

SILK ROAD ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

9



Monika Zin

The *uṣṇīṣa* as a Physical Characteristic of the Buddha's Relatives and Successors

2003

**Journal of the Institute of Silk Road Studies
The Hirayama Ikuo Silk Road Museum Foundation**

The *uṣṇīṣa* as a Physical Characteristic of the Buddha's Relatives and Successors

In memory of
Prof. Maurizio Taddei
and our last conversation
in which we could not
answer the question why
non-Buddhas have *uṣṇīṣa*

Monika Zin

In this paper I shall discuss the depiction of individuals with characteristics normally reserved for the Buddha. The fact that many images exist which show individuals with a variety of *lakṣaṇas*, and particularly the most recognisable one, the *uṣṇīṣa*, indicates that such representations are not the result of a mistake on the part of the artists, but reflect a widely held belief.

The thirty-two *lakṣaṇas*, the physical attributes by which a person can be recognised as a Great Man (*mahāpuruṣa*), are often listed in the Buddhist literature. The canonical story about how the presence of *lakṣaṇas* made it possible to recognise the two paths the new-born baby might take, either the path of a Buddha or the path of a universal monarch (*cakravartin*), is about a Buddha of a past time named Vipaśyin.¹ The story lists the thirty-two *lakṣaṇas* which any Buddha will have.² The *lakṣaṇas* were held to be a visualisation of the higher moral stature attained during earlier births.³

The conventional forms used to portray the Buddha can be understood as the result of efforts to create the visual counterparts of the attributes ascribed to him in the literature⁴; these attributes were sometimes misunderstood. Not all the *lakṣaṇas* have the same iconographic significance. Some are of lesser importance because they are attributes which ordinary people can have and are not distinctive marks of a Buddha - straight teeth or dark blue (*nīla*) eyes, for example. Others are of lesser importance because they cannot be represented: the forty teeth, each hair on the body having its own pore, genitals covered by a sheath like an elephant's, or a long tongue. This means that of the thirty-two marks only a few are relevant for depictions of the Buddha: the symbols of good fortune on the feet; *jālalakṣaṇa*, which was represented as a web between the fingers; *ūrṇā*, the tuft of wool between the eyebrows; and above all the most visible of the *lakṣaṇas*, the *uṣṇīṣa*.

uṣṇīṣa means 'turban'. The canonical texts only say that the Buddha was born with a *uṣṇīṣasīrṣa*, "turban head".⁵ The attribute *uṣṇīṣa* was represented as hair tied up in a bun, and later, when the head of the Buddha was depicted as covered with small curls of hair, the *uṣṇīṣa* was

shown as a protuberance on the top of his head also covered with rows of curls (KRISHAN 1966, citing sources and referring to earlier research; TADDEI 1996). It became a convention, a cliché, to represent the *uṣṇīṣa* in this way, even though it in no way corresponded to the Buddha's appearance as a shaven-headed monk (TADDEI 1999). In some devotional sculptures the *uṣṇīṣa* was modelled with particular care and there was a hole in it (KLIMBURG-SALTER / TADDEI 1991). In the devotional sculptures and the narrative accounts it is above all the *uṣṇīṣa* which most clearly distinguishes the Buddha from other people and other monks.

Since these are all well-known facts, it is all the more surprising to find that in some depictions other people are also portrayed as having *lakṣaṇas*.

These depictions can be divided into two groups. The one group comprises scenes from the Buddha legend in which the people shown are members of the Śākya family. The other group comprises scenes from the distant past in which the people shown will only attain Buddhahood in the future.⁶

1. Depictions of members of the Buddha's family with the *uṣṇīṣa*

The peculiarity of the narrative depictions in which *dramatis personae* from the Buddha legend are shown as having *lakṣaṇas* can best be seen in the paintings at Ajanta. It can however also be found in paintings in Central Asia and in reliefs from Gandhara, as well as in several works in other regions.

One of the paintings on the veranda of Cave XVII at Ajanta shows the story of the elephant Dhanapāla. The last scene of the surviving pictures, the taming of the elephant which had gone wild (Drawing 1 = fig. 1: for references cf. "List of Drawings and Figures" on the end of this paper), shows the Buddha, distinguished by his nimbus and standing on a lotus flower, with his right hand against the forehead of the elephant. In accordance with the textual accounts, the Buddha is holding a food bowl, since he encountered the elephant as he and the other monks were on their way to eat. The monk accompanying the Buddha can be identified, since the texts (cf. SCHLINGLOFF 2000: No.77) name him and comment on his conduct with a story from an earlier life (*Haṃsajātaka*).

It is the Buddha's servant-monk, his cousin Ānanda, who remained by the Buddha's side despite the danger. In the painting Ānanda is smaller than the Buddha and is standing behind him. He is wearing a monk's robe covering both his shoulders and is holding a food bowl and a rattle-staff, *khakkharaka*, with which monks made a noise as they walked around asking for food (von HINÜBER 1992: 35ff). In this picture, his head is not shaved, but covered in



Drawing 1: detail of the painting in Ajanta, Cave XVII; cf. fig.1

black hair like the Buddha's, and clearly bears the *uṣṇīṣa*.

Another story in which Ananda is depicted in the same manner is recounted in the paintings in Cave XVI at Ajanta. They tell the story of the conversion of the Buddha's half-brother Nanda. The events are depicted here in the sequence recorded in the literature (cf. SCHLINGLOFF 2000:

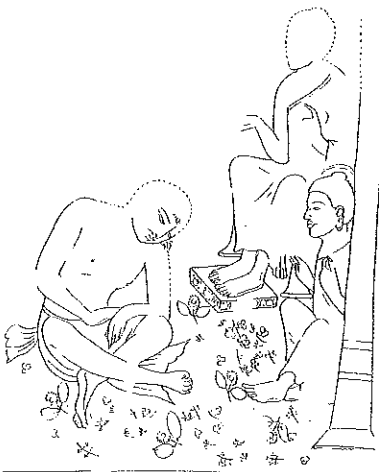


Drawing 2: detail of the painting in Ajanta, Cave XVI



Drawing 3: detail of the painting in Ajanta, Cave XVI; cf. fig.2

No.73): we first find the Buddha and his servant-monk Ānanda standing in front of Nanda's palace (Drawing 2), where they were given no food and are about to move on. The Buddha is a little larger and is in the foreground; Ānanda is standing behind him. They are both wearing a monk's robe and carrying a food bowl. Their heads are depicted in the same manner. Both in this scene and



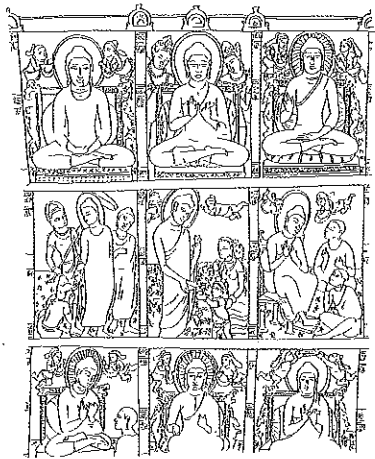
Drawing 4: detail of the painting in Ajanta, Cave XVI; cf. fig.3

the next (Drawing 3 = fig.2), Ānanda also has the *uṣṇīṣa*. Nanda, who has been informed by his servants that they had not given the two monks any food, goes after the Buddha and catches up with him on the road. The Buddha gives him his food bowl to carry. Here too the Buddha's companion, Ānanda, is to be seen behind him, with the *uṣṇīṣa* on his head. We next see the monk Ānanda in the monastery (Drawing 4 = fig.3): Nanda, who has followed the Buddha into the monastery, is being shaved and is preparing himself for the life of a monk. Ānanda is sitting on some steps and watching, the *uṣṇīṣa* on his head can be clearly seen. His head is painted black and covered in small regular bumps, which indicate rows of small curls. The protuberance on the top of his head is also covered by these small bumps. This corresponds exactly to depictions of the head

of the Buddha. The person portrayed here is certainly not the Buddha himself; the proof of that is

the fact that behind and above the monk there is another person, sitting on a chair with a low stool under his feet, who can be definitely identified as the Buddha, even though his head is missing. Ānanda is depicted once again in these paintings: here he is standing beside the Buddha who is talking to Nanda seated on the ground (Drawing 5). In this scene the *uṣṇīṣa* cannot be seen on the head of either the Buddha or Ānanda but on that of Nanda.

The walls of the caitya Cave XIX are painted with rather conventional rows of Buddhas in panels framed by slender pillars. Part of the painting on the left side-wall differs from the rest: here the Buddha is depicted in scenes from the Buddha legend (Drawing 6). Directly to the left of a panel depicting the



Drawing 6: detail of the painting in Ajanta, Cave XIX

Rāhula episode, there is a scene showing the Buddha standing under a ceremonial umbrella held by a richly adorned servant and looking at someone wearing a crown who is cowering on the ground. To the right there is a monk, and on his head the *uṣṇīṣa* can be seen. This scene probably shows the Nanda episode, although the bowl cannot, or can no longer, be seen in Nanda's hands.

