

The Identification of Kizil Paintings I^{*)}

Monika Zin

Zusammenfassung: Unter den Malereien der buddhistischen Höhlenklöster in Kizil befindet sich eine ganze Anzahl solcher, deren Darstellungsinhalte immer noch nicht identifiziert sind. Vor allem die rautenförmigen Abschnitte der Gewölbebemalung, in denen die narrativen Stoffe zu einer einzigen Szene vor dem konventionellen Buddhahild reduziert sind, sind äußerst schwer zu deuten. Die sich in mehreren Bildern wiederholende Ikonographie ermöglicht jedoch in manchen Fällen eine sichere Identifizierung. In dem vorliegenden Artikel werden zwei neue Identifizierungen von Kizil-Malereien gegeben, weitere sollen folgen.

1. Die Geschichte von dem Jüngling Yaśa, die in den alten kanonischen Schriften erzählt wird, muss sehr populär gewesen sein, da ihr wichtigstes Ereignis, nämlich die Flucht eines jungen Mannes aus dem väterlichen Haus als Folge der Betrachtung der schlafenden Musikerinnen in die Buddha-Legende übernommen wurde. Yaśa verlässt das reiche Elternhaus und geht nachts zu dem Buddha, wobei er seine Sandalen am Ufer eines Flusses abstellt. Die Sandalen und die Darstellung eines Mannes, der mit immer derselben Handgestik den Fluss überquert, lassen sieben Kizil-Bilder als die Yaśa-Geschichte erkennen.

2. Im Gegensatz zu der Yaśa-Erzählung, von der in Indien bisher keine Darstellungen bekannt sind, ist die andere hier besprochene Geschichte in der Gandhara-Kunst dargestellt. Die Geschichte erzählt von dem Brahmanen Mākandika, der seine schöne Tochter dem Buddha zur Frau geben wollte.

There are still numerous themes that have not yet been identified in the paintings decorating the walls and vaults at Kizil on the Northern Silk Road in Chinese Central Asia (Xinjiang). It is very difficult to identify the small scenes in the murals which decorate barrel vaults. These scenes, which are in the characteristic form of a rhombus, depict stories that have each been condensed to only one picture. The identification of themes is particularly difficult in cases where no more developed representations exist with which a comparison can be made. Nevertheless, from the available

*) This article is the first in a series of three due to be published in the next two years.

published material¹⁾ it is possible to isolate the scenes in which the iconography is consistently repeated, and it is thus worthwhile to make an attempt at their interpretation.

1. Yaśa

In the *Mahāvamsa*, a southern Buddhist literary work in Pali, there is a list which stipulates which episodes in the life of the Buddha should be depicted in the decoration of a stūpa: the list includes ‘the conversion of Yasa’.²⁾ Despite the existence of this list, researchers have failed to identify the Yaśa story among Indian reliefs.³⁾ The story must have been well-known because it is preserved in numerous literary versions⁴⁾ and it was given great importance in the process of the formation of the Buddhist community because Yaśa was the first affluent young man to abandon his wealthy life in order to become a monk. The identification of the visual representation of stories is made possible by their iconic elements, but the artist who wanted to represent Yaśa's story faced a particular problem: the central scene of Yaśa's story – the experience that convinced him to abandon his family home in search of truth – was appropriated for the Buddha's *vita*, so it was not available to illustrate the story of Yaśa himself. It seems that the Kizil painters were the only artists to create an unmistakable iconographical element for Yaśa's conversion.

1) TAN (et al.) 1981, Vol.1-2 and XU (et al.) 1983-85, Vol.1-3.

2) *Mahāvamsa* XXX.78-80 (ed. p 241; transl. p 205): *Sattasattāhaṭṭhānesu tattha tattha yathārahaṃ/ adhikāre akāresi Brahmāyācanam eva ca// dhammacakkappavattiṃ ca Yasapabbajanaṃ pi ca/ Bhaddavaggiyapabbajjaṃ jaṭilānaṃ damanaṃ pi ca// Bimbisārāgamaṃ cāpi Rājagahappavesanaṃ/ Vehlvanassa gahaṇaṃ asītisāvake tathā//*

3) The identification of one relief from Amaravati in the Madras Government Museum (ill.: SIVARAMAMURTI 1942, Pl.38.1) as a story of Yasa (*ibid.*: 182) is ill-founded. The relief shows only an adoration of the (aniconic depicted) Buddha and a donation of clothes.

