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MARYLIN M. RHIE

INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE BUDDHIST ART OF CHINA AND THE ART OF INDIA AND CENTRAL ASIA FROM 618-755 A.D.

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The Asian world of the T'ang period (618–906 A.D.)[1] was dominated to a great extent by the Chinese empire, which, at its height, stretched from Korea across all of Central Asia to the borders of Persia. Accompanying the growth of this vast empire during the first half of its course were expanded trade, communication, and religious, political, and cultural interchanges between the countries of Asia. In this exciting and complex historical milieu, China was undoubtedly a catalytic and prime participant. Not only did its culture have an impact far beyond its borders, but China became particularly receptive to certain cultural–religious–artistic phenomena emanating from western and central Asia. In the light of these circumstances and considering the growing and flourishing status of the Buddhist institutions in China during this period, it would not be surprising to see some significant effects of these international relations on the Buddhist art of China.

From a study of the art remains of both greater India and China (including Central Asia), this paper seeks to make a beginning at establishing on a firm basis the international character which appears in much of Buddhist art during the first half of the T'ang period. The methodology for the study is one of comparative stylistic analysis in conjunction with historical documentation. In a step–by–step, complementary process, the art of one region helps to clarify the developments in the art of another region. Where parallel developments match, there is established, like rungs in a ladder, a relation which, along with other such matching relations, can result in clarifying or solving more satisfactorily some chronological gaps and in understanding more accurately the developments and movements of regional styles in the art of the time. Underlying this

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[1] The author wishes to acknowledge the generous assistance provided through grants from the American Council of Learned Societies and the National Endowment for the Humanities in support of research in the Far East, India, Nepal, Kashmir, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Soviet Central Asia, Moscow and Leningrad during the summer of 1975. Research and first–hand observation of sites and materials during that trip contributed in large measure to the results presented in this article. Also, the continued encouragement and help of Prof. John Rosenfield of Harvard University and of Profs. Harrie Vanderstappen and Pramod Chandra of the University of Chicago remains a constant source of support for which the author is ever grateful. The author further appreciates the opportunity given to her by Prof. John Rosenfield to teach a seminar on the sources of T'ang Buddhist art at Harvard University in the fall of 1975.

method, of course, must be a respect for and an understanding of the inherent local idioms and the internal chronology of the art of each region. Also, it should not be expected that all stylistic and motif features in these specific comparisons will be completely equitable or be exact copies. Naturally, the greater the number of similarities the stronger the relation appears, but the existence of certain similarities (great or small) appearing consistently over a long period of time (albeit in differing degress) can offer substantial specific evidences of the interrelationships between the art of India and that of China. This is particularly true with regard to Buddhist art, which has a strongly universal character, like the religion, as Buddhists are generally interested in and aware of the thought and art of Buddhism in other countries and regions, particularly of those areas closest to sources in India.

In this study it is found that for the first half of the T'ang dynasty an interrelation between the Buddhist art of China and that of India and Central Asia develops rather rapidly after ca. 640 A.D. and reaches a peak ca. 700–730 A.D. It also appears that not only is almost every major contemporaneous style of art in north India and Central Asia reflected in Chinese Buddhist art in some way, but in some cases the motifs and styles of older Buddhist art of the Kushana and Gupta periods are selectively adopted and reshaped to help create a unique "T'ang style" interpretation.

The importance of this kind of study lies in refining and expanding our understanding of T'ang Buddhist art on the one hand, and in helping to solve various problems in the chronology and regional stylistic relationships in the art of India and Central Asia on the other hand. For instance, we can begin to apprehend more concretely the sources of certain motifs and styles in T'ang art and, oftentimes, the combination of general historical factors of a particular time which seem to occasion the relationship reflected in the art. Furthermore, because of the relative clarity and exactitude of the chronology of Chinese Buddhist art, a connection with Chinese art helps to establish a dating for a number of important art remains from Kashmir, Swat, Afghanistan, and Central Asia in particular. Frequently, scholarly opinion in the past has too simply generalized T'ang Buddhist art as "Gupta" style. In 1975 this writer showed that at least in one important case of early 8th century Chinese sculpture there was a nearly contemporaneous and at the same time rather intricate relation with the art of the Buddhist regions of north India[2]. Now this pa-

[2] M. Rhie, "A T'ang Period Stele Inscription and Cave XXI at T'ien-lung Shan", *Archives of Asian Art*, XXVIII, 1974/75, pp. 6–33. Hereafter: Rhie, *AAA*, 1974/75.

per continues the study by broadening the scope to incorporate the Early T'ang period (618–684) in Part I and the Flourishing T'ang period (684–755) in Part II, and by utilizing the relationships established here to date some works which will contribute to a chronology of north Indian and Central Asian art.