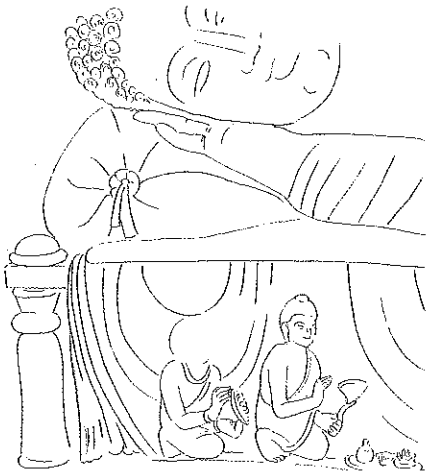
At Ajanta there is another image of monks with the *uṣṇīṣa* on their heads. It is more of an unfinished sketch than a completed painting (Drawing 7). It is on a plastered surface above the famous Mahāparinirvāṇa sculpture in Cave XXVI. The person on the left, next to an unidentified object, is probably the Buddha, since he is larger than the other figures and has the *uṣṇīṣa* on his head. Since he is holding a food bowl in front of his face and since this picture is directly above a sculpture of the Parinirvāṇa scene, one might conclude that the sketch and the sculpture have something to do with each other: according to legend, the Buddha died of food poisoning. To the right of the presumed Buddha, the heads of two monks can be seen, each with an identical small *uṣṇīṣa*. Further evidence that the paintings are about events that have to do with the death of the Buddha is that the monks who figure in the Parinirvāṇa relief beneath the recumbent Buddha also have *uṣṇīṣas* (Drawing 8). The painter probably wanted to show the same individuals in his sketch. There are, as we have seen, several depictions of monks



Drawing 5: detail of the painting in Ajanta, Cave XVI



Drawing 7: detail of the painting in Ajanta, Cave XXVI



Drawing 8: detail of the sculpture of the Parinirvāṇa, Ajanta, Cave XXVI, left side-wall

with the *uṣṇīṣa* at Ajanta. But even if more examples are found, their number will remain small in comparison to the hundreds of images of monks without a protuberance on the head, and they appear only in a few narrative paintings. In the depictions for which the textual basis has been determined, the monks with the *uṣṇīṣa* are Ānanda and Nanda.

In the reliefs from Gandhara it is not so easy to discern *lakṣaṇas* on figures who are not Buddhas, but here too a monk who is accompanying the Buddha is occasionally shown



Drawing 9: detail of a Gandhara relief; cf. fig.4

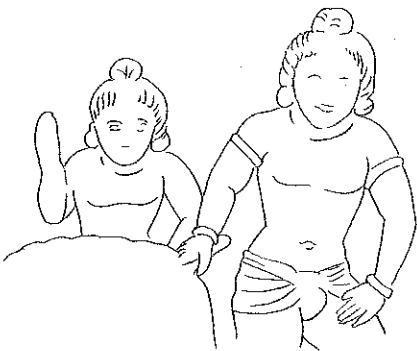
with the *uṣṇīṣa* (Drawing 9 = fig.4). In light of the paintings at Ajanta one might infer that the monk is Ānanda.

The *uṣṇīṣas* in Gandharan art are hard to make out because they can be confused with hair tied into a bun. But a few times in the narrative reliefs someone is shown next to the Buddha whose head has exactly the same shape as his. One example is in a scene depicting the struggle of Devadatta with the future Buddha (Drawing 10 = fig.5).

As in Ajanta, the reliefs in Gandhara also show the half-brother of the Buddha, Nanda, as having the same shape head as the Buddha himself (Drawing 11 = fig.6).

In Gandhara, as in Ajanta, depictions of people with the *uṣṇīṣa* are rare; the only monk with the protuberance on the head is the companion of the Buddha, and he is probably to be identified as

Ānanda. Ānanda is, however, only represented in this way on rare occasions; his *uṣṇīṣa* is not shown in pictures of the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha or of his own Parinirvāṇa (VOGEL 1905).



Drawing 10: detail of a Gandhara relief; cf. fig.5



Drawing 11: detail of a Gandhara relief; cf. fig.6

A survey of the paintings in the monasteries of Central Asia yields similar



Drawing 12: detail of the painting in Kizil, Cave 196; cf. fig.7



Drawing 13: detail of the painting in Kizil, Cave 101; cf. fig.8

findings to those in Ajanta and Gandhara:

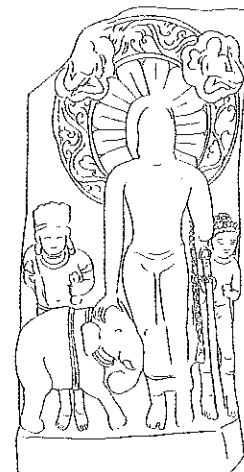
occasionally a monk who is next to the Buddha - evidently his companion Ānanda - is shown with the *uṣṇīṣa* (Drawing 12 = fig.7, Drawing 13 = fig.8), while the great majority of monks are depicted with shaved heads. Although it is extremely hard to examine the paintings on the basis of photographs because the *uṣṇīṣas* are only visible in enlargements and not in photographs of larger sections of the walls and vaults, several persons can be discerned who look exactly like the Buddha.⁷ An example is one of the monks who is present at the Parinirvāṇa (Drawing 14).

This phenomenon, the depiction of non-Buddhas with the *uṣṇīṣa*, cannot be observed in the reliefs of the Mathura school, but the reason for that might be that there are so few pictures of monks. In the art of other regions - though not, it would appear, in the south - companions of the Buddha are occasionally depicted as having the *uṣṇīṣa*. For example, in a relief from the Gupta period in Sanchi depicting the Dhanapāla story, there is a protuberance covered with small curls on Ānanda's head (Drawing 15). Although the narrative depiction here became part of a devotional sculpture, Ānanda was depicted as he was at Ajanta (cf. fig.1) - holding a staff and a food bowl and bearing a clearly visible *uṣṇīṣa-lakṣaṇa*.

The observation that depictions of monks with the *uṣṇīṣa* are rare but do indeed exist holds true for all the regions discussed here. The clearest examples are to be found in the paintings at Ajanta and in Central Asia. Where it has been possible to identify the scenes, it turns out that such depictions are restricted to certain scenes with members of the Buddha's family. In other scenes, even ones which show several monks, the monks do not have the *lakṣaṇa*. So, for



Drawing 14: detail of the painting in Bezeklik, Cave XIX



Drawing 15: sculpture in Sanchi, Sanchi Museum, Acc. No. 9

example, there is not a single *uṣṇīṣa* in illustrations of the sermon to the first five monks or in depictions of monks performing miracles (WALDSCHMIDT 1930).

* * *

As stated above, the *lakṣaṇas* are physical characteristics which permitted the interpreters of signs to identify a person as a Great Man (*mahāpuruṣa*). When the works of art in geographically remote regions depicted someone who was not a *mahāpuruṣa* as having one of the iconographically important *lakṣaṇas*, there will certainly have been some traditional or textual basis for doing so. Such depictions can indeed be reconciled with the literature, since there too members of the Śākya family are said to bear a physical resemblance to the Buddha.

Most such assertions are to be found in the texts about the appearance of Nanda, the half-brother of the Buddha. The Vinayas say that Nanda resembled the Buddha and was just four *aṅgulis* shorter than him, and that that is why he was mistaken for the Buddha. This led to the rule that monks had to wear shorter robes than the Buddha⁸ (*Suttavibhaṅga* V.92.1)⁹.

In the Pali tradition the deeds of Nanda in his earlier births, to which he owed his beautiful appearance, are recounted: for making a gift of clothing, he received golden skin (*Apadāna* II.3.27-34)¹⁰, which is one of the *lakṣaṇas*. In the tradition of northern Sanskrit Buddhism, this is recounted in greater detail, and it is sometimes said that Nanda and the Buddha looked alike and that they both had the same *lakṣaṇas*. Nanda received the golden complexion, *suvarṇavarṇa*, because in an earlier life he had invited the Buddha Vipāśyin and his monks to take a bath (*T 1451* = Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin¹¹; *Mahākarmavibhaṅga*¹²); it is even said that he received no fewer than thirty *lakṣaṇas* for his good deeds (*T 1451* = Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin¹³; PANGLUNG 1981: 176). Sarvāstivādin and Mūlasarvāstivādin texts say more about the episode from the *Vinayavibhaṅga* which I presented above as it appears in the Pali *Suttavibhaṅga*. They say that when Nanda arrived, the monks mistook him for the Buddha, adding that Nanda had no fewer than thirty *lakṣaṇa* marks on his body (*T 1435* = Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādin¹⁴; *T 190* = *Abhiniṣkramaṇasūtra*¹⁵). One of them may have been the *uṣṇīṣa*.