4) Pali: *Theragāthā* 117, ed. p.17; transl. p.15; *Mahāvagga* I.7, ed. Vol.1, pp.15-18; transl. Vol.1, pp.102-08; *Paramatthadīpanī*, *Theragāthāṭṭhakathā* I.12.7, ed. Vol.1, pp.243-44; transl. pp.104-05; *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* I.8, ed. p.87; transl. Vol.1, p.197; *Nidānakathā*, ed. p.82; transl. p.110;

Sanskrit: *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, in: *Gilgit Manuscripts*, ed. GNOLI, Vol.1, p.139-47; *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*, Vorgang 16-19, ed. with Pali and Tibetan parallels and translation from *T 1450*, pp.173-207; *Mahāvastu*, ed. Vol.3, p.402-13; transl. pp.401-14; *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* LXII, ed. Vol.2, pp.373-80; analys. TUCCI, 1949, Vol.2: 498;

Tibetan: *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin, ed. Vol.42, p.45.3.5; analys. PANGLUNG 1981: 87-88; ed. as parallels in *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*, pp.173-207; trad. FEER 1883: 20-28; transl. ROCKHILL 1884: 38-39; *Buddhacarita*, XVI.3-15, transl. pp.36-37; SCHIEFNER 1851: 247.

Chinese (after WALDSCHMIDT 1951: 101-03): *T 189 (Kouo k'iu hien tsai yin kouo king)*, ed. Vol.3, p.645a; *T 191 (Tchong hui mo ho ti king)* ed. Vol.3, pp.954c-955b; *T 196 (Tchong pen k'i king)*, ed. Vol.4, p.149a; *T 1450 Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin, *Saṅghabhedavastu (Ken pen chouo yi ts'ie yeou pou p'i nai ye p'o seng che)*, ed. Vol.24, pp.128c-130a; transl. WALDSCHMIDT, in: *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*, pp. 173-207; *T 1421, Vinaya* of the Mahīśāsakas (*Mi cha sō pou ho hi wou fen liu*), ed. Vol.22, pp.105a-106a; *T 1428, Vinaya* of the Dharmaguptas (*Sseu fen liu*), ed. Vol.22, pp.789b-790b. And also: *T 190 (Fo pen hing tsi king, Abhinīskramaṇasūtra)*, ed. Vol.3, p.814b-824a; transl. BEAL 1875: 258-68; *T 212 (Tch'ou yao king = Udānavarga)*, ed. Vol. 4, pp.769a-769b – I would like to thank my student Mr. Zhang Liu for drawing my attention to this textual reference.

The story of Yaśa belongs to the earliest Buddhist literature: one verse in the *Theragāthā*, which according to tradition is written in the voice of a monk called Yasa, implies that the speaker has previously enjoyed an exceptionally wealthy life.⁵⁾ A more developed version of the story of Yaśa (Yaśas, Yaśoda, Yasa) is included in the *vinayas* and also in the post-canonical literature (cf. Fn.4). In the biography of the Buddha, Yaśa's story is set after the sermon to the first five monks; thus Yaśa is the sixth person to be converted by the Buddha.

The story (here after the *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*) is as follows: In Benares there lived a man called Yaśa, the son of a respectable family (*agrakulikaputra*), who whiled away his time listening to music played by female musicians. One night he woke up and saw his women musicians, non covered or in loose attire, their hair not bound, some naked and making noises.⁶⁾ Yaśa took this sight as a vision of a cemetery (*śmaśānasamjñāvakraṅtā*). He got up off his bed, put on his pair of jewelled sandals worth a hundred thousand and went to the door where he shouted out that he felt depressed and sorrowful.

Spirits (*amanuṣyā*) opened the door and they made Yaśa's voice mute so no nobody could hear him.⁷⁾ Later, when Yaśa was leaving his palace and the town, still shouting that he was depressed and sorrowful, the spirits opened the gates to him, and again muted his voice. Yaśa went to the bank of the river Bārakā, where he saw the Buddha from a distance. Seeing the Buddha, Yaśa lamented once more that he was depressed and sorrowful. The Buddha heard this lament and said that if Yaśa came to him, there would never be any more depression and sorrow for him. So Yaśa left his expensive sandals on the bank and crossed the river.⁸⁾ It was there that the Buddha first instructed Yaśa: the young man was quick to understand the Buddha's teaching and converted immediately.

The story continues with Yaśa's father search for his son. During the search Yaśa's father discovered his son's sandals on the bank of the river Bārakā and so found his way to the Buddha. The Buddha at first made Yaśa invisible to the father using his *ṛddhi*. During the sermon, the father became a lay-disciple of the Buddha and Yaśa achieved an arhatship. Soon afterwards Yaśa's mother, and his former wife, also became lay-disciples, while four friends of Yaśa, sons of distinguished Benares families, became monks.

