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IMAGES, RELICS, AND JEWELS: THE ASSIMILATION OF IMAGES IN THE BUDDHIST RELIC CULT OF GANDHĀRA – OR VICE VERSA

Given that the Buddha's relics were the undisputed focus of early Buddhist devotional worship, as Gregory Schopen has convincingly demonstrated in a series of works, how did early images of the Buddha acquire similar sanctity?[1] The relationship between relics and the Buddha is secure enough as long as devotees believe that they are the corporeal remains of the Buddha himself, no matter how substantial the basis for such a belief may be. Compared with the relics, iconic images are hardly free from the suspicion that they lack substance; consequently they are frequently questioned as to their authenticity and appropriateness as valid cult objects.

The distinction between cult objects that contain a relic and those that do not must have been an important concern for early Buddhists, as documented in several literary sources. For instance, a famous passage in the *Mahāsaṃghika-vinaya* makes an interesting distinction between a stupa and a *caitya* on the basis of the presence of a relic inside:

> Where there is a relic, one speaks of a stupa; where there is none, of a *caitya*. The *caityas* that mark the places where the Buddha was born, where he attained enlightenment, where he turned the wheel of the law, and where he entered *nirvāṇa*, or where there is a Bodhisattva image, the caves of *pratyekabuddhas*, or the footprints of the Buddha, may have Buddha-flower canopies and offering paraphernalia.[2]

One can see clearly in this passage that a stupa, a funerary monument containing a relic, is posited against other sacred monuments or cult objects of heterogeneous nature that do not have a relic, all broadly grouped in the single category of *caitya*.

Apparently following a different definition of *caitya*, or *cetiya*, a well-known passage in the *Kaliṅgabodhi-jātaka* in Pāli classifies *cetiya* into three types: (1) *sarīrika*, which contains the Buddha's

1 For some of Gregory Schopen's works related to this issue, see: "The *Stūpa* Cult and the Extant Pāli *Vinaya*," *Journal of the Pāli Text Society* 13 (1989): 83–100; "Monks and the Relic Cult in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*: An Old Misunderstanding in Regard to Monastic Buddhism," in *From Benares to Beijing: Essays on Buddhism and Chinese Religion*, ed. Koichi Shinohara and Gregory Schopen (Oakville, Ontario: Mosaic Press, 1991), 187–201; "Burial *Ad Sanctos* and the Physical Presence of the Buddha in Early Indian Buddhism: A Study in the Archaeology of Religions," *Religion* 17 (1987): 193–225; all compiled in Schopen, *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks: Collected Papers on the Archaeology, Epigraphy, and Texts of Monastic Buddhism in India* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 86–147. The question I raise here was also inspired by discussions with Prof. Lewis Lancaster (while I was a graduate student at the University of California, Berkeley, long ago), who repeatedly pointed out the importance of the relic cult in relation to the creation of the Buddha image.

2 Based on Alexander Soper's translation in his "Early Buddhist Attitudes toward the Art of Painting," *Art Bulletin* 32, 2 (1950): 140a, cf. *Taishō* 22:1425.498b.

relic; (2) *pāribhogika*, which had been used by the Buddha; and (3) *uddesika*, which may mean literally "indicative." The *Kaliṅgabodhi-jātaka* denounces the *uddesika cetiya* as lacking substance, merely dependent upon mind, and thus being inappropriate for worship.[3] Although precisely what *uddesika* means in this context may be debatable,[4] the *uddesika cetiya* is clearly defined in the *Khuddakapāṭha-Aṭṭhakathā* (commentary to the *Khuddakapāṭha*) as *buddhapaṭimā*, i.e. Buddha images.[5] The date of the *Kaliṅgabodhi-jātaka* is problematic, but the *Khuddakapāṭha-Aṭṭhakathā* is datable to the fifth or sixth century CE.[6] This suggests that even when the worship of Buddha images became an established cult practice, its legitimacy was still questioned.

3 V. Fausbøll, ed., *The Jātaka, Together with its Commentary* (London: Pāli Text Society, 1887), 4:228, cf. E.B. Cowell, ed., and W.H.D. Rouse, trans., *The Jātaka, or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births* (London: Pāli Text Society, 1895), 4:142–143. It seems Robert Spence Hardy was the first to note this passage (Hardy, *Eastern Monachism* [London: Partridge and Oakey, 1850], 216); his explanation for *uddesika*: "things that have been erected on his [i.e. the Buddha's] account, or for his sake, which the commentators say, mean the image of his person." Later Henrik Kern provided two different definitions: (1) "tout ce qui a été ou construit pour honorer le souvenir d'une personne" (*Histoire du Bouddhisme de l'Inde par H. Kern*, translated from the Dutch by Gédéon Huet [Paris: E. Leroux, 1901–1903], 2:126); (2) "memorials" (*Manual of Indian Buddhism* [Strassburg: K.J. Trübner, 1898], 88). These explanations are cited by Louis de la Vallée Poussin with criticism in *"Staupikam," Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 2 (1939): 284–285. Ananda Coomaraswamy also noted this passage, initially admitting it as a textual testimony to the presence of the interdiction against making a Buddha image in early Buddhist art; see *Elements of Buddhist Iconography* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1935), 4–5.

4 De la Vallée Poussin suggests that the *uddesika* of the *Kaliṅgabodhi-jātaka* should be understood in the sense of *tathāgatam uddiśya* (which he translates "en vue de *tathāgatha*") referred to in the explanation of *vimukhapūjā*, one of ten *pūjās* enumerated in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. De la Vallée Poussin, *"Staupikam,"* 282–283.

5 *"Bodhirukkho paribhogacetiyam, buddhapaṭimā uddisakacetiyaṃ, dhātugabbhathūpā sadhātukā dhātu[ka] cetiyaṃ"* (Helmer Smith, ed., *The Khuddaka-Pāṭha, Together with its Commentary* [London: Pāli Text Society, 1915], 222). In this passage, *paribhogacetiya* (=*pāribhogikacetiya*) is identified as *bodhirukkha* (the bodhi tree), *uddisakacetiya* (=*uddesikacetiya*) as *buddhapaṭimā*, and *dhātucetiya* (in this context from Sri Lanka *dhātu* is obviously a synonym for *sarīra*) as in *dhātugabbhathūpa* (the stupa of *dhātugarbha* or *dāgabha*).

Coomaraswamy, when he noted the three *cetiyas* from the *Kaliṅgabodhi-jātaka*, was also aware of this passage from the *Khuddakapāṭha-Aṭṭhakathā*, which earlier had apparently been known to Spence Hardy as well (see n. 3 above, "which the commentators say..."), but later admitting the authority of de la Vallée Poussin, he gave up the connection with *Khuddakapāṭha-Aṭṭhakathā*. Coomaraswamy, "Nature of Buddhist Art," originally a preface to Benjamin Rowland, *The Wall Paintings of India, Central Asia, and Ceylon* (Boston: Merrymount Press, 1938), later compiled in his *Traditional Art and Symbolism*, ed. Roger Lipsey (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977), 156–158. However, it is obviously questionable that the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, on which de la Vallée Poussin's interpretation is based, is any more relevant for the understanding of the term from the *Kaliṅgabodhi-jātaka* than the *Khuddakapāṭha-Aṭṭhakathā*.

6 This approximate date of the *Khuddakapāṭha-Aṭṭhakathā* is cited from Mori Sōdō, *Pari bukkyō chūshaku bunken no kenkyū: Aṭṭhakaṭhā no jōzabuteki yōsō* (Study of Pāli Buddhist commentaries: Aspects of the Theravāda in the *Aṭṭhakathās*) (Tokyo: Sankibō busshorin, 1984), 6. There seems to be no clear assessment of the date of the *Kaliṅgabodhi-jātaka*, although Schopen says, "The classification of *cetiyas* into *sarīrika*, *pāribhogika*, and *uddesika* found in the *Kaliṅgabodhijātaka* and other Pāli sources, although frequently cited, shows several signs of being very late..."; Schopen, "An Old Inscription from Amarāvatī and the Cult of the Local Monastic Dead in Indian Buddhist Monasteries," in his *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks*, 197, n. 34. At any rate it is obvious that the classification cannot be later than the *Khuddakapāṭha-Aṭṭhakathā*. The *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, from which de la Vallée Poussin cites, may barely predate the *Khuddakapāṭha-Aṭṭhakathā* by one or two centuries at the most.

In actuality, the secondary status of Buddha images to the major stupa in a monastery that supposedly contained the relic of the Buddha was conspicuous enough in most Buddhist monastic complexes in India throughout their history. In the majority of Gandhāran monasteries in the Peshawar valley, for instance, Buddha images were usually placed in a series of multiple chapels surrounding the court of the main stupa, and thus obviously relegated in the visual hierarchy to a position inferior to that of the latter in terms of uniqueness and placement (fig. 1).[7] From the Gupta period onwards, we begin to see a different trend developing, most remarkably in such places as Bodhgayā and Nālandā, where huge shrines were constructed on a scale exceeding that of earlier stupas, but this is obviously a late phenomenon, which could also have been restricted regionally.

For a Buddha image to emulate relics in symbolic and cultic importance, there could have been two justifications. First, one may claim that an image follows or resembles the true appearance of the Buddha as authenticated by legendary traditions. The numerous replications of the sandalwood statue created by King Udayana or of the shadow image left by the Buddha in the Dragon Cave in Nagarahara are such examples.[8] The record of replicated images brought by Xuanzang to China from his pilgrimage to India during the middle of the seventh century indicates that there were a number of such famous images that functioned as "prime objects" in the Indian Buddhist tradition.[9] Second, one may actually install a relic somewhere in the image. Although this may result in the image being symbol-

7 Juhyung Rhi, "Gandhāra pulgyo sawŏn ŭi chosang pongan yangsik kwa kŭ ŭimi" (The mode of enshrinement of Buddha images in Gandhāran monasteries and its significance), *Misulsa yŏn'gu* 8 (1994): 165–170, cf. Kurt Behrendt, "Relics and their Representation in Gandhāra," *Marg* 54, 4 (2004).

8 The Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang, who visited India from 627 to 645, reported: "[princes of various countries, being unable to carry off the Udayana statue of Kauśambī] ... worship copies of it, and they pretend that the likeness is a true one, and this is the original of all such figures." Samuel Beal, trans., *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World* (London: Trubner, 1884), 1: 235, cf. *Taishō* 51:2087.898 a. Traditions of various Udayana images transmitted from India flourished greatly in China from the fourth century on. See Alexander Soper, *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae Publishers, 1959), 259–265; Martha L. Carter, *The Mystery of the Udayana Buddha* (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1990), 1–16. Regarding the shadow image of Nagarahara, Faxian, who stayed in India during the 400s, reported: "When the kings from the regions all around have sent skilful artists to take a copy, none of them have been able to do so." James Legge, trans., *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886), 39, cf. *Taishō* 51:2085.859 a. This indicates that in fact there were numerous attempts to copy the image. Chinese Buddhist sources record several instances of replicas of the shadow image created in China. Soper, *Literary Evidence*, 267–268.

9 Xuanzang brought seven such images from India: (1) a golden Buddha, an imitation of the shadow image in the dragon cave at Pragbodhi Mountain in the country of Magadha; (2) a golden Buddha, an imitation of the image of the Buddha in the posture of turning the wheel of the *dharma* for the first time at the Deer Park in the country of Vārāṇasī; (3) a sandalwood Buddha, an imitation of the sandalwood image made by King Udayana of the country of Kauśambī; (4) a sandalwood Buddha, an imitation of the image of the Tathāgata descending by a precious stairway from the heavenly palace to earth in the country of Kapitha; (5) a silver Buddha, an imitation of the image of the Buddha as he was preaching the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* and other scriptures on Vulture Peak in the country of Magadha; (6) a golden Buddha, an imitation of the shadow image left by the Buddha when he had subdued a venomous dragon in the country of Nagarahara; and (7) a sandalwood Buddha, an imitation of the Buddha in the posture of making a tour in the city of the country of Vaiśali to edify the inhabitants. Based on the translation by Li Rongxi, *The Great Tang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions* (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 1996), 393–394, cf. *Taishō* 51:2087.946 c.

ically subordinated to the relic, which supposedly embodied its tangible essence, this method must have been the most efficacious solution. Despite its enormous importance, which seems instantly apparent, it has been poorly documented in scriptural and historical sources, and certainly has not received due attention by modern scholars.[10] This paper will explore the possibility that relics were installed in Buddha images from Gandhāra.

In literary sources we indeed find documentation that installing a relic in a Buddha image was a practice actually followed. The *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* states in various recensions that to steal an image with a relic is *pācittiya* and to steal one without a relic is *duṣkṛta*.[11] *Pācittiya*, as is well known, is a minor offense that can be forgiven by practicing penitence in the presence of other people, whereas *duṣkṛta* is a lighter offense that can be excused by repenting alone.[12] This account clearly indicates the existence of images with a relic, as well as the notion of their superior value over images without a relic current at the time the passage in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* was composed. At a slightly later date, the Chinese pilgrim Yijing, who stayed in India from 673 to 685 and who on his return to China translated the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*, reports that in India bone relics (or alternately the *gāthā* of the *pratītyasamutpāda*) were installed inside an image.[13] The practice is most likely the continuation of a tradition that started several centuries prior to his visit.[14]

These records may give the impression that the installation of a relic in an image was perhaps a phenomenon restricted to the Mūlasarvāstivāda or to the Buddhist community in Central India, where Yijing mainly sojourned. But this is ruled out by the fact that the practice was quite prominent in Sri Lanka as well. In Pāli commentaries written during the fifth century, Buddhaghosa points out the pres-

10 Although the significance of relics in Buddhist practice has been a popular concern in recent scholarship, discussions on the relationship between relics and images have been generally restricted to the tradition outside India, frequently focused on the Chan Buddhist tradition in China and Japan. The installation of relics in an image has only occasionally been discussed in passing. For example, see Bernard Faure, *The Rhetoric of Immediacy: A Cultural Critique of Chan/Zen Buddhism* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991), 170–171; Doris Croissant, "Der unsterbliche Leib: Ahneneffigies und Reliquienporträt in der Porträtplastik Chinas und Japans," in *Das Bildnis in der Kunst des Orients*, ed. Martin Kraatz, Jurg Meyer zur Capellen, and Dietrich Seckel (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1990), 235–268; Robert H. Scharf, "On the Allure of Buddhist Relics," *Representations* 66 (1999): 75–99. Yael Bentor discussed the Tibetan practice of depositing relics and *dhāraṇis* in images but primarily with emphasis on the latter. Bentor, "On the Indian Origins of the Tibetan Practice of Depositing Relics and *Dhāraṇis* in Stupas and Images," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115, 2 (1995): 248–261.

11 *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinayavibhaṅga*, *Taishō* 23:1442.847a; *Mūlasarvāstivāda-bhikṣuṇīvinayavibhaṅga*, *Taishō* 23:1443.988c, cf. *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinayasaṃgraha* by Viśeṣamitra, *Taishō* 24:1458.594a; *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinayakārikā*, *Taishō* 24:1459.641a. I did not have access to the Sanskrit version.

12 The penalty for these offenses seems too light for their apparent graveness. Perhaps smaller images for personal worship or portable images are meant here.

13 J. Takakusu, trans., *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago (A.D. 671–695)*, by Yijing (635–713) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896), 150, cf. *Taishō* 54:2125.226c.

