the Gaochang period (848-1283) and was under imperial patronage.¹⁹ Sengin is located twenty miles north of the capital, Gaochang. A royal temple is built at the site.²⁰ As will be discussed below, in this area, images of monk figures bearing u•)x•as usually represent Buddhas-to-be. They appear primarily in two subjects, the *prañidhāna* ("vow") paintings, and the *parinirvāṇa* scenes.

The *prañidhāna* paintings record | kyamuni's long journey of making offerings to the Buddhas of the past and receiving their prediction of enlightenment. Typical *prañidhāna* paintings appear on the side walls of more than fourteen caves at Bezeklik.²¹

Some of these *prañidhāna* paintings are inscribed with Br hm̐, which quotes from a *vinaya* of the Mālasarvstivāda school, the *Mālasarvstivāda*

chronology of Kizil caves, see A. Howard, "In support of a new chronology for the Kizil mural paintings," *Archives of Asian Art* XLVI (1991: 68-83).

¹⁸ Su Bai, "Kizil bufen dongku jieduan huafen yu niandai deng wenti de chubu tansuo (A Study of the Chronology and Dating of Some of the Caves at Kizil)," in *Zhongguo shiku-- Kizil shiku I* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1989: 10-23). For a review of the problems of this dating, see Emmanuelle Lesbre, "An Attempt to Identify and Classify Scenes with a Central Buddha Depicted on Ceilings of the Kizil Caves," pp.346-348.

¹⁹ For the chronology of the site, see Jia Yingyi, "Bezeklik shiku chutan (A Study of Bezeklik Caves)," in *Xinjiang shiku---Turfan Bezeklik shiku*, (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe & Xinjiang Uighur zizhiqu bowuguan); For the C¹⁴ testing of the Bezeklik caves, see Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiushuo shiyanshi, "Xinjiang Turfan he nanjiang diqu bufen shiku niandai ceding baogao (Test Report of the Dates of Some of the Caves at Turfan and Southern Region in Xinjiang)," *Kaogu* (1991.11: 1039-1045).

²⁰ In the early twentieth century, Albert von Le Coq found inscribed wooden pillars on which royal families were listed as donors. F. W. K. Müller, "Zwei pfahlinschriften aus den Trufanfunden," *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin, 1915:18); Meng Fanren, Zhao Yixiong and Di Yukun ed., *Gaochang bihua ji yi (Mural Paintings of Gaochang)* (Urumuqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1995: 9).

²¹ The typical *pranidhi* paintings are depicted in Bezeklik Caves 15, 18, 20, 22, 24, 31, 33, 37, 38, 42, 47, 48, 50 and 55 (or Cave 2, 4, 8, 9, 10, 12, 19, 20, 24, 25, 29, 36, 37, and 39 in Grünwedel's numbering).

Bhaiṣajyavastu, These inscriptions help identify the subject of the painting. Fifteen themes, each recording one particular previous life of | kyamuni, have been identified.²² Images of a monk with the *u•)x•a* only appear in one scene of these stories.²³ It is the time when | kyamuni was born as a Brahmac rin named Uttara. Having heard the preaching by Buddha K •yapa, he renounces his worldly life to seek enlightenment.²⁴ Shown in Cave 20 (Fig. 7a) and Cave 31 (Fig. 7b), dressed in monastic robes, Uttara kneels beside the Buddha K •yapa on the right side. A protuberance appears on Uttara's head and, in Cave 31, his hairline recedes in zigzag shape.

In addition to the typical *praṇidhāna* paintings, my research shows that there is another simplified form of these paintings. They appear on the ceilings in Bezeklik Caves 16 and 17 and Sengin Temple I. A series of forty-eight similar representations are depicted on the vault in Bezeklik Cave 16 (Fig. 8a, 8b) and the main hall of Temple I at Sengin (Fig. 8c). The composition is centered on a seated Buddha, who is commonly accompanied by only four other figures: a monk with an *u•)x•a*, Vajrap ṇi, a celestial being, and a devotee. The monk bearing the *u•)x•a* generally sits next to the Buddha's shoulder, holding a fan and a water jar in his hands. One section (Fig. 8b) survives in good condition and bears a clear inscription: during the *kalpa* (aeon) of Buddha | ikhin, those who donated jewels for the Buddha's garden received the prophecy that they would attain Enlightenment.²⁵ Buddha | ikhin also appears on the ceiling in Bezeklik Cave 17 (Fig. 8d). A monk figure with an *u•)x•a* sits to the Buddha's right. Unfortunately, this painting is too damaged to identify the attributes of the monk and read fully the Chinese inscription. Both Cave 16 and Cave 17 have been dated to the tenth-eleventh centuries, the third phase of the site.²⁶

²²Hirano Shinkan, "Bezeklik dai 9 go kutsuji yu meibun no seiganga no kosatus (In Investigation of the Inscriptions and Paintings of Bezeklik Cave 9)," *Bijutsu kenkyū* (no.218, (1961.9: 27-44); Meng Fanren, "Xinjiang Bezeklik kusi liushi yu wai bihua xu lue (A Survey of the Bezeklik Paintings in the Foreign Collection)," *Kaogu yu wenwu* (1981.4: 43-61).

²³ The painting with the monk with the *u•)x•a* was named Scene Ten in Cave 20 and Scene Four in Cave 15.

²⁴ "昔為梵志名最勝, 於兩足尊迦葉佛;由聞喜護所說語,乃得出家修淨意." *Taishō* 24:1448.75b.

²⁵ Rajeshwari Ghose, *In the Footsteps of the Buddha – An Iconic Journey from India to China* (Hong Kong: University Museum and art Gallery, 1998: 263).

²⁶ Jia Yingyi, "Bezeklik shiku chutan," (no page number in the book.)

The *parinirvāṇa* scenes are depicted on the back walls at Bezeklik, such as in Cave 33 (Fig. 9a) and 31 (Fig. 9b).²⁷ The figures with the *u•)x•as* in these two paintings are almost identical: They stand in the same position holding a long-necked water vase and a fan above their heads. In both the *prāṇidhāna* painting on the ceiling and in the *parinirvāṇa* scene, the monk who possesses the *u•)x•a* carries a vase, the typical attribute of the future Buddha in Gandhara and Central Asia. It is likely that these images are intended to represent Buddhas-to-be.

The images of monks with *u•)x•as* discussed above represent only a small number of those depicted at the sites in Kucha and Turfan. These images indicate the popularity of the motif and call attention to the significance of the subject of showing monks with *u•)x•as*.²⁸ In summary, among those that can be identified, the figures at Kucha are mostly the Buddha's chief disciples and occasionally the Buddha-to-be. While at Turfan, they usually represent the Buddha-to-be. However the question remains, why do these individuals appear with the *u•)x•a*? In addition, why does only one episode of the fifteen *prāṇidhāna* paintings show this iconography? My research suggests that the reasons for this type of depiction can be found in the doctrinal meaning of the *mah puru•a lak•aṇa*.

U•)x•a: The meaning in doctrine and paintings

There are two aspects of the notion of the *mah puru•a lak•aṇa*. First, the *lak•aṇa* are caused by good deeds, especially worshiping the Buddhas in one's previous incarnations. The second aspect is that they are a sign of the promise of future Buddhahood.

²⁷ Cave 31 is Cave 19 in Grünwedel's numbering system.

²⁸ In addition, by recognizing the characteristics of the iconography of the monks with *u•)x•as*, we can identify more of such depiction, even in sculptures, such as a head of a monk excavated from a temple site at Yanqi (Fig. 10). See Huang Wenbi, *Xinjiang kaogu fajue baogao (1957-1958) (Report of the Archaeological Excavations at Xinjiang 1957-1958)* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1983: 39). Same as in the paintings, the *u•)x•a* on this sculpture is raised smooth and low, and the hairline recedes in notable angles. Another almost identical example is found in the ruins of Temple N at Tumshuq, now in the Musée Guimet (Giès, Jacques and Monique Cohen, *Sérinde, Terre de Bouddha – Dix siècles d'art sur la Route de la Soie* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1995: 119, fig. 69.). Tumshuq is at the west end and Yanqi is at the east end of the Northern Route. The Northern Route is known dominated by a Hxnay na school: Sarv stiv da. It seems that the iconography of non-Buddha figures bearing the *u•)x•a* present along the Northern Route.