Other versions (cf. Fn.4) differ from the *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* in several places. One group (*Mahāvastu*, *Abhiniṣkramaṇasūtra*, *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*) extends the plot by narrating the events

5) *Theragāthā* 117, ed. p.17; transl. p.15: *suvilitto suvasano sabbābharanabhūsito/ tisso vijjā ajjhagamim katam Buddhassa sāsanam ti//*

6) *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* 16.3 (ed. p.172; transl. pp.31-32) (added text in brackets): (*rātrau Yaśenāgrakulikaputreṇa svapnād vibuddhena sarvās tāḥ striyo dṛṣṭā vigopitagātryo vidhūtakeśyaḥ prasārīta*)*bhujā nagnā pralapantyaḥ/*

7) *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* 16.4 (ed. p.174; transl. p.32): (*atha Yaśo 'grakulikaputraḥ mahāśayanād avatīrya śatasāhasraṃ maṇipādukayugam āropay*)*itvā yenāntahpuradvāraṃ tenopajagāma/ upetyāpasvaram akārṣīt/ upadruto 'smy upasṛṣṭo 'smi māriṣa/ ity amanuṣyās tasya dvāraṃ vivṛṇvanti na ca śabdān udārayanti/*

8) *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* 16.10 (ed. p.176; transl. p.33): *atha Yaśo 'grakulika(putro nadyā Bārakāyas tīre śatasāhasraṃ maṇipādukayugam ujjhitvā tūrthena nadīm Bārakām utīrya) yena Bhagavāms tenopajagāma/*



Fig. 1 Cave 163, main chamber, left side of the barrel vault. After XU (et al.) 1983-85, Vol.2, Fig.173

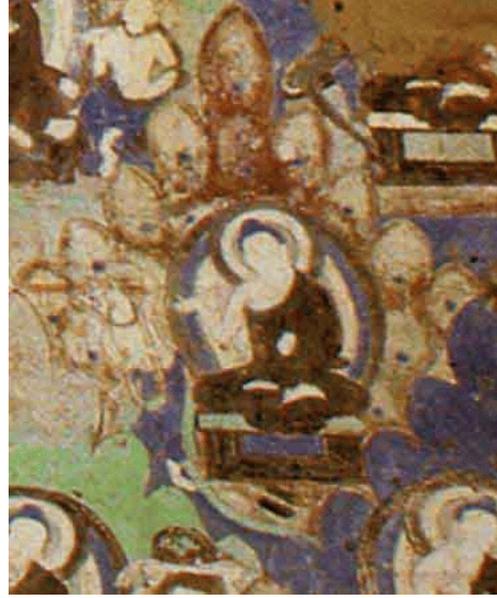


Fig. 2 Cave 34, main chamber, right side of the barrel vault. After XU (et al.) 1983-85, Vol.1, Fig.78

which occur before the birth of Yaśa; his parents had given an ultimatum to a *devatā*: if the *devatā* did not give them a son they would cut down the tree in which the *devatā* lived. All these versions seemingly rely on one particular source, as in all of them the character's name is Yaśoda. A Tibetan tanka,⁹⁾ which depicts the father of Yaśa trying to strike a tree with an axe, is painted according to the version in the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*. Apart from the introduction and the description of the miracles that Yaśa performed as a monk, these other versions differ only insignificantly from the version presented earlier in the *Catuspariśatsūtra*: Yaśa, who has been depressed by the sight of the sleeping women musicians, leaves his home. He crosses the river, first placing his sandals on the bank, and it is thanks to these that his father finds him later.

The versions in Pali (cf. Fn.4), both in the *Mahāvagga* and in later commentaries, do not mention Yaśa crossing the river; in these retellings he simply takes off his sandals before sitting down next to the Buddha in order to listen to the sermon.¹⁰⁾ However, as in the other versions, Yaśa's father finds the sandals his son had put down (*pādukānaṃ nikkhepa*)¹¹⁾ and through them finds Yaśa.

9) Cf. TUCCI 1949, Pl.118.

10) *Mahāvagga* I.7.5 (ed. p.15; transl. p.104): *atha kho Yaso kulaputto idaṃ kira anupaddutaṃ idaṃ anupassatṭhan ti haṭṭho udaggo suvaṇṇapādukāhi orohitvā yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi/*

11) *Mahāvagga* I.7.7 (ed. p.16; transl. p.105): *atha kho seṭṭhi gahapati catuddisā assadūte uyyojetvā sāmaṃ yeva yena Isipatanaṃ migadāyo ten' upasaṃkami/ addasa kho seṭṭhi gahapati suvaṇṇapādukānaṃ nikkhepaṃ disvāna taṃ yeva anugamāsi/* The meaning of *pādukānaṃ nikkhepa* in the PTSD as “footprint, mark, impression” is given without comparison with the Sanskrit text, *pādukānaṃ nikkhepa* can only mean “put down sandals”.