PART I

THE EARLY T'ANG PERIOD (618–684 A.D.)

A. THE REIGNS OF KAO TSU (618–626) AND T'AI TSUNG (626–649) AND THE EARLY PART OF THE REIGN OF KAO TSUNG (CA. 650–660)

In the opening years of the Early T'ang period there appears to be a relatively severe lack of image remains until ca. 640 A.D. Those few, among which the most helpful for a stylistic chronology are a series of caves at Tunhuang (Caves 279, 375, 381, 373), display a marked adherence to late Sui figural principles and only tentative, embryonic, or minor shifts in the direction of what will become the standard T'ang style image. Then around 640 A.D. there appears not only an increase in the quantity of images, but also the earliest emergence of the characteristic T'ang style image [3].

The T'ang style is an interesting and as yet little understood phenomenon. It appears rather abruptly ca. 640 and in conception it differs fundamentally and radically in most respects from the preceeding Ch'i–Chou–Sui artistic tradition of ca. 550–618, which, in its general aspects, emphasizes abstract form, isolated, independent linear configurations, beauty of texture, and the appearance of a noble, aloof, static, and hieratic image. By contrast, the T'ang style stresses the naturalistically modelled form (in varying degrees at different periods), proportioned and shaped according to a youthfully muscular body norm and articulated to produce a more flexible and human-like image. Rather than the isolated and independent lines of the Ch'i–Chou–Sui style, clusters of parallel garment folds are utilized to specifically mark out the major local structural areas of the body, increasing the focus on articulation and naturalism of

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[3] The Fujii Yūrinkan Buddha dated 639 A.D.: Sirén, *Chinese Sculpture*, London, 1925, pl. 365 (Hereafter: Sirén, *CS*); Caves I and II at Lung-men datable to ca. 641 A.D.: S. Mizuno and T. Nagahiro, *Ryūmon sekkutsu no kenkyū*, Tokyo, 1941, pp. 10–12, text Figs. 6–11 (Hereafter: *Ryūmon*) and *Lung-men shih k'e*, Peking, 1961, Fig. 94; Tun-huang Cave 220 dated 642 A.D.

form. In addition, there is a marked interest in conveying the impression of a distinct difference between flesh and garment. Countenances of T'ang images display a mixture of naturalism (in the modelling) and idealization (abstraction). While the former attribute brings the images towards the human norm, the latter keeps them intriguingly veiled and lifted just beyond the human plane.

As is frequently the case with China, conditions affecting art seem to be at least partially dependent upon the historical–political situation of the time. In these early decades of T'ang, China proper was not completely consolidated by Li Shih–min (T'ai Tsung) until the late 620's and the period of upheaval at the end of the Sui and beginning of T'ang may not have been fortuitous for image–making or to innovative artistic impetus, so the style of those works produced during this time remained basically conservative. But in the 630's, T'ang's official interest was seriously turned for the first time toward conquests into eastern Turkestan, which, since the days of Sui Yang Ti's policy of alliance and conquest in the early 7th century, had reverted to the control of various local chieftains[4]. Hami, on the northern silk route between Tun–huang and Turfan, became occupied by T'ang in 630 A.D. In addition, at that time an alliance was formed with the great oasis center at Turfan. The breaking of that alliance by Turfan in the late 630's precipitated events which led to its defeat and occupation by the Chinese in the summer of 640[5].

Among the earliest evidences of a relation between T'ang style Buddhist imagery and known remains from beyond China proper to the west are Cave 57 at Tun–huang, dating stylistically to ca. 630 A.D.[6], and the superb wooden statue of an Eleven–headed Kuanyin found by Le Coq at

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[4] In the late Sui dynasty the Emperor Yang (r. 605–617 A.D.) initiated a policy of alliance and conquest of eastern Turkestan under the direction of his able minister P'ei–chü, through whose skillful manipulation Sui controlled not only Tun–huang, but also the regions of Hami on the northern route and as far as Shan–shan and Chü–mo–chün on the southern route. In addition, Kao–ch'ang (Turfan) was allied with Sui from ca. 607–ca. 612 A.D. The peak of Sui influence in the area appears to be ca. 610 A.D. W. Bingham, *The Founding of the T'ang Dynasty, The Fall of the Sui and the Rise of the T'ang*. Baltimore, 1941, pp. 25–30. (Hereafter: Bingham, *Founding*). The downfall of the Sui sundered this relation with Turfan and China lost its Central Asian territories; even Kansu province fell into the hands of a local prince until conquered by Li Shih–min in 620 A.D.