14 It may be questioned whether Yijing simply reported a general rule stated in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*; but the fact that the installation of the *gāthā* of *pratītyasamutpāda* is not referred to in the Mūlasarvāstivāda texts suggests that his report was in some way based on the contemporaneous practice he witnessed. Although the worship of two different kinds of relics, the bone relics and the *dharma gāthā*, is mentioned in another sutra translated by Yijing, *Yufo gongdejing* (*Taishō* 16:698.800a), there is no account of the installation of relics in an image.

ence of a relic as a rationale for worshiping a Buddha image and thus confirms the existence of such images with a relic.[15] In Sri Lanka a relic is still normally placed inside a cult image just before the eye painting during the consecration ceremony.[16]

That this practice originated in India is also recorded in Chinese Buddhist sources. According to the *Gaosengzhuan* (Biographies of eminent monks; dated to the early sixth century), Master Daoan (314–385) had a bronze image from a "foreign country" in Tanxi Monastery. He thought that the image was good-looking but that the *uṣṇīṣa* was not, so he ordered the *uṣṇīṣa* to be reworked. Then light emanated from the image and filled the hall. When inspected carefully, a relic was found in the *uṣṇīṣa*.[17] Another source, the *Ji shenzhou sanbao gantonglu* (664), reports that during the reign period of Yixi (405–418) Diao Kui, the governor of Guangdong, made a replica of the legendary image created by Aśoka that had been kept at Changgan Monastery and installed a relic in its *uṣṇīṣa*. The record further states that a great number of images transmitted from the West emitted light because they contained a relic.[18] These records clearly indicate the existence of a notion among the Chinese of this period that Buddha images from the "foreign country" or the "West" had a relic in the *uṣṇīṣa*. Although the "foreign country (*waiguo*)" and the "West (*xi*)" are not further specified, there is no question that India or Central Asia is meant here. Considering the situation of Chinese Buddhism in this period, they could have quite possibly referred to the region around Gandhāra or the northwest of the Indian subcontinent.[19]

It is notable in this regard that several Buddha images from China datable to the third or fourth century, which exhibit a strong stylistic influence from Gandhāra, have an opening or a hole at the top of the *uṣṇīṣa* where a relic could have been placed. A famous gilded-bronze seated Buddha in the Sackler Museum at Harvard University has such a square opening (fig. 2).[20] The Japanese scholar Kuma-

15 Walpola Rahula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon* (Colombo: M. D. Gunasena & Co., 1956), 126–128; Richard Gombrich, *Buddhist Precept and Practice: Traditional Buddhism in the Rural Highlands of Ceylon* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1991), 134–135. Cf. Kevin Trainor, *Relics, Ritual, and Representation in Buddhism: Rematerializing the Sri Lankan Theravāda Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 169–170, which discusses a record from the *Dhātuvaṃsa* of the installation of the Buddha's forehead-bone relic along with the hair relic in an image.

16 Richard Gombrich, "The Consecration of a Buddha Image," *Journal of Asian Studies* 26 (1966): 25. I inquired at a number of Buddhist monasteries in Sri Lanka; it seems a relic is installed only in larger cult statues of the Buddha to be placed inside a *paṭimaghara* or image hall.

17 *Taishō* 50:2059.352 b, cf. Soper, *Literary Evidence*, 16.

18 *Taishō* 52:2106.411 a, also compiled in *Fayuan zhulin*, *Taishō* 53:2122.601 b. The famous Changgansi image is better known through an earlier record in the *Gaosengzhuan* (*Taishō* 50:2059.410 a, cf. Soper, *Literary Evidence*, 9–12).

19 According to the *Mingsengzhuan*, during the fifth century Sengbiao, a monk from Liangzhou, obtained a gilded image with a relic installed in the *uṣṇīṣa* in a place called Yubin on the way to Kashmir. See *Mingsengzhuan chao*, compiled in *Xinbian wan xuzangjing*, 134:25, cf. Soper, *Literary Evidence*, 44. "Yubin" is not found in any other sources, but Kumagai Nobuo suggests that *"bin"* is a mistake for *"tian"* and that Yubin should thus be read Yutian (Khotan). Kumagai, "Khōtan shōrai no kondō buttō" (A gilded-bronze Buddha head from Khotan), *Bijutsu kenkyū* 200 (1958): 97–98 and n. 17.

20 Roderick Whitfield argues that the Sackler image was actually made in Gandhāra and imported to China; Whitfield, "Early Buddha Images from Hebei," *Artibus Asiae* 65.1 (2005), 87–98. Although this respectable suggestion would support the thesis I present here, I find it difficult to agree wholeheartedly with it. I am perplexed more than anything by the fact that Prof. Whitfield does not compare the image with any examples from Gandhāra, though I cannot think

gai Nobuo suspects that it was originally meant to hold a miniature reliquary in the shape of a square box, a common type among early Chinese Buddhist reliquaries.[21] Although it is not a Chinese example, a bronze Buddha head from Khotan in the Tokyo National Museum (perhaps datable to the second or third century), which exhibits conspicuous stylistic features from Gandhāra, also has the trace of a similar square opening (although much damaged), which can also be attributed to the erstwhile installation of a reliquary.[22] Another gilded-bronze Buddha, much smaller in size and simplified in form but of the same stylistic type as the Sackler Buddha, has a round opening at the top of the head (fig. 3).[23] It could have accommodated a tiny reliquary or a jewel as a substitute for a relic (I will discuss this point below). Although I have not had a chance to examine all Buddha figurines in this stylistic series, it is possible that a number of them had such an opening.[24]

We have ample reason to suspect that the practice of installing a relic in a Buddha image was followed in Gandhāra. Unfortunately but unsurprisingly, there is virtually no instance of a relic found in a Buddha image from this region except for a stucco head recently published.[25] Such images, which no doubt would have had a higher religious value and perhaps were frequently made of precious materials other than stone, more likely suffered destruction. Relics placed in ordinary stone images would have been easily removed or robbed, or in times of hardship monks could have taken the relic out of an image and moved it to a more secure location. Therefore, we can now only infer the situation by examining the part in an image where the relic could have been placed. The particular spot is naturally the *uṣṇīṣa*. Located at the highest point of an image, it was deemed symbolically its most important part.[26] Probably for the same reason, Sri Lankan Buddhists still apparently place a relic in the head of a Buddha in many instances.[27] In other regions outside India, when something – a scripture or *dhāraṇi* in most instances – was placed inside an image, it was most frequently through an opening on the back or the bottom.[28] Stone Buddhas of Gandhāra, however, have no such opening in the body except for a tiny hole occasionally found in the *uṣṇīṣa* (discussed later in this paper). Thus the *uṣṇīṣa* is

of any close parallels among extant Gandhāran Buddhas despite its generic, or approximate, affinities that could easily be found in replicated images. I feel particularly uneasy with the facial features, the end of the garment draped over the pedestal in a peculiar pattern, and the donor figures. It is quite possible that the image was not made in Hebei but farther west, though not as far as Afghanistan or northern Pakistan. I anticipate that Prof. Whitfield will elaborate further on this point.

21 Kumagai, "Khōtan shōrai no kondō buttō," 98–99.

22 Interestingly enough, Kumagai, in a monograph on this Buddha, does not mention the trace of the square opening in the *uṣṇīṣa*, although he discusses the possibility that a relic was installed in the Sackler Buddha.

23 I am grateful to Mr. Koizumi Yoshihide of the Tokyo National Museum for kindly directing my attention to the presence of a hole in this Buddha.

24 I have in mind such Buddhas as listed in Matsubara Saburō, *Chūgoku bukkyō chōkoku shiron* (Studies in Chinese Buddhist sculpture), plate vol. 1 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1994), pls. 8a, 8b, where a hole is barely visible in the photos. But tiny images less than 10 centimeters high do not seem to have such a hole in most instances.

25 On this head, in a private collection in Zurich, Anna-Maria Quagliotti reports: "A cavity was made on the top of the head, within which is a terracotta bowl with circular rim containing filling material. This was probably meant to hold relics, which have not survived, and must originally have been hidden from sight under the *uṣṇīṣa*, which does not exist any more." *Ancient Buddhist Art from Gandhāra* (Zurich: Panasia Gallery, 2004), no. 26.

26 Hubert Durt, "Chōsō," *Hōbōgirin: Dictionnaire encyclopédique du bouddhisme d'après les sources chinoises et japonaises* (Tokyo: Maison Franco-Japonaise, 1929–), 5:421–430.

practically the only place in such images where a relic could have been installed. This was also the very place where Chinese Buddhists such as Daoan witnessed the presence of a relic in images from the "foreign country" or the "West."

In this regard, a standing Buddha in the Peshawar Museum presents an intriguing problem (Table II-1, fig. 4). This image has features somewhat different from the most common types of Gandhāran Buddhas from the Peshawar valley. It has a slim body with relatively narrow shoulders. It wears a thin garment that unusually reveals the contour of the body underneath and even the nipples. The left hand holding one end of the garment is raised at the height of the chest, unlike most stone statues of the standing Buddha from the Peshawar valley, whose left hand invariably hangs down at the side.[29] It has a conspicuous mustache and wide-open eyes – even its pupils are incised – that stare at the viewer in a peculiar gaze (fig. 5). All these features indicate that this Buddha is a relatively early stylistic variant of Gandhāran Buddha statues and regionally has close ties with finds from Swāt and Dīr, although because of other features such as the stone, this particular image (concerning whose discovery no details are known) seems more likely to have been produced in the Peshawar valley.[30] It is datable perhaps to the first or second century CE, even though we have to acknowledge that at the present state of our knowledge or evidence nothing is certain in the chronology of Gandhāran sculpture.[31]

27 According to Prof. Richard Gombrich, who produced a detailed anthropological account concerning the procedure of consecrating a Buddha image in Sri Lanka, a relic is normally placed inside a statue by a monk just before the eye painting. Gombrich, "Consecration of a Buddha Image," 25. He informed me in a personal communication that the relic was usually installed inside the head from the back. It appears he meant images made of materials other than stone. During my recent visits to Buddhist monasteries in Sri Lanka, I found that relics seem to be placed in various locations inside an image, which gives an impression that no specific place is prescribed for the practice in contemporary Sri Lankan Buddhism. But some senior monks I interviewed stated clearly that the most prominent places are the *uṣṇīṣa* and the heart. Cf. Ulrich von Schroeder, *Buddhist Sculptures of Sri Lanka* (Hong Kong: Visual Dharma Publications, 1990), 39.

28 Examples of this practice are mostly found outside India. In India proper, few images show any trace of something being placed within it, although we have to keep in mind that the specimens we have now should be only a very small portion of what originally existed. Up to the Gupta period we have only one example of relics found in an image: a reliquary was discovered in a tiny hole (1.3 cm in diameter and 4.4 cm in depth) carved between the feet on the lotus pedestal of a standing Buddha image inside a small *caitya* at site no. 6 in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The reliquary consisted of a gold tube containing ninety-nine pearls and the ash of what appears to be bones. See T.N. Ramachandran, *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa 1938, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 71 (Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1953), 14 and pl. 14.

29 This left hand position is quite rare in stone statues of the Buddha from the Peshawar valley, but relatively common among those found at such sites as Butkara I in Swāt. It was in some way connected to Buddha images of the Kushan period in Mathurā, which made their first appearance around the middle of the first century of the Kaniṣka era. I regard the Kapardin-type images from early Kushan Mathurā not as the representation of the Buddha, a fully enlightened being, but as that of the Bodhisattva, as inscriptions designate. See Juhyung Rhi, "From Bodhisattva to Buddha: The Beginning of Iconic Representation in Buddhist Art," *Artibus Asiae* 54, 3/4 (1994): 207–225.

30 Juhyung Rhi, "Gandhāra pulsang ŭi myŏt kaji yangsikchŏk yuhyŏng" (Several stylistic types in Gandhāran Buddha images), *Misulsahak yŏn'gu* 219 (1998): 10–12; Juhyung Rhi, "Swāt chogak yangsikkwan chomyŏng" (A stylistic exploration of sculptures from Swāt), *Misul charyo* 60 (1998): 82–84.

31 Little information is available about the discovery or provenance of this Buddha. Although Francine Tissot states that it probably came from Sikri, I wonder if there is any dependable ground for the attribution. See Tissot, "The Problem of Stylistic Vocabulary for Gandhāran Art," in *Investigating Indian Art*, ed. M. Yaldiz and W. Lobo (Berlin: Museum für Indische Kunst, 1987), 364. It was probably first published in John H. Marshall, *The Buddhist Art of Gand-*

What primarily interests us in this Buddha is the *uṣṇīṣa*. Its hair is tied with a string in the usual manner as we see in some groups of Gandhāran Buddha statues. But the top of the *uṣṇīṣa* looks quite peculiar. Apparently it has been left uncarved with no hair except for a strange, circular groove measuring 5 centimeters in diameter and about 0.6 centimeters in depth (figs. 6, 7). There seems to be no reason to assume that this carefully carved groove is a later or modern addition. This is corroborated by the fact that a standing Buddha in the Lahore Museum, identical in size and style and most probably produced in the same workshop if not by the same sculptor, has a circular groove exactly like it at the top of the *uṣṇīṣa* (Table II-2, figs. 13, 14).[32] What purpose did such grooves serve?

In the Peshawar Buddha the space inside the circular groove is flat and its edge is slightly rounded. If the central space were hollow, one could think that some object had been placed inside it and the space had possibly been covered by something like a lid. But the flat surface that rises above the groove makes this utterly impossible. This peculiar composition of space in the center of the *uṣṇīṣa* is nothing but perplexing. The only solution I can think of is that the groove originally served to accommodate the foot of an object, the bottom of which would have been placed directly on the flat surface. Then we notice that the *uṣṇīṣa* of this image is rather low compared to the distinctively high *uṣṇīṣas* commonly seen in Buddha figures attributable to the same early phase of Gandhāran art (figs. 4, 8).[33] In the Peshawar Buddha, we can thus presume that the upper part of the *uṣṇīṣa* is missing. This can be confirmed by a standing Buddha in the Museum für Indische Kunst in Berlin, which is comparable to the Peshawar Buddha in many features (Table I-32, fig. 10).[34] In this Buddha the *uṣṇīṣa* is clearly divided into an upper and a lower tier. The *uṣṇīṣa* of the Peshawar Buddha most likely consisted originally of two parts in similar form (fig. 9). (Incidentally we may recall that even in narrative depictions, Buddha figures of a similar type have a high *uṣṇīṣa* divided horizontally into two tiers, although

hāra (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, for the Department of Archaeology, Pakistan, 1960), 61–62 and fig. 85, and was recently on view in "The Art of Gandhāra, Pakistan," an exhibition held in Japan in 2002–2003, whose catalogue has an excellent color photo of this Buddha. See *The Art of Gandhāra, Pakistan* (catalogue) (Tokyo: Tokyo National Museum and NHK Promotions, 2002), pl. 1.

32 Again, little is known about this Buddha. It was first published along with the Peshawar Buddha in Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhāra*, 61–62 and fig. 86, and later in the catalogue of the "Silk Road" exhibition held in Japan in 1988; *The Route of Buddhist Art* (Nara: Nara National Museum, 1988), pl. 49. In July 2004 I was finally able to confirm that the part was identical to that of the Peshawar Buddha. I am most grateful to Ms. Humera Alam of the Lahore Museum for kindly checking the information and providing photos.

33 Harald Ingholt and Islay Lyons, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1957), pls. 54, 59; *Museum für Indische Kunst Berlin: Katalog 1986* (Berlin: MIK, 1986), plate on p. 177; Domenico Faccenna, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I*, *IsMEO Reports and Memoirs* II (Rome: IsMEO, 1962, 1964), pls. 116, 238.

34 This Buddha seems to have been published first in Albert Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, trans. Agnes C. Gibson, rev./enl. James Burgess (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1901), 168–169 and fig. 117. Cf. *Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin, Katalog 1986,* 28 (no. 35). Grünwedel's book indicates that it came from Swāt. James Burgess explains in a note that by the time Grünwedel's book was published in 1901, sixty-five pieces of Gandhāran sculpture had entered the collection of the Berlin Ethnographical Museum (which formed a basis for the current Gandhāran collection in the MIK, Berlin) and that a large portion of them came from Swāt. He implies that they were purchased from Dr. Gottlieb Leitner. See Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, 83, n. 3, cf. Elizabeth Errington, "The Western Discovery of the Art of Gandhāra and the Finds of Jamālgarhī" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1987), 162.

they are not actually separable [fig. 12].[35]) Another question thus arises: for what purpose was the upper part of the *uṣṇīṣa* sometimes made as a separate, detachable unit?

Certainly this is not because in the process of carving the available block of stone turned out to be too small for an image originally planned. Stone Buddhas of Gandhāra are generally carved out of a single block of stone along with a round halo behind the head, which obviously reaches higher than the *uṣṇīṣa*. Although the halo of the Peshawar Buddha is missing, it was fashioned from the same block as the figure itself. Probably, therefore, the decision to make the upper part of the *uṣṇīṣa* a separate unit was a deliberate one: the *uṣṇīṣa* was devised to have its upper part removable. This is why it was fitted into a shallow groove rather than being firmly locked in place.

Reflecting on the possible rationale for such a detachable piece, I can think of no other possibility except that it was intended to display something. One might suspect that it was for the display of the *uṣṇīṣa* itself. However, it hardly seems likely that what was intended was a mere representation of the *uṣṇīṣa* in stone. I believe that something intrinsically more meaningful was placed on the *uṣṇīṣa*, most probably a relic. In Gandhāra and adjacent regions, there was a practice of enshrining relics in an open chamber or regularly bringing them outside for worshipers to view.[36] The best-known example of this is a famous skull relic of the Buddha kept in a monastery at Haḍḍa;[37] another piece of the Buddha's skull, preserved in Kapiśi, also seems to have been accessible for viewing.[38] In the Peshawar Buddha, the relic was most probably placed in a cavity in the removable uppermost part of the *uṣṇīṣa*, now lost (fig. 9). This may be supported by the fact that the Berlin Buddha, which has an *uṣṇīṣa* consisting of two tiers, has a hole (1.6 centimeters in diameter, 1.5 centimeters in depth) on its upper part where a relic could have been inserted (fig. 11).[39] If this inference is acceptable, the Peshawar Buddha would have been a cult object of special importance: not only did it contain a relic, but the uppermost part of its *uṣṇīṣa* was also regularly removed for the display of the relic.