Among the paintings covering the barrel vaults in the caves at Kizil there are scenes which apparently depict the conversion of Yaśa. The painters have reduced the representation to one picture, showing the scene in which Yaśa crosses the river. In one such picture in Cave 163 (Fig. 1) (see “List of paintings under discussion” at the end of the paper) a man is standing in the river in front of the Buddha who is represented in a conventional way; clearly the man crossing the river is Yaśa crossing the Bārakā. The figure is depicted gesticulating wildly: he holds one hand above his head – in Ajanta paintings this gesture represents dismay (cf. SCHLINGLOFF 2000, Vol.2: 135, “being horrified”) – and his other hand is stretched out towards the Buddha as if asking for help. The artist evidently wanted to use this pose to depict Yaśa's despair, which in the written texts is expressed by Yaśa's cries about his depression and sorrow.

The same gesture, of a man in front of the Buddha and the river, can be found in other pictures; however, the paintings in Cave 34 (Fig. 2) and Cave 224 (Fig. 3) differ from the previous representation. The man standing in front of the Buddha, obviously Yaśa, is not in the water but rather on the surface of the river – here depicted according to convention as a green (Fig. 3) or blue (Fig. 2) strap. In these paintings two dark objects parallel to each other can be seen on the river bank – the sandals left by Yaśa (in Fig. 1 these are not visible as the lower part of the painting is damaged).

Although it is not readily apparent, the same scene is represented in Cave 188 (Fig. 4); in this a man using the gesture described above is standing next to the river whose bank is visible as a wavy line limiting a green plane at the foot of a throne. Here too a pair of dark objects can be seen which in the context of this story must be the sandals on the river bank.

In the paintings at Kizil there are few depictions of sandals; usually when sandals are painted they feature a

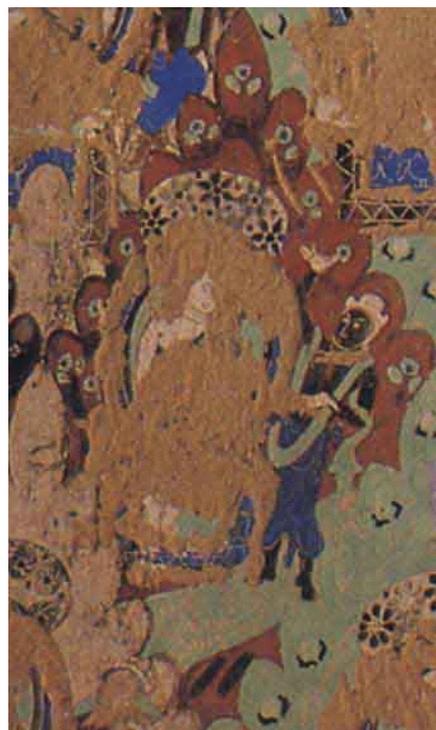


Fig. 3 Cave 224, main chamber, right side of the barrel vault. After XU (et al.) 1983-85, Vol.3, Fig.151



Fig. 4 Cave 188, main chamber, right side of the barrel vault. After XU (et al.) 1983-85, Vol.3, Fig.60



Fig. 5 Cave 58, main chamber, right side of the barrel vault. After XU (et al.) 1983-85, Vol.1, Fig.163

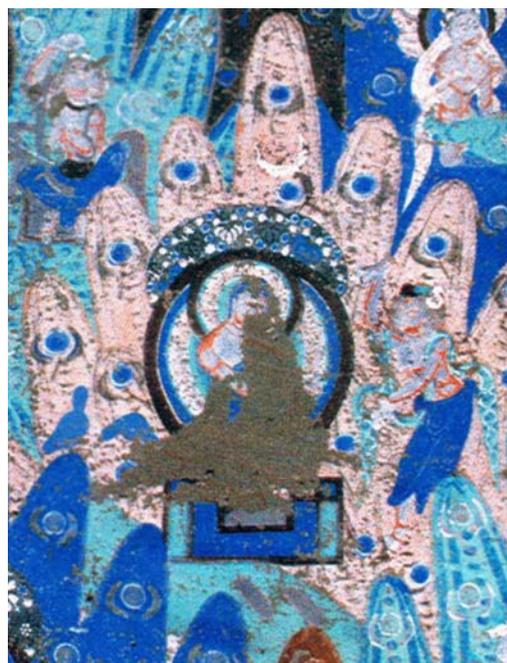


Fig. 6 Cave 171, main chamber, left side of the barrel vault. After TAN (et al.) 1981, Vol.2, Fig.78