Similar statements are made about another blood relative of the Buddha, Devadatta. Although he is said to have done only bad deeds, the texts state that he had the same *lakṣaṇas* as the Buddha except for two (*Si yu ki*)¹⁶. The tradition of the Mūlasarvāstivādin school mentions two *lakṣaṇas* which were perhaps understood to be the ones the other text said Devadatta lacked: a story in the *Saṅghabhedavastu*¹⁷ (cf. PANGLUNG 1981: 113) says that Devadatta endured great pain to have his skin gilded and the marks of the wheel applied to his hands and feet.

The tradition of Mahāyāna Buddhism does not question the presence of *lakṣaṇas* on individuals

other than the Buddha, and repeats the same information.¹⁸ Perhaps it accords a lesser importance to the *lakṣaṇas*.¹⁹

In contrast to the tradition of northern Buddhism, the Pali canon does not describe Devadatta as looking like the Buddha. He is called *alakkhika* (*alakṣmika*), unfortunate one (*Cullavagga* VII.3.13), which the commentator Buddhaghosa interprets as *alakkhaṇo* (*alakṣaṇa*), one with no marks.²⁰ It would appear that only in the northern Buddhism is Devadatta said to be physically similar to the Buddha. In that tradition a similar word, *alakṣaṇaka*, is used to describe someone else, namely the patriarch Upagupta, who is called a “Buddha without the *lakṣaṇa* marks”²¹ (STRONG 1992: 39).

The fact that the texts of Pali Buddhism do not refer to Nanda and Devadatta as having *lakṣaṇas* does not, however, mean that they only ascribe *lakṣaṇas* to the Great Men. The ancient *Suttanipāta* (1019, 1022) states that a Brahmanic teacher named Bāvāri, who sent his students to the Buddha and taught them to recognise him by his thirty-two *lakṣaṇas*, himself had three marks: the *ūrṇā* mark on the forehead, the very long tongue, and the concealed genitals.²² The question of whether people can have some *lakṣaṇas* on their bodies is the subject of a dispute in the *Katthāvattu* (IV.7)²³, which rejects the thesis that someone who has only some marks can be considered a partial Bodhisatva. To my knowledge, neither in the Pali tradition nor in the art of southern India are the characters in the Buddha legend depicted as having *lakṣaṇas*.

The story of the Brahman Bāvāri with his three *lakṣaṇas* is accorded a deeper meaning in northern Buddhism. While the *Suttanipāta* merely states that one of his sixteen students was Metteya, the texts of the Sanskrit schools say Maitreya was a member of his family (LÉVI 1936: 371-73; LAMOTTE 1958: 777²⁴, 781). Maitreya, who, as the future Buddha, is entitled to have the *lakṣaṇas*, is thus descended from a family in which at least some of the attributes of a *mahāpuruṣa* are manifested. This is in accordance with other texts which say that these attributes are hereditary or are common to the members of a certain clan. One story tells of an emperor (*cakravartin*) whose 989 sons had at the most thirty-one *lakṣaṇas* and who was therefore still waiting for his successor (*T 207*)²⁵.

T 189 talks of 500 princes who had various numbers of *lakṣaṇas*. Some of them even had all thirty-two though not in a fully developed state. The princes belonged to the Śākya clan, in which only the Buddha had all thirty-two marks in a clearly recognisable form.²⁶

According to this idea, the other Śākyas had some *lakṣaṇa* attributes, which is in line with the depictions discussed above, since Nanda, Ānanda and Devadatta all belonged to the Śākya clan. This interpretation of the *lakṣaṇas* does not consider the marks to be the visualisation either of a person’s holiness or of his good deeds in earlier births. Ānanda and Nanda were depicted as having the *uṣṇīṣa* at a time in which they were not Arhats, as was Devadatta, who had committed many bad deeds.

The marks are to be understood as indicating membership of the Śākya clan. So if a companion of the Buddha had the *uṣṇīṣa*, that means he was a member of the Śākya clan.

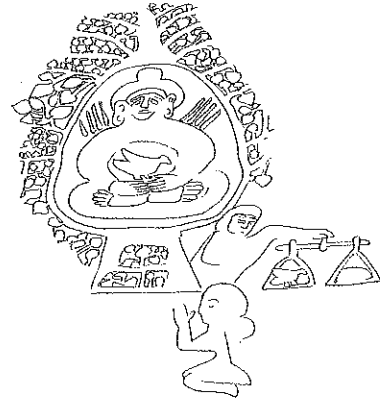
2. Depictions of future Buddhas with *lakṣaṇas*

Occasionally the marks of the Great Man appear on the bodies of people who will only become Buddhas in the distant future. Here, the *lakṣaṇas* are nothing other than projections back onto an earlier time of the future state of Buddhahood.

It is not surprising that Maitreya is represented as having *lakṣaṇas*: this Bodhisatva often appears in all the glory of a Buddha, in both the literature and the art. Taking such anticipation of the future appearance of the Bodhisatva as the Buddha as my starting point, I wish to discuss a number of depictions of the Buddha Śākyamuni in his earlier births which show him with the *lakṣaṇas* of a Buddha.

One of the rock engravings in the Indus valley depicts the Śibi story (Drawing 16 = fig.9). The scene, which shows a man holding a balance in which there is a dove, can be definitively identified. What is unusual about it is that King Śibi, who is holding the dove in his lap, is depicted as a Buddha: He has long earlobes, he is wearing a monk's robe, rays are emanating from his shoulders, and he has the head of a Buddha with a clearly defined *uṣṇīṣa*. In order to make it even clearer that Śibi is the future Buddha Śākyamuni, the artist shows his Bodhi tree, *aśvattha*, behind him. In another engraving, which depicts the Vyāghrī story²⁷, the Bodhisatva, who has sacrificed his life for the tiger cubs and is lying on the ground, is portrayed with the *uṣṇīṣa*. These depictions are clearly anticipations of the state of Buddhahood, which might yet be attained, in part through the depicted acts of sacrifice. These rock engravings are certainly not first-class works, but the same kind of representations can also be found elsewhere, which indicates that this way of thinking was common to a number of artists or to those who had commissioned the works.

In Central Asian painting one can find quite a few depictions of the so-called Praṇidhi scenes. Many such scenes were painted in Bezeklik. They show the moment in the distant past in which the person who will eventually become Śākyamuni vows to become a Buddha (*praṇidhi*) and the then Buddha prophesies that that will indeed come to pass (*vyākaraṇa*). The Praṇidhi scenes from Cave IX at Bezeklik, which were brought to Berlin and destroyed during the War, bore verse inscriptions which, for each scene, named the Buddha of the earlier time and the Bodhisatva and recount the circumstances under which the vow was taken. As LÜDERS (1913) has shown, the verses correspond almost exactly to the *Bahubuddhasūtra* in the *Mahāvastu*²⁸. The inscription on



Drawing 16: detail of the rock engraving in Shtial; cf. fig.9



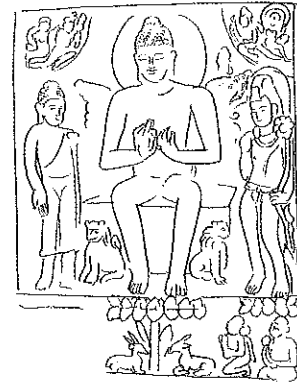
Drawing 17: detail of the painting from Bezeklik, Cave IX; cf. fig.10

one of the Prañidhi scenes states²⁹ that under the Buddha Kāśyapa the Bodhisatva, then a young Brahman named Uttara, took the decision to join the order. At that moment he received the pronouncement from the Buddha. This is how the event is depicted (fig.10): the youth is standing on the right; his status as a Brahman and ascetic is indicated by the panther fur around his calves. Brahman ascetics always wear such leggings in these pictures. Uttara (Drawing 17 = fig.10) is kneeling to the left of the Buddha, who is standing in the centre. Uttara, depicted as a monk, is receiving his *vyākaraṇa*. But he is already represented as a Buddha with *lakṣaṇas*. This depiction can only be understood as an anticipation of the future state Uttara will attain as the Buddha Śākyamuni. Interestingly, the *lakṣaṇas* of the Bodhisatva making the vow are only shown in this one Prañidhi picture in which the Bodhisatva makes his vow as a monk. Evidence that this was not a mistake can be found in another depiction of the same scene in Cave XII at Bezeklik³⁰, which again shows the monk Uttara with the *uṣṇīṣa*.

A number of Buddhas also appear in some other Prañidhi scenes from Central Asia (SANDER 1997). They appear however in the upper part of the pictures and not as those Buddhas towards whom the central Buddha figure turns. They are shown holding small bottles - evidently signs that these are future Buddhas who are currently in heaven. Here too we see the anticipatory visualisation of the future Buddhahood of the Bodhisatvas.