In the Brahmanic tradition, whoever is born with the *mah puruṇa* marks will become either a *cakravartin* (wheel-turning king) or a Buddha. Over a hundred *sūtras* have listed the thirty-two *lakṣaṇas* and about half of them further explain the causes of the *mah puruṇa* marks.²⁹ These textual sources basically all agree that each of the thirty-two auspicious body marks are the result of a particular type of good deed performed in a previous life. Most of the good deeds are performed within the context of lay practice. For example the Pāli text the *Dṅgha Nikāya*, records that the *uṇṣa* is achieved by making donations, supporting parents, and friends and by making offerings to Buddhists and Brahmins.³⁰ In the *Lalitavistara*, a Sarvaśāstrin biography of the Buddha, the *uṇṣa* is caused by staying away from wrong speech; always praising *śrī* *vakas*, *pratyekas*, Bodhisattvas, Tathāgatas and all other Dharma masters; holding on to the Buddha's teachings, reciting and copying the *sūtras*, explaining them to other people; and practicing according to the Dharma.³¹

The identity of the figures with *uṇṣas* can be divided into two groups: | kyamuni's disciples and Buddhas-to-be, both of which can be analyzed according to the two aspects of the notion of the *mah puruṇa lakṣaṇa* discussed above.

| kyamuni's Disciples:

When non-Buddha figures with the *uṇṣa* are shown accompanying | kyamuni, they are most likely to be his chief disciples except in the *avadana* depictions on the ceiling.³² Some of these figures have been identified, such as Purna Maitrayaniputra at Kizil.

²⁹ Okada Yukihiro, "Sanjō ni dainin sō no keitō (The Systems of the Thirty-two *mah puruṇa lakṣaṇas*)," Part I and II, *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* (no. 38, (1989.1: 303-307); no.40, (1991.1: 12-16).

³⁰ *Lakkhaṇasuttanta* in T. W. Rhys Davids trans., *Dṅghanikāya III* (London: Pali Text Society, 1967: 145-179). Similar passage is also seen in the *Yōupoyi jingxing famen jing* (優婆夷淨行法門經), "身口意業布施持戒。月修六齋。供養父母沙門婆羅門親友眷屬耆舊宿德。復有善行不可稱計。以此行故。積聚無量常受天樂。乃至一生補處。下生人間得二大人相。一者頂有肉髻。二者頭髮紺青。" *Taishō* 14:579.958bc.

³¹ "於長夜遠離一切語過。恒常讚歎聲聞辟支菩薩如來及諸法師。受持讀誦書寫經典。為人解說如法修行故。名肉髻無能見頂。" *Taishō* 3:187. 610b.

³² Usually the figures that accompany | kyamuni teaching form his assembly. However, in the Kizil *avadana* depiction on the ceilings the figures are characters in stories. They are from the distant past and not the audience in the same time frame with the Buddha.

In the *Buddha p(rovacary saṅgraha s(tra*, Purna Maitr yaniputra is said to have seen all the past Buddhas and established good karma by making offerings to them, which clarifies why he is born with the thirty-two marks.³³ Besides Maitr yaniputra, a variety of texts identify other Buddha's disciples that also possess the *mah puru•a lak•a)ḥ*, including Nanda,³⁴ Aniruddha,³⁵ and K ty yana.³⁶ They all possess the *lak•a)ḥ* by virtue of the good deeds they performed in their previous lives. The attendants of the Buddha in the Kizil paintings could therefore be depictions of Nanda, Aniruddha, and/or K ty yana. Regardless of their identity, the reasons for the monks acquiring the marks are related to their good deeds. The idea of merit-making leading to a future enlightenment is enhanced in the depictions of the next category, the Buddha-to-be.

The Buddha-to-be:

At Kizil, a monk-like figure with the *u•)x•a* appears as the Buddha-to-be in the *avad na* stories depicted on the ceiling. In the story of Boseqi and the Buddha Fu•ya, the *S(tra of the Wise and the Foolish* in particular claimed that it is from the merit of making images of Buddha *Fu•ya (Chinese: Fusha) that King Boseqi will be reborn with the thirty-two marks and eighty minor marks and will eventually become a Buddha.³⁷ In the story of the oil-lamp offering, the *Divy vad na* is more likely to have been circulated at Kucha, not the *S(tra of the Wise and the Foolish*.³⁸ According to the *Divy vad na*, the monk-like figure in the painting would then probably represent the poor woman as a future Buddha since that was the vow she had made and that was also what the Buddha had predicted her to become. This accomplishment would be made possible all by the virtue of her merit that was gained from the offer of the lamp oil.

Most of the identified monk images with the *u•)x•a* representing the Buddha-to-be are from the Turfan area. Making offerings to the Buddhas, gaining merit, and

³³ “往昔已曾見諸佛來。彼諸佛邊。種諸善根。” *Taish* ↓ 3:190.824a

³⁴ For the literary review on the appearance of Nanda, see Zin, “The U•)x•a as a Physical Characteristic,” pp.113-114; and *Correspondence*, *Taish* ↓ 45:1856.127b.

³⁵ *Correspondence*, *Taish* ↓ 45:1856.127b.

³⁶ *Buddha P(rovacary Saṅgraha S(tra*, *Taish* ↓ 3:190.825a.

³⁷ “▪是功德,.....所受生處,端正殊妙,三十二相,八十種好; ▪是功德,自致成佛。” *Taish* ↓ 4:202.369a.

³⁸ The *Divy vad na* belongs to the Sarv stiv da, a school that dominated at Kucha and the Northern Route for most of its Buddhist history.

receiving the prediction of Buddhahood are all essential to the theme of the vow paintings. Such actions also constitute part of the Bodhisattva's path and are accepted in Mahāyāna beliefs. The inscription on the "vow" paintings at Bezeklik came out of the *Māṅśarv stiv da Bhairavavastu*. This *vinaya* and some other texts of the *Māṅśarv stiv da* school claim that it takes three-*asaṅkhyā*³⁹ to gain enough merit for acquiring the *mahā puruṣa lakṣaṇa*.⁴⁰ The direct relationship between making offerings to the past Buddhas for three *asaṅkhyā*s and the *lakṣaṇa* is also recorded in the *Mahā prajñāpāramitopadeśa* (Da zhi du lun) written by Nāgārjuna:⁴¹

...If (he can make offering to the past Buddhas) for three *asaṅkhyā*s, [then] at that time, the Bodhisattva [refers to | kyamuni] will gain the karmic causation of the thirty-two marks.

In the story of Uttara and the Buddha Kāśyapa at Bezeklik, the *Māṅśarv stiv da Bhairavavastu* text explains that Kāśyapa is the last Buddha of the third *asaṅkhyā* and that this episode marks the end of | kyamuni's three-*asaṅkhyā*-long effort.⁴² The inscription of this scene on the painting bears an additional line clearly declaring, "The third *asaṅkhyā* is at an end." Therefore, only in the depiction of this episode, Uttara appears with the *lakṣaṇa*.

The inscriptions on the ceiling *prāṇidhāna* paintings from Bezeklik Cave 16 have the same theme: that making offerings to Buddha | ikhin will gain one a promise of future Buddhahood. Presumably, the more than forty similar *prāṇidhāna* paintings on the ceiling vault are of the same theme but make offerings to different Buddhas of the past.

Mahā puruṣa lakṣaṇa: The history and the association with Sarv stiv da

³⁹ An *asaṅkhyā/asaṅkheyya* (Pali *asaṅkeyya*), 'an incalculable,' is used both for one of the four periods making up a *kalpa*, and a large number of *kalpas*. The *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (III.93d-94a) explains that it takes a bodhisattva three *asaṅkheyyas* to become a perfect Buddha, and that each of these consists of one thousand million million *kalpas*.

⁴⁰ The *Abhidharma mahāvibhāṅga* [Sūtra], Taishō 27:1545.891b-892c, the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, Taishō 29:1558.29a, the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, Taishō 29:1559.249bc, and the *Abhidharma Nyāyānusāra*, Taishō 29:1562.591a.

⁴¹ "...若過三阿僧祇劫。是時菩薩種三十二相業因。" Taishō 25:1509.87a.

⁴² Taishō 24:1448.74c-75a.

Although the images of non-Buddha figures bearing the *u•)x•as* find support in Buddhist doctrines, such depictions are absent or rare in East Asia, which predominately follows Mahāyāna, and South India and Southeast Asia, where, mostly, the Theravada tradition is followed.⁴³ So what could possibly be the common link in the Buddhist practice among these limited regions, especially between Kizil and Bezeklik, where this iconography frequently appears? And also, is there any additional significance of possessing the *mah puru•a lak•a* to the Buddhist followers of these areas that is missing in the Mahāyāna and Theravada traditions?