thin sole fixed to a foot with delicate straps.¹²⁾ In the scenes with Yaśa however, the artist does not indicate the straps and ornaments of this pair of extremely valuable jewelled sandals in even the simplest way. Nevertheless, the fact that in these scenes only two objects are ever depicted seems to prove that this is a representation of the sandals left on the river bank rather than the footprints, like it is in the case of the Seven Steps of newly born Siddhārtha also depicted at Kizil.¹³⁾ The picture in Cave 58 (Fig. 5) is more difficult to interpret: Yaśa is standing in front of the Buddha with his characteristic gesture, while on the other side of the Buddha it is possible to see marks that can be interpreted as the footprints of Yaśa crossing the river. Also in another scene, in Cave 171 (Fig. 6) the two objects are to be observed on the surface of the river. In the last figure and in Fig. 1 there is a moon above the scene connoting, in accordance with written versions of the story, that the crossing of the river Bārakā took place at night.

It is possible to recognise the episode of Yaśa among the scenes presenting the story of the Buddha's life in Cave 110¹⁴⁾ because of the crescent moon and the characteristic gestures of the man standing in front of the Buddha. Above the scenes in Cave 110 there are straps containing

12) Cave 123 (Berlin, Museum für Indische Kunst, Inv.No. III 9063), ill.: XU (et al.) 1983-85, Vol.3, Fig.198-99; Cave 205 (Māyā-Höhle der 2. Anlage; lost in war, ill.: GRÜNWEDEL 1920, Pl.42-43.

13) Cave 76 (Pfauenhöhle), ill.: GRÜNWEDEL 1920, Pl.1-2, Fig.2.

14) Cave 110 (Treppenhöhle), ill.: GRÜNWEDEL 1912, Figs.; LE COQ 1924, Pl.6-10; TAN (et al.) 1981, Vol.2, Figs. 1-8; XU (et al.) 1983-85 Vol.2, Figs.106-16, Vol.3, Fig.194 (Berlin, MJK, Inv.No. III 8376); YALDIZ 1987, Figs.45-50.

inscriptions which are captions to each of the scenes in the Tocharian language.¹⁵⁾ Unfortunately no analysis of these straps has so far been published. What may be of particular interest here is scene No.38 of a cycle (Fig. 7), which is set after the First Sermon. The sole photograph of it was taken in 1906 during the third German Turfan-Expedition and unfortunately the photograph cuts off the bottom part of the painting.¹⁶⁾ Since the scene does not appear either in the *Grotto*



Fig. 7 Cave 110, Nr.38, main chamber, right-hand wall.
After LE COQ 1924, Pl.7

Art of China or in *Murals for Xinjiang*, it is possible that this part of the murals in Cave 110 has by now been damaged beyond recognition.¹⁷⁾ The scene consists of two parts, the left side shows a man sitting on a bed, behind whom a sleeping woman can be seen while on the right a man is standing opposite the Buddha in the pose described above.

If the place of scene No.38 in the Buddha's life were not known, the left side of the picture could be easily mistaken for the representation of Siddhārtha among sleeping women (in the same Cave 110, scene No.23)¹⁸⁾. However, in scene No.38 there are no female musicians sleeping on the floor – possibly a deliberate omission in order to differentiate this scene clearly from No.23. As the lower part of the scene has not been reproduced in any published material, it is not known if the artist showed the sandals on the river bank. The river itself is depicted: between the Buddha and Yaśa, just above the lower edge of the photograph, a diagonally running strap can be seen which must have been part of the representation of the river bank.

The Buddha legend has been expanded over time. Initially, the First Meditation under a Jambu Tree was the only impulse given for the future Buddha to leave home,¹⁹⁾ but later accretions have given additional motives, including the Three Encounters taken from the biography of the Buddha

15) Cf. GRÜNWEDEL 1912: 118; SCHMIDT 1998.

16) LE COQ 1924, Pl.7; YALDIZ 1987, Fig.50.

17) Other scenes from the same row of the paintings up to No.35 are preserved *in situ* and published in TAN (et al.) 1981, Vol.2, Figs.4-5, 7; XU (et al.) 1983-85, Vol.2, Figs.113-16.

18) Cave 110 (Treppenhöhle), left side wall, ill.: LE COQ 1924, Pl.6; TAN (et al.) 1981, Vol.2, Fig.2; XU (et al.) 1983-85, Vol.2, Fig.110; YALDIZ 1987, Fig.46.

19) Cf. SCHLINGLOFF 1987, with references.

Vipaśyin,²⁰⁾ and also the vision of the cemetery provoked by the sight of sleeping women taken from the story of Yaśa. The appropriation of the above motifs for the life-story of the Buddha (which incidentally proves the popularity of the legends) ensured that the motifs could not be used in depictions of Yaśa and Vipaśyin. This makes the achievement of the painters at Kizil all the more remarkable as it was they who found a formula to present the story of Yaśa.