The Prañidhi pictures from Central Asia aid in the identification of a number of Indian reliefs, one of which is to be found in Cave XXVI in Ajanta. It shows a Buddha seated on a throne (Drawing 18). To his left a Bodhisatva is standing, holding a lotus. The place of the second Bodhisatva is, however, occupied by a Buddha. If one compares this picture to the Central Asian paintings, one can make out that this person is a monk who has uttered the Prañidhi vow and is therefore depicted with the *uṣṇīṣa* on his head, in anticipation of his future Buddhahood.

Cases of monks making a Bodhisatva vow as a visionary experience during meditation are recorded in the relevant literature.³¹ In such visions the monk sees himself as the Buddha - wearing all the *lakṣaṇas* of the future Teacher of the World.³²



Drawing 18: relief in Ajanta, Cave XXVI, left side-wall

Bibliography

- Apadāna*, ed. (Khuddakāṇikāya, 6-7) Bhikkhu J. KASHAP, Varanasi: Nalanda-Devanagari-Pali-Series, 1959.
- Cullavagga*, ed. OLDENBERG, H., *The Vinaya Piṭakam: one of the Principal Buddhist Holy Scriptures in the Pali Language*, 2, London 1880; transl. RHYS DAVIDS, T.W. / OLDENBERG, H., *Vinaya Texts*, 2-3, Oxford: SBE / 17, 20, 1882-85.
- Dīghanikāya*, ed. RHYS DAVIDS, T.W. / CARPENTER, J.E., 1-3, London: PTS, 1891-1911; transl. RHYS DAVIDS T.W. / RHYS DAVIDS, C.A.F., *Dialogues of the Buddha*, 1-3, London: SBB / 2-4, 1899-1921.
- Kathāvatthu*, ed. TAYLOR, A.C., London: PTS, 1894; transl. Shwe Zan AUNG / RHYS DAVIDS, C.A.F., *Points of Controversy or Subjects of Discourse being a translation of the Kathāvatthu from the Abhidhamma-piṭaka*, London: PTS, 1915.
- Mahākarmavibhaṅga* ed. + trad. LÉVY, S., *M° (La Grande Classification des Actes) et Karmavibhaṅgapadeśa (Discussion sur le Mahā-Karmavibhaṅga). Texte Sanscrit rapporté du Népal, édités et traduits avec les textes parallèles en Sanscrit, en Pali, en Tibétain, en Chinoise, en Koutchéen (...)*, Paris 1932.
- Samantapāsādikā*, ed. TAKAKUSU, J. / MATOTO NAGAI, *Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Vinaya piṭaka*, 6, London: PTS, 1982.
- Saṅghabhedavastu*, ed. GNOLI, R., *The Gilgit Manuscripts of the Saṅghabhedavastu, Being the 17th and Last Section of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin = Serie Orientale Roma*, 49,1-2, Roma 1977-78.
- Si yu ki*, transl., BEAL, S., *S°, Buddhist Records of the Western World*, 1-2, London 1884 (repr. 1976).
- Suttanipāta*, ed. ANDERSEN, D. / SMITH, H., London: PTS, 1913; transl. NORMAN, K.R., *The Group of Discourses*, London: PTS, 1984.
- Suttavibhaṅga*, ed. OLDENBERG, H., *The Vinaya Piṭakam: One of the Principal Buddhist Holy Scriptures in the Pali Language*, 3-4, London 1881-82.
- T = Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō*, Tokyo 1924ff.
- T 189: Kouo k'iu hien tsai yin kouo king*, trad. extr. in: LAMOTTE 1949-80: No.78.
- T 190: Fo pen hing tsi king (Abhinīṣkramaṇasūtra)* transl. BEAL, S., *The Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha*, London 1875.
- T 207: Tsa p'i yu king*, trad. extr. in: CHAVANNES 1910-34: Nos. 156-95.
- T 1435: Che song liu (Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādin)*, trad. extr. in: LAMOTTE 1944-80.
- T 1448: Ken pen chouo yi ts'ie yeou pou p'i nai ye yao che (Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin)*, trad. extr. in: LAMOTTE 1944-80.
- T 1451: Ken pen chouo yi ts'ie yeou pou p'i nai ye tsa che (Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin)*, trad. extr. in: LAMOTTE 1944-80.
- T 1509: Ta tche tou louen (Mahāprajñāpāramitāsāstra)*, trad. LAMOTTE, É., *Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse*, 1-5, Louvain: Publication de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain, 1944-80.

* * *

ANDREWS, F.S., 1948, *Wall Paintings from Ancient Shrines in Central Asia, recovered by Sir A. Stein*, London: Oxford University Press.

BEHL, B.K., 1998, *The Ajanta Caves, Ancient Paintings of Buddhist India*, London: Thames & Hudson.

BUSSAGLI, M., 1984, *L'arte del Gandhāra*, Storia Universale dell' Arte, 2, Torino.

CHAVANNES, E., 1910-34, *Cinq cents contes et apologues, extraits du Tripitaka chinois et traduits en français*, 1-4, Paris (repr. 1962).

COHEN, R.C., 1995, *Setting the Three Jewels: The Complex Culture of Buddhism at the Ajañā Caves*, Diss. University of Michigan.

COUSINS, L. S., 2003, Sākiyabhikkhu/Sakyabhikkhu/Śākyabhikṣu: A Mistaken Link to the Mahāyāna?, in: *Nagoya Studies in Indian Culture and Buddhism: Saṃbhāṣa* 23, Nagoya: 1-27

EDGERTON, F., 1953, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, 1-2, New Haven.

FERGUSON, J. / BURGESS, J., 1880, *The Cave Temples of India*, London (repr. New Delhi 1969).

FOUCHER, A., 1905-51, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra, Étude sur les origines de l'influence classique dans l'art bouddhique de l'Inde et de l'Extrême-Orient*, 1-2, Paris.

GHOSH, A. (ed.), 1967, *Ajanta Murals, An album of eighty-five reproductions in colour*, New Delhi.

GRIFFITHS, J., 1896-97, *The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave-Temples of Ajanta, Khandesh, India*, 1-2, London (repr. New Delhi 1983).

GRÜNWEDEL, A., 1912, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkistan, Königlich Preußische Turfan Expeditionen*, Berlin.

GUPTA, S.P. (ed.), 1985, *Masterpieces from the National Museum Collection*, New Delhi.

HÄRTEL, H. / AUBOYER, J., 1971, *Indien und Südostasien = Propyläen Kunstgeschichte*, 16, Berlin.

HOERNLE, A.F.R., 1916, *Manuscript remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan (...)*, Oxford.

HINÜBER von, O., 1992, *Sprachentwicklung und Kulturgeschichte, Ein Beitrag zur materiellen Kultur des buddhistischen Klosterlebens* = Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur, Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse, Mainz, Jahrgang 1992.6, Stuttgart.

INGHOLT, H., 1957, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan* (With 577 illustrations photographed by Islay Lyons and 77 pictures from other sources. Introduction and Descriptive Catalogue by Harald Ingholt), New York: Pantheon Books (repr. 1971).

JETTMAR, K., 1985, The Main Buddhist Period as Represented in the Petroglyphs at Chilas and Thalpan, in: *South Asian Archaeology 1985*, ed. FRIEFELD, K. / SÖRENSEN, P., London 1989: 407-11.

KLIMBURG-SALTER, D.E., 1995, *Buddha in Indien, Die frühindische Skulptur von König Aśoka bis zur Gupta-zeit*, Katalog zur Ausstellung im Kunsthistorischen Museum in Wien, Wien.

KLIMBURG-SALTER, D.E. / TADDEI, M., 1991, The Uṣṇīṣa and the Brahmaṇḍa: An Aspect of Light Symbolism in Gandharan Buddha Images, in: *Aksayanīvi, Essays presented to Dr. Debala Mitra (...)*, ed. BHATTACHARYA, G., Delhi: 73-94.

KRISHAN, Y., 1966: The Hair on the Buddha's Head and Uṣṇīṣa, in: *East & West*, 16, Rome 1966: 275-89, repr. in: *The Buddha Image, Its Origin and Development*, New Delhi 1996: 111-31.

LAMOTTE, É., 1944-80, *Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse*, 1-5, Louvain: Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain.

LAMOTTE, É., 1958, *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien, des origines à l'ère Śaka* = Bibliothèque du Muséon, 43, Louvain; Engl.: *History of Indian Buddhism: From the Origins to the Śaka Era*, transl. by WEBB-BOIN, S., Louvain 1988.

LECOQ von, A., 1913, *Chotscho, Facsimile-Wiedergaben der Wichtigeren Funde der Ersten Königlich Preussischen Expedition nach Turfan in Ost-Turkistan = Ergebnisse der Kgl. Preussischen Turfan-Expeditionen*, Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.