The relation between Buddhist sites in Kucha and Turfan and Sarv stiv da

In terms of Buddhist practice, scholars have generally accepted that Buddhist sites along the northern route of the Silk Road, especially Kucha, belong to the Sarv stiv din sect.⁴⁴ The Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang observed that the Sarv stiv din school was the dominant school at Kucha in the seventh century.⁴⁵ Various Sarv stiv din texts excavated in Central Asia also prove that this particular Hxnay na school was active in this region.⁴⁶ A major corpse of these manuscripts was, actually, yielded from a Kizil cave, the “Red Dome Cave” (Cave 66 and 67).⁴⁷ Although, the Dharmaguptaka school and Mahāyāna Buddhism were also present at Kucha (the former was more active in the early phase and the latter mainly in the late period after the eighth century), these different traditions in Buddhism used different scripts. Dharmaguptakas used Kharo•ḥx script with the Gandhārī language, Sarv stiv dins used various types of Brhm̐x with the Sanskrit and Tocharian language, and Mahāyānist

⁴³ Zin, “The U•)x•a as a Physical Characteristic,” pp. 107-130.

⁴⁴ The original non-Kharo•ḥx Sarv stiv dins renamed themselves as Māsarv stiv da and became popular after the seventh century. The two terms will not be distinguished in this paper.

⁴⁵ Xuanzang, *Datang xiyu ji*, translated by Samuel Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World* (London: Kegan Paul, et.al. 1875, Rpt NY, 1968: 18).

⁴⁶ Lore Sander, “The Earliest manuscripts from Central Asia and the Sarv stiv da Mission,” in Ronald E. Emmerick and Dieter Weber eds., *Corolla Iranica: Papers in Honour of Professor Dr. David Neil Mackenzie on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday on April 8th, 1991* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1991: 133-150); Charles Willemen & Bart Dessein, *Sarv stiv da Buddhist Scholasticism* (New York: Brill, 1998: 126), ft. 464.

⁴⁷ Albert von Le Coq, *Buried Treasures of Chinese Turkestan: An Account of the Activities and Adventures of the Second and Third German Turfan Expeditions* trans. By Anna Barwell (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.[1926]1928), 25, 126, Ernst Waldschmidt, *Gandhara/Kutscha/Turfan: Eine Einführung in die frühmittelalterliche Kunst Zentralasiens* (Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1925), 108-9; Dieter Schlingloff, *Ein Buddhistisches Yogalehrbuch* (Berlin: Akademie-verlage, 1964: 10-12).

used Chinese. Different types of scripts are all found at Buddhist sites and with different type of caves or different subjects of the paintings. The inscriptions inscribed in the central-pillar caves with the iconographic plan in which images of the monks with *u•)x•as* occur are in the Br hm× script, the same to the Sarv stiv din manuscripts excavated from the Red Dome Cave at Kizil. Therefore, the central-pillar caves with the aforementioned iconographic program at Kucha are probably associated with the Sarv stiv din communities, even if some small communities of other Buddhist traditions, e.g. Dharmaguptaka and Mahāyāna, may have also been present at Kucha.⁴⁸

Regarding the *prañidhāna* paintings in Turfan, as mentioned above, they are inscribed with a Mūlasarvāstivādin *vinaya* text. Mūlasarvāstivāda is a Hīnayāna school, and is generally considered to be a sub-sect of the Sarvāstivāda school or an old branch of the Sthaviravādin. The Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda are closely intertwined on doctrinal matters. The relationship of the two and whether or not they are in fact the same school are hotly debated among scholars, which I shall not discuss further here. As observed by Bart Dessein, the name Mūlasarvāstivāda actually did not appear anywhere before the seventh century. Even in the first half of the seventh century, the Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang (600-664), in the record of his travels in India, only mentioned Sarvāstivāda, not Mūlasarvāstivāda. It was fifty years later when Yijing (635-713), who also traveled in India, mentioned Mūlasarvāstivāda for the first time.⁴⁹ It is remarkable that Mūlasarvāstivāda only appears to be a *vinaya* school.⁵⁰ The Mūlasarvāstivādin *vinayas* differ from those of the Sarvāstivāda mainly at the inclusion of the *jātaka* and *avadāna*.⁵¹ Although the Mūlasarvāstivādin *vinayapiṭaka* is old, the legends in them are elaborate and might have been

⁴⁸ Some scholars speculate that small Dharmaguptaka communities on the Northern Silk Route followed the general trend of Sanskritization and acceptance of Br hm× as the sacred script under the influence of the Sarv stiv dins. Oskar von Hin ber, "Sanskrit und G ndh ri in Zentralasien," *Sprachen des Buddhismus in Zentralasien*, Vorträge des Hamburger Symposiums vom 2. Juli bis 5. Juli 1981, ed. Klaus Röhrborn und Wolfgang Veenker, *Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica*, ed. Annemarie von Gabain and Wolfgang Veenker, Vol. 16 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrossowitz, 1983: 27-34).

⁴⁹ Charles Willemen and Bart Dessein, *Sarvāstivāda Buddhist Scholasticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1998: 85).

⁵⁰ Charles Willemen et. al., *Buddhist Scholasticism*, 125.

⁵¹ Erich Frauwallner, *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature*. Translated from the German by L. Petech (Rome: Is. M. E. O. 1956: 25-26); Charles Willemen et. al., *Sarvāstivāda Buddhist Scholasticism*, 88-89.

inserted later.⁵² No extant manuscripts of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *vinayas* can be dated before the seventh century. Those in the Chinese and Tibetan canon were all translated in eighth and ninth centuries. Many manuscripts of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *vinayas* in Sanskrit were found at Gilgit and they cannot be dated earlier than the seventh century. It is possible that the section relating to *prañidhāna* paintings was inserted into Mūlasarvāstivādin *vinayas* at a later time after the text was first compiled, something shared in common between the fifth-eighth centuries Sarvāstivāda school in Kucha and the Mūlasarvāstivādin *vinaya* texts in the versions can be dated to the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries.

The composition and format of these Turfan *prañidhāna* paintings resemble the Buddha's assemblies depicted at Kizil. Scholars have therefore suggested that Kizil might have influenced Bezeklik.⁵³ Both the ceiling *prañidhāna* paintings and the *parinirvāṇa* scenes at Bezeklik are new themes that appeared during the third phase (middle tenth–middle eleventh centuries). This was the period when the Gaochang Kingdom was most prosperous and occupied the Kucha region. In addition, the layout of the forty-eight *prañidhāna* paintings on the ceiling visually resembles the *avadānas* at Kucha. Depicting the *parinirvāṇa* at the back of the cave is also a convention in Kucha. Therefore, the appearance of the two themes at Bezeklik has also been speculated as an influence from Kucha.⁵⁴ The forms of Buddhism practiced at Bezeklik display influences that come from both east and west. It is possible that ideas and texts associated with the Sarvāstivādin school, as well as iconographies related to the Kucha cave paintings reached here as well.

Sarvāstivāda and the *mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa*

The Sarvāstivādins played an important role in the development of the *mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa* concept. They further created new theories on the Buddha's auspicious body marks. As I will discuss below, their keen interest in the *mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa* is also evident in their meditation practice and literature.

⁵² Erich Frauwallner, *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature*, 25-26; Satoshi Hiraoka, "The Relation between the *Divyānandā* and the Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 26 (1998: 419-434).

⁵³ Meng Fanren, "Xinjiang Bezeklik kusi liushi yuwai bihua xulue," pp. 59-60; Denise P. Leidy, "Bezeklik Temple 20 and Early Esoteric Buddhism," *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 7 (2001: 201-223).

⁵⁴ Jia Yingyi, "Bezeklik shiku chutan," *Xinjiang shiku--Turfan Bezeklik shiku*.

The concept of the *mah puru•a lak•a* was rooted in the Brahmanical tradition and later adopted into Buddhism.⁵⁵ The *mah puru•a lak•a* are listed in early Pāli scriptures and most works of Northern Buddhism. These appear most prominently in the narrative of the life of the Buddha. In the *Dṅghanik ya*,⁵⁶ *Majjhimanik ya*,⁵⁷ and *Mah vastu*,⁵⁸ the word “*u•)x•a*” originally refers to the “turban like head” and was not understood as a protuberance of the skull or flesh as in the later Buddhist texts.⁵⁹ In Buddhist art, the protrusion on the top of the head on early Buddha images merely resembles a natural bump of hair.⁶⁰

In his study of the evolution of the theory on the Buddha’s bodies, Guang Xing points out that the Sarv stiv dīns synthesized the attributes and qualities of the Buddha as described in the early *s(tra*.⁶¹ The Sarv stiv dīns brought about a tri-fold system to define the *mah puru•a lak•a*, and further developed new schemes explaining how the thirty-two marks take shape.