35 Ingholt and Lyons, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*, pl. 147.

36 Kurt Behrendt recently argued that virtually every shrine in the Peshawar valley whose interior was found to be unoccupied by a stupa was used to display relics such as bones or the Buddha's bowl. I cannot agree with the extent or almost exclusive prevalence of such shrines in Gandhāra that he has proposed, because many of them could equally have been image shrines. But as we see in Chinese pilgrims' records, the practice of displaying relics cannot be denied. See Behrendt, *The Buddhist Architecture of Gandhāra* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 61–76, and "The Architecture of Devotion: Image and Relic Shrines of Gandhāra (1st–6th century C.E.)" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles), 60–99. In a harsh criticism of Behrendt's book, Gerard Fussman states, with profound skepticism of Behrendt's view regarding relic shrines, that the skull relic in Haḍḍa is the only example reported by Chinese pilgrims; *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 27, 1 (2004): 237–249, particularly 244. But one should recall that Xuanzang also comments on a piece of skull bone kept in Kapiśi with a colorful description; Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, 1:67, cf. *Taishō* 51:2087.875a.

37 Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, 37–38, cf. *Taishō* 51:2085.858c; Beal, *Si-yu-ki*. 1:95–96, cf. *Taishō* 51: 2087.879a–b.

38 See n. 36.

39 I am grateful to Dr. Marianne Yaldiz and the staff at the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin, for kindly checking the part of the image and providing a number of photos of the details.

Several additional extant Buddha images from Gandhāra loosely belong to the same stylistic group.[40] Of them, the Buddha in the Lahore Museum mentioned above, although severely damaged, is almost like a twin to the Peshawar Buddha (Table II-2, figs. 13, 14). It too has the same low *uṣṇīṣa*, the top of which is carved with a circular groove identical to that of the Peshawar Buddha. These two images seem to have been specially produced with their topmost part removable for the display of the relic installed there.

A standing Buddha in the British Museum, much smaller in size, is slightly different from the preceding two images, as its left hand hangs down at its side (Table II-3, fig. 15).[41] It also has a distinctly low *uṣṇīṣa*, but the central part of its top is left uncarved and flat (fig. 16). Although there is no groove, it seems unthinkable that the space left like this would have been regarded as complete. It is quite possible that a groove had yet to be carved for an upper piece to be placed upon the flat surface; or a different method may have been employed to install such an upper piece. I believe that a relic was installed at the top of the *uṣṇīṣa* of such Buddhas, with the upper piece of the *uṣṇīṣa* functioning as a kind of reliquary. It is interesting that this unusual and complex method was employed for Buddha images in this particular stylistic group, which is attributable to an early phase of the Buddhist iconic statuary of Gandhāra.

In the three examples discussed so far, the upper piece of the *uṣṇīṣa* is invariably missing so that the presence of a hole cannot be confirmed in actual examples. This is no surprise considering that the part would have been easily detachable. If earlier excavations had been performed with more attention to this possibility (though this would be too much to expect from the earliest colonial excavators), loose upper parts might have been identified. Perhaps some such items still lie somewhere unnoticed with other debris or fragments at abandoned archaeological sites or in museum storage rooms. Nor do I rule out the possibility that they were made of other materials such as metal rather than stone.

There are, however, actual images with a hole carved not in a detachable piece, but in the undetachable *uṣṇīṣa*. The number may not be large, but a study conducted on such holes by Deborah Klimburg-Salter and the late Maurizio Taddei identified at least twenty-seven such examples among Buddhas.[42] Inspired by Klimburg-Salter and Taddei, Wladimir Zwalf found three more examples in the British Museum collection, while Suwarcha Paul and Poonam Khanna further identified six more in the Chandigarh collection.[43] My recent research in Pakistan and inquiries at European and American museums have added about fifteen more to the list, and I predict that a further systematic survey should be able to identify considerably more. For those who may not have easy access to the lists by

40 Cf. Rhi, "Gandhāra pulsang ŭi yangsikchŏk yuhyŏng," 10–15.

41 This Buddha is known to have come from Takht-i-Bāhi, and entered the British Museum collection in 1899. Wladimir Zwalf, *A Catalogue of Gandhāra Sculpture in the British Museum*, vol. 1 (London: British Museum Press, 1996), no. 2 and color pl. 1.

42 Deborah Klimburg-Salter and Maurizio Taddei, "The *Uṣṇīṣa* and the *Brahmarandhra*: An Aspect of Light Symbolism in Gandhāran Buddha Images," in *Akṣayanīvī: Essays Presented to Dr. Debala Mitra in Admiration of her Scholarly Contribution*, ed. Gouriswar Bhattacharya (Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1991), 73–93.

43 Zwalf, *Catalogue of Gandhāra Sculpture*, 1:31 and n. 25; Suwarcha Paul and Poonam Khanna, "'Sahaja-Niṣṭha' Buddha in Gandhāra Sculpture," in *Gandhāra Sculpture in the Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh*, ed. D.C. Bhattacharyya (Chandigarh: Government Museum and Art Gallery, 2002), 67–71.

Klimburg-Salter and Taddei, I provide updated lists with my own additions (Tables I–III), although they are still far from complete.[44]

Some of the images in Table I are stylistically related to the three Buddhas with a detachable *uṣṇīṣa* in Table II. The Berlin Buddha mentioned above is one of them (Table I-32, figs. 10, 11). A seated Buddha in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, is loosely related (Table I-36, figs. 17, 18); it has a high *uṣṇīṣa*, which is not divided into two tiers but which has a deep hole on the top.[45] Otherwise, these images are generally different stylistically from the preceding three Buddhas. The majority have a distinctive *uṣṇīṣa* covered with recurring small curls, as seen in a standing Buddha in the Lahore Museum (Table I-38, figs. 19, 20, 21; cf. Table I-22, fig. 22),[46] and according to the conventional conception in the chronology of Gandhāran sculpture, none seems to predate the preceding three Buddhas.[47] The holes on these examples can be seen as the continuation of the earlier tradition, now directly applied to the undetachable *uṣṇīṣa*, a practice that perhaps started with such examples as the Berlin Buddha. The practice of installing a relic in the *uṣṇīṣa* seems to have become more common, if not widespread, in these later examples, and it may no longer have been necessary to bring it down periodically for display (Table I-13, figs. 23, 24).[48]

44 The catalogue of a recent Gandhāran art exhibition held in Zurich (*Ancient Buddhist Art from Gandhāra*, cited above) lists another example with a hole in the *uṣṇīṣa* as well as a stucco Buddha head with a terracotta bowl inserted on top (see n. 25), which are also incorporated in the new list.

45 I am grateful to Ms. Joan Cummins of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, for providing a photo of the *uṣṇīṣa* of this Buddha.

46 This Lahore Buddha and another one in the same collection (Table I-39), which most likely originated at the same workshop, are notable for a scene of the veneration of a reliquary carved in an identical manner on the pedestal of each image (fig. 19). Such a scene is extremely unusual for the pedestal of a Buddha image; I know of only these two examples among extant images. It is quite possibly associated with a relic that was originally placed in the top of the *uṣṇīṣa* of the images, and strongly reminds me of the passage I will cite from the *Karuṇapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* that suggests the interchangeability of a relic and an image.

47 Other examples of this hair type with a hole in the *uṣṇīṣa* include Table I-19, 20, 21, 22, 29, 38, 39, 40, 42, 48, 49.

48 Among extant Buddha images from India proper (except those from Gandhāra) at least up to the Gupta period, I have never encountered any example with a hole in the *uṣṇīṣa*. Perhaps installing a relic in the *uṣṇīṣa* was not a general practice in India proper until this period; or it was installed somewhere else in an image; or images that held a relic were made of precious, easily perishable materials other than stone and thus no longer exist. For the sole example of relics found in an image (from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa), see n. 28. However, in the adjacent areas or from later periods, there are examples with a hole carved in the *uṣṇīṣa* identical to those in the Gandhāran ones. Many Buddha images from Anurādhapura in Sri Lanka have such a hole, and the earliest extant examples may date from the fourth or fifth century (figs. 25, 26). See also von Schroeder, *Buddhist Sculptures of Sri Lanka*, pls. 23F, 24D, 29D, 31E, 32E, 112A, 112B, 31E (the holes are not illustrated). It is usually thought to be a device to hold a *siraspata*, or flame finial, but many of them seem too shallow to be used for such a purpose. Similar holes are also found in a number of Buddha images from Bihar dated to the Pāla period. See for example a gigantic seated Buddha at Jagadishpur (Susan Huntington, *The "Pāla-Sena" Schools of Sculpture* [Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1984], pl. 131, only the frontal view) and another gigantic Buddha at Tetrāwān (in this case a hole is carved in the rear of the *uṣṇīṣa*, not in its center) (figs. 27, 28). Obviously neither of these from Sri Lanka or Pāla-period Bihar are dated earlier than Gandhāran examples. The relationship between these examples from the three regions is intriguing. We cannot rule out the possibility that the practice was transmitted from the Northwest to the Gangetic valley and then to Sri Lanka, or its revival in Pāla-period Bihar, although I wish to put off pursuing this problem to some other occasion.

Klimburg-Salter and Taddei were the first to investigate the holes in the *uṣṇīṣa* of Buddha images, which previously few had noticed or regarded as significant.[49] They considered various possible functions for the holes, including (1) "to contain a *śarīra* (either a relic or a passage from the scriptures) that was placed in it during a consecration ceremony"; and (2) "for mortising some projecting feature made of a different medium, such as a flame finial made of metal." With these two possibilities, they probably had in mind the practice of installing a relic in images in such places as Sri Lanka and a flame finial, called *siraspata* or *keṭumāla*, that was inserted at the top of Buddha images, again in Sri Lanka. But they succinctly dismissed them saying, "some of the holes are too shallow to be able to contain anything or to hold a feature of any weight."[50] It is true that the holes are generally too shallow to hold anything like a flame finial such as we see at the top of the head of Sri Lankan Buddhas. However, they seem just large enough to hold a small relic, and there is no need to assume that they should be sizable enough to hold a larger reliquary.

Klimburg-Salter and Taddei proposed instead that the hole was a symbolic representation of the exit for an energy channel in the Buddha's body or the sign of his supra-normal energy ready to emanate through the *brahmarandhra* or *sahasrāra-cakra*.[51] The *brahmarandhra*, or "Brahmā's crevice," is, according to the *Purāṇas*, a suture or aperture in the crown of the head through which the soul is said to escape after death,[52] and the *sahasrāra-cakra*, literally "thousand-spoked wheel," means in the words of Indian Sanskrit lexicographers a kind of cavity said to be found in the top of the head and to resemble a lotus reversed (also fabled as the seat of the soul).[53] Noting that a hole appears in a number of fasting Buddha figures (eight out of twenty pieces in their list; e.g. fig. 30), Klimburg-Salter and Taddei cite an account of the Buddha's fasting from the *Mahāvastu*, apparently as a narrative source for such a hole.[54] The central passage in the account reads:

> [W]hen I thus stopped breathing in and out through the mouth, nostrils, and both ears, winds beat upon and passed through my skull (*śīrṣakapālam vātā praharentuḥ samuttarentuḥ*). Just as, monks, when a butcher or his apprentice with a sharp hatchet rends, splits open, cleaves, pieces, and penetrates a cow's skull, in just the same way... winds beat upon and wrecked the skull.[55]

49 Prof. Klimburg-Salter informed me in a personal communication that she and the late Taddei, while preparing for an exhibition, had noticed a hole in the *uṣṇīṣa* of a twin-miracle image from the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin (Table I-34) and had come to explore its significance.

50 Klimburg-Salter and Taddei, "The *Uṣṇīṣa* and the *Brahmarandhra*," 83.

51 Ibid., 84–86.

52 M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899), 739c.

53 Ibid., 1196c (s.v. *"sahasrāra"*).

54 Klimburg-Salter and Taddei, "The *Uṣṇīṣa* and the *Brahmarandhra*," 84–85.

55 J.J. Jones, trans., *The Mahāvastu* (London: Luzac and Co., 1952), 2:120–121, cf. E. Senart, ed., *Le Mahāvastu* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1890), 2:124–125.

One wonders, however, how far this tradition goes back in relation to the Buddha's austerities and how relevant it would be to the meaning of a hole in Buddha images. Similar accounts appear in a few other works of the Buddha's life such as the *Lalitavistara*. But there is no such account in other works datable to earlier periods, such as the *Xiuxing benqijing* (translated by Kang Mengxiang during the second century; *Taishō* no. 184) and the *Taizi ruiying benqijing* (translated by Zhi Qian during the third century; *Taishō* no. 185). Even in the case of the *Lalitavistara*, such an account is not found in its earliest Chinese translation, *Puyaojing* (by Dharmarakṣa in the late third century), although it exists in the later Chinese translation of the Tang period, *Fangguang dazhuangyan jing* (by Divākara in 683), and the extant Sanskrit and Tibetan versions.[56] This raises the possibility that such accounts appeared at a relatively late stage in the development of this text.[57]

Moreover, a small number of texts containing such accounts, except for the *Mahāvastu*, invariably speak of winds beating against the skull from inside and thus giving enormous pain to the Bodhisattva (Śākyamuni) but with no reference to winds actually penetrating through it. It seems obvious that the remark of beating against the skull or related similes is simply meant to emphasize the severe pain the Bodhisattva had to endure when he performed the "breath-holding meditation" (*āsphānaka*) rather than to depict or highlight the emission of energy out of his body through the skull. Even more discouragingly, the particular account in the *Mahāvastu* and similar accounts in other texts consistently take place not in the middle of the Buddha's fasting, but before he even begins it.

On these grounds it is highly doubtful that the textual account such as the *Mahāvastu* passage cited above or the idea that possibly underlay it became the source of a hole carved in fasting Buddha images.[58] It is even harder to believe that the iconographic feature primarily related to fasting Buddha figures was extended to non-fasting Buddha figures. Furthermore, we wonder why a hole was carved only in a small number of images if it was such an important iconographic sign of the Bud-

56 P.L. Vaidya, ed., *Lalita-vistara* (Darbhanga: Mithila Institute, 1958), 184, cf. Ph. Ed. Foucaux's translation of the Tibetan version, *Le Lalita Vistara*, Annales du Musée Guimet, tome 6 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1884); *Fangguang dazhuangyan jing*, *Taishō* 3:187.581 b. A similar account appears in the *Fobenxing jijing*, which has some affinities with that of the *Mahāvastu*, although it is not identical. *Taishō* 3:190.766 b–c. But as I will discuss below, there is no remark of wind blowing out the skull.

57 Dieter Schlingloff, questioning the identification of a hole in the *uṣṇīṣa* with the *brahmarandhra* or the *sahasrāra-cakra*, points out that such a concept is unknown in Buddhist literature. He proposes as an alternative that the hole represents *mūrdhacchidra*, a head aperture where small images emanate with the supernatural power generated by the Buddha in his meditation. Schlingloff's suggestion remains a possibility, but does not seem particularly convincing. Schlingloff, *"Mūrdhacchidra," Hōrin, Vergleichende Studien zur japanischen Kultur* 10 (2004): 109–110.