2. Mākandika

A Brahmin, standing in front of the Buddha and accompanied by a woman, is another theme with a consistently repeated iconography. In one rhombus on the barrel vault in Cave 186 (Fig. 8), a Brahmin, characterised as such by his antelope skin clothes and his hair which is piled up on his head, is shown with a woman standing behind him. Her face is turned not towards the Buddha and the monk



Fig. 8 Cave 186, main chamber, left side of the barrel vault. After XU (et al.) 1983-85, Vol.3, Fig.53

next to him, but in the opposite direction. A careful examination reveals that the Brahmin is holding the woman by the wrist.

Exactly the same group may be seen in one of the sermon scenes on the side wall in Cave 80 (Fig. 9). The scene is more developed than in Cave 186 (Fig. 8), the picture is much bigger, more precisely painted and it is ornamented by several additional figures such as gods and monks. Most importantly, however, just as in cave 186 (Fig. 8) the Brahmin is holding the woman by her wrist, and the woman is standing behind him and looking in the opposite direction.

The same group can be found once again, on the right wall of Cave 14 (Fig. 10). Despite the scene being in an advanced state of decay, it is possible to make out in the midst of the gods and monks surrounding the Buddha, a Brahmin dressed in antelope skin, holding a woman, who is standing behind him, by her wrist.

The scene shown in the three pictures referred to above is not difficult to interpret, not least because of its similarity to the reliefs in

20) *Dīghanikāya* XIV.2, ed. Vol.2, pp.21-35; transl. pp.18-28; *Mahāvadānasūtra*, ed. pp.117-27.



Fig. 9 Cave 80, main chamber, right side wall. After XU (et al.) 1983-85, Vol.2, Fig.50

Gandhara (Fig. 11),²¹⁾ and it has already been identified by FOUCHER (1905-51, 2: 256-57). It is the story of Brahmin Mākantika (Māgandīya, Mākandika, Māgandhika). The motif is very old: the dialogue of the Brahmin Māgandīya and the Buddha, in which the Buddha explains his reasons for rejecting the daughter whom the Brahmin offers him for marriage, appears in the old *Suttanipāta*.²²⁾ A more developed version of the story is to be found in several places in Buddhist literature, in both the ‘northern’²³⁾ and the ‘southern’²⁴⁾ tradition. This version connects the story with the well-known

21) Private Collection in Japan, ill.: KURITA 2003, Vol.1, Fig.225 (identified as Māra with his daughter, which is impossible because of the presence of a monk). — Further depictions: from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, No. 1907, ill.: FOUCHER 1905-51, Vol.2, Fig.433; INGHOLT 1957, Fig. 165; SEHRAI 1985, Fig.60; from Karmar, Government Museum and Art Gallery Chandigarh, No.310, ill.: KURITA 2003, Fig.466; from Karamar, Lahore Museum, No.309, NN.G-5, ill.: FOUCHER 1905-51, Fig.434b; INGHOLT 1957, Fig.162; TISSOT 2002, Fig.77; KURITA 2003, Fig.378; Private Collection in the USA., ill.: KURITA 2003, Fig.638; from Sahri Bahlol (?), Private Collection in Japan, ill.: KURITA 2003, Fig.223; Private Collection in Japan, ill.: KURITA 2003, Fig.224.

22) *Māgandīyasutta*, *Suttanipāta* IV.9 (835-847), ed. pp.163-66; transl. pp.140-41; the Sanskrit equivalent (ed. in: HOERNLE 1916, pp.711-18) includes some more details (e.g. the wife of the Brahmin) than the Pali version. The dialogue is called “Māgandīyapañha” in Pali literature (*Samyuttanikāya* XXII.3, ed. Vol.3, p.12; transl. p.13).

23) *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins preserved in Tibetan, ed. Vol.43, p. 205.4.5, analys. PANGLUNG 1981: 155, in Chinese *T 1442* (*Ken pen chou yi ts'ie yeou pou p'i nai ya = Mūlasarvāstivādinayavibhaṅga*), ed. Bd.23, pp.886a-887a; pp.891c-892c, cf. HUBER 1906: 21-24 and LACÔTE 1908: 253, and in Sanskrit in the *Divyāvadāna* XXXVI, ed. pp.515-21; *T 211* (*Fa ju pi yu jing = Udānavarga*), Vol.4, p.603c-604b; transl. in BEAL 1902, p.189. — The *Vinayavibhaṅga* of the Sarvāstivādins, preserved in the Sanskrit original, a manuscript from Murtauq (ed.+ transl. in: WALDSCHMIDT 1973; ed. Cat.No.1098 (M 423) in: SANDER/WALDSCHMIDT 1985, pp.88-93) and in the Chinese translation (ed. Vol.23, pp.124c-126c, cf. ROSEN 1959: 208) starts the story – as most versions of the Udayana narrative do – when Anopamā is already the wife of the King Udayana and her father Māgandhika his Minister.