Even though all Buddhist schools accept the idea of the Buddha possessing the thirty-two marks, it is in the *Abhidharma* texts of the Sarv stiv dīn school that we find the most sophisticated analysis of the *mah puru•a lak•a*. Each *lak•a* is said to have three aspects: *lak•a*-body (*xiangti*), *lak•a*-karma (*xiangye*), and *lak•a*-fruit (*xiangguo*). For example, the *u•)i•a*, as recorded in the *Da•bh(mikavibh • s(tra*, is the bodily protuberance on top of the head that represents the *lak•a*-body of the *u•)i•a*. Donating a garden, fruits, bridge, trees, ponds, wells, food, flowers, incense jewels or houses denote the *lak•a*-karma. In addition, building a *st(pa*, and being able to offer more in collected donation also fall under this

⁵⁵ A. K. Coomaraswamy, “The Buddha’s Hair and U•)x•a and Crown,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain (and Ireland)* (1928: 815-840).

⁵⁶ Davids, *Dṅghanik ya*, *Mah pad na Suttanta* II, p.19; III, pp.1, 145; IV, pp.137-139.

⁵⁷ Lord Chalmers trans., *Majjhimanik ya Braham ya Sutta* II, 137 (London: Oxford University Press, 1927: 72-73).

⁵⁸ J. Jones trans., *The Mah vastu* II 30 (London: Luzac, 1952: 26).

⁵⁹ A. K. Coomaraswamy, “The Buddha’s Hair and U•)x•a and Crown,” pp.815-840; J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The Scythian Period* (Leiden: Brill, 1949), pp.163, 165; Y. Krishan, “The Hair on the Buddha’s Head and U•)x•a,” *East and West* 16 (1966. 3-4: 275-289).

⁶⁰ E.g. Krishna pointed out the Gandhāran Buddha image’s *u•)x•a* looks just a hair bun, “The Hair on the Buddha’s Head and U•)x•a,” pp.275-289.

⁶¹ Guang Xing, *The Evolution of the Concept of the Buddha from Early Buddhism to the Formulation of the Trik ya Theory*, University of London, Ph.D. dissertation, 2002: 30-50).

category. Finally, being honorable and free signifies the *lak•a* 𑖀a-fruit. The *lak•a* 𑖀a-karma is the cause of the *lak•a* 𑖀a-body while the *lak•a* 𑖀a-fruit is the result.⁶²

According to the Sarv stiv din text, the *Abhidharmamah vibh • 𑖀astra*,⁶³ the group also was very concerned over how to obtain the thirty-two body marks. They developed complicated theories that added to earlier beliefs in which the *mah puru•a lak•a* 𑖀a were only obtainable through accumulating merits in past lives. For the Sarv stiv dins, the *mah puru•a lak•a* 𑖀a became acquirable by one's will or thought. The body marks are initiated either by "one thought" or "thirty-two thoughts" in accordance with the different opinions among the Sarv stiv dins. According to one opinion, "the *mah puru•a lak•a* 𑖀a is initiated by one thought and is later consummated by multi-thoughts." According to a different opinion, "the thirty-two thoughts lead to the thirty-two marks [respectively]; while each mark has to be completed by various *karmas*."⁶⁴ The full discussion of these theories was not available in Chinese until the seventh century when Xuanzang translated the *s(tra) Abhidharmamah vibh •* for the third time in much greater length. However, N g rjuna mentioned these ideas in the *Mah -praj p ramitode 𑖀a*, which was brought to China in the early fifth century. "The thirty-two thoughts generate the thirty-two *lak•a* 𑖀as; each thought generates each *lak•a* 𑖀a."⁶⁵ It must have been confusing to the Chinese Buddhist community at that time. In Huiyuan's letters to Kum rajxva, one of the questions is asking about the "thirty-two thoughts." Kum rajxva, thereupon, elucidated that this theory was created by K ty yana and his followers, not the Buddha.⁶⁶ K ty yana was a Sarv stiv din theorist.⁶⁷

In addition to the metaphysical approach, the concept of the Buddha's body marks also became significant in the meditation practice of Sarv stiv dins. In addition to the biographies of the Buddha, the meditation manuals on how to visualize the Buddha are another place that provide rich descriptions of the *mah puru•a lak•a* 𑖀a. According to Yamata Meiji's study, the idea of the Buddha's

⁶² *Taish* 26:1521. 64c-65c.

⁶³ *Taish* 27:1545.887c-888a.

⁶⁴ "以一思牽引， 後以多思圓滿" "三十二思引三十二大丈夫相， 一一復以多業圓滿。" *Taish* 27:1545.887c.

⁶⁵ "三十二思種三十二相， 一一思種一一相。" *Taish* 25:1509.87b.

⁶⁶ *Taish* 45:1856.127b.

⁶⁷ Lai Penjeu, *Silu fojiao de tuxiang yu chanfa* (The Buddhist Images and Meditation Methods on the Silk Road) (Xinzhu: Yuanguang foxue yanjiusuo, 2002: 17-18).

thirty-two body marks did not become important until the early Mahāyāna movement and image-making first began, which are shown in the development of the Buddhist meditation practice of *buddh nūsmāti*.⁶⁸ *Buddh nūsmāti*, which means “calling the Buddha to mind,” has been a form of Buddhist practice since the earliest times. However, in Pāli texts the practice of *buddh nūsmāti* only refers to reciting the formula of the “ten epithets” (*adhivācana*) of the Buddha. Moreover, it is only one of a sequence of *anusmāti*s (“calling to mind”), including the *anusmāti* of the Dharma (Law), the *saṅgha* (community), and the *devatā* (divinities).⁶⁹ A new form of *buddh nūsmāti* practice involving visualization of the physical body of the Buddha through the thirty-two *mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇas* came to be popular at least by the second century CE.⁷⁰ By this time, *buddh nūsmāti* had become an independent and essential form of Buddhist meditation. Seeing the Buddha with one’s very eyes is equivalent to hearing the Dharma preached by the Buddhas and understanding the nature of Buddha. It can eliminate one’s bad karma, and eventually lead one to awakening.⁷¹ Practitioners were encouraged to use images as aids for visualization and even as objects for contemplation.

This new form of *buddh nūsmāti* involving envisioning the Buddha’s body is strongly associated with Mahāyāna practice.⁷² The best-known example of *buddh nūsmāti* is the visualization of Amitāyus. However, as demonstrated in Hīnayāna texts such as the *Ekottara gāma* and the *Mahāvastu*, *buddh nūsmāti* in some of the late Hīnayāna schools also involved envisioning the Buddha’s body.⁷³ Most importantly, it is one part of a series of meditation exercises preserved in a meditation manual found at Kizil in the third German “Turfan”

⁶⁸ Yamada Meiji. “Kanbutsu sanmai to sanjōni sō: Daijō jissendō seiritsu no shōhen,” *Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* (no.24, (1967: 27-48).

⁶⁹ Paul M. Harrison, “Commemoration and Identification in *Buddh nūsmāti*,” in *Mirror of Memory – Reflections on Mindfulness and Remembrance in Indian and Tibetan Buddhism*, ed. Janet Gyatso, (New York: State University of New York Press, 1992: 215-238).

⁷⁰ The existence of this type of *buddh nūsmāti* is attested in *sūtras* such as the *Pratyutpanna Samādhi Sūtra* (T417, Vol. 15), which was translated into Chinese by Lokakṣema in 179 CE.

⁷¹ Paul M. Harrison, “Commemoration and Identification in *Buddh nūsmāti*,” 220-225.

⁷² Paul M. Harrison, “*Buddh nūsmāti* in the *pratyutpanna-Buddha-saṅgā mukh vasthita-samādhi-sūtra*,” *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 6 (1978: 35-57).