58 It seems hard to believe that the vivid narrative description in this passage could be linked to a crudely drilled hole, especially in an image like the fasting Buddha from Sikri in the Lahore Museum, which is exquisitely carved even to the smallest details (Table I-5, fig. 29). The hole is not integrated properly in the overall design of the wavy hair covering the *uṣṇīṣa*, but rather awkwardly drilled in the middle. I have noted that such a hole is rarely carved in this type of wavy hair; it is much more common in a distinctive type with recurring small curls where it is located more properly in the center of concentric circles formed by a series of curls (figs. 19, 20, 22). This makes me wonder whether the hole in the *uṣṇīṣa* of the Lahore fasting Buddha was there from the very moment of creation. Note that a similar fasting Buddha in the Peshawar Museum does not have a hole in the *uṣṇīṣa* (fig. 30).

dha.[59] Obviously we find it more plausible that the hole was drilled to install a relic, perhaps even in existing images, but only in a limited number.[60] However, I would like to add in defense of Klimburg-Salter and Taddei that the particular spot in the *uṣṇīṣa* may have been chosen based on an idea similar to the *brahmarandhra* or *sahasrāra-cakra*, and hence, a relic placed there could have highlighted the spot of such symbolic significance simultaneously.[61]

The size of the hole varies depending upon the size of the image, but in most instances it seems large enough for a small fragment of a relic to be inserted into it. The depth of such a hole is generally greater than its diameter, so the relic would not have been easily seen from the outside. One may recall that the relic of Daoan's foreign image was concealed in the *uṣṇīṣa*. The hole in a seated Buddha in the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin (I-32), is exceptionally wide and deep (2.8 centimeters in diameter and 3.5 centimeters deep), and in this case a small reliquary with a round base could possibly have been placed inside the hole. On the other hand, there are examples with only a tiny hole or a very shallow depression in the center of the *uṣṇīṣa* (figs. 31, 32), though the latter shows a conspicuous trace where something had been placed. It is even possible that a relic was once attached to such a depression with some device or glue.[62]

59 While generally following the idea of Klimburg-Salter and Taddei, Suwarcha Paul and Poonam Khanna distinguish between *brahmarandhra* and *sahasrāra-cakra* not only in concept but also in visual representations of Gandhāran Buddhas. Positing another, higher stage, *brahmāvasthā* or *sahaja-niṣṭha*, they argue that the three stages in the Bodhisattva's practice (they regard Gandhāran Buddhas as representations of a Bodhisattva on the path of practice but garbed like a Buddha) are represented in different forms particularly in the location of the hole and its combination with a different hair type. They add that the absence of a hole in many Buddha images from Gandhāra is due to the fact that "the sculptor is trying to show different stages of penances and that the Bodhisattva had to pass through all ten stages of spiritual progress before *Bodhi* could be attained." Although this is an interesting suggestion, the distinction between *brahmarandhra* and *sahasrāra-cakra* or the three stages in visual representations is as dubious as the abstract conception regarding Gandhāran Buddha images. See Paul and Khanna, "'Sahaja-Niṣṭha' Buddha," particularly 68–69.

60 This may be further supported by the fact that in a number of instances a hole is carved not in the center of the *uṣṇīṣa* but behind it. See Table I-42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47. Paul and Khanna have identified these six examples in the Chandigarh Museum ("'Sahaja-Niṣṭha' Buddha," 69). But they interpret such an awkward positioning of a hole as an attempt to represent both the *brahmarandhra* and *sahasrāra-cakra*, stating, "he [the sculptor] shifted the place of *brahmarandhra* [a hole] behind the *uṣṇīṣa* and depicted the *sahasrāra-cakra* over the *uṣṇīṣa* in the form of dot-like center with curved lines emanating from it ending in small curls at end in circular fashion...." Again, though interesting, this interpretation seems hardly convincing. It is also worth noting that similar holes are often carved not in the center of the *uṣṇīṣa* in examples from Sri Lanka and Pāla-period eastern India. Cf. n. 48, 73.

61 I would like to note simultaneously, however, that a number of scholars with whom I discussed this problem expressed skepticism as to whether the tradition is old enough.

62 Klimburg-Salter and Taddei noticed that several Bodhisattva images from Gandhāra also had a hole on top of the head: (1) standing Maitreya, National Museum in Karachi, unpublished (as stated by Klimburg-Salter and Taddei); (2) seated Maitreya, Indian Museum, Kolkata, h. 61 centimeters, Majumdar, no. 308; (3) standing Bodhisattva, Indian Museum, Kolkata, no. A 23184/5006, h. 96.5 centimeters, Majumdar, no. 311; (4) seated Maitreya, private collection, unpublished; and (5) Bodhisattva head, Museo Civico di Archeologia, Milan, unpublished. It is not difficult to imagine that a Bodhisattva image could also hold a relic in a hole on top of its head as a Buddha image does, since stupas erected for Bodhisattvas are known through literary sources and they seem to presuppose the presence of the Bodhisattvas' relics. For the Bodhisattva stupas (recounted in Chinese pilgrims' records), see Legge, *Record of Buddhistic*

The type of *uṣṇīṣa* in which a hole or depression is most frequently found has a distinctive spiral hair pattern in the center, which somewhat resembles a lotus (figs. 19, 20, 21, 22). This, I suspect, might be the mark of what corresponds to the *brahmarandhra* or *sahasrāra-cakra* (fig. 33).[63] I have always thought it peculiar that this type of head commonly consists of two different styles of hair: while the upper part is covered with small curls, the lower part is usually rendered with waves, thus producing an inconsistent combination. The small curls in this type of hairdo are significantly different from ordinary snail-shell hair covering the entire head, which became standard in Buddha figures from the late Kushan period in India proper and was adopted in a small number of Gandhāran Buddhas. I find it hard to equate the small curls with the snail shells covering the entire head, for the latter are rarely – almost never – associated with a hole in the *uṣṇīṣa*.[64] If we consider this hair type more literally, we have the impression that the *uṣṇīṣa* itself is burning (fig. 34). Is this due to the symbolic significance of the *brahmarandhra* or *sahasrāra-cakra*, or to the potential installation of a relic? It is obviously impossible to find out whether this part was always left this way, or whether a now-lost relic was once placed or attached there. In any case this flaming portion of the hairdo was the very spot where a hole was drilled when necessary.

The relic in Daoan's image emitted splendid light to fill the entire hall. Diao Kui's record relates that many images transmitted from the West emitted light because of relics in their *uṣṇīṣas*.[65] It is plausible that a sacred bone fragment could have been deemed capable of performing such a miracle. But it is also possible that the relic was actually a shining jewel or a gem. Such an alternative would be more sensible in the case of the smaller images carried to China, as a bone fragment would have been harder to procure. However, could a jewel replace the alleged corporeal remains of the Buddha? We know that such a tradition did exist in China.[66] And that this idea was not a Chinese invention is

Kingdoms, 44–46, cf. *Taishō* 51:2085.859 b; Beal, *Si-yu-ki,* 1:180–181, cf. *Taishō* 51:2087.890 b. Unfortunately we have no literary evidence for a relic in a Bodhisattva image from India. The only records I have been able to find are from two Chinese sources, *Fozu tongji* (completed in 1269) and *Shishi jigulüe* (1354), which relate that in 939 ancient relics of the Buddha were placed in the headdress of a wooden image of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in Hangzhou. *Taishō* 49:2035.391 c; *Taishō* 49:2037.895 a. Could this be a distant vestige of an age-old practice?

63 In the three-stage conception of a hole in the Buddha's *uṣṇīṣa*, Paul and Khanna note the significance of this hair type, which was identified with *sahasrāra-cakra*. Paul and Khanna, "'Sahaja-Niṣṭha' Buddha," 69–70. I doubt that the distinction between *brahmarandhra* and *sahasrāra-cakra* can be made as readily as they have done; still, the particular hair type may signify what corresponds to either of them.

64 A seated Budda in the Lahore Museum (Table I-13, figs. 23, 24) has a peculiar type of hairdo with snail shells only on the *uṣṇīṣa*. It is a question how this type, which appears in a few other extant images (e.g. a Buddha head in MIK, Berlin; Herbert Härtel, *Schätze Indischer Kunst* [Berlin: MIK, 1984], pl. 85) and once in reliefs of the Sikri stupa (Ingholt and Lyons, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*, pl. 115) as well as on some Kanishka coins (Joe Cribb, "The Origin of the Buddha Image: The Numismatic Evidence," in *South Asian Archaeology 1981,* ed. B. Allchin [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984], fig. 30.2; Katsumi Tanabe, "A New Gold Dinar of Kanishka I with the Buddha Image," *Orient* 23 [1987]: 140–143), relates to the type with snail shells covering the entire head. At any rate, I have never seen a hole carved in the hairdo of the latter type.

65 See n. 17 and n. 18.

66 Joo Kyeongmi (Chu Kyŏngmi), *Chungguk kodae pulsari changŏm yŏn'gu* (Study of ancient Chinese Buddhist reliquaries) (Seoul: Ilchisa, 2003), 79–80.

documented in a scripture created obviously outside China. The particular text is the *Karuṇapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, in which we read the following passage in the description of a buddhafield where one receives *vyākaraṇa*:[67]

> Every bodhisattva who finishes his share of life [in the buddhafield] will attain *parinirvāṇa* seated crosslegged. He will release fire elements from his own body and thus conquer [i.e. burn] his own body. Winds will blow from the four quarters and take the bodhisattva's relics to an empty buddhafield [i.e. a land without a Buddha]. *The great maṇi jewels like the resplendent maṇi jewel of a cakravartin [which is turned from the relics]*[68] will appear. Living beings who see the *maṇi* jewels or touch them, with the power of the *bodhinirvāṇa*, will no longer experience the suffering of the hells, animals, and the Yama realm [i.e. hungry ghosts] ....[69]

> *yeṣāṃ sattvānām āyuḥparikṣayo bhavet te sarve paryaṅkena parinirvāyeyuḥ, svakāc ca śarīrāt tejodhātuṃ pramuñceyur yenātmanaḥ śarīraṃ sādhayeyuḥ, caturdiśaś ca vāyava āgaccheyuḥ ye tāni bodhisattvaśarīrāṇi śūneyṣu buddhakṣetreṣu kṣipeyuḥ/evaṃrūpāś ca mahāmaṇiratnāḥ prādurbhaveyuḥ tadyathā rājñaś cakravartinaḥ prabhāsvaraṃ maṇiratnaṃ; ye ca tatra sattvās tāṃ maṇiratnaprabhāṃ paśyeyuḥ taṃ vā maṇiratnaṃ paśyeyuḥ spārśeyur vā te sarve narakatiryagyama lokaduḥkhāni yāvad bodhinirvāṇena mā pratisaṃvedayeyuḥ/....*[70]

In the same sutra, we read another relevant passage in the vow of the *brahmāṇa* Samudrareṇu, a previous incarnation of Śākyamuni and the protagonist of this sutra:

> [After my *parinirvāṇa*] ... when the true *dharma* disappears, the flame of the true *dharma* is extinguished, and the banner of *dharma* falls, my birth-relics [i.e. bodily relics] will descend as far down

67 I am grateful to Dr. Joo Kyeongmi, a specialist in Buddhist reliquaries, for directing my attention to the *Karuṇapuṇḍarīka*. This sutra exists in various recensions, including a number of versions in Sanskrit as well as two in Chinese and one in Tibetan. Nine extant Sanskrit versions, which all seem to date from the nineteenth century, have been edited by Isshi Yamada in *Karuṇapuṇḍarīka*, 2 vols. (London: SOAS, University of London, 1968). The Chinese and Tibetan translations are: *Beihuajing* (*Taishō* no. 157), translated by Tanwuchan (Dharmakṣema) in 419; the *Dasheng beifentuoli jing* (*Taishō* no. 158) by an anonymous translator two or three decades earlier than the former; and *Ḥpags pa sñiṅ rje pad ma dkar po zes bya ba theg pa chen poḥi mdo*, translated by Jinamitra and others in the early ninth century, To. 112. Yamada's Sanskrit edition compares these various versions. See *Bussho gaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 9 (Rev. ed., 1964), 125–129; Yamada, *Karuṇapuṇḍarīka*, 1:21. This sutra has not yet been studied systematically enough in its entirety, but has attracted the attention of (mostly) Japanese Buddhist scholars, mainly for its association with the Amitābha cult and the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*. See, for example, Ujitani Yūken, "*Karuṇapuṇḍarīka* no Amidabutsu innenbun" (The part on the origination of Amitābha Buddha in the *Karuṇapuṇḍarīka*), *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 3, 2 (1955): 186–190; Hisao Ingagaki, "Amida's Jātaka and His Vows in the *Karuṇapuṇḍarīka Sūtra*," *Shinshūgaku* 29/30 (1963): 1–20; Ujitani Yūken, "Hikekyō no jōdō" (The pure land in the *Karuṇapuṇḍarīka*), *Nihon bukkyōgakkai nempo* 42 (1977): 103–120.

68 That the *maṇi* jewels have been turned from the relics is more clearly stated in a later part of the sutra not cited here.

69 The passages cited here are almost identical in the Sanskrit and the Chinese versions. For the Chinese versions, see *Taishō* 3:157.190c; *Taishō* 3:158.254c. My translations here are based on the Sanskrit version edited by Isshi Yamada with reference to the two extant Chinese translations.

70 Yamada, *Karuṇapuṇḍarīka*, 2:145.

Fig. 1 Image chapels in the main stupa court, Takht-i-Bāhi monastery, Gandhāra.

Fig. 2 Seated Buddha. Gilded bronze, h. 39 cm. China, 3rd century. Sackler Museum, Harvard University.
(Courtesy Sackler Museum)

Fig 3 Seated Buddha (seen from above). Gilded bronze, h. 13.5 cm. China, 4th century. Tokyo National Museum.
(Courtesy Tokyo National Museum)

Fig. 4 Standing Buddha. Schist, h. 170 cm. Gandhāra, 1st–2nd century. Peshawar Museum.

Fig. 5 Head of figure 4.

Fig. 6 Top of the *uṣṇīṣa* of figure 4.

Fig. 8 Side view of figure 5.

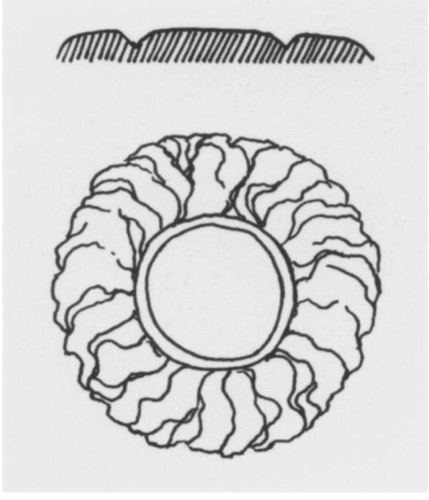


Fig. 7 Rough drawing of figure 6.

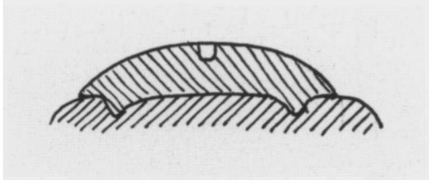


Fig. 9 Conjectural reconstruction of the *uṣṇīṣa* of figure 4.

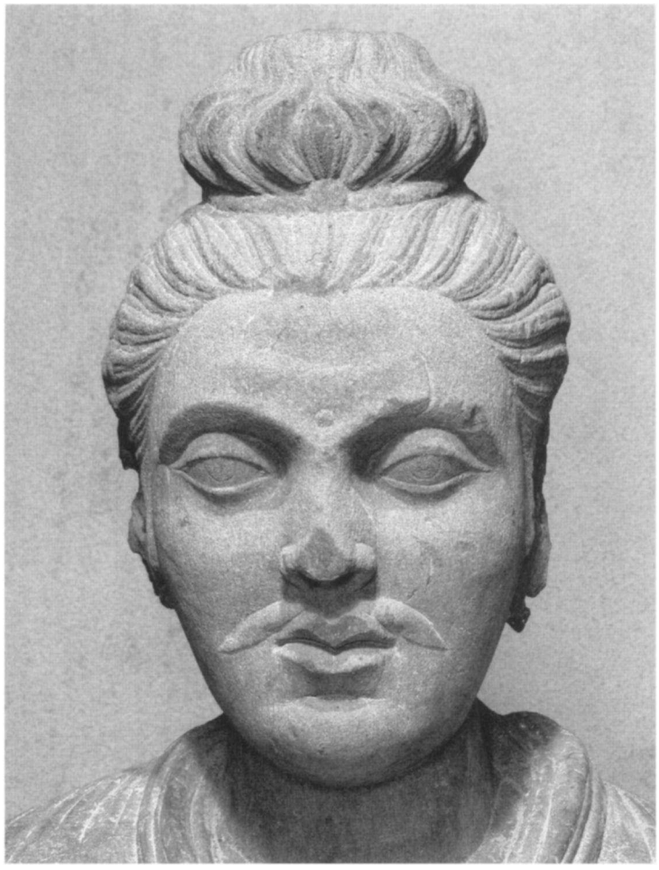


Fig. 10 Standing Buddha (detail). Schist, original h. 108 cm. Gandhāra, 1st–2nd century. Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin. (Courtesy MIK, Berlin)

Fig. 11 Top of the *uṣṇīṣa* of figure 10. (Courtesy MIK, Berlin)

Fig. 12 Buddha (detail) in a narrative relief representing "a visit to a teacher." Schist, original h. 40 cm. Gandhāra, 1st–2nd century. Peshawar Museum.