LÉVI, S., 1932, Maitreya le Consolateur, in: *Études d'orientalisme publiées par le Musée Guimet à la mémoire de Raymonde Linossier*, Paris: Leroux, pp.355-402.

LÜDERS, H., 1913, Die Prāṇidhi-Bilder im neunten Tempel von Bāzāklīk, in: *Berliner Sitzungsberichte*, 1913: 864-84; repr. in: *Philologica Indica*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1940: 255-74.

KURITA, L., 1988-90, *Gandhāran Art* = Ancient Buddhist Art Series, 1-2, Tokyo.

MACKENZIE, P.M., 1983, *Adschanta, Die heiligen Höhlen Buddhas* = Die Welt der Religionen, 16, Freiburg.

MARSHALL, J. / FOUCHER, A., 1940, *The Monuments of Sāñchi*, 1-3, Calcutta (repr. New Delhi 1982).

MITTERWALLNER von, G., 1987, The Brussels Buddha from Gandhara of the Year 5, in: *Investigating Indian Art, Proceedings of a Symposium (...) held at the Museum of Indian Art Berlin in Mai 1986*, ed. YALDIZ, M. / LOBO, W., Berlin: Veröffentlichungen des Museums für Indische Kunst, 8: 213-48.

OKADA, A. / NOU, J.L., 1991, *Ajanta*, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.

PANGLUNG, J.L., 1981, *Die Erzählstoffe des Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya, Analysiert auf Grund der Tibetischen Übersetzung* = Studia Philologica Buddhica, Monograph Series, 3, Tokyo.

PRZYLUŠKI, J., 1923, *La légende de l'empereur Aṣoka (Aṣoka-Avādāna) dans les textes indiens et chinois* = Annales du Musée Guimet, 31, Paris.

ROSEN, V., 1959, *Der Vinayavibhaṅga zum Bhikṣuprātimokṣa der Sarvāstivādins, Sanskritfragmente nebst einer Analyse der chinesischen Übersetzung* = Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Berlin.

S.A.A.P.C.: *South Asian Art Photograph Collection, Collection of South Asian Art Photographs on Microfiche*, Zug.

SANDER, L., 1997, Eine Prophezeiung des Vorzeitbuddha Śikhin, Beobachtungen zu einer Wandmalerei des Museums für Indische Kunst, Berlin, in: *Untersuchung zur buddhistischen Literatur*, 2, ed. BECHERT, H. (et al.) = *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden*, Beiheft 8, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: 285-301.

SCHLINGLOFF, D., 1963, Zur Interpretation des Prātimokṣasūtra, in: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 113, Wiesbaden 1964: 536-51.

SCHLINGLOFF, D., 1964, *Ein buddhistisches Yogalehrbuch, Textband = Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden*, 7, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Berlin.

SCHLINGLOFF, D., 2000, *Ajanta - Handbuch der Malereien / Handbook of the Paintings I: Erzählende Wandmalereien / Narrative Wall-paintings*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

SINGH, M., 1965, *The Cave Paintings of Ajanta*, London.

SINK, W., 1981, Ajaṅṅā's Chronology: Cave 1's Patronage and Related Problems, in: *Chhavi-2, Rai Krishnadasa Felicitation Volume*, ed. KRISHNA, A.B., Bombay: 144-57.

STRONG, J.S., 1992, *The Legend and Cult of Upagupta, Sanskrit Buddhism in North India and Southeast Asia*, Princeton.

TAKATA, O., 1971, *Ajanta* (Photographs by M. Taeda), Tokyo.

TAKATA, O., 2000, *Ajanta Paintings*, Tokyo.

TADDEI, M., 1996, Ancora sul Buddha gandharico: premesse ad una discussione, in: *Annali di Istituto Universitario Orientale*, 56, Napoli: 407-17.

TADDEI, M., 1999, Some reflections on the formation of the Buddha image, in: *Proceedings of the 15th International Conference of the European Association of South Asian Archaeologists*, Leiden (in press).

THEWALD, V., 1983, Jātaka-Darstellungen bei Chilas and Shatial am Indus, in: *Ethnologie und Geschichte, Festschrift für Karl Jettmar*, Wiesbaden: 622-35.

TISSOT, F., 1985, Gandhāra = *La vie publique et privée dans l'Inde ancienne, 2^e série*, Paris.

VOGEL, J.P., 1905, Le parinirvāṇa d' Ānanda d'après un bas relief gréco-bouddhique, in: *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, 5, Paris: 417-18.

WALDSCHMIDT, E., 1953, *Das Mahāvadānasūtra, ein kanonischer Text über die sieben letzten Buddhas, Sanskrit, verglichen mit dem Pāli nebst einer Analyse der in chinesischer Übersetzung überlieferten Parallelversionen, auf Grund von Turfan-Handschriften herausgegeben* = Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1952.8, Berlin.

WALDSCHMIDT, E., 1930, Die Entwicklungsgeschichte des Buddhahildes in Indien, in: *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 6, Berlin 1930: 265-77, repr. in: WALDSCHMIDT, E., *Von Turfan bis Ceylon*, Göttingen 1967: 34-46.

WALDSCHMIDT, E., 1930, Wundertätige Mönche in der ostturkistanischen Hīnayāna-Kunst, in: *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 6, Berlin 1930: 3-9, repr. in: *Von Turfan bis Ceylon*, Göttingen 1967: 27-32.

WALEY, A., 1931-32, Did Buddha die on eating pork? with a note on Buddha's Image, in: *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, 1, Bruxelles: 343-54.

WAYMAN, A., 1957, Contributions Regarding the Thirty-Two Characteristics of the Great Person, in: *Sino-Indian Studies, Liebenthal Festschrift*, ed. ROY, K., Santiniketan: 243-60.

XU WANYIN, 1983-85, *The Kizil Grottoes*, 1-3 = *The Grotto Art of China*, Tokyo.

YALDIZ, M., 1987, *Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte Chinesisch-Zentralasiens (Xinjiang)* = Handbuch der Orientalistik VII.3.2, Leiden: E.J. Brill.

YAMABE, N., New Fragments of the “Yogalehrbuch”, in: Kyūshū Ryūokoku Tanki Daigaku, 43, Tokyo 1996: 11-39.

YAZDANI, G., 1930-55, *Ajanta, The Colour and Monochrome Reproductions of the Ajanta Frescoes Based on Photography*, 1-4, Oxford (repr. New Delhi 1983).

ZIN, M., 2003, *Ajanta - Handbuch der Malereien / Handbook of the Paintings II: Devotionale und ornamentale Malereien*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Notes

1 *Mahāpadānasutta*, *Dīghanikāya* XIV.1.31-33, ed. Vol.2, p.16-19; transl. p.13-16; for parallel texts in Sanskrit with translation from the Chinese texts and comparative analysis cf. WALDSCHMIDT 1953: 101-13.

2 Further lists of *lakṣaṇas* in the Buddhist literature are detailed in: EDGERTON, *BHSD*: 458-60; cf. WALDSCHMIDT 1930: 272.

3 *Dīghanikāya* XXX explains every *lakṣaṇa* as the result of the attainment of moral perfection. Wherever possible, each individual mark is linked to the aspect of moral perfection that was attained in connection with the corresponding part of the body or sensory organ. For example, the Buddha's extremely long tongue and his voice are interpreted as a sign of his rejection of rough language (*pharusaññā vācam*) in his past lives (*Dīghanikāya* XXX.2.22). The explanation that the Sūtra offers for the presence of the *uṣṇīṣa* mark on the Buddha's body is that in the past he had attained the role of a leader with perfect moral qualities; *Dīghanikāya* XXX.2.13 (ed. Vol.3, p.169): *pubbe manussabhūto samāno bahujanapubbaṅgamo ahoṣi kusalesu dhammesu bahujanapāṃmokkho kāyasucarite vacīsucarite manosucarite dānaṣaṃvibhāge silasamādāne uposathūpavāse metteyyatāya petteyyatāya sāmāññatāya brahmaññatāya kulejṇhāpacāyitāya aññataraññataresu adhikusalesu dhammesu (...)* so tato cute itthattam āgato samāno imaṃ mahāpurisalakkhaṇaṃ paṭilabhāti uṣṇīṣaso hoti; transl. (p.158-59): then being human, became leader among men in goodness, foremost in virtuous deed and word and thought, in dispensing gifts, in conformity to morals, in attending religious festivals, in filial duties, in honouring recluses and brahmins, in deferring to the head of the family, and in order and sundry righteous observances (...) Deceasing thence and attaining life as ye know it, he acquired this Mark of the Superman, to wit, a head like a turban.

4 For the not uncommon view that the descriptions of the *lakṣaṇas* were written later in time and are secondary with respect to their visual depictions cf. WALEY 1931-32: 352.