⁷³ *Ekottara gāma* III, (Taishō 2:125.557ab); J. J. Jones trans. *The Mahāvastu* (London: Pali Text Society, 1949: 426).

expedition.⁷⁴ The manuscript was written in Central Asian Br hm× on birch barks. The *buddh nusm ♦ti* is listed on top of a group of five *anusm ♦ti* contemplations. Both the “ten epithets” and the Buddha’s body are included in the practice. In the extant fragments of the text, the *mah puru •a lak •a)a* occurs a number of times. To envision the Buddha, the practitioner visualizes the *lak •a)a* come forth from the pores of the Buddhas in three places.⁷⁵ In three separate instances in this manuscript, the practitioner is even instructed to envision the Buddha’s *lak •a)as* appearing on his own body.⁷⁶

In addition to Sarv stiv din’s theoretical study and their meditations, their literature also provides more details regarding to the *mah puru •a lak •a)a*, such as who obtained these body marks. The following are two examples comparing different texts when they describe the same episode associated with the *mah puru •a lak •a)a*.

From the *M(lasav stiv da Vinayak •udradavastu*, a *vinaya* text of the *M(lasav stiv din* school, and the *Mah pariniro)as(tra* in the Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese versions, there is an interesting vignette. It states that on his deathbed, right before he entered his *nirv)a*, | kyamuni took off his garment, revealing his body marks to his disciples and asked them to look carefully.⁷⁷ However this version does not appear in the P li edition of the *Dxghanik ya*.⁷⁸ Apparently, the *mah puru •a lak •a)a* was not significant enough to the Buddhists of the P li canon and they did not see it as the Buddha’s last teaching.

According to Zin’s study, it is also the Sarv stiv din texts that say more about the *mah puru •a lak •a)a* on Nanda and Devadatta than the P li texts.⁷⁹ For example, in one episode, the P li text the *Suttavibha=ga* (V.92.1) says that Nanda

⁷⁴ D. Schlingloff, “Die Birkenrinderhandschriften der Berliner Turfansammlung,” *MIO*, 4 (1956: 127); D. Schlingloff, “Yogavidhi,” *Indo-Iranian Journal* 7(1964: 146-155); D. Schlingloff, *Ein Buddhistisches Yogalehrbuch*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964.

⁷⁵ Schlingloff, *Ein Buddhistisches Yogalehrbuch*, pp.101 (133R2), 109 (136R1), and 120 (140V6).

⁷⁶ Schlingloff, *Ein Buddhistisches Yogalehrbuch*, pp.92 (130 R6), 142 (150R3), and 172 (163V2).

⁷⁷ “遂去上衣現其身相。告諸苾芻汝等今者可觀佛身。汝等今者可觀佛身。何以故。如來應正等覺。難可逢遇如鳥雲跋羅華。” *Taish / 24*: 1451.399a.

⁷⁸ E. Waldschmidt, ed. *Das Mah pariniro)as(tra*, (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag 1951: 358-359, 360-361, 410-411). For the literary review of the description of this detail in the *Mah pariniro)as(tra*, see G. Roth, “The Physical Presence of the Buddha and its Representation in Buddhist Literature,” in *Investigating Indian Art*, edited by Marianne Yaldiz, Wibke Lobo (Berlin: Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 1987: 291-312).

⁷⁹ Zin, “The U•)x•a as a Physical Characteristic,” pp. 113, 114.

resembled | kyamuni so much that other monks often mistook him for the Buddha. A fragment of the *Vinayabibhaṅga*, a *vinaya* of the Sarv stiv din school, found in the Kizil region and written in the local language, further adds that Nanda had no less than thirty body marks on his body.⁸⁰

The *mah puru•a lak•a* in Mah y na

The above demonstrates how the notion of *mah puru•a lak•a* became more significant in the Sarv stiv din school than in the P li tradition. Later on in the Mah y na context, new philosophies were developed regarding the Buddha's bodies and Buddhist meditation practices changed, therefore the significance of the *mah puru•a lak•a* appears to have faded away.

I. *Mah puru•a lak•a* in Mah y na Theory

Guang Xing proposes that it is the Sarv stiv dins who first stabilized a twofold body theory of the Buddha.⁸¹ In any case, both the Sarv stiv din texts and the early Mah y na *s'tras*⁸² advocate that the Buddha has two bodies, the *dharmak ya* (Dharma-body) and the *r(pak ya* (Physical-body). The *r(pak ya* is the Buddha as a human being with physical form. The *dharmak ya* is the Buddha as seen through the Buddha's Dharma nature. The Dharma refers to the Buddhist teachings. It is the absolute "essence" and the eternal "law" of everything. The *dharmak ya* cannot be seen by the naked eye. Most of the *s'tras* mentioned in this paper use the two-body system. In this system, the Buddha's *lak•as* are on his form body.

⁸⁰Rudolf Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature Found in Eastern Turkestan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916), pp.367-369; Zin, "The U•x•a as a Physical Characteristic," ft. 14.

⁸¹ Guang Xing, *The Evolution of the Concept of the Buddha from Early Buddhism to the Formulation of the Trik ya Theory*, p.30.

⁸² Nagao Gadjin, "On the Theory of Buddha-Body (Buddha-k ya)," *The Eastern Buddhist* vol. VI, 1 (May 1973: 25-53).

However, in general, Mahāyāna holds to the *trikāya* (three-body) system. In short, *dharmakāya* becomes the essential core, | kyamuni who once lived in this world is merely a manifestation of the *dharmakāya* called the *nirmāṇakāya*. The additional body is the *sambhoga* *kāya* (reward-body) and it is not in the *saṣara* (transmigration) world. It is only visible in certain stages of meditation or dreams, such as the Buddha Amitāyabha who appears in the *sambhoga* *kāya* form. In the *trikāya* system, the *mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa* is attributed to the *sambhoga* *kāya*.⁸³ Therefore, under this categorization, the Buddha's body marks become totally invisible to humans.

In addition, the concept of the *wujiandingxiang*, or the "invisible- $U \bullet \rangle x \bullet a$ " (*anavalokita* *mārdhat*) makes the issue of the $U \bullet \rangle x \bullet a$ even more intricate. The doctrine of the invisible- $U \bullet \rangle x \bullet a$ holds that regardless of the conventions of Buddha image-making, living beings are unable to see the $U \bullet \rangle x \bullet a$ of the Buddha.⁸⁴ In the legend of the Mahābodhi image (one of the first Buddha images), there was an old lady who was the only one who had seen the Buddha in person and was still alive at the time. She came to examine the resemblance of the sculpture and one of her criticisms was addressed to the $U \bullet \rangle x \bullet a$. "The $U \bullet \rangle x \bullet a$ (of the Buddha) was not visible, (but) it is visible (on the image)."⁸⁵ In this story, a lay devotee recognized something that did not belong to the living Buddha which humans are able to see. If the *mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa* is supposed to be on the *sambhoga* *kāya* and the $U \bullet \rangle x \bullet a$ becomes invisible, then an ordinary human would not be seen bearing an $U \bullet \rangle x \bullet a$ on top of the head.

I further suggest that the lack of interest in the $U \bullet \rangle x \bullet a$ among Mahāyānists is also associated with their belief in *śūnyatā*, which emphasizes voidness as the

⁸³ Nagao Gadjin, "On the Theory of Buddha-Body (Buddha-kāya)," p. 34.

⁸⁴ There is no consensus in the Buddhist texts in expounding the relationship between the $U \bullet \rangle x \bullet a$ and the invisible- $U \bullet \rangle x \bullet a$. The two are identical in the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra*, *Taishō* 30:1582.568a. See also the *Pusa di chi jing* (菩薩地持經) "此肉髻相，無見頂相，即是一相." *Taishō* 30:1581.955b-956a. The invisible- $U \bullet \rangle x \bullet a$ is included within the eighty minor marks in some texts such as the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*, *Taishō* 6:220.968c18-19. And, in the *Mahāyānasūgraha*, it is treated as independent of either the major or minor marks; see Nagao Gadjin, *Shōdaijōron: wayaku to chūkai ge* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1987: 336). For a study on the invisible- $U \bullet \rangle x \bullet a$, see Hubert Durt, "Note sur l'origine de l'Anavalokita *mārdhat*," *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū* 16 (1.1929: 443-450); For a brief discussion, see T. Griffith Foulk and Robert H. Sharf, "On the Ritual Use of Ch'an Portraiture in Medieval China," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 7 (1993-1994: 149-219).

⁸⁵ Patna George Roerich tr., *Biography of Dharmasvamin* (K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute Historical Researches Series, vol. II, 1959: 69-70).

ultimate truth. The Buddha's form body or the *lak•a* on the form body is not what Mahāyānists pursue. According to Mahāyānist doctrine, if all phenomena are essentially empty, possessing a protrusion would not be very meaningful. Consequently, it is not surprising that the iconography of monks with the *u•x•as* did not gain much popularity in areas dominated by Mahāyānist thought and therefore becomes almost absent in East Asia.