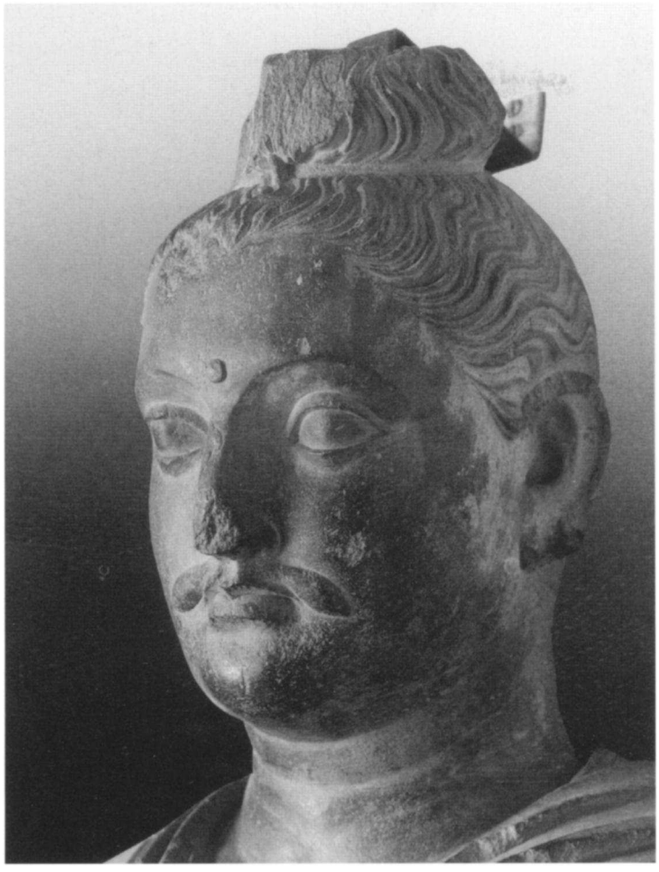


Fig. 13 Standing Buddha (detail). Schist, original h. 135 cm. Gandhāra, 1st–2nd century. Lahore Museum. (After *The Route of Buddhist Art* [Nara: Nara National Museum, 1988], pl. 49.)

Fig. 14 Top of the *uṣṇīṣa* of figure 13. (Courtesy Lahore Museum)

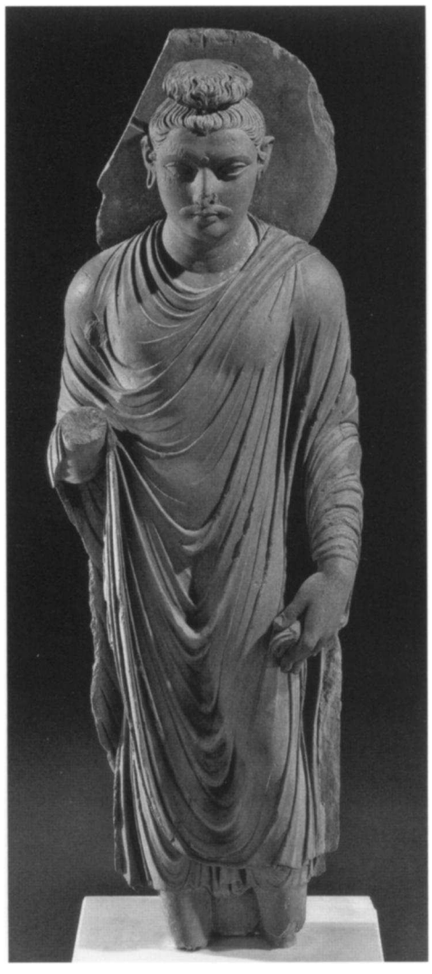
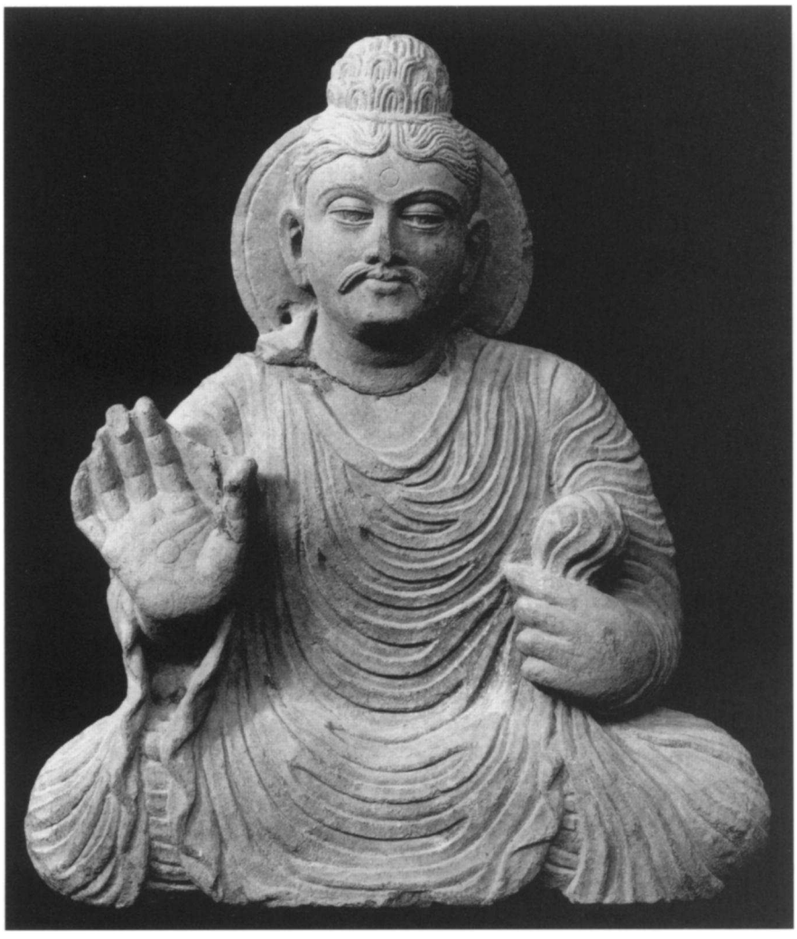


Fig. 15 Standing Buddha. Schist, h. 92 cm. From Takht-i-Bāhi, Gandhāra, 1st–2nd century. British Museum. (Courtesy British Museum)

Fig. 16 Top of the *uṣṇīṣa* of figure 15.



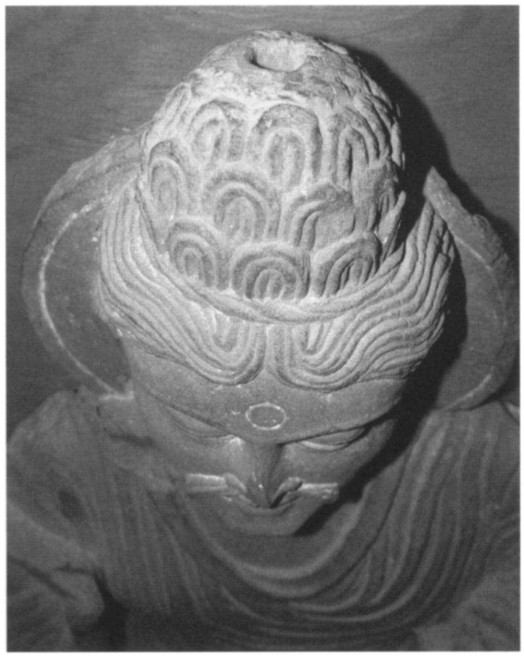


Fig. 17 Seated Buddha. Schist, h. 54 cm. Gandhāra, 1st–3rd century. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. (Courtesy MFAB)

Fig. 18 Top of the *uṣṇīṣa* of figure 17. (Courtesy MFAB)

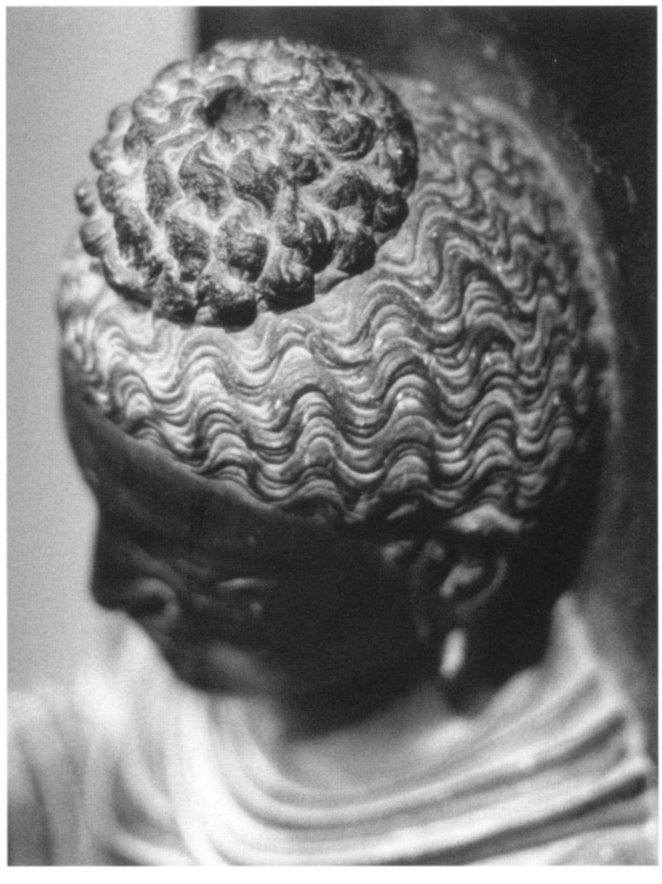


Fig. 19 Standing Buddha. Schist, h. 139 cm. Gandhāra, 2nd–3rd century. Lahore Museum.

Fig. 20 Detail of figure 19.

Fig. 21 Top of the *uṣṇīṣa* of figure 19.

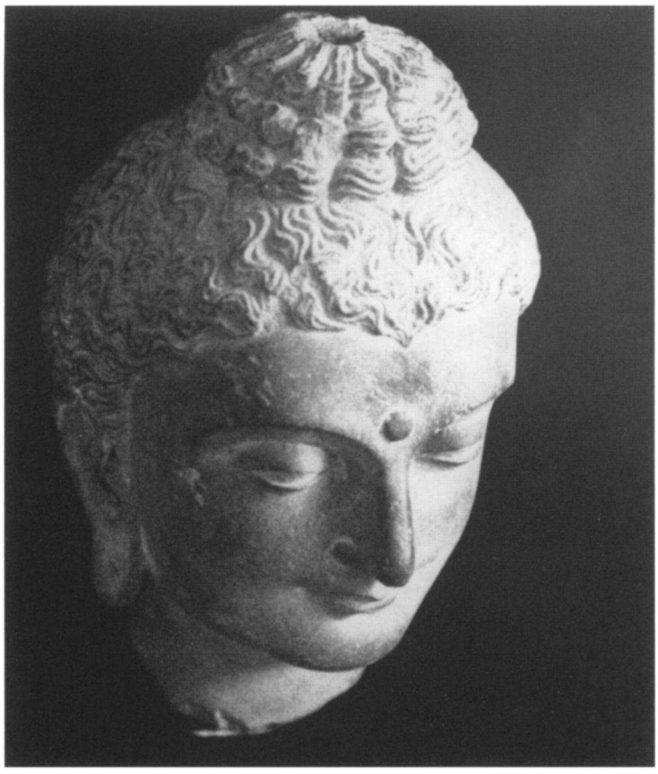


Fig. 22 Buddha head. Schist. Gandhāra, 2nd–3rd century. Victoria and Albert Museum. (After Francine Tissot, *Gandhāra* [Paris: Jean Maissonneuve, 1985], fig. 150.)

Fig. 23 Seated Buddha. Schist, h. 72 cm. Gandhāra, 2nd–3rd century. Lahore Museum.

Fig. 24 Top of the *uṣṇīṣa* of figure 23.

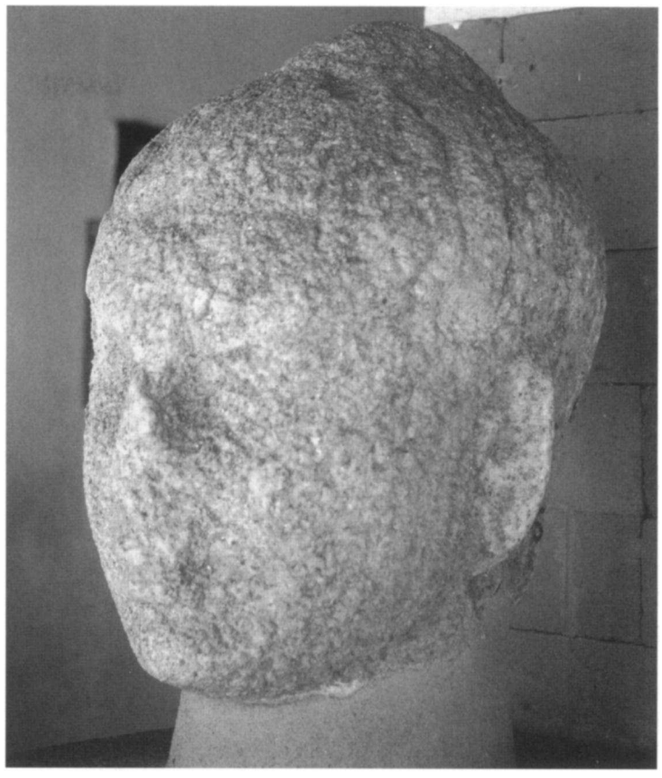
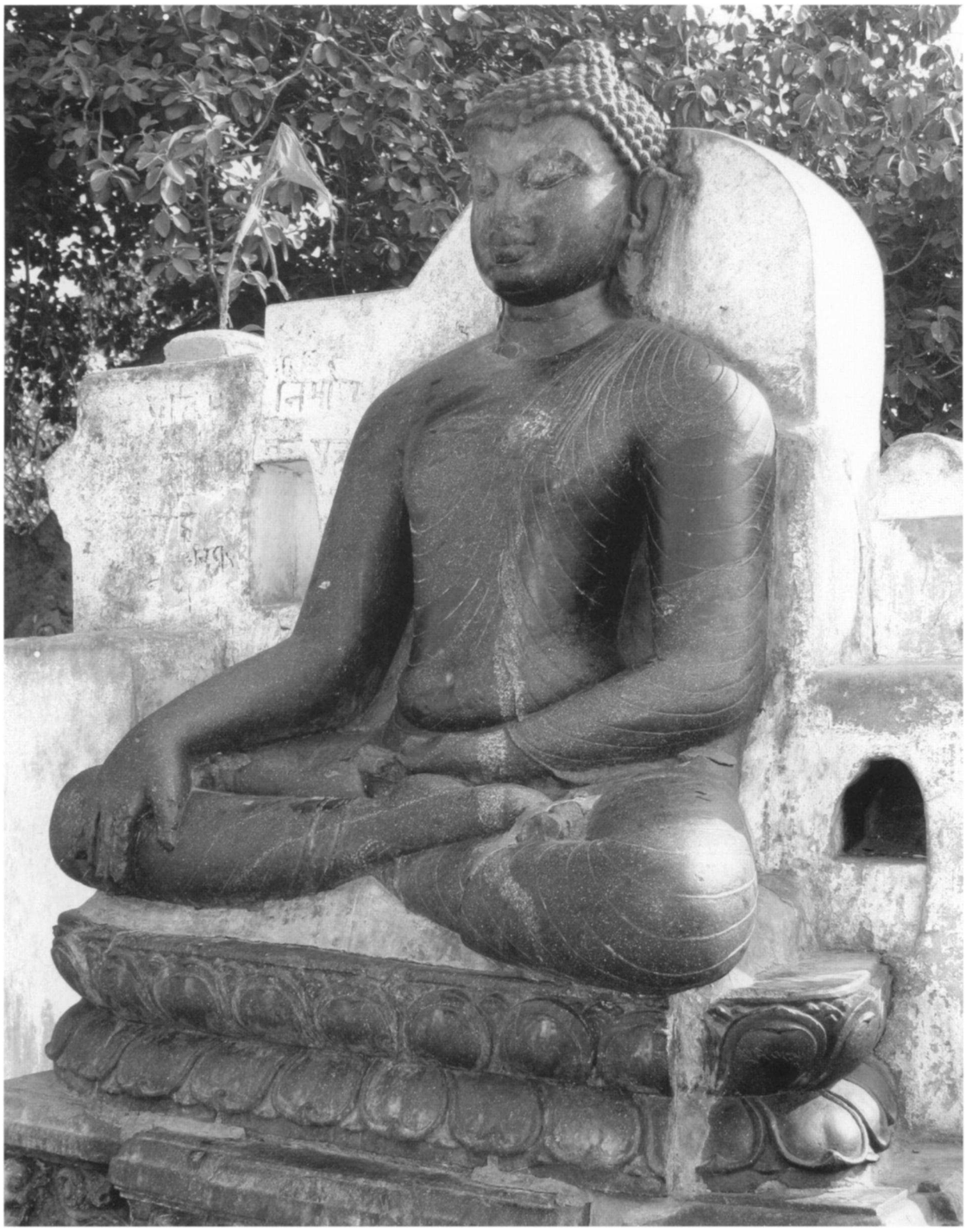


Fig. 25 Buddha head. Granite, h. 36 cm. From Anurādhapura, Sri Lanka, 5th–7th century. Anurādhapura Museum.