[5] Turfan was defeated by the Chinese army led by general Hou Chün–chi. C.P. Fitzgerald, *Son of Heaven*, Cambridge, 1933, pp. 159–166.

[6] Some elements in Cave 57 images are rather closely derived from late Sui artistic styles, such as the mobile movement of lineaments and a lack of strong local area definition. But emerging T'ang style elements also appear, such as the outward character of the images (as opposed to the withdrawn or remote Sui visage) and the reduction of the unitary, abstract, or block–like form in favor of an equal emphasis between form and an independent garment.

Toyuq (near Turfan) in eastern Turkestan (Fig. 2). A comparison of the Toyuq image with the large standing Bodhisattvas painted outside the altar on the rear wall of Cave 57 (Fig. 1) shows numerous stylistic similarities, despite the difference of medium. These include the gentle curvature of the upper torso (not yet fully developed into prominent muscular protuberances); an emphatic dividing of the figure at the (low) waist by a thick roll of the dhoti; legs, which, though individually revealed, are somewhat obscured by the soft garment folds, some of which form hesitant U–shaped patterns below the knees; and relatively decorative jewelry, which is neither richly burdensome nor uniformly simple, but possesses lightness and restraint and reflects a fondness for subtle variety and delicate detail. A particularly pleasing element of this style is the delicacy of the shallow, thin, sharp lines which appear in the details of the face and jewelry of the Toyuq image and in the lines of the Cave 57 painted figures. The bell–shaped tassels which hang from the jewel chains of both examples are, as far as this writer knows, a rarely seen motif; in this case, they are clearly similar in style and usage.

Not only does this close comparability of the Toyuq and Cave 57 images suggest evidence of a relation between the Buddhist art of Tun–huang and that of the Turfan area ca. 630–650 A.D.[7], but also substantiates a specific dating for the important Toyuq image to about the same period[8]. Other features of the image uphold such a dating; for example, a back view (Fig. 3) reveals that the image is carved in the manner of some late Sui and early T'ang Chinese Bodhisattvas, such as the image in Fig. 4 and the famous Padmapāṇi in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, while the usage of jewel insets, which this image appears to have originally possessed, is known from late Sui period imagery[9]. The Toyuq

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[7] It is difficult to be certain as to the original provenence of the Toyuq Bodhisattva, given its small size and easy portability. But the fact that it is made of wood (a medium often used in Central Asian images) and that it was found in Toyuq does most likely suggest a Turfan area provenance. The extreme refinement of line may stylistically associate the image with Central Asian artistic style, such as seen in the Kizil wall paintings of the first half of the 7th century.

[8] The image has been dated to the 9th century by S. Lee and W. K. Ho in "A Colossal Eleven–faced Kuanyin of the T'ang dynasty", *Artibus Asiae*, XXII 1/2, 1959, p. 130. (Hereafter: Lee and Ho, "Kuanyin"). More recently, T. Nagahiro dates it to the mid 7th century in *Chūgoku bijutsu*, Tokyo, 1973, text for Fig. 55, pp. 253–54. This writer was kindly given permission to examine the image in Berlin in 1968 and it was this examination that convinced this author of its early T'ang date.

[9] For further views and information on the image in Fig. 4, see A. Soper, *Chinese, Korean and Japanese Bronzes*, A Catalogue of the Auriti Collection, IsMEO (Serie Orientale Roma, XXXV), Rome, 1966, pl. 26b. For a back view of the Boston Padmapāṇi from

Bodhisattva consequently becomes the oldest sculpted example from Central or East Asia of the Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara and the earliest surviving example to employ the crown-like arrangement of small but equal-sized subsidiary heads, a type most frequently favored thereafter in Chinese, Korean, and Japanese portrayals of this iconographic type[10]. Besides its notable perfection and gentle beauty, the image is almost completely consistent with the specifications for the Eleven-headed Kuanyin as written in the *Avalokiteśvara Ekadaśamukhadhāraṇi* as translated in 561–577 by Yaśogupta[11]. There is an early Japanese bronze image of the Eleven-headed Kannon, usually ascribed to the latter decades of the 7th century, which closely resembles this Toyuq image, especially in its iconographic features, in its body form and patterning of drapery over the legs[12].