II. *Mah puru•a lak•a* in Mahāyāna buddh nūsm•ti meditation

Visualization practices, as represented in the visualization on Amitābha Buddha, underwent fundamental changes in fully developed Mahāyāna meditation. The differences between how to meditate on Amitābha, as taught in *The Sūtra on Contemplation of Amitāyus*, and how to meditate on Śākyamuni, as revealed in the Sarvstivādin text, may shed light on the *mah puru•a lak•a* issue under discussion.

In the aforementioned Kizil manuscript, the practitioner envisions his own body radiating with the *mah puru•a lak•a* just like a Buddha (" *ārayo lak•a*) - *nuvya jan vir jita utpadyate*").⁸⁶ Among the three perfections of the Buddha (the Body, Speech and Mind), the *mah puru•a lak•as* signify the perfection of the Buddha's body. These body marks go beyond anthropomorphic limits. They mark the special quality of the Buddha. The meditation of visualizing the Buddha's body and evoking one's own body to possess the same qualities symbolizes a path of achieving salvation by self-effort just like what Śākyamuni did, a method generally attributed to Hīnayāna path--one aims at attaining a perfect body like that of the Buddha, and ultimately the Buddhahood by making one's own effort.

In Buddhist art, the *mah puru•a lak•as* and in particular the *u•x•a*, became a symbol that emphasized the Buddhahood of Śākyamuni, which is considered the highest attainment of all beings.⁸⁷ By possessing *u•x•as*, these figures of monks in the paintings under discussion exemplify a certain ideal for the Hīnayānists. As the Buddha's disciples, they are shown following the Buddha, listening to his preaching, performing miracles (e.g. flying in the sky), and leading the Buddhist

⁸⁶ D. Schlingloff, *Ein Buddhistisches Yogalehrbuch*, pp.92, 123, 172 (lines:130R6, 144R1 and 163V2).

⁸⁷ S. Kramrisch, "Note on U•x•a," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, (1936: 79-83).

community after the Buddha's *nirvāṇa*. As the Buddha-to-be, they are shown as already having reached a certain stage of attainment with the promise of enlightenment.

On the contrary, the most important difference in the typical Mahāyāna *buddhānusmṛti* practice is to place oneself in the Buddha's Pure Land. Salvation in Mahāyāna Buddhism can be achieved through rebirth in one of the Buddha lands. Consequently, the focus of meditation in Mahāyāna practice was shifted from envisioning the Buddha's intricate body to the rich details of the Buddha's land. In his commentary when comparing the difference between the visualization of Amida and Maitreya, the Korean monk Wŏnhyo pointed out that the key point of the Maitreya visualization *sūtra* was not Maitreya, but the visualization of the practitioner amidst all the splendors of Tusita Heaven. The goal of this meditation was to place oneself in the Heaven.⁸⁸ This is even more true in the visualization of Amitayus in the *Sūtra on Visualizing Amitayus*. Among the Sixteen-Visions in the meditation exercises on Amitayus only Vision Nine is about visualizing Amitayus's body. However, it provides no actual details of his body. In Mahāyāna Buddhist art, the interest was consequently switched to depicting the grand paradises of various Buddhas/Bodhisattvas and Bodhisattvas occupying the place immediately besides the Buddha. However, the importance of possessing the *mahāpuruṣa lakṣaṇa* was not completely forgotten. The essential relationship between the *mahāpuruṣa lakṣaṇa* and Buddhahood left a subtle trace in Mahāyāna practice. One of Amitayus' vows is that he will not obtain his own enlightenment until all human beings and gods in his future land have attained the thirty-two marks of a *mahāpuruṣa*.⁸⁹ The first of the twelve vows of Bhaisajyaguru, the medicine Buddha, aims at possessing the thirty-two *mahāpuruṣa lakṣaṇa* and the eighty *anuvyaṇa* and in addition he wishes that all sentient beings are able to possess the same marks.⁹⁰ However, the details discussed above are very minor and they are not the main content of the Mahāyāna *buddhānusmṛti* practice.

⁸⁸ Alan Sponberg, "Wŏnhyo on Maitreya Visualization," *Maitreya, the Future Buddha*, edited by Alan Sponberg and Helen Hardacre (Cambridge: University of Hawaii Press, 1988: 94-109).

⁸⁹ "設我得佛，國中人人，悉成滿三十二大人相者，不取正覺" *Sukhāvataṣṭya Sūtra* (Fo shuo Wuliangshou jing 佛說無量壽經) Taisho 12:360.268b.

⁹⁰ *The Consecration Sūtra* (Fu shuo guanding jing 佛說灌頂經) Taisho 21:1331.532c; "第一大願，願我來世得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提時，自身光明熾然，照曜無量無數無邊世界，以三十二大丈夫相八十

Even though the *mah puruṣa lakṣaṇa* is a very old notion accepted by all Buddhist sectarian groups, it did not come to be important until the phase of the late Hīnayāna and early Mahāyāna. Above all, the Sarvāstivādins of the Hīnayāna showed the most interest in the Buddha's body. They systemized the quality of the Buddha's body, formulized the two-fold *kāya* theory and included envisioning the Buddha's body into their *buddh nūsmṛti* meditation. The issue of the Buddha's body is associated with the questions of what makes the Buddha a Buddha and how one should practice. Both the Buddha's *kāya* theory and the *buddh nūsmṛti* practice were further developed in Mahāyāna. The focus of Mahāyāna was shifted to realize the empty nature of all phenomena. The interest of possessing the *mah puruṣa lakṣaṇa* on one's own body was replaced by the desire to be reborn in the Buddha's Pure Land. The art of the Sarvāstivādins and the Mahāyāna also show a visible difference regarding the depiction of *uṣṇas* on non-Buddha figures. In the Sarvāstivādin related sites, images of monks bearing *uṣṇas* are abundantly present. In contrast, such an iconographic convention is conspicuously missing from the sites of the Pāli and Mahāyāna traditions.

III. In Tantrayāna

If the *mah puruṣa lakṣaṇa* is subject to karmic retribution, then it is simply not obtainable through meditation in this lifetime.⁹¹ Nevertheless, this did not stop later Tantric masters from raising new theories and methods to accomplish the *mah puruṣa lakṣaṇa*. To complete the history of the notion of the Buddha's body mark, I will end with the Tantric method shown in Dīpaṅkarabhadra's *Guhyasam jamaḍalavidhi*. Quoted by Tsong-kha-pa in his *Saṅgs rim chen mo*, "the [sixteen] vowels are the source of the *Lakṣaṇas*; the [thirty-four] consonants radiate the *anuvya janas*."⁹² Each of the sixteen vowels are divided into two parts: *prajā* (wisdom) and *upāya* (means). This makes thirty-two, which is the number of the Buddha's *Lakṣaṇa*. In a typical Tantric manner, the concept of the Buddha's

隨好莊嚴其身，令一切有情如我無異” *Bhaiṣajyaguruvaiśṛtyaprabhāsa* (rva pra)hidh na viṣṇu - vistara (Yaoshi liuliguang tulai benyuan gongde jing 藥師琉璃光如來本願功德經) *Taishō* 14: 450.405a.

⁹¹ Huiyuan, once, raised this puzzle in his letter to Kumārajīva. *Taishō* 42:1856.127a.

⁹² Dīpaṅkarabhadra, *Guhyasam jamaḍalavidhi* (T. 1865), Derge Tanjur, Rgyud, Di, f. 70a-4,5; Translation from Alex Wayman, "Contributions Regarding the Thirty-two Characteristics of the Great Person." *Sino-Indian Studies* 5 (1957: 259).

body marks becomes more complex. The vowels and consonants, *praj a* and *up ya*, and more symbolisms are involved.