Fig. 26 Top of the *uṣṇīṣa* of figure 25.



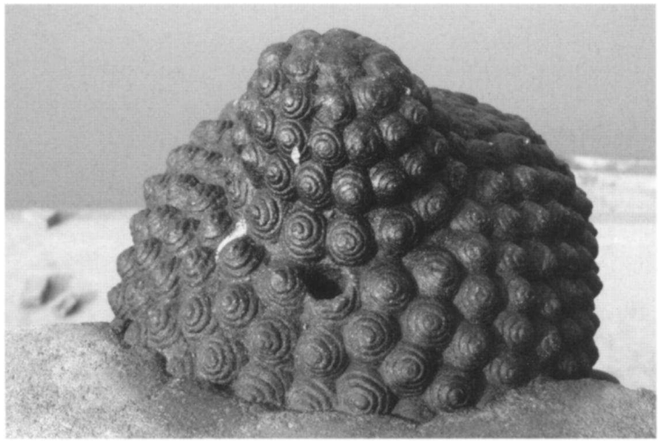


Fig. 27 Seated Buddha. Schist, h. ca. 300 cm. Tetrāwān, Bihar, ca. 10th century. (East Asian Pilgrims and Indian Buddhist Monuments Project)

Fig. 28 Head of figure 27 (seen from behind). (East Asian Pilgrims and Indian Buddhist Monuments Project)

Fig. 29 Fasting Buddha (seen from above). Schist, original h. 84 cm. From Sikri, Gandhāra, 2nd–3rd century. Lahore Museum.

Fig. 30 Fasting Buddha (seen from above). Schist, original h. 83 cm. From Takht-i-Bāhi, Gandhāra, 2nd–3rd century. Peshawar Museum.

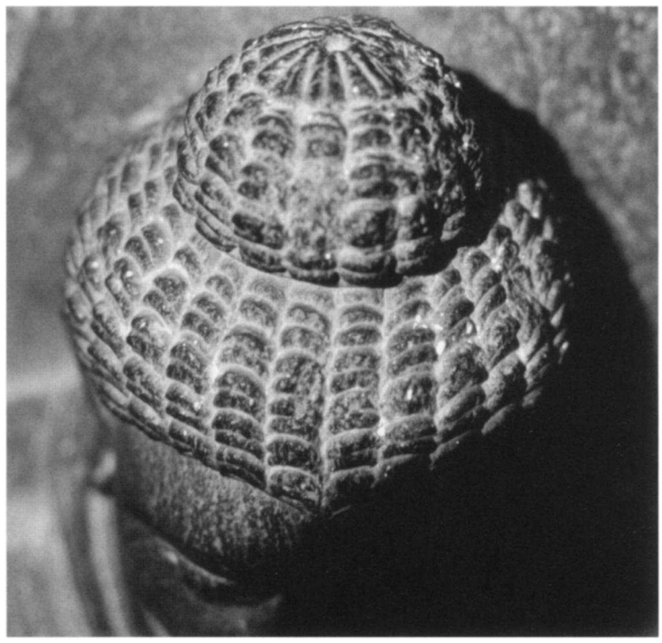
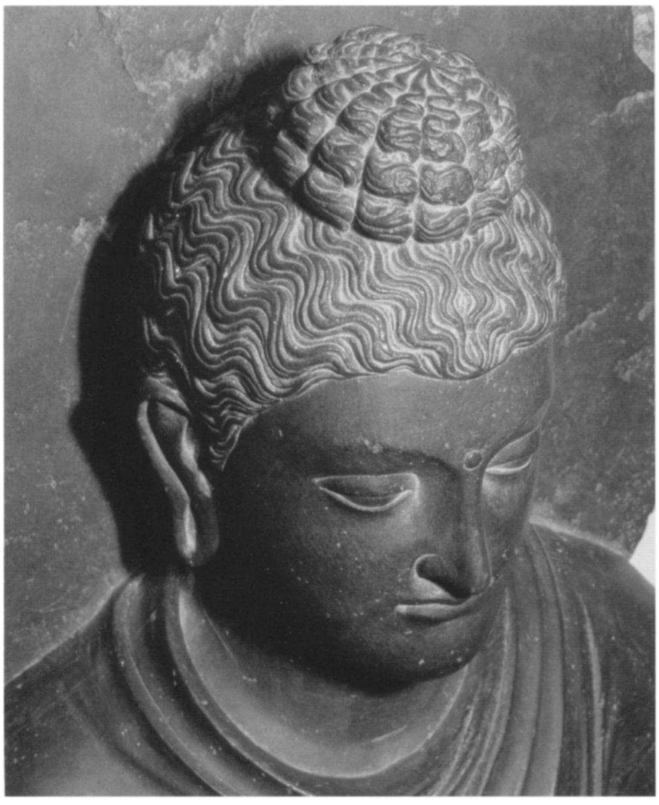


Fig. 32 Top of the *uṣṇīṣa* of figure 31.

Fig. 31 Standing Buddha (detail). Schist, original h. 122 cm. Gandhāra, 2nd–3rd century. Lahore Museum.

Fig. 33 Standing Buddha (seen from above). Schist, original h. 136 cm. Gandhāra, 2nd–3rd century. National Museum, New Delhi.

Fig. 34 Standing Buddha (detail). Schist. Gandhāra, 2nd–3rd century. Lahore Museum.



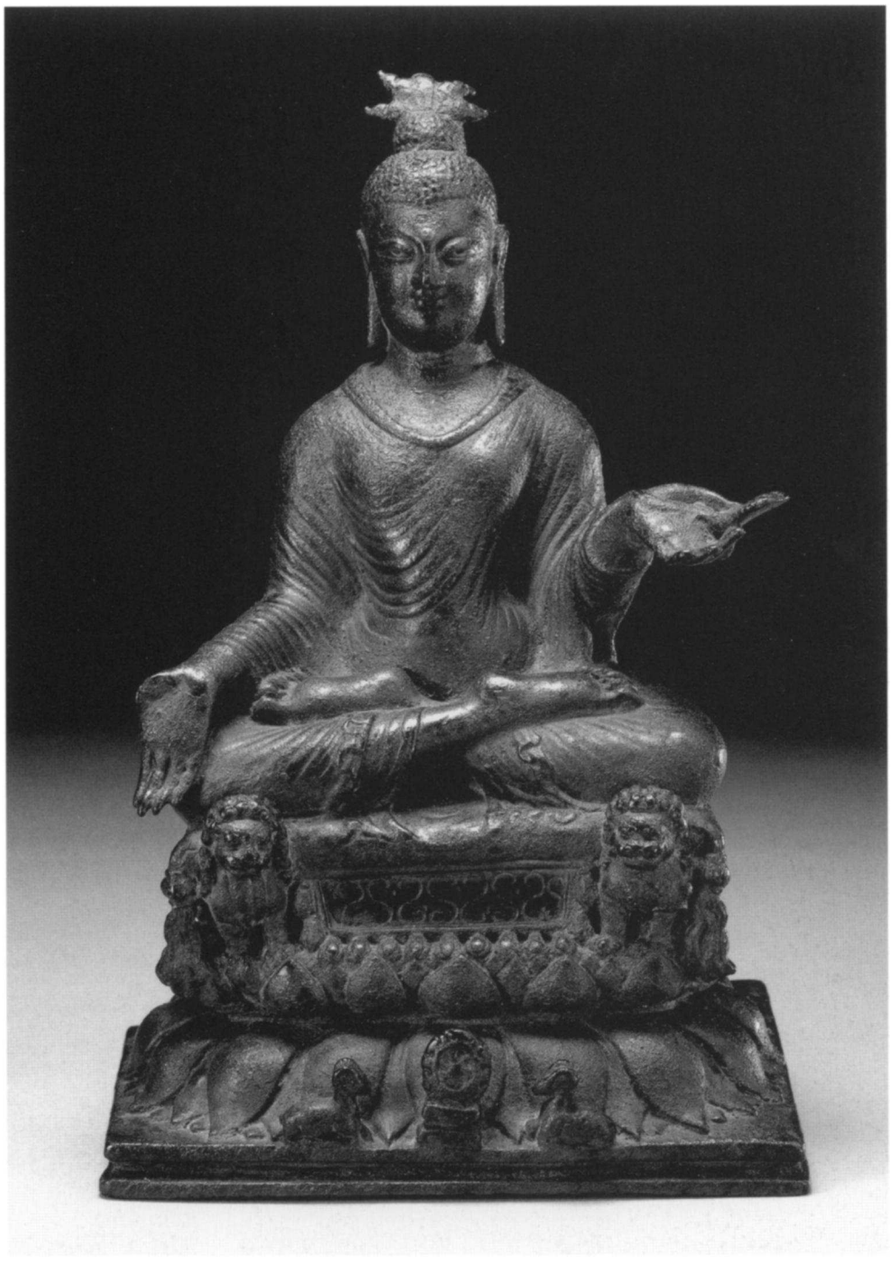
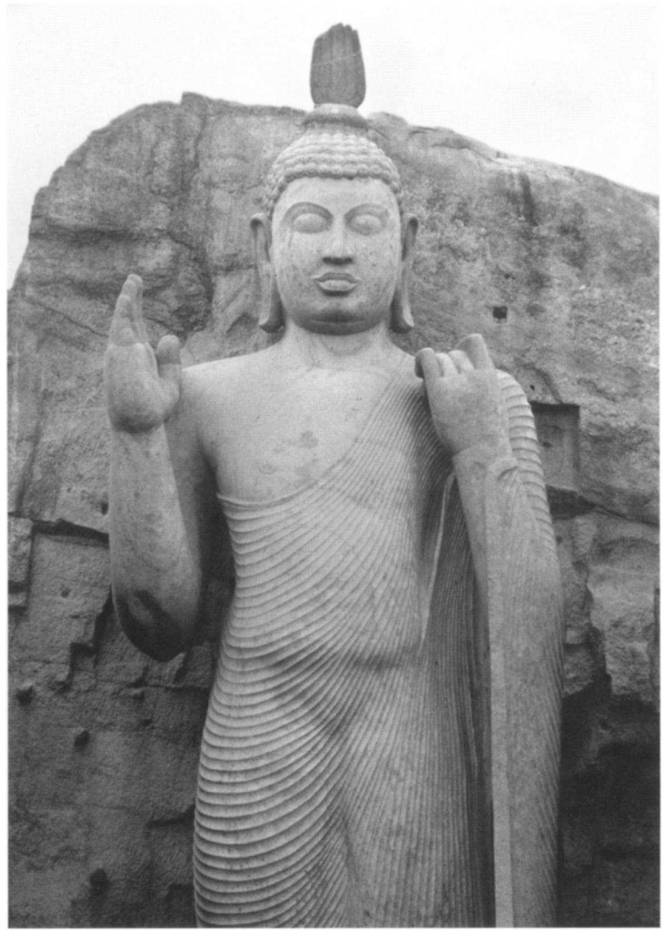


Fig. 35 Seated Buddha. Bronze, h. 22.9 cm. From Swāt, 9th century. British Museum. (Courtesy British Museum)



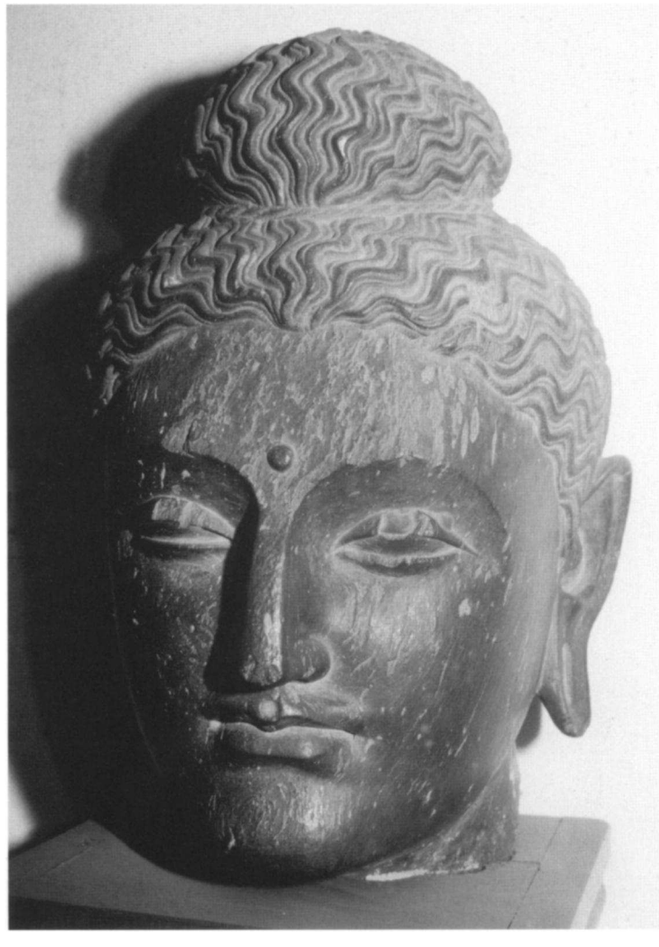


Fig. 36 Seated Buddha. Stone, h. 102 centimeters. From Bodhgayā, Bihar, 10th century. In the compound of Bodhgayā Mahant. (After Frederick Asher, *The Art of Eastern India, 300–800* [Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1980], pl. 139.)

Fig. 37 Standing Buddha (detail). H. 1400 cm. Avukana, Sri Lanka, 8th–9th century.

Fig. 38 Buddha head. Schist, h. 34 cm. From Takht-i-Bāhi, Gandhāra, 2nd–3rd century. Peshawar Museum.

Note: All photographs and drawings are by the author unless otherwise specified.

to the Golden Wheel. *When the Saha world lacks a maṇi jewel, a maṇivaiḍūrya by the name of Ketumati will be formed resplendent [out of my relic].* It will rise as far up to the Akaniṣṭha heaven, and various flowers will fall like rain.... In the entire Saha world, all quarrel, strife, argument, famine, disease, enemy invasion, slander, and poisoning will cease, and comfort, well-being, and affluence will prevail without the shackle of quarrel. All the living beings who see, touch, and enjoy the jewel will not regress from the Three Vehicles....

yāvat saddharme 'ntarhite saddharmolkāyāṃ nirvāpitāyāṃ dharmadhvaje patite te ca mama janmaśarīram avatareyur yāvat kāñcanacakre tiṣṭheyur/yasmin kāle sahe buddhakṣetre ratnadurbhikṣaṃ bhavet tasmin samaye ketumatir nāma maṇivaiḍūryamayaṃ agnirbhāsaṃ tiṣṭhet/tac ca tato 'bhyudgamyordhvaṃ yāvad Akaniṣṭhabhavane sthitvā vividhāṃ puṣpavṛṣṭiṃ pravarṣet, ... sarve ca sahe buddhakṣetre kalikalahavivādadurbhikṣarogaparacakraparuṣavāgrukṣaviṣaṃ sarveṇa sarvaṃ praśameyuḥ, kṣemārogyā akalahābandhanavigrahāḥ subhikṣāḥ sarve sahe buddhakṣetre saṃsthiheyuḥ/yāni ca sattvāni tāni ratnāni paśyeyuḥ spṛśyeyuḥ upabhogakarma vā kurvīran te sarve tribhir yānair avaivartyā bhaveyus....[71]

These passages clearly express in fantastic terms a notion that a jewel can be equal to the physical remains of the Buddha in significance and mystical power. I do not intend to present the *Karuṇapuṇḍarīka* as a major source for resolving our problem. I am generally more than reluctant to use the word "source," although there have been occasions when an image was created as a direct illustration of a written text. Instead, I tend to see text and image as potentially complementary or parallel. Occasionally I even view a text as a document for an image rather than its source. Citing these passages, I would merely like to point out that the notion that a jewel could replace a bone fragment was already current in the period when the *Karuṇapuṇḍarīka* was compiled, between the second and fourth centuries CE at the latest.[72] It is quite possible, therefore, that in many instances, the holes in the *uṣṇīṣa* of Gandhāran Buddhas (datable to the second and third centuries) actually accommodated a jewel instead of a bone fragment.[73]

71 Ibid., 2:263–266, cf. *Taishō* 3:157.211 c–212 a; *Taishō* 3:158.270 a–b.

72 The *Dasheng beifentuoli jing* (*Taishō* no. 158), translated around the end of the fourth century, provides the *terminus ante quem* of this sutra. See n. 67. Although I try to be more cautious in emphasizing the significance of the *Karuṇapuṇḍarīka* itself for our purpose, I have found, intriguingly enough, that it seems to provide answers to a number of puzzling problems in Gandhāran art, and I suspect that it might report the actual situation that was present in Gandhāra. The exploration of this aspect is one of my current projects.