24) *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* (II.1, ed. Vol.1, pp.199-203; transl. Vol.1, pp.274-77; XIV.1, ed. Vol.3, pp.193-99; transl. Vol.3, pp.31-34; *Manorathapūraṇī*, *Aṅguttaranikāyaṭṭhakathā* I.XIV, ed. Vol.1, pp.435-37; *Paramatthajotikā*, *Suttanipātaṭṭhakathā* on *Suttanipāta* IV.9, ed. Vol.2, pp.542-48).



Fig. 10 Cave 14, main chamber, right side of the barrel vault. After Xu (et al.) 1983-85, Vol.1, Fig.43

legend of the famous king Udayana (Udena).²⁵⁾

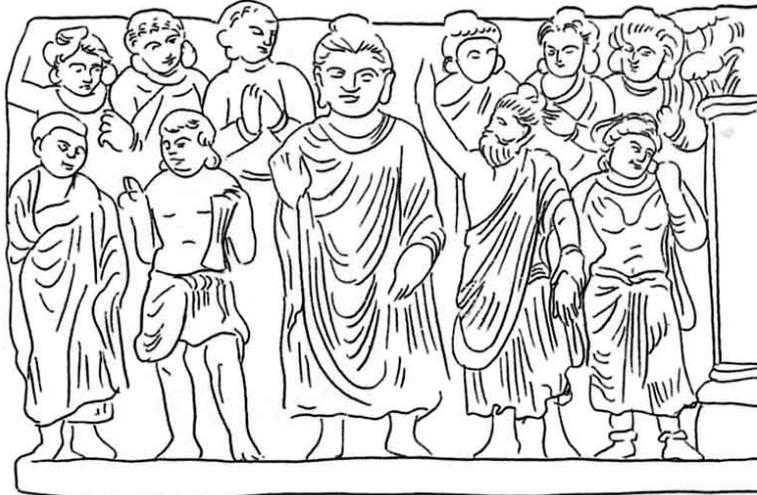
The story goes as follows (here after *Divyāvadāna*): The Buddha wandering in the country of Kuru comes to the Kalmāśadamyā, where the *parivrājaka* Brahmin Mākandika lives with his wife Sākali. They have an exceptionally beautiful daughter called Anupamā, “without equal”. Mākandika decides that he will only give her in marriage to a man of equal splendour. Once, while in the forest searching for flowers and wood, Mākandika sees the Buddha sitting at the foot of a tree and concludes that he would make a perfect match for his daughter. The Brahmin goes home to discuss the matter with his wife. The wife adorns Anupamā with fine clothes and jewellery and all three go to the Buddha²⁶⁾ where both parents offer their daughter in marriage to the Buddha. (The Pali

25) The story about Māgandiya and his daughter is not the only motif known from earlier Buddhist literature without a connection to Udayana and in the later literature with a connection to him. The stories were projected onto the lifestory of the famous lover due to the growing popularity of the novel *Bṛhatkathā* in which he was one of the main adventurers; for references cf. ZIN 1998: 444, Fn.36.

26) *Divyāvadāna* XXXVI (ed. p.515): *Buddho Bhagavān Kuruṣu janapada-cārikāṃ caran Kalmāśadamyam anuprāptaḥ/ tena khalu punaḥ samayena Kalmāśadamyē Mākandiko nāma parivrājakaḥ prativasati/ tasya Sākalir nāma patnī/ tasya duhitā jātā abhirūpā darśanīyā prāsādikā sarvāṅgapratyaṅgopetvā (...)* tasyā Anupameti nāmadheyaṃ vyavasthāpitam/ sā unnītā vardhitā/ Mākandikaḥ saṃlakṣayati/ iyaṃ dārikā na mayā kasyacit kulena dātavyā na dhanena nāpi śrutena kiṃtu yo 'sya rūpeṇa samo vāpy adhiko vā tasya mayā dātavyeti/ (...) (p.516): *tena khalu samayena Mākandikaḥ parivrājakaḥ puṣpasamidhasyārthe nirgato 'bhū/ adrākṣin Mākandikaḥ parivrājako Bhagavantam dūrād evānyataravṛkṣamūlam niśritya (...)* drṣtvā ca punaḥ prītiprāmodyajātaḥ/ sa saṃlakṣayati/ yādṛśo 'yaṃ śramaṇaḥ prāsādikāḥ pradarśanīyaḥ sakalajanamanohārī durlabhas tu sarvastrījanasya patiḥ pratirūpaḥ prāg evānupamāyā labdho me jāmātetī/ yena svaṃ niveśanam tenopasaṃkāntaḥ/ upasaṃkrāmya patnīm āmantrayate/ yat khalu bhadre jānīya labdho me duhitur jāmātā alaṃkuruṣvānupamāṃ dadāmitī/ (...) (p.517): *sā Anupamāṃ vastrālaṃkārair alaṃkṛtya saṃprasthitā/ ...*