Other Regions with Similar Iconography

Within India and nearby regions, the cave site at Ajañē, Maharastra, in particular, has yielded copious images of monks with the *u•)x•a*. In addition, the Gandhara region, in present day Pakistan, is an area where examples of this iconography are occasionally found. Figures possessing the *u•)x•a* at these sites bear the same iconographic features as śākyamuni, but are usually represented smaller in size. This contrasts with the monk images found in the Kucha and Turfan areas, where they appear with a zigzag hairline. Zin, in her study on Ajañē paintings identifies the monks śānanda and Nanda based on the narratives of the “taming the wild elephant,” and the “conversion of Nanda.” These narratives are found mainly in the wall paintings in Ajañē Cave 16 and 17. Since śānanda is śākyamuni’s cousin and Nanda is his half-brother, Zin deduces that the *u•)x•a* is to be understood as indicating membership of the śākyā clan.⁹³

The paintings at Ajañē are considered to be a product of the Vakataka dynasty and a group of later so-called “intrusive” donors. They are generally dated to the late fifth century.⁹⁴ In the inscriptions, the intrusive donors identified themselves as śākyabhikṣus or śākyā-upasakas.⁹⁵ “śākyā” stands for the clan of śākyamuni; the term “Bhikṣus” means monks; while “upasakas” refers to lay devotees. Therefore, the term “śākyabhikṣus” and “śākyā-upasakas” indicate that the monks and laity that belonged to the śākyā clan. The adoption of the epithet “śākyā” and the emergence of śākyabhikṣus as a distinct group seemed to come out of a trend aimed at emphasizing the importance of the śākyā family.⁹⁶ From this perspective, Zin’s conclusion might be true at Ajañē. However, as discussed in this paper, people outside the śākyā clan also possess the *lakṣaṇa*. Moreover, even for members from the śākyā family, there is a karmic reason for why they can possess the *mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa*.

⁹³ Zin, “The *U•)x•a* as a Physical Characteristic,” p.115.

⁹⁴ Walter Spink, “The Archaeology of Ajañē,” *Ars Orientalis*. 21 (1992: 67-94).

⁹⁵ Richard Scott Cohen, *Setting the Three Jewels: the Complex Culture of Buddhism at the Ajañē Caves* (PhD. Dissertation, The University of Michigan, 1995: 192).

⁹⁶ Cohen, *Setting the Three Jewels*, pp.221-245; H. Sarkar, *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture*, (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1966: 107).

Actually, Ajaṃś shows a strong relationship with Sarv stiv da school. In his dissertation, Richard Cohen discussed the donor-ship and the *y nic* nature at the Ajaṃś site. He points out that there was a close association of the | kyabhik•us with the Mḷasarv stiv din school, and the *Mḷasarv stiv da vinaya* played an important role in reconstruction of Buddhism at the site. The narrative paintings of Ajaṃś Cave 16 and 17, where the iconography of the monks with the *u•i•as* is depicted, in particular, indicates a direct connection with the Mḷasarv stiv da *nik ya*.⁹⁷

The title | kyabhik•us is rare in Buddhist literary sources. Yet, four out of five dedications dated to the intrusive period at Ajaṃś employ this term.⁹⁸ A sudden explosion of monks calling themselves | kyabhik•us in central and southern India can be tied to the movement of Buddhist monks of | kya origin from the subcontinent's western and northern borders—in the regions of Sarv stiv da stronghold.⁹⁹

The Sarv stiv da school developed and gained popularity in Kaṣmīr and went to Gandh ra during the Ku• na period.¹⁰⁰ However, in Gandh ra, it was one among a number of Buddhist schools. For instance, just two of the potshards Kharo•ḥx inscriptions found in Gandh ra (first century) were dedicated to Sarv stiv din teachers, in contrast to nine dedicated to Dharmaguptakin and one to Mah×ṣ sakin.¹⁰¹ According to Xuanzang, Sarv stiv da was still only one of the five sects in Gandh ra in the early seventh century.¹⁰² This might explain, at least partially, why images of monk with the *u•i•a* do occasionally occur in Gandh ra. Sites or regions where the iconography of monks bearing the *u•i•as* is found seem to be related to the practice of the Sarv stiv dins.

Concluding Remarks

The question of how to conceive the *mah puru•a lak•a* touches upon the idea of how to perceive the concept of “Buddha” and the Buddha-body. This concept has

⁹⁷ Cohen, *Setting the Three Jewels*, pp.192, 202, 316.

⁹⁸ Cohen, *Setting the Three Jewels*, p.192.

⁹⁹ Cohen, *Setting the Three Jewels*, pp.221-245.

¹⁰⁰ For the history and doctrine of the school, see Willemsen, *Sarv stiv da Buddhist Scholasticism*, (1998).

¹⁰¹ Richard Salomon, *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandh ra – The British Library Kharo•ḥx Fragments* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999: 176).

¹⁰² The other four schools are the Dharmaguptaka, Mah×ṣ saka, K ṣ yapxya, and Mah s ṅghika.

been a fundamental discourse among Buddhist followers and has undergone various developments from school to school. For a time, the *mah puru•a lak•a* seemed to have been especially important to the Sarv stiv dins. Among the thirty-two *lak•a* as, the understanding of the *u•)x•a* in particular, went through a long history of twists and turns among various schools. It transformed from a turbaned head, to a cranial or fleshy bump, and subsequently to the idea of “invisible” protuberance. As discussed in this paper, the *u•)x•a* appeared on many images of monks and became a unique iconography at some Buddhist sites, such as Kizil, Bezeklik and Aja)€ . These locations arose as more or less Sarv stiv din or Mularsarvāstivādin related sites. And Sarv stiv din texts show more interests in Buddha's body marks.

The understanding of the depictions of monks with a cranial protuberance supplement our knowledge of the Buddhist practice at these sites, the development of the *mah puru•a lak•a* concept, and the history of the *buddh nusm♦ti* meditation. In the past, the study of Buddhist art at Kizil, Bezeklik or Aja)€ focused primarily on the Buddha images or the narratives and therefore failed to notice this iconography until recently. The study of this iconography reveals a picture of how the Hxnay nists were arduously striving on a self-powered path (instead of the other-powered liberation in Mah y na) to obtain the qualities like that of the Buddha. In the study of the *mah puru•a lak•a*, some scholars have tended to attribute the full development of the notion of the Buddha's body marks to the early Mah y na movement.¹⁰³ This study shows that the Sarv stiv din school played an important role in the conceptualization of the *mah puru•a lak•a*. Scholarship on the *buddh nusm♦ti* meditation has hitherto focused mainly on the Mah y na phase. By searching and revealing the potential relationship between the *lak•a* and the Sarv stiv din's meditation practice, this study highlights the significance of an alternative facet of the *buddh nusm♦ti* practice within the Hxnay na tradition.

Sarv stiv da was one of the major schools in Buddhism and was influential in large areas of northwest India and parts of Central Asia. There are probably more images of this iconography than what has been identified to date. As a convention of Buddhist image making, it is possible that this iconography also

¹⁰³ For example, Okada Yukihiro, “Sanj\ ni dainin s\ no keit\,” p.15; Yamada Meiji, “Kanbutsu sanmai to sanj\ ni s\ : Daij\ jissend\ seiritsu no sh\hen,” pp.27-48.

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reached East Asia as rare instances in Mahāyāna territory. Further investigation will perhaps allow recognition of more images showing this iconography.

Chinese Characters in the Text:

Boseqi 波塞奇

Da zhi du lun 大智度論

Fo benxing ji jing 佛本行集經

Fusha 弗沙

Gaochang 高昌

Huiyuan 慧遠

Nianfo 念佛

Wujiandingxiang 無見頂相

Xian yu jing 賢愚經

Xiangguo 相果

Xiangti 相體

Xiangye 相業

Xuanzang 玄奘

Figure List:

Fig. 1. *Illustration of the structure of Kizil central pillar cave.*

By John C. Huntington

Fig.2a. *Purna Maitr yaniputra*. ca. sixth century. Kizil Cave 14. Fresco.

From *Zhongguo shiku-- Kizil shiku I*, fig.45.

Fig. 2b. *Purna Maitr yaniputra*. ca. sixth-seventh centuries. Kizil Cave 181. Fresco.

From *Zhongguo meishu fenlei quanji: Zhongguo Xinjiang bihua quanji III · Kizil*, fig.66.

Fig. 2c. *The main niche on the central pillar*. ca. seventh century. Kizil Cave 227.

Fresco. From *The Murals from Xinjiang – The Thousand-Buddha Cave at Kizil* (Beijing: Zhongguo Waiwen Chubanshe, 1981), fig. 191.

Fig. 2d. *The attendants*. ca. seventh century. Kizil Cave 123. Fresco, From *Zhongguo shiku--Kizil shiku II* (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 1996), fig. 157.

Fig. 3a. *The poor woman offering a lamp*. ca. sixth century. Kizil Cave 196. Fresco.

From *Zhongguo shiku-- Kizil shiku III*, fig.102.