73 If this was the case, Gandhāran Buddha images with a jewel installed in the *uṣṇīṣa* naturally make one recall a few Buddha figures from Swāt with a flame on the top (fig. 35) or those from other regions (Pāla-period eastern India, Sri Lanka, Indochina, Tibet, or even Korea) similarly adorned with a jewel or a flame finial on the top (figs. 36, 37). The examples from Swāt, all in small images (around 20–25 centimeters high) in bronze, are much later than our Gandhāran examples (they have been dated to around the ninth century by Pratapaditya Pal in *Bronzes of Kashmir* [New York: Hacker Art Books, 1975], 194–199), and exhibit strong affinities with late Kashmiri Buddhist bronzes, although the flame on the top is said not to occur in any Buddhas definitely attributed to Kashmir (Pal, *Bronzes of Kashmir,* 194). Those from other regions are also late, the earliest one being dated to the eighth century at the earliest. One would also recall, as mentioned above (n. 48) that there were Buddha images with a hole in the *uṣṇīṣa*, although now left empty, from Sri Lanka (dated from the fifth century onward) and from Pāla-period eastern India. Such holes are often

In the *Karuṇapuṇḍarīka* we read another interesting passage in which a practitioner, on receiving *vyākaraṇa*, takes the following vow:

> As long as the true *dharma* of my *parinirvāṇa* is not extinct, the Bhadrakalpa [the great *kalpa* of the present age] will not be extinct. When my true *dharma* becomes extinct, the Bhadrakalpa will also become extinct. *My bone and bodily relics will turn into innumerable Buddha images (tathāgatavigraha) adorned with the thirty-two lakṣaṇas and again eighty anuvyañjanas in each lakṣaṇa.* Having gone to innumerable lands without a Buddha in the ten quarters, each Buddha image will let innumerable living beings remain in the Three Vehicles. In the land where a Buddha image protects living beings, there will be no destruction in the middle *kalpa*. Afterwards a *cintāmaṇi* will appear as told above.[74] Having gone to the land where there is no jewel, the jewels will fall like rain....
>
> *yāvan mama parinirvṛtasya saddharmakṣayo na bhavet tāvad bhadrakamahākalpe 'kṣayo bhaveyaṃ; niṣṭhite mama saddharme niṣṭhite bhadrakalpe, ye mama dhātavo janmaśarīraḥ te dvātriṃśadbhir mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇaiḥ samalaṅkṛtagātrāḥ, ekaikaṃ lakṣaṇam aśītibhir anyvyañjanaiḥ samalaṅkṛtaṃ bhavet/te ca tathāgatavigrahā daśasu dikṣv aprameyebhyo 'saṃkhyeyebhyaḥ śūnyebhyo buddhakṣetrebhyo gatvā ekaiko bhddavigraho 'prameyāsaṃkhyeyāṃ tribhir yānaiḥ sattvān samādāpayet niveśayet pratiṣṭhāpayed; yatra buddhakṣetre 'ntarakalpe na nāśo bhavet tatra tathāgatavigrahaḥ sattvān paritrāyed yathā pūrvoktaṃ tathā paścāc cintāmaṇiḥ prādurbhavet; yeṣu buddhakṣetreṣu sattvā ratnavirahitā bhaveyuḥ teṣu buddhakṣetreṣu gatvā ratnavṛṣṭiḥ pravarṣān nidhayaś ca....*[75]

The *tathāgatavigraha* is a Buddha image not in the sense of a mental image or a mystically created image (*nirmāṇabuddha*, *nirmitta*, or *huafo*, as the Chinese sometimes translate, perhaps mistakenly)[76] but unequivocally in the sense of a plastic or material image such as those produced and dedicated by Gandhāran Buddhists. We can see clearly in this passage that the relic and the *tathāgatavigraha* are

suspected of having once held a jewel or flame finial. But they could just as well have contained a bone relic or a jewel that stands for a relic. The fact that some of the holes in images from both Sri Lanka and eastern India are carved not in the center of the *uṣṇīṣa* (as in some Gandhāran examples, cf. n. 60) but in the rear, which is normally invisible to the viewer, suggests that it probably had nothing to do with an iconographic feature related to the *brahmarandhra* or *sahasrāra-cakra* (see figs. 27, 28). I have no knowledge of whether any serious studies have been done on the origin and significance of the jewel or flame finial in the *uṣṇīṣa*. As I have suspected with Gandhāran examples on the basis of the *Karuṇapuṇḍarīka*, the jewel could have functioned as a replacement for a bone relic; the flame on the *uṣṇīṣa* (as in the Swāt examples) or the flame finial like *siraspata* (in Sri Lankan Buddhas) could have been a depiction of a bone relic or a jewel emitting fiery light. In any case, one should note that whatever meaning they may have carried later, it does not necessarily apply to our Gandhāran examples in hindsight. For even if the Gandhāran *practice* of installing a relic or a jewel in the *uṣṇīṣa* of Buddha images could have set a precedent for later similar examples, the *original significance* could have easily been misunderstood or reinterpreted.

74 Considering the context of this sentence, it can be interpreted as meaning that the *tathāgatavigraha* now turns into a *cintāmaṇi*. Both Chinese translators also understood it this way.

75 Yamada, *Karuṇapuṇḍarīka*, 2:213–214, cf. *Taishō* 3:157.203a; *Taishō* 3:158.263c.

76 The *tathāgatavigraha* is translated as *"foxingxiang"* in the *Beihuajing* and as *"huafo"* in the *Dasheng beifentuoli jing*. Perhaps the anonymous translator of the latter understand a Buddha image in the semantic category of *"huafo."*

intricately intertwined in functioning as messengers on behalf of the deceased Buddha by teaching and delivering living beings from hardship. This notion suggests another semantic dimension of why a relic had to be installed in a Buddha image.

I began this paper by asking what role a relic played in the justification of making Buddha images. Unfortunately we will probably never know what happened at the very first moment in the creation of Buddha images. But we do know that at an early stage in the Buddhist iconic tradition of Gandhāra, a limited number of Buddha images were made with the topmost part of their *uṣṇīṣas* removable, which quite possibly served to contain a relic inside a hole. Later on, Buddha images were occasionally produced with a hole in the topmost part (which was no longer separable from the lower part) to hold a relic or a jewel replacing it. Sometimes a hole was drilled at the same spot in a preexisting image to install a relic.[77] With equal justification this can be read as an assimilation of a relic in the image worship as much as it was the assimilation of an image in the relic cult.

Now we may ask: if it was possible to remove the uppermost part of the *uṣṇīṣa* and install a relic there as if in a reliquary – as we have seen was the case in a small number of Buddha images created at an early stage of the Gandhāran iconic tradition – what was the nature of such an image? Does this mean that the image became a mere instrument for holding a relic, or that the relic animated the image like a "battery"? In fact, the relationship may not have been unilateral but mutually beneficial. Combined together, a relic and an image would have become a more efficacious means to communicate with the worshiper: an image could be enlivened by a relic, and a relic could take a more concrete communicable form through an image.

In this connection, it is interesting to return to the Peshawar Buddha and note its strangely staring gaze with wide-open eyes (fig. 5). This is generally regarded as a distinctive feature transmitted from Parthian art, where it was commonly used in funerary sculpture.[78] Tanabe Katsumi audaciously argues that the earliest Buddha images in Gandhāra such as the Peshawar Buddha were quite possibly influenced by Parthian funerary figures not only in form but also in conception. Pointing out that the Parthians commonly viewed a funerary portrait as a potential dwelling place for the soul (*fravaši*) of the deceased that was in close connection with the bones stored in that person's tomb, Tanabe sug-

77 One may question how a hole could have been drilled in the top of an existing Buddha image, which must have been a sacred object by itself, with the *uṣṇīṣa* being one of the most sacred parts of the Buddha's body. However, my impression is that images, or more specifically Buddha images in Gandhāra, were generally conceived of and treated as essentially material objects or things that were primarily important as offerings – except for a small number of objects, among which we probably have to count images with a relic. This conception seems to have been obviously represented in the way images were installed in a monastery and in the enormous number of images a monastery accommodated, and it is probably reflected in a passage I cite below from the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*. At the current stage I cannot judge with confidence that it was particularly prominent, if not unique, in the Buddhist community of Gandhāra, or more precisely of the Peshawar valley. But in a previous paper I cautiously attempted to explore the difference between Buddhist icons from Gandhāra and Mathurā and its significance; Juhyung Rhi, "Indo ch'ogi pulgyo misul ŭi pulsang kwan" (The conception of Buddha images in early Indian Buddhist art), *Misulsahak* 15 (2001): 85–126.

78 Cf. Roman Ghirshmann, *Persian Art: The Parthian and Sassanian Dynasties, 249 B.C.–A.D. 651* (New York: Golden Press, 1962), 7–12; M.A. Colledge, *The Art of Palmyra* (Boulder, Co.; Westview Press, 1976), 63–64.

gests that a similar idea may have played a role in Gandhāran images as well.[79] Although Tanabe's argument still needs refinement, it is certainly an interesting suggestion. In some Buddha images from Gandhāra, we witness not only stylistic and physiognomic similarities to Parthian funerary figures, but also indubitable parallels in the relationship between image, the corporeal remains, and the dead.

We may quote in this connection a well-known – and my favorite – passage from the *Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*:

> [The Bodhisattva Dharmodgata said,] "... After the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha, people have made his images. Anyone who sees a Buddha image kneels and pays homage. The image is good-looking and has all the distinctive *lakṣaṇas*, thus being no different from the real Buddha.... O wise one, would you say that *foshen* [the Buddha or the spirit of the Buddha] is in the image?" The Bodhisattva Sadāparudita replied, "It is not there. The reason for making Buddha images is merely to have people obtain merit from it...."[80]

The central issue in this conversation is the presence of *foshen* in a Buddha image. *Foshen* in Chinese can be translated either as the "deity Buddha" or the "spirit of the Buddha," as *fo* means "Buddha" and *shen* "deity" or "spirit."[81] Thus, this concerns whether or not the Buddha or the spirit of the Buddha is present in a Buddha image; differences between the two interpretations of *shen* essentially do not affect the import of the question, since the presence of the Buddha in an image presupposes something like the spirit of the Buddha. In any case, this passage rejects the notion of the presence of *foshen* in an image. But this conversely suggests that the notion obviously mattered to the contemporaneous Buddhists; it is more than possible that some Buddhists believed or suspected that the spirit or essence of the Buddha resided in his iconic likeness.

79 Katsumi Tanabe, "Iranian Origin of the Gandhāran Buddha and Bodhisattva Images," *Bulletin of the Ancient Orient Museum* 6 (1984): 1–27. The practice of erecting funerary statues or reliefs for the deceased was inspired in Parthia by the Hellenistic tradition, and the Parthians believed that the spirit of the deceased dwelled in the image. See Mary Boyce, *Zoroastrians: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices* (London and New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979), 91; Mary Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism* (Leiden and New York: E.J. Brill, 1975–1991), 3:261.

80 My translation based on *Daoxing banruojing*, trans. Lokakṣema, *Taishō* 8: 224.476b; *Taishō* 8:225.507a. I have consulted Lewis R. Lancaster's translation in his "An Early Mahayana Sermon about the Body of the Buddha and the Making of Images," *Artibus Asiae* 36 (1974): 289: "O Noble One, would you say that the Buddha's spirit is in the image? *The Bodhisattva Sadāparudita replied*: It is not there. The Image of the Buddha is made (only) because one desires to have men acquire merit."

81 I am grateful to Prof. Karashima Seishi for suggesting in a personal communication that *foshen* quite possibly meant "the god Buddha" (or "the deity Buddha"). He points out that such usage is found in early Chinese translations of several sutras such as the *Chengjuguangming dingyijing* (by Zhi Yao, *Taishō* 15:630.452a) and the *Jianyijing* (by An Shigao, *Taishō* 17:733.535b), and Chinese Buddhist sources such as the *Guanghongmingji* (*Taishō* 52:2103.106b, 196c) and the *Fayuan zhulin* (*Taishō* 53:2122.394b–c). In this case, the original for *foshen* could have been simply "Buddha," which was embellished with the addition of the character *shen* in Chinese translations. I find Karashima's suggestion plausible, but wish to keep open the possibility that it be read as "the spirit of the Buddha" for further explorations on this issue.

The authenticity of this passage has sometimes been questioned since it appears only in the two earliest extant Chinese translations – the *Daoxing banruojing* by Lokakṣema (second century) and the *Damingdujing* supposedly by Zhi Qian (third century) – but in no other recensions, including the extant Sanskrit version.[82] Although it is certainly intriguing that the relevant passage is not found in later recensions, this cannot be sufficient grounds to dismiss it, considering the contextual complexity of the creation and transmission of various recensions of such a sutra.[83] It has also been pointed out that the concept of *shen* as spirit does not sound Indian and an equivalent for *shen* is not easily identifiable in Sanskrit.[84] But several textual specialists have readily found an equivalent for *shen* in such words as *ātman* or *jīva*, regardless of the possibility that *shen* was an addition in Lokakṣema's translation.[85] What intrigues me in this passage from the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* is that the question regarding the presence of the Buddha or his spirit strongly calls to mind the notion of *fravaši* from the Iranian religious tradition, which denotes the soul of the dead, in particular of a hero.[86] Would it be too far-fetched to suspect that the idea if not the term spirit or *shen* developed under Iranian influence on the northwestern Indian conception of the dead and funerary practices, which reached Gandhāra alongside a parallel stylistic influence?[87]

82 Kajiyama Yūichi, *Hannyakyō: Kū no sekai* (*Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*: The realm of *śūnyatā*) (Kyoto: Chūō kōronsha, 1976), 79.

83 Karashima, who has done considerable work on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*, informs me that the *Daoxingbanruojing* (*Taishō* no. 224), the *Damingdujing* (*Taishō* no. 225), the *Mahebanruochaojing* (trans. Zhu Fonian, *Taishō* no. 226), the *Xiaopin banruoboluomijing* (trans. Kumārajīva, *Taishō* no. 227), and the fourth *hui* of the *Dabanruoboluomiduojing* (trans. Xuanzang, *Taishō* no. 220–4) form a related group as earlier recensions, while the fifth *hui* of the *Dabanruoboluomiduojing* (*Taishō* no. 220–5) and the *Fomuchusheng sanfazang banruoboluomiduojing* (trans. Shihu, *Taishō* no. 227) as well as the extant Sanskrit and Tibetan versions form another as later recensions and that even in the former, the first three translations often differ from the last two.

84 Gregory Schopen questions the authenticity of this passage for this reason. Personal communication during the "Investigating the Early Mahāyāna" conference held by the Stanford Buddhist Center in Asilomar, May 2001.

85 *Ātman* was an initial suggestion by Karashima, to which Aramaki Norotoshi also agreed; but Karashima later changed his opinion as stated above (n. 81). During a discussion on this matter at the "Investigating the Early Mahāyāna" conference, May 2001, Cristina Scherrer-Schaub spontaneously suggested *jīva* as a possible candidate, thinking it related to *purāṇa* and *puruṣa*; she added later that the notion of animate things or animate images was prevalent in India in the early centuries of the Common Era. Hubert Durt and Robert Sharf did not find a problem with the appropriateness of the word *shen* in the Indian context as cited above. In another interesting discussion on this matter, Prof. Hara Minoru pointed out that *ātman* would reside in the top of the head, while *jīva* in the heart. This is an interesting coincidence with the testimony of some senior Sri Lankan monks that a relic is usually deposited inside the *uṣṇīṣa* or the heart. As I said above, despite the possibility that the literal equivalent for *shen* may not have been present in the original used by Lokakṣema or Zhi Qian as suggested by Karashima, I would like to keep this question open.

86 In the ancient Avestan language, there were two terms for the spirit (or soul) of the dead: *urvan* and *fravaši*. While *urvan* means the spirit of a dead man or animal in an ordinary sense, *fravaši*, which has a more complex significance, implies an ancestral spirit or divine spirit, or the spirit of a heroic personage, although the two were often confused or identified. It would not be surprising if the spirit of the Buddha, who heroically passed away into the ultimate *nirvāṇa*, was conceived in identification with *fravaši* by the Buddhists in the region who had close contact with Iranian religions, even though this may not have been considered acceptable in the orthodox Buddhist interpretation of the Buddha's death. For the meaning of *fravaši* and *urvan*, see Boyce, *History of Zoroastrianism*, 1:117–129.