5 *Dīghanikāya* XIV.1.32 (ed. Vol.2, p.19): *ayaṃ hi deva kumāro uṣṇīṣaso/ yaṃ pāyaṃ deva kumāro uṣṇīṣaso/ idaṃ pi 'ssa mahāpurisassa mahāpurisalakkhaṇaṃ bhavati;* transl. (p.16): His head is like a royal turban. This too counts to him as one of the marks of a Great Man.

For Sanskrit text and comparative analysis cf. WALDSCHMIDT 1953: 112; further sources in: EDGERTON, *BHSD*: 460, No.32.

6 For the theory that the Mahāyāna monks (= the future Buddhas) considered themselves to be members of the Buddha's family cf. COHEN 1995: 234ff. The theory has not been proven and was already criticized (Cousins 2003; Zin 2003: 376-78) but the present paper can be understood as an argument to support it.

7 The *uṣṇīṣa* can, for example, be clearly seen on the head of the Buddha's companion in the following images: Kizil, Cave 14, ill.: XU WANYIN 1983-85, 1: Pl.45; Cave 38, ill.: *ibid.* 1: Pl.121-22.

8 This rule was evidently the result of a misunderstanding (SCHLINGLOFF 1963: 544): The old *Prātimokṣasūtra* only said that a monk's robe should not be larger than *sugatacīvarapamāṇa*, that is to say, should not be cut larger than *sugata* (= good (standard)) measure. In the explanation of this rule *sugata* was taken to be a name for the Buddha and so the rule was taken to mean that a monk's robe should not be larger than that of the Sugata. The story explaining this rule tells of how a monk was mistaken for the Sublime One. Such a mistake was understandable since the monk was a blood relative of the Buddha.

9 *Suttavibhaṅga* V.92.1 (ed. Vol.2, p.173): *tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Nando Bhagavato mātucchāputto abhirūpo hoti dassanīyo pāsādiko caturāṅgulomako Bhagavato/ so sugatacīvarappamāṇaṃ cīvaraṃ dhāretī/ addasaṃsu kho therā bhikkhū āyasmantaṃ Nandaṃ dūrato 'va āgacchantaṃ/ disvāna Bhagavā āgacchati/ āsanā vuṭṭhanti/ te upaṅgate jānītvā ujjhāyanti khīyanti vipācentī/ kathaṃ hi nāma āyasmā Nando sugatacīvarappamāṇaṃ cīvaraṃ dhāressati/ (...)* atha kho Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Nandaṃ paṭipucchī/ saccaṃ kira tvaṃ Nanda sugatacīvarappamāṇaṃ cīvaraṃ dhāressati/ saccaṃ Bhagavā/ vīgarahi Buddho Bhagavā/ kathaṃ hi nāma tvaṃ Nanda sugatacīvarappamāṇaṃ cīvaraṃ dhāressasi (...)

10 *Apadāna* II.3.27-34 (ed. p.66-67); v.27-29: *Padumuttarassa Bhagavato lokajṇhassa tādinol/ vatthaṃ khomaṃ mayā diṇṇaṃ sayambhussa mahesino/ taṃ me Buddho viyākāsi Jalajuttaranāmakol/ iminā vatthadānena hemavaṇṇo bhavissasi/ dve sampatti*

anubhotvā kusalamūlehi codītoḥ Gotamassa Bhagavato kaniṭṭho tvaṃ bhavissasiḥ

11 T 1451, trad. (LAMOTTE 1944-80, 1: 290, Fn.): Bhagavat, je voudrais que le Grand Maître et sa noble assemblée viennent demain chez moi prendre un bain dans ma piscine.

12 *Mahākarmavibhaṅga* IV (ed. p.38): *yathā ārya-Sundaranandena kila Krakucchande samyaksambuddhe bhikṣusaṃghe jentākasnānaṃ kṛtāmī tāmś ca dīṣṭvā cittam prasāditāmī bhūyaś ca suvarṇena haritālena pratyekabuddhastūpe lepo dattaḥḥ idam api dīṣṭvā cittam prasāditāmī abhīrūpatāyāmī ca pariṇāmitāmī bhūyaś ca stūpe kriyamāṇe prathamāmī chattraṃ kāritāmī yathā paścimabhavā sa eva vyākaroṭī jentākasya ca snānena haritālasya lepanena caḥ ekacchatrapradānāc ca prāptā me suvarṇavarṇatālḥ*; trad. (p.115-16): Ainsi le saint Sundara Nanda avait, au temps de Krakucchanda le Bouddha complètement illuminé, donné à la communauté des Mendiants un bain de vapeur; et, en les voyant, il avait eu une pensée de piété. Et de plus il avait donné au stūpa d'un Bouddha-pour-soi une couche d'orpiment; et, en le voyant, il avait eu encore une pensée de piété. Et de plus, pendant qu'on faisait un stūpa, il avait fait faire le premier parasol. Comme il le proclame lui-même dans sa dernière existence: Par un bain de vapeur, un enduit d'orpiment - un don de parasol, j'ai ce teint d'or charmant. C'est ainsi qu'il était devenu beau. Tel est l'Acte qui aboutit à être gracieux. The *Mahākarmavibhaṅga* does not say anything about 30 *lakṣaṇas* of Nanda.

13 According to *T 1451= Saṅghabhedavastu* in Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya, Nanda received the *lakṣaṇas* for building and decorating a Stūpa (trad. LAMOTTE 1944-80, 1: 292, Fn.): Il recueillit ses restes, les plaça dans une urne toute neuve, construisit un stūpa et y suspendit des parasol (*chattra*). Plein d'une foi respectueuse, il arrosa [le stūpa] de trante sortes d'eaux parfumées en faisant le vœu (*praṇidhāna*) de rechercher les Marques [du Grand Homme]; according to *T 1448* Nanda's golden skin was a reward for his gift of a bath house for monks trad. (LAMOTTE 1944-80, 1: 288, Fn.): Nanda raconte qu'au temps du Buddha Vipasyin il avait donné au Saṃgha une maison de bains chauds (ou: des bains d'eau chaude parfumée)

14 Cf. HOERNLE 1916: 367-69. The text is a fragment of the canon of the Sarvāstivādin school in the Kuche language, (ed. + trad. LÉVI). The fragment contains part of the *Vinayavibhaṅga* of the *Pratimokṣasūtra*, *Pāṭayantika* 90 (= *Suttavibhaṅga* V.92.1, cf. Fn.9; (ed. LÉVI, in: HOERNLE 1916: 367; trad. ibid.: 369): Le Bouddha a un frère nommé Nanda. Quand il entre dans l'assemblée, les religieux confus sont partagés en deux: Est-ce le Bouddha qui est entré? ou bien est-ce Nanda? Nanda a deux *lakṣaṇa* de moins que le Bouddha; il a quatre doigts de taille en moins que le Bouddha. Il se fait faire une robe pareille à la robe du Bouddha.

The surviving fragments of the *Vinayavibhaṅga* of the Sarvāstivādin school in Sanskrit only mention Nanda's similarity to the Buddha, but not his *lakṣaṇas*, cf. ROSEN 1959: 214.

15 *T 190 = Abhinīṣkramanaṣūtra*, transl. (p.371): Now Nanda was a man of great personal beauty, his body straight and comely and of a golden hue, and just like that of Tathāgata. So he had a Kashāya garment made similar to his master's, and having received it, he put it on. Then all the Bhikṣhus, seeing him at a distance gradually approaching the assembly, thought that he was the lord himself, and so proceeded to rise from their places to salute him, and only when they discovered their mistake did they return.

16 *Si yu ki*, transl. (Vol.2, p.8-9): ... he spake thus: "I possess thirty marks (of a Buddha), not much less than Buddha himself; a great company of followers surround me; in what respect do I differ from Tathāgata?"

17 *Saṅghabhedavastu* (Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin) ed. (Vol.2, p.164): *amuṣmīn pradeśe suvarṇavarṇatām abhinirvartayati itī bhikṣavas taṃ pradeśaṃ gatāḥḥ tair asau śruto duḥkhavedanāro vikrośanī te Bhagavatsakāśam upasaṅkrāntāḥḥ bhikṣavaḥ saṃśayajātāḥ sarvasaṃśayacchettāraṃ Buddhaṃ bhagavantaṃ papracchuḥḥ paśya bhadanta Devadattaḥ suvarṇavarṇatāyā arthe duḥkhāṃ tīvrāṃ kharāṃ kaṭukāṃ amanāpāṃ vedanāṃ vedayate itī Bhagavān āhaḥ na bhikṣava etarḥḥ yathā atīte 'py adhvany eṣa suvarṇakholāyā arthe anayena vyasanam āpannaḥḥ tac chrīyatāmī*

ibid. (p. 165): *amuṣmīn pradeśe cakrāṅkapādaciḥnatām abhinirvartayati itī bhikṣavas taṃ pradeśaṃ gatāḥḥ tair asau śruto duḥkhavedanātro vikrośanī te Bhagavatsakāśam upasaṅkrāntāḥḥ (...) paśya bhadanta Devadattaḥ cakrāṅkapādatalaciḥnatāyā arthe duḥkhāṃ tīvrāṃ kharāṃ kaṭukāṃ amanāpāṃ vedanāṃ vedayate itī.*

18 *T 1590 = Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*, trad. Vol.2: p.874: Il [Devadatta] se dit: "Je possède trente marques du Grand Homme (*mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa*), un peu moins que le Buddha [qui en a trente-deux]; mais mes disciples ne sont point nombreux."