Fig. 3b. *Fu •ya painting the Buddha image*. ca. fifth century. Kizil Cave 34. Fresco.

From *Zhongguo meishu fenlei quanji: Zhongguo Xinjiang bihua quanji II · Kizil*, fig.21.

Fig. 3c. *Fu •ya painting the Buddha image*. ca. forth-fifth centuries. Kizil Cave 38.

Fresco. From *Zhongguo shiku-- Kizil shiku III* fig.121.

Fig. 4a. *Mourning figures*. ca. forth-fifth centuries. Kizil Cave 38. Fresco.

From *Zhongguo shiku-- Kizil shiku I* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1989), fig.145.

Fig. 4b. *Cremation*. ca. seventh century. Kizil Cave 224. Fresco.

From *Zhongguo shiku--Kizil shiku III* (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 1997), fig.224.

Fig.4c. *The overview and detail of parinirva*. ca. fifth century. Kizil Cave 161.

Fresco. From *Zhongguo meishu fenlei quanji: Zhongguo Xingjiang bihua quanji II · Kizil*, fig.43, 45.

Fig.4d. *A standing monk with u•)xsa*. ca. fifth century. Kizil Cave 172. Fresco. From *Zhongguo shiku-- Kizil shiku III*, fig.12.

Fig. 5. *The First Council*. ca. seventh century. Kizil Cave 224. Fresco.

From *Zhongguo shiku-- Kizil shiku III*, fig.226.

Fig. 6a. *Monks*. ca. sixth century. Kizil Cave 175. Drawing of fresco.

From Jia Yingyi, *Xinjiang bihua xianmiao jingpin* (Urumuqi: Xinjiang meishu sheying chubanshe, 1993), fig.183, p.131.

Fig. 6b. Monks and Gods. Ca. seventh century. Kizil Cave 175. Fresco.

From *Zhongguo meishu fenlei quanji: Zhongguo Xingjiang bihua quanji II · Kizil*, pl.144

Fig. 6c. *Donors and monks*. Kizil Cave 205. Ca. seventh century, Fresco.

From *Zhongguo meishu fenlei quanji: Zhongguo Xingjiang bihua quanji II · Kizil*, pl. 82.

Fig. 7a. *Uttara and the Buddha Kalyapa*. ca. end ninth –mid tenth centuries. Bezeklik Cave 20. Drawing of fresco. From Meng Fanren ed., *Gaochang bihua jiyi* (Urumuqi: Xinjiang Renmin Chubanshe, 1995), fig.151, p.131.

Fig. 7b. *Uttara and the Buddha Kalyapa*. ca. mid tenth-mid eleventh centuries. Bezeklik Cave 31. Drawing of fresco. From Meng Fanren ed., *Gaochang bihua jiyi*, fig. 205, p.175.

Fig. 8a. *Overview of the ceiling paintings*. ca. mid tenth-mid eleventh centuries. Bezeklik Cave 16. Fresco. From *Zhongguo bigua quanji--Xinjiang VI--Turfan*, fig.73.

Fig. 8b. *Prophecy of Buddha /ikhin*. ca. mid tenth-mid eleventh centuries. Bezeklik Cave 16. Fresco. From Rajeshwari Ghose, *In the Footsteps of the Buddha* (Hong Kong: U Museum And Art Gallery, The U of Hong Kong, 1998), fig.71, p.264.

Fig. 8c. *Preaching Buddha*. ca. ninth-eleventh centuries. Genjin Temple I. Drawing of fresco. From *Gaochang bihua jiyi*, fig. 249, p.209.

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Fig. 9a. *Disciples in parinirvāṇa*. ca. mid tenth-mid eleventh centuries. Bezeklik Cave 33. Fresco. From *Xinjiang shiku---Turfan Bezeklik shiku*, fig. 84.

Fig. 9b. *Disciples in parinirvāṇa*. ca. mid tenth-mid eleventh centuries. Bezeklik Cave 31. Drawing of fresco. From Jorinde Ebert, *Parinirvāṇa*, fig. 37.

Fig. 10. *Head of a monk*. ca. seventh century. Mingwugou nan site at Yanqi. Clay. From Huang Wenbi, *Xinjiang kaogu fajue baogao* (1957-1958), plate xx, no.6.

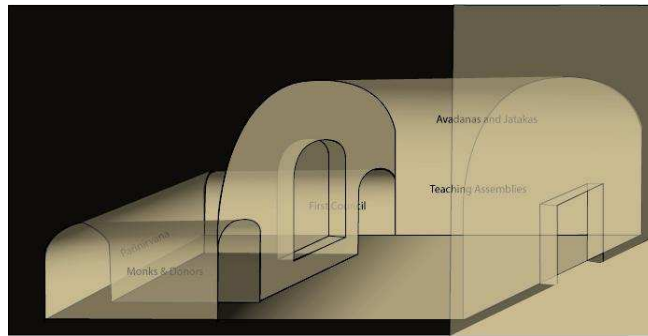


Figure: 1



Figure: 2a



Figure: 2b

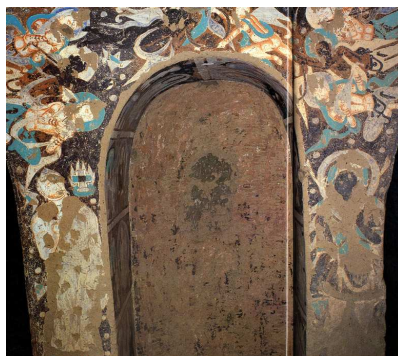


Figure: 2c

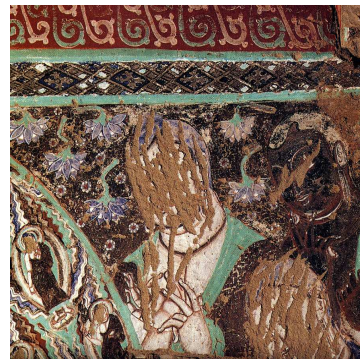


Figure: 2d



Figure: 3a



Figure: 3b



Figure: 3c

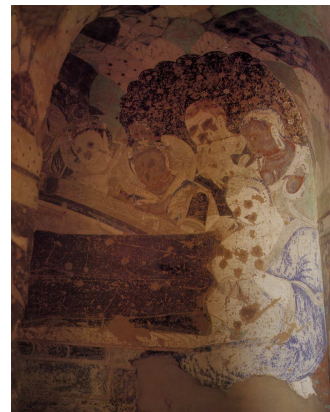


Figure: 4a



Figure: 4b



Figure: 4c

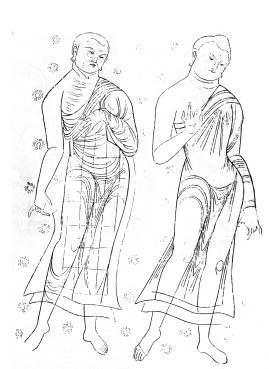
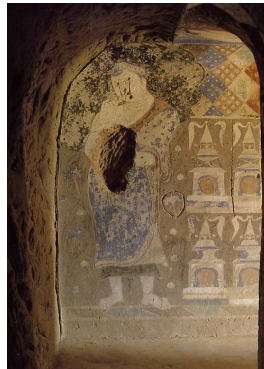


Figure: 4d

Figure: 5

Figure: 6a



Figure: 6b

Figure: 6c



Figure: 7a



Figure: 7b



Figure: 8a



Figure: 8b

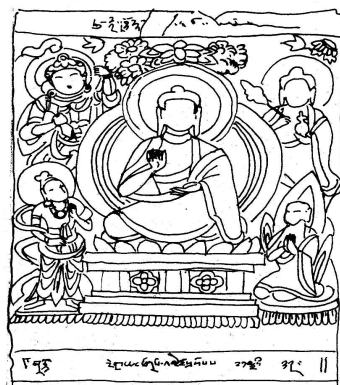


Figure: 8c



Figure: 8d



Figure: 9a

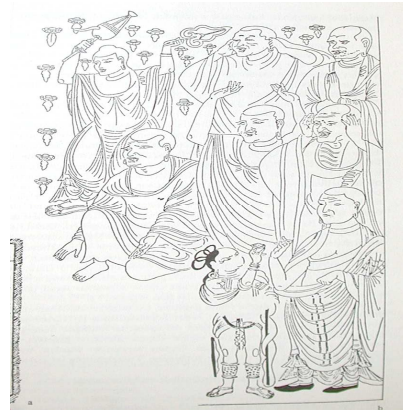


Figure: 9b



Figure: 10