87 The problematic passage discussed in this paragraph appears in a story of the Bodhisattva Sadāparudita seeking the *dharma* from the Bodhisattva Dharmodgata in the land of Gandhāvatī, told in the last two chapters of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, which is found in most extant versions. The affinity of "Gandhāvatī" to "Gandhāra" and the peculiar account of

The Peshawar Buddha has a strong presence, almost ominously reminding one of something that may reside in it (fig. 5). It is an example of a particular facial type among Gandhāran Buddha images which I suspect usually had a relic in a detachable *uṣṇīṣa*. Its distinctiveness is all the more striking when we compare it with the more ordinary or prevalent type of Buddha images from Gandhāra, which characteristically had wavy hair and rarely had a hole in the *uṣṇīṣa* (fig. 38).[88] Was a different concept of image involved in the latter? Was the latter perhaps following the stipulation that one should not be concerned about the *foshen* potentially residing in an image?

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Sadāparudita traveling in the east all the way to Gandhāvatī sometimes provided grounds for attributing the creation of the sutra to the Gandhāran region. See Kanakura Enshō, *Indo tetsugakushi* (History of Indian philosophy) (Kyoto: Heiraku shoten, 1967), 132; Soejima Masamitsu, *Hannya kyōten no kisoteki kenkyū* (Elementary study of the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*) (Tokyo: Shunjusha, 1980), 31. Although it may be hasty to conclude solely on the basis of this evidence that this sutra was created in Gandhāra, it is still possible that some connection existed between the sutra and the region. The passage noted above is also interesting in this regard. Would it be implausible to conjecture that the passage was created and inserted in the particular version (which later became the original of the *Daoxingbanruojing* or *Damingdujing*) in the Northwest, with its special cultural and religious milieu where the Iranian influence predominated? Or perhaps the two Chinese translations differed in the lineage of transmission from the other versions, including the *Xiaopin banruoboluomijing* translated by Kumārajīva (*Taishō* no. 227). Cf. Karashima's opinion cited in n. 83.

88 Noting with great insight the contrasts between these two types, Tissot once remarked, "The differences are... too obvious, not to bring to mind some important change in the doctrine of Buddhism, some different thought coming from a different sect." But reference to a sectarian difference seems obviously too far-fetched and simplistic. I would rather attribute it, as I have discussed, to the difference in the conception of Buddha images and the practice surrounding it. Tissot also noted that the "inner gaze" type had been profusely made at such sites as Takht-i-Bāhi and Sahrī-Bāhlol, adding, "Up to now and as far as it is known, no wide open eyes have been found in those great sites." She is generally right since the two sites were the bases of the "inner gaze" type, but we should recall that the Buddha in the British Museum (Table II-3, figs. 15, 16) is known to have originated at Takht-i-Bāhi. See Tissot, "The Problem of Stylistic Vocabulary," 365–366.

GLOSSARY

An Shigao 安世高
Beihuajing 悲華經
Changgansi 長干寺
Chengjuguangming dingyijing 成具光明定意經
Dabanruoboluomiduojing 大般若波羅蜜多經
Dasheng beifentuoli jing 大乘悲分陀利經
Damingdujing 大明度經
Daoan 道安
Daoxing banruojing 道行般若經
Diao Kui 刁逵
Fangguang dazhuangyan jing 方廣大莊嚴經
Faxian 法顯
Fayuan zhulin 法苑珠林
Fobenxing jijing 佛本行集經
Fomuchusheng sanfazang banruoboluomiduojing 佛母出生三法藏般若波羅蜜多經
foshen 佛神
foxingxiang 佛形像
Fozu tongji 佛祖統記
Gaosengzhuan 高僧傳
Guanghongmingji 廣弘明集
huafo 化佛
Ji shenzhou sanbao gantonglu 集神州三寶感通錄
Jianyijing 堅意經
Kang Mengxiang 康孟詳
Mahebanruochaojing 摩訶般若鈔經
Mingsengzhuan 名僧傳
Puyaojing 普曜經
Sengbiao 僧表
shen 神
Shihu 施護
Shishi jigulüe 釋氏稽古略
Taizi ruiying benqijing 太子瑞應本起經
Tanxisi 檀溪寺
waiguo 外國
xi 西
Xiaopin banruoboluomijing 小品般若波羅蜜經
Xiuxing benqijing 修行本起經
Xuanzang 玄奘
Yubin 于賓
Yufo gongdejing 浴佛功德經
Yutian 于闐
Zhi Qian 支謙
Zhi Yao 支曜
Zhu Fonian 竺佛念

TABLE I

Buddhas with a hole in the *uṣṇīṣa*

- The K-T number is taken from the original Klimburg-Salter and Taddei lists. Where necessary I have provided updated information (collection, accession number, size, reference). I am grateful to Prof. Klimburg-Salter for kindly allowing me to use and transform their lists.
- An asterisk (*) signifies new additions.

No.	Object	Provenance	Collection	Height	Reference/Remark	K-T no.
1	Buddha head (Fasting Buddha)		British Museum, no. 1907.12–28–1	22.2 cm	Zwalf,[i] no. 182	A2
2	Buddha head (Fasting Buddha)		Bharat Kala Bhavan (Vārāṇasī), no. 735	26 cm	Chandra,[ii] no. 17	A6
3	Buddha head (Fasting Buddha)		Bharat Kala Bhavan, no. 738	depth of hole 0.5 cm		A7
4	Buddha head (Fasting Buddha)		Werner Coninx-Stiftung collection, Zurich	18 cm	H. Russek,[iii] no. 40	A8
5	Fasting Buddha	Sikri	Lahore Museum, no. G-75 (old no. 2099)	84 cm	Ingholt,[iv] no. 52	A10
6	Fasting Buddha	Swāt-Dīr	Formerly the late Prince Ahmad Zeb collection, Saidu Sharif	23.5 cm	Klimburg-Taddei,[v] figs. 2–7	A11
7	Fasting Buddha		Linden-Museum, Stuttgart no. SA 36 792 S	32.4 cm	Stuttgart,[vi] no. E5; Klimburg-Taddei, figs. 8–10	A13
8	Fasting Buddha torso		Indiana University Art Museum, no. 79.53	25 cm	Bloomington,[vii] 169	A18
9	Standing Buddha. Limestone.	Haḍḍa	Musée Guimet, no. MG 17281	42 cm	Klimburg-Taddei, fig. 12	C1
10	Seated Buddha (*dhyānamudrā*)	Takht-i-Bāhi	Peshawar Museum, old nos. 1008 & 1060	84 cm	Ingholt, no. 235	C2
11	Buddha head		Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin, no. I 520	19 cm		C3
12	Standing Buddha	Loriyān-Tangai	Indian Museum, Kolkata (Calcutta), no. A 23482/4908	91.5 cm	Majumdar,[viii] no. 258	C4
13	Seated Buddha (*dhyānamudrā*) (figs. 23, 24)		Lahore Museum, no. G-146 (old no. 2349)	ca. 72 cm	Tissot,[ix] fig. 151 (head only)	C5

i Wladimir Zwalf, *A Catalogue of Gandhāra Sculpture in the British Museum,* vol. 1 (London: British Museum Press, 1996).

ii Pramod Chandra, *The Sculpture of India, 3000 B.C.–1300 A.D.* (Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1985).

iii René Russek, *Buddha zwischen Ost und West: Skulpturen aus Gandhāra/Pakistan* (Zurich: Museum Rietberg, 1987).

iv Harald Ingholt and Islay Lyons, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1957).

v Deborah Klimburg-Salter and Maurizio Taddei, "The *Uṣṇīṣa* and the *Brahmarandhra*: An Aspect of Light Symbolism in Gandhāran Buddha Images," in *Akṣayanīvī: Essays Presented to Dr. Debala Mitra in Admiration of her Scholarly Contribution,* ed. Gouriswar Bhattacharya (Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1991).

vi *Ferne Völker, Frühe Zeiten: Kunstwerke aus dem Linden-Museum Stuttgart, Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde,* Band 2: Orient, Südasien, Ostasien (Recklinghausen: A. Bongers, 1982).

vii *Guide to the Collections: Highlights from the Indiana University Art Museum* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Art Museum, 1980).

viii N. G. Majumdar, *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum,* vol. 2: *The Graeco-Buddhist School of Gandhāra* (Delhi: [n. p.], 1937).

ix Francine Tissot, *Gandhāra* (Paris: Jean Maissonneuve, 1985).

x *Gandhāra Sculpture in the Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh,* ed. D. C. Bhattacharyya (Chandigarh: Government Museum and Art Gallery, 2002).

14	Standing (?) Buddha		Lahore Museum, no. R2200			C6
15	Standing Buddha		Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin, no. I 217	74 cm	Klimburg-Taddei, fig. 13	C7
16	Seated Buddha (*abhayamudrā*)	Dagi (Peshawar District)	Peshawar Museum, no. 3092 (old no. 489)	ca. 25 cm		C8
17	Standing Buddha	Takht-i-Bāhi	Peshawar Museum, old no. 1164	140.5 cm	Ingholt, no. 221	C9
18	Standing Buddha	Kalighund, Mian Khan	Peshawar Museum, old no. 406	ca. 40 cm		C10
19	Standing Buddha	Sahrī-Bāhlol	Indian Museum, Kolkata, no. A 23214/N.S. 3938	152.5 cm	Majumdar, no. 255; Klimburg-Taddei, fig. 14	C11
20	Standing Buddha		Chandigarh Museum, no. 12	52 cm	Chandigarh,[x] pl. 5	C12
21	Buddha head		Private collection, Stuttgart		Klimburg-Taddei, fig. 15	C13
22	Buddha head (fig. 22)		Victoria and Albert Museum, London, no. 1971–3827		Tissot, fig. 150	C14[xi]
23	Seated Buddha (*dharmacakramudrā*)	Rāṇīgāṭ	Chandigarh Museum, no. 19	92.5 cm	Klimburg-Taddei, fig. 16; Chandigarh, pl. 6	C15
24	Buddha head		Chandigarh Museum, no. 1759	39.5 cm	Klimburg-Taddei, fig. 17; Chandigarh, pl. 465	C16
25	Buddha head Stucco, not in stone	Sahrī-Bāhlol	Chandigarh Museum, no. 511	20.5 cm	Chandigarh, pl. 135	C17
26	Standing Buddha	Takht-i-Bāhi	British Museum, no. 1889.11–9.1	50.8 cm	Zwalf, no. 8	C18
27	Standing Buddha		British Museum, no. 1940.7–13.8	48.3 cm	Zwalf, no. 10	C19
28*	Standing Buddha	Jamālgaṛhī	British Museum, no. 1880–189	33.3 cm	Zwalf, no. 13	
29*	Buddha head	Jamālgaṛhī	British Museum, no. 1880–187	22.6 cm	Zwalf, no. 41	
30*	Buddha head	Kāfir-koṭ	British Museum, no. 1899.6–9.44	20.9 cm	Zwalf, no. 42	
31*	Standing Buddha		Ashmolean Museum, no. O.S. 26	95.3 cm	Harle,[xii] pl. 15	
32*	Standing Buddha (figs. 10, 11)	Swāt	Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin, no. I 31	108 cm	Grünwedel,[xiii] fig. 117	
33*	Seated Buddha	Takht-i-Bāhi	Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin, no. I 74	52 cm	Ingholt, pl. 12.4	
34*	Standing Buddha	Probably from Paitava	Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin, no. I 67	74.5 cm		
35*	Standing Buddha	Paitava	Musée Guimet, no. MG 17478	81 cm	Bussagli,[xiv] 110	
36*	Seated Buddha (figs. 17, 18)		Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 39.732	54 cm	Ingholt, pl. 13.1	
37*	Standing Buddha		Cleveland Museum of Art, no. 1972.43	120 cm	Czuma,[xv] no. 107	

xi Tissot recorded in the caption for this head in her book (1985) that it was in the collection of the Fogg Museum at Harvard University, and this was repeated in the article by Klimburg-Salter and Taddei with the addition of its accession number TL 65-1937. Suspecting it to be identical with the head currently in the Victoria and Albert Museum, I inquired at the Harvard Museums, which kindly informed me that it had been loaned to Harvard by its previous owner in 1937 (the correct accession number then was LTL 65-1937), who gave it to the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1971.

xii J. C. Harle and Andrew Topsfield, *Indian Art in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 1987).

xiii Albert Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India,* trans. Agnes C. Gibson, rev./enl. James Burgess (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1901).

xiv Mario Bussagli, *L'arte del Gandhāra* (Torino: UTET, 1984).

xv Stanislaw J. Czuma, *Kushan Sculpture: Images from Early India* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1985).

xvi John H. Marshall, *The Buddhist Art of Gandhāra* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, for the Department of Archaeology, Pakistan, 1960).

38*	Standing Buddha (figs. 19, 20, 21)		Lahore Museum, no. G-381 (old no. 740)	139 cm	Marshall,[xvi] fig. 131	
39*	Standing Buddha		Lahore Museum, no. G-375 (old no. 7)	127 cm		
40*	Standing Buddha (figs. 31, 32)		Lahore Museum, no. G-377 (old no. 557)	122 cm		
41*	Buddha head	Sikri	Lahore Museum, no. G-181 (old no. 779)	40 cm	Ingholt, no. 273. The top of the *uṣṇīṣa* is cut off sharply, and the flat surface thus revealed has a square opening in the center. Not clear whether this state is original.	
42*	Standing Buddha		Chandigarh Museum, no. 2083	77.5 cm	Chandigarh, pl. 542. A hole is carved behind the *uṣṇīṣa*.[xvii]	
43*	Standing Buddha	Sikri	Chandigarh Museum, no. 2026	45 cm	Chandigarh, pl. 521. A hole is carved behind the *uṣṇīṣa*.[xviii]	
44*	Seated Buddha	Karamar Hill	Chandigarh Museum, no. 1178	37.5 cm	Chandigarh, pl. 349. A hole is carved behind the *uṣṇīṣa*.[xix]	
45*	Seated Buddha		Chandigarh Museum, no. 64	24 cm	Chandigarh, pl. 19. A hole is carved behind the *uṣṇīṣa*.[xx]	
46*	Bust of the Buddha (probably a seated image)		Chandigarh Museum, no. 726	46 cm	Chandigarh, pl. 205. A hole is carved behind the *uṣṇīṣa*.[xxi]	
47*	Buddha head		Chandigarh Museum, no. 322	19 cm	Chandigarh, pl. 100. A hole is carved behind the *uṣṇīṣa*.[xxii]	
48*	Standing Buddha	Village near Daulat in Mardan	Peshawar Museum, no. 2853 (old no. 1424)	124 cm	Ingholt, no. 206	
49*	Standing Buddha	Near Amankot in Mardan	Peshawar Museum, no. 2859 (old no. 1430)	130 cm	Ingholt, nos. 198, 199	
50*	Buddha head		Tokyo National Museum, no. TC-612	35 cm	Kurita,[xxiii] vol. 2, pl. 232	
51*	Seated Buddha		Private collection, Zurich	57 cm	*ABAG*, no. 9	

xvii Suwarcha Paul and Poonam Khanna, "'Sahaja-Niṣṭha' Buddha in Gandhāra Sculpture," in *Gandhāra Sculpture in the Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh,* ed. D. C. Bhattacharyya (Chandigarh: Government Museum and Art Gallery, 2002), 69.

xviii Ibid., 69.

xix Ibid., 69.

xx Ibid., 69.

xxi Ibid., 69.

xxii Ibid., 69–70.

xxiii Kurita Isao, *Gandāra bijutsu* (Gandhāran art), vol. 2: *The World of the Buddha* (Tokyo: Nigensha, 1990).

xxiv *Ancient Buddhist Art from Gandhāra* (Zurich: Panasia Gallery, 2004).

TABLE II

Buddhas with a circular groove in the *uṣṇīṣa*

No.	Object	Provenance	Collection	Height	Reference/Remark
1*	Standing Buddha (figs. 4–9)		Peshawar Museum, no. 2856	170 cm	Marshall, fig. 85
2*	Standing Buddha (figs. 13, 14)		Lahore Museum, no. G-139	135 cm	Marshall, fig. 86
3*	Standing Buddha (figs. 15, 16)	Takht-i-Bāhi	British Museum, no. 1889.7–15.1	92 cm	Zwalf, no. 2 No groove, just a flat surface.

TABLE III

Buddha with a terracotta bowl inserted on top

No.	Object	Provenance	Collection	Height	Reference/Remark
1*	Buddha head. Stucco.		Private collection, Zurich	65 cm	*ABAG*, no. 26