19 *T 1509 = Mahāprajñāpāramitāsāstra*, trad. Vol.1, p.285-87: Le fait d'agir en Buddha, voilà la grande marque. Vous négligez cette marque et vous adoptez les trente-deux marques [du Grand Homme]. Mais, ces trente-deux marques, les rois Cakravartin les possèdent également; les deva, Mahārāja aussi, les produisent par transformation (*nirmāṇa*); Nan t'o (Nanda), T'i p'o ta (Deyadatta), etc., en possédaient trente; le brâhmane P'o po li (Bāvāri) en avait trois; la femme de *Mo ho kia chō* (Mahākāśyapa) avait la marque „colour d'or” (*suvarṇavarṇa*). Même des gens de notre génération possèdent une ou deux de ces marques, comme „les yeux noirs foncés” (*abhīlanetra*), „les bras longs” (*dirghabāhu*), «la partie antérieure du corps semblable à celle du lion» (*siṃhapūrvārdhakāya*), etc. Ces diverses marques se rencontrent plus ou moins nombreuses. Pourquoi y attachez-vous de l'importance?

20 This variant is given as a footnote in the translation of the Vinaya passage (Cullavagga VII.3.13, ed. Vol.3, p.250, Fn.1): *Alakkhiko ti ettha na lakkhetti alakkhiko na jānāti attho! Apākatammaṃ karomīti na jānāti na lakkitaḥ ti alakkhaṇo passitaḥ ti attho*. The edition of the commentary (*Samantapāsādikā*, Vol.6, p.1275-76) does not use the word *alakkhaṇo*.

21 *Dīvyāvadāna XXVI*, ed. (p.348-49; the Buddha prophesies that Upagūpta will live one hundred years after his Parinirvāṇa in Mathurā): *asyām Ānanda Mathurāyām mama varṣaśataparīnirvṛtasya Gupto nāma gāndhiko bhaviṣyati tasya putro bhaviṣyati Upagupto nāmākṣaṇako Buddho yo mama varṣaśataparīnirvṛtasya Buddhaṃ kāryaṃ bhaviṣyati*

22 *Suttanipāta 1022*, ed. (p. 186): *mukhaṃ jivhāya chādeti unṇ' assa bhamukantare! kosohitaṃ vatthaguyhaṃ! evaṃ jānāhi māṇava!*; transl. (p.162): He can cover his face with his tongue; there is hair between his eyebrows; his male organ is unsheathed. Know thus, young brahman.

23 *Kathāvatthu IV.7.1*, ed. (p.283-84): *lakkhaṇasamannāgato Bodhisatto ti āmantāḥ padesalakkhaṇehi samannāgato padesabodhisatto ti na h'evaṃ vattaḥ - pe - lakkhaṇasamannāgato Bodhisatto ti āmantāḥ tibhāgalakkhaṇehi samannāgato tibhāgabodhisatto ti na h'evaṃ vattaḥ - pe - lakkhaṇasamannāgato Bodhisatto ti āmantāḥ upaḍḍhalakkhaṇehi samannāgato upaḍḍhabodhisatto ti na h'evaṃ vattaḥ (...)*; transl. (p.166): *Controverted Point*. - That one who is gifted with the Marks is a Bodhisat. (...) Th. - By your proposition you must also admit [a fortiori] (a) that anyone who is gifted with the Marks to a limited extent, with one-third, or one-half of them, is a limited, one-third, or half Bodhisat, respectively - which you deny.

24 LAMOTTE 1958: 77: Maitreya était né dans le royaume de Vāraṇasī, au village de Kapālī, dans la famille du grand brâhmane Bāvāri (trad. from T 452 = Kouan-Mi-lō).

25 *T 207* trad. (CHAVANNES, No.157, Vol.2, p.3): Autrefois il y avait un saint roi tourneur de la roue (Chakravartin); il avait d'abord engendré neuf cent quatre-vingt-neuf fils qui tous parvinrent à l'âge adulte, furent beaux et avenants, furent intelligents et perspicaces et furent doués en même temps des qualités du corps; parmi eux, il y en avait qui possédaient vingt-huit marques distinctives (*lakṣaṇas*), d'autres qui en possédaient trente, d'autres qui en possédaient trente et une.

26 *T 189*, trad. (LAMOTTE 1944-80, 1: 285, Fn.): ... chez le Śākya, au temps du Buddha, cinq cents jeunes princes munis d'un certain nombre de marques: trois, dix, trente et une ou même trente-deux; chez ceux qui en avaient trente-deux, elles n'étaient pas bien distinctes (*vyakta*).

27 Rock engraving at Shatīal, ill.: THEWALD 1983: Fig.5, Pl.4-6; JETTMAR 1985: Pl.152-53.

28 *Mahāvastu*, ed. Vol.3, p.224-50; transl. p.219-39.

29 *Uttaro māṇavobhūvaṃ Kāśyapo dvīpadottamaḥ n. . i . ālavaca śrutvā pravrajyāyā kṛtā matiḥ! tītyāsamkheyasarva - guṇābhyaśānaḥ!* - ed. in: LÜDERS 1913 = 1940: 256.

30 Bezeklik, Cave XII, New Delhi, Central Asian Antiquities Museum, ill.: ANDREWS 1948: Pl.27; the detail "Kniender Buddha" ill.: HÄRTEL / AUBOYER 1971: Pl.238; the same scene of the *vyākaraṇa* of the monk Uttara is depicted on one Prañidhi scene from Bezeklik in State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Acc.No.Ty-775

31 Ein buddhistisches Yogalehrbuch (= "A Buddhist Yoga Manual", ed. SCHLINGLOFF 1964: 147): *sa Bhagavatpādāyo praṇāmya kathayati/ Bhagav(aṃ) syām aham anāga(te 'dhvani sarvasatva)parināyake/ s(ar)v(a)s(a)tv(a)vy(ā)dh(inā)m apahartā saṃyaksambuddha iti tato 'sya Bhag(avāṇ pāṇi)n(ā) mūrdhānaṃ parāṃśatī/ kathayati ca putraka (bhavi)ṣyasi tvam anāgate 'dhva(ni sarvasatvavyādhinām apa)hartā saṃyaksambuddha itil; übers. (ibid.):* [Der Yogin] verneigt sich zu Füßen des Erhabenen und spricht: "O Erhabener, ich möchte in einer zukünftigen Epoche der Führer (aller Wesen) sein; ein Tilger der Gebrechen aller Wesen, ein völlig Erleuchteter." Dann berührt der Erhabene sein Haupt (mit der Hand) und spricht: "Mein Sohn, du wirst in einer zukünftigen Epoche ein Tilger (der Gebrechen aller Wesen sein), ein völlig Erleuchteter".

SCHLINGLOFF (1964: 10) considers the *Yogalehrbuch* as a Sarvāstivāda work; cf. YAMABE 1996.

32 Ein buddhistisches Yogalehrbuch (ed. SCHLINGLOFF 1964: 142): (*Bhagavaṃś cāsya śīrasi paṭṭa(ṇ) badhnāti kathayati ca namo 'nāgate 'dhvani bhaviṣyajaṅgadhārāya devāś ca kṛtsnaṃ gaganam āpūrya n. ā bhūtvā nipata(ṇtil) (u)tsṛjanti tasya prītiprāmodyasaṃjātasya krameṇa lakṣaṇānuvyamjanavirāji(ta) yati candramaṇḍalasaṃkāśo satvā(ṇ)ś ca vinaya(ṇtil); übers. (ibid.):* (Der Erhabene) bindet ein Seidentuch (um den Kopf) [des Yogin] und spricht: „Verehrung [sei dir], dem in einer zukünftigen Epoche erstandenen Steuermann der Welt.“ Götter erfüllen den gesamten Luftraum und [Diese] fallen, zu geworden, nieder entlassen sie Ist [der Yogin] von Beglückung und Freude durchdrungen, (entsteht [seine] Gestalt) allmählich mit den [Buddha]malen und Nebenmerkmalen prangend; wie die Mondscheibe scheinend und erzieht die Wesen. Cf. also *ibid.* p.92.