During the 640's and 650's the T'ang empire continued to expand, growing westward to include all of western Turkestan. At the accession of the T'ang in 618, the western Turks had been a flourishing and powerful "confederacy", controlling the territory of Central Asia from Altai to Persia and northern Afghanistan. However, trouble soon arose between the clans of the western Turks and China became involved. In the 640's, Kucha, Khotan, and Kashgar were ceded to China. There were

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Ch'ang-an, see Sirén, *CS*, pl. 275. The late Sui period Bodhisattva with jewel insets in the Nelson Gallery is No. 32-186/9.

[10] All other early examples employ the large head style in pyramid composition: the relief of the Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara in Cave 41 at Khaneri in western India (the only known early example in India) dating ca. mid 6th century, and the early T'ang period painting in Cave 334 at Tun-huang. *Tun-huang pi-hua*, Peking, 1960, Fig. 134. For later examples see Lee and Ho, "Kuanyin".

[11] The composition of the small heads in the Toyuq Bodhisattva is: three heads with fangs on its right side, three angry faces on its left side and two Bodhisattva faces in the front, one Buddha head at the apex and the laughing face just in front of the Buddha head. The third Bodhisattva face is the large main head of the image itself. The text translated by Yaśogupta states: the three faces that face forward are Bodhisattvas; the three faces on the left are to be given angry faces; the three faces on the right should be given faces resembling Bodhisattvas, but with canine tusks projecting upwards; on the rear is still another head which must be represented laughing out loud (in the Toyuq image this head is in front); and on top of the main head is still another which must be a Buddha face. It holds a *kuṇḍika* in the left hand (in the Toyuq image the left arm is missing below the elbow) and extends the right hand, grasping the pendant jewel chains and making the *abhaya mudrā* (the Toyuq image grasps its jewel chains, but does not make the *abhaya mudrā*). For the above description and for various early textural reference to the eleven-headed Kuanyin in China, see *Ibid.*, pp. 132–133. The translation of the text by Hsüan-tsang in the early T'ang period retains the two-armed iconography of the image.

[12] The image is from Nachi. See *Tempyō Chihō*, Tokyo, 1937, pl. 31.

further disturbances after Li Shih-min's (T'ai Tsung) death in 649 A.D., ending in 657 with the final defeat of the western Turk Ghoru by the Chinese. China then had control of all western Turk dominions to the borders of Persia. This territory was divided into two Turko-Chinese "presidencies", subject to the authority of the Chinese High Commissioner at Kucha [13].

Repercussions of this further expansion to the west seem to appear in some examples of Chinese Buddhist sculptures of the mid 7th century, which display stylistic associations with art from areas such as Tumsuq (on the northern silk route in the western part of Central Asia), Swat (the ancient Uḍḍiyāna in northern Pakistan), and Kashmir, the latter two areas by mid century being immediate neighbors to the south of Chinese controlled Central Asia.

Several motifs and stylistic traits appearing in the images of Tun-huang Cave 322, which dates stylistically to ca. mid 630's – ca. 640 [14], are observable in some sculpture from Tumsuq and Swat. For example, a similar but relatively uncommon rendering of the *uttarīya* (chest shawl) as an evenly wide band with closely set parallel creases appears in both the right Bodhisattva of Cave 322 (Fig. 5) and in the male ascetic image from the Toqquz-Serai site at Tumsuq (Fig. 6), generally dated between the 5th and 7th century [15]. Other examples of this type of *uttarīya* appear in Indian sculpture of the 5th to 7th century, but in relatively few cases [16]. The Cave 322 Bodhisattvas are among the earliest T'ang images to e this particular adornment, especially displayed so prominently, which becomes henceforth a standard part of the T'ang Bodhisattva's apparel. It is interesting that, in this early T'ang example, the style strongly resembles prototypes from the west. Its stark portrayal against the bare and elongated torso of the Bodhisattva reflects the stylistic trend towards a clearer separation of localized areas and the distinction between body

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[13] E.H. Parker, *A Thousand Years of the Tartars*, New York, 1924, pp. 171–178.