version differs in several details, the most important being that it is the Buddha who goes to Māgandiyā and his wife, called here Māgandiyā, to convert them, both parents become Arhats and the girl is then accompanied by her uncle Cullamāgandiyā.) The story continues that Anupamā (or Anopamā, in Pali Māgandikā) is dismissed by the Buddha, offended because the Buddha described her as being filled with urine and excrement, she starts to hate him. She is married to king Udayana in Kauśambī, and her jealousy about the king's second wife, the pious lay-disciple Śyāmavātī, provides the themes for further stories, some of which are represented in visual art.²⁷⁾

All representations of the Mākandika episode in Gandhara show, to one side of the Buddha, a Brahmin holding a young woman by her wrist, or in some cases her hand (just as in our Fig. 11): she is identifiable as Anupamā. (The scene should not be confused with depiction of giving a wife to the Bodhisatva.²⁸⁾) Anupamā does not look at the Buddha but in the opposite direction. In three reliefs (cf. Fn.21, in both reliefs from Karmar and in the relief from Sahri Bahlol (?) in the Private Coll. in Japan) a woman is depicted on the other side of Anupamā who is probably her mother. Mākandika holds his daughter by the wrist and holds her hand out towards the Buddha, thus 'giving him her hand'. Anopamā, obviously embarrassed, does not look at her 'bride-groom'.



This same formula was used in the Kizil Painting. As in

Gandhara all representations of the story in Kizil show at least one monk in order to suggest the attendance of the community at the incident. Even in Gandhara the mother is not always depicted, and in the simplified representations in Central Asia the mother is never shown. In Fig. 9, however, there is a woman depicted in the upper right-hand corner. The woman is sitting sadly in the meditating pose. She may be the rejected Anopamā thinking about her fate and future.

What needs to be emphasised is that the representation of the Mākandika episode in the Kizil painting is exceptionally fine and displays a psychological sensitivity which reflects very well on the skill of the artists at Kizil.

27) For references to the story cf. LACÔTE 1908; WALDSCHMIDT 1973; ZIN 1998, with references to the representations in reliefs and paintings.

28) E.g. KURITA, 2003, Vol.1, Figs.107-08.

List of paintings under discussion

Yaśa

1. Cave 34 (Höhle mit dem meditierenden Sonnengott), main chamber, right side of the barrel vault, ill.: XU (et al.) 1983-85, Vol.1, Figs.78, 80 (*supra*, Fig. 2)
2. Cave 58 (Höhle der Behelmtten), main chamber, right side of the barrel vault, ill.: XU (et al.) 1983-85, Vol.1, Fig.163 (*supra*, Fig. 5)
3. Cave 110 (Treppenhöhle), main chamber, right-hand wall, Nr.38, ill.: LE COQ 1924, Pl.7; YALDIZ 1987, Fig.50 (*supra*, Fig. 7)
4. Cave 163, main chamber, left side of the barrel vault, ill.: XU (et al.) 1983-85, Vol.2, Fig.173 (*supra*, Fig. 1)
5. Cave 171, main chamber, left side of the barrel vault, ill.: TAN (et al.) 1981, Vol.2, Fig.78; XU (et al.) 1983-85, Vol.3, Fig.8 (*supra*, Fig. 6)
6. Cave 188 (Buddha-Höhle), main chamber, right side of the barrel vault, ill.: XU (et al.) 1983-85, Vol.3, Fig.60 (*supra*, Fig. 4)
7. Cave 224 (Māyā-Höhle der 3. Anlage), main chamber, right side of the barrel vault, ill.: XU (et al.) 1983-85, Vol.3, Fig.151 (*supra*, Fig. 3)

Mākandika

8. Cave 14, main chamber, right side of the barrel vault, ill.: XU (et al.) 1983-85, Vol.1, Fig.43 (*supra*, Fig. 10)
9. Cave 80, main chamber, right-hand wall, ill.: TAN (et al.) 1981, Vol.1, Fig.178; XU (et al.) 1983-85, Vol.2, Fig.48, 50-51 (*supra*, Fig. 9)
10. Cave 186, main chamber, left side of the barrel vault, ill.: XU (et al.) 1983-85, Vol.3, Fig.53 (*supra*, Fig. 8)

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