List of Drawings and Figures

(Drawings by the author except of Drawing 14)

Drawing 1 = fig.1:

Ajanta, Cave XVII, Veranda, right back wall, depiction of the story of the elephant Dhanapala, cf. SCHLINGLOFF 2000: No.77, scene 77(5)

Copy: GRIFFITHS 17H, kept in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London; photos of the copy: Indian Section of the V&A Museum, 87-1887; India Office (London), Vol.72, No.6037.

ill.: FERGUSSON / BURGESS 1880, No.59 (tracing); YAZDANI 1930-55, 3: Pl.74; GHOSH 1967: Pl.66; BEHL 1998: 173; TAKATA 2000, 3: Pl.C.17-6b; S.A.A.P.C. I-1081.34:34.

Drawing 2:

Ajanta, Cave XVI, left side-wall, depiction of the story of Nanda, cf. SCHLINGLOFF 2000: No.73, scene 73(2)

Copy: GRIFFITHS 16A1, kept in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London; photos of the copy: Indian Section of the V&A Museum, 76-1887; India Office (London), Vol.71, No.6012.

ill.: YAZDANI 1930-55, 3: Pl.53; TAKATA 2000, 3: Pl.C.16-7b.

Drawing 3 = fig.2:

ibid., scene 73(5) – the detail of the painting is no more preserved.

Copy: ibid.

ill.: FERGUSSON / BURGESS 1880, No.59 (tracing).

Drawing 4 = fig.3:

ibid., scene 73(7)

Copy: ibid., India Office (London), Vol.71, No.6014.

ill.: YAZDANI 1930-55, 3: Pl.54; SINGH 1965: Pl.62; GHOSH 1967: Pl.66; TAKATA 1971: Pl.20; OKADA/NOU 1991: 27; TAKATA 2000, 3: Pl.C.16-7d-e; S.A.A.P.C. I-1081.31:30,33; 32:47-48.

Drawing 5:

ibid., scene 73(12)

Copy: ibid.

ill.: YAZDANI 1930-55, 3: Pl.54; TAKATA 2000, 3: Pl.C.16-7f.

Drawing 6:

Ajanta, Cave XIX, Veranda, left side-wall, devotional painting, cf. ZIN 2003: No.48, Ill.24.

Copy of the detail: GRIFFITHS 19A, kept in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London; photos of the copy: India Office (London), Vol.76, No.6187.

ill.: GRIFFITHS 1896-97, 1: Pl.89.

Drawing 7:

Ajanta, Cave XXVI, left side-wall, above the sculpture of the Parinirvāṇa, cf. ZIN 2003: No.48, Ill.24.

Copy: --

ill.: BEHL 1998: 30; S.A.A.P.C. I-1081.56:6.

Drawing 8:

Ajanta, Cave XXVI, left side-wall, detail of the sculpture of the Parinirvāṇa;

ill.: YAZDANI 1930-55, 4: Pl.80; OKADA/NOU 1991:8; TAKATA 2000: Pl.C.26-4.

Drawing 9 = fig.4:

Gandhara, Lahore Museum, 309;

ill.: INGHOLT 1957: Fig.100.

Drawing 10 = fig.5:

Gandhara, Berlin, Museum für Indische Kunst, I 183;

ill.: KLIMBURG-SALTER 1995: Fig.159.

Drawing 11 = fig.6:

Gandhara, Hidda, British Museum, 1900.5-22.1;

ill.: FOUCHER 1905-55, 1: Fig.234; BUSSAGLI 1984: 213; TISSOT 1985: Fig.251; KURITA 1988-90, 1: Pl.P3-V.

Drawing 12 = fig.7:

Kizil, Cave 196, barrel vault in the main chamber, right side, ill.: XU WANYIN 1983-85, 3: Pl.99.

Drawing 13 = fig.8:

Kizil, Cave 101, barrel vault in the main chamber, right side, ill.: XU WANYIN 1983-85, 2: Pl.97

Drawing 14:

Bezeklik, Cave 19 = GRÜNWEDEL 1912: 271, Fig.561.

Drawing 15:

Sanchi, Sanchi Museum, 9;

ill: MARSHALL/FOUCHER 1940, 3: Pl.126b.

Drawing 16 = fig.9 (Copyright: Forschungsstelle Felsbilder und Inschriften am Karakorum Highway, Akademie der Wissenschaften Heidelberg):

Shatial on Indus, rock engraving, ill.: THEWALD 1983: Fig.3-4, Pl.2.

Drawing 17 = fig.10:

Bezeklik, Höhle IX, Museum für Indische Kunst Berlin MIK 6888 (war loss), ill.: von LECOQ 1913: Pl.26; YALDIZ 1987: Pl.74.

Drawing 18: Ajanta, Cave XXVI, relief on the left side-wall, ill.: SPINK 1981: Fig.398; S.A.A.P.C. I-1081.55:13.



fig.1: Ajanta, Cave XVII, Veranda, right back wall, part of the painting showing the story of the elephant Dhanapala (after BEHL); cf. Drawing 1



fig.2: Ajanta, Cave XVI, left side-wall, part of the painting showing the story of Nanda (after the copy); cf. Drawing 3

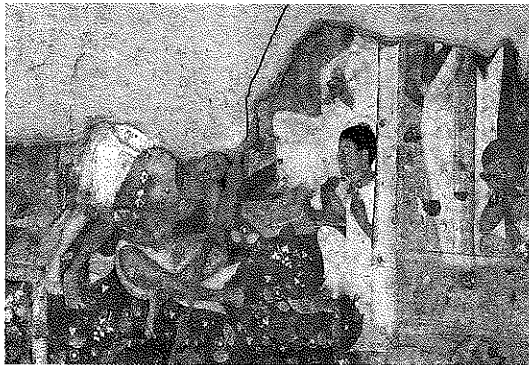


fig.3: Ajanta, Cave XVI, left side-wall, part of the painting showing the story of Nanda (after TAKATA 2000); cf. Drawing 4

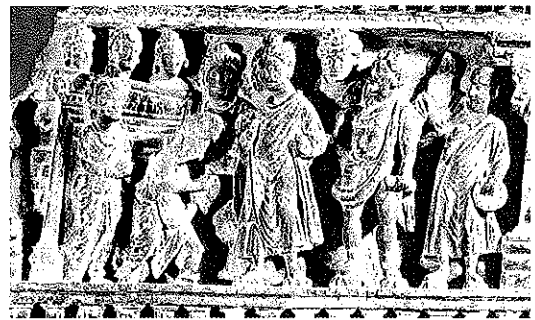


fig.4: Gandhara, Lahore Museum, Acc. No. 309, Invitation of Śrīgupta, (after: INGHOLT); cf. Drawing 9

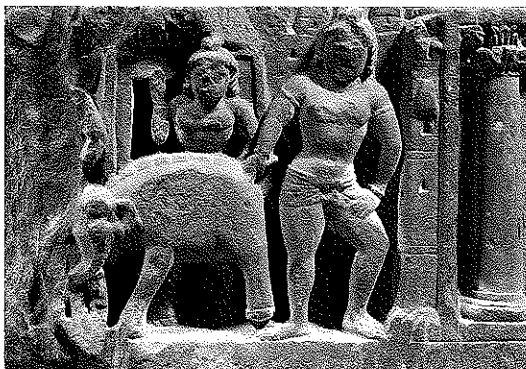


fig.5: Gandhara, Berlin, Museum für Indische Kunst, Acc.No. I 183, young Siddhārtha and the dead elephant (after: KLIMBURG-SALTER); cf. Drawing 10

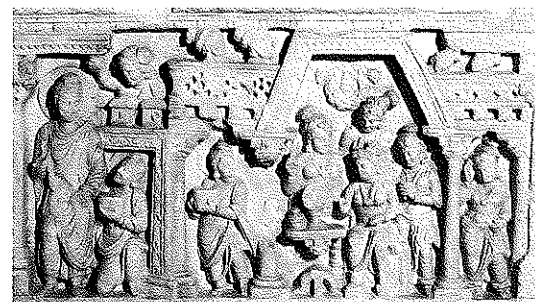


fig.6: Gandhara, Hidda, British Museum, Acc. No. 1900.5-22.1, the Story of Nanda (after KURITA); cf. Drawing 11



fig.7: Kizil, Cave 196, barrel vault in the main chamber, right side (after XU WANYIN); cf. Drawing 12



fig.8: Kizil, Cave 101, barrel vault in the main chamber, right side (after XU WANYIN); cf. Drawing 13



fig.9: Shatial on Indus, rock engraving (Copyright: Forschungsstelle Felsbilder und Inschriften am Karakorum Highway, Akademie der Wissenschaften Heidelberg); cf. Drawing 16



fig.10: Bezeklik, Cave IX, Museum für Indische Kunst Berlin, Acc.No.MIK 6888 (war loss) (after: LECOQ); cf. Drawing 17