[14] The images from Cave 322 date stylistically between those of Cave 57 and Cave 220, the latter dated 642 A.D.

[15] The site at Tumsuq is considered difficult to date precisely. Von Le Coq dated it 2nd–3rd century A.D.; Pelliot to the 4th and 5th century. Rowland, oberving some stylistic affinities with the art styles of Fondukistan and Adzhina Tepe as well as with 5th-century Gupta art of Sarnath and Gandhara, dates the site as a whole, including the sculptures from Toqquz-Serai, to the 5th–7th century. B. Rowland, *The Art of Central Asia*, New York, 1974, pp. 141–150. Hereafter: Rowland, *ACA*.

[16] This type *uttarīya* appears in several Gupta-period sculptures of the late 5th and early 6th century (male "donor" figure in the Lucknow Museum and Vāmana in the Allahabad Musuem), in the kneeling attendants to Siva in the Lalitaṅkura Pallaveśvara-griha cave temple at Tiruchirapalli, south India, dating ca. 600 and in the Brahman image from the "Descent of the Ganges" at Mahabalipuram of ca. mid 7th century.

and garments characteristic of this stage in the development of the T'ang image.

In the same Bodhisattva from Cave 322 (Fig. 5), a number of features relate as well to a bronze Bodhisattva recently acquired by the Department of Archaeology and Museums of Pakistan and said to have come from Swat (Fig. 7)[17]. Although the Swat image is somewhat more muscularly defined (a typical characteristic of imagery from the Gandharan area) and its torso is not as elongated as the Cave 322 image (elongation is a prevalent feature of much of Central Asian art), the compact volume of the torso and legs, the soft surface of the exposed form, and the clearly revealed shape of the body and limbs are similar stylistic traits in each. Perhaps most interestingly, however, the depiction of the folds in the dhoti in both cases reflect corresponding stylistic principles and a kind of immature or experimental stage of development. In each, the folds are a "soft rib" (i.e., softly rounded and rather loosely draped over the form), which speaks of the attempt to impart a more natural quality to the material and its separation from the body. These folds form U-shapes which, by association, tend to create definite pattern clusters on the legs. Although these fold clusters help to single out the individual shape of the thigh and the lower leg more clearly and forcefully than in earlier images (Fig. 2), the power of the pattern is not fully realized in this style because of the wide and somewhat irregular spacing between the folds. Hence these patterns appear as a hesitant and immature phase of the conception. In fact, it takes several more decades before the potential function of this patterning for the definition of form is utilized with full effectiveness. Finally, a back view of the Swat bronze (Fig. 8) shows a general similarity in shape with Chinese bronze Bodhisattvas of the mid 7th century (Fig. 9)[18].

Stylistic association with the Cave 322 image suggests a dating for the Swat bronze ca. second quarter of 7th century. This dating can be generally supported by a comparison with several other sculptures attributed to Kashmir and the 7th century by P. Pal[19]. Furthermore, the

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[17] The image is one of a group of 30-some bronze images recently acquired (1975) by the Department of Archaeology and Museums of Pakistan. They are currently under study by the Department. The author is very grateful to Dr. Ishtiaq Khan, Director of the Department, for generously showing her the images when in Pakistan in the summer of 1975.

[18] For other mid-7th century Chinese examples comparable to the Swat figure's back view, see S. Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkyō chōkoku-shi kenkyū*, Tokyo, 1966, pls. 234a, 240b, 264a. Hereafter: Matsubara, *Kenkyū*. The hole in the back of the Swat bronze in Fig. 8 is slightly larger than that in an earlier bronze image, the Vishnu in Berlin of ca. 2nd half of the 6th century.

[19] Similar plump, soft and gracefully curved arms appear in the "Brahma" in the Mu-

Swat Bodhisattva can be viewed as a development from the standing bronze Maitreya Bodhisattva in Los Angeles (ca. 5th century A.D.) and the Berlin Vishnu (ca. second half of the 6th century) and as a precursor of the Fondukistan style images of ca. 700[20]. The pedestal, with its lotus petals incised near the edge and with a medial groove, is similar to those seen in Caves II and IV at Aurangabad (6th century)[21], in some early Kashmir bronzes, and in the Berlin Vishnu, but is not generally seen in 8th and 9th century sculptures from the Gandhara–Kashmir region. Although the presence of a ring, which appears on the right hand of the Swat bronze, and the depiction of a miniature Buddha on the lotus flower held in the left hand (Fig. 7a) are both uncommon occurrences in sculptures of the mid 7th century, examples of each do occur in the images of the Aurangabad caves dating to the 6th century[22]. The presence of the small Buddha on the lotus probably identifies the Swat bronze as an Avalokiteśvara[23].

This Swat image thus becomes a rare example among the as yet small group of bronze icons from the Kashmir–Pakistan–Afghanistan region in the 7th century. According to the description of Swat by Hsüan-tsang, who visited the region between the summers of 630 and 631, there was a community of Buddhist monks supported by a devout populace, although the Buddhist monasteries and monks were not as flourishing and numerous as earlier[24]. Such conditions could no doubt support a degree of image-making, which even appears to increase in the 8th and 9th centuries, considering the more prolific remains of bronze images from that time[25].

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seum fur Indische Kunst, Berlin, and the torso form is very closely related to the standing "addorsed" image, both dating stylistically to the 7th century. P. Pal, *Bronzes of Kashmir*, Graz, 1975, pls. 3, 4. Hereafter, Pal, *BK*.

[20] *Ibid.*, pls. 38, 8. With regard to its relation with the Fondukistan style, the Swat image does not display the exaggerated tendencies of proportions or the developed sense of fluid modelling as witnessed in the Fondukistan group of sculpture which no doubt date several generations later. However, the necklace of the Swat image appears to be a simple version of the more elaborate pendant seen in the Fondukistan examples (Figs. 36, 40).

[21] D. B. Levine, "Aurangabad: A Stylistic Analysis", *Artibus Asiae*, XXVIII, 2/3, 1966, pls. 12, 14.

[22] Rings occur on figures of the worshippers in the sanctum of Cave III at Aurangabad. For the Buddha seated on the Bodhisattva's lotus, see *Ibid.*, pl. 12. For later examples of this particular iconographic detail, see Fig. 57 below and the Central Asian wooden shrine in the Nelson Gallery, Pal, *BK*, pl. 102.

[23] P. Granoff, "A Portable Buddhist Shrine from Central Asia", *Archives of Asian Art*, XXIII, 1968/69, pp. 90-91.

[24] T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India (629–645 A.D.)*, Delhi, 1961 reprint. Vol. I, p. 226. Hereafter: Watters, *Travels*.

[25] The rather numerous remains of images from Swat suggest continued activity up to

Another Chinese image of the mid 7th century is an important work in the context of the relation of Chinese art to Buddhist art of north India: it is the impressive marble seated Buddha in the Cleveland Museum (Fig. 10)[26]. A close analysis of the Cleveland image reveals that it appears to be a fresh re-interpretation of older Gandharan as well as Mathura Gupta school motifs, especially in the type and patterning of the fold lines. Explicitly, the folds in the Cleveland Buddha are all of the tight rib variety (as distinct from the "soft rib" in Figs. 5 and 7), standing out in hard, rounded relief like narrow strings or ribs above the smooth place of the skin-tight robe. This fold type has a long history from the firmly rounded, tensely stretched rib folds of Kushana period Gandharan art to the wiry webbing of the Rawak Stupa Buddhas (near Khotan), to the regularized rendering in the Gupta Mathura Buddhas, and to the lax strings of the colossal Buddhas at Bamiyan, to cite some of the most illustrious examples. It has seen sporadic and limited usage in Chinese sculpture until its fervent adoption in T'ang sculpture as early as 639 A.D. as seen in the Fujii Yūrinkan Buddha. The wiry strength of the folds in the Cleveland Buddha especially likens them to the kind used in some of the Rawak Stupa Buddhas[27].

There are three distinct linear patterns created by the tight rib fold on the Cleveland image: those on the chest, on the upper arms, and on the crossed legs. On the chest, the folds appear as singular, curved, prong-like ribs which taper to a fine point after passing the medial axis of the

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at least the 10th century. For examples of 8th and 9th century bronzes, see D. Barrett, "Bronzes from Northwest India and Western Pakistan", *Lalit Kalā*, No. 11, April, 1962, pp. 35–44. Figs. 3, 5, 7, 12–17, 20, 21. It is probable that Swat prospered more in the 8th century along with the general increase in prosperity and international trade activity in much of Asia at that time.

[26] Sirén places the image in the T'ang period from the Shensi region. Sirén, *CS*, text for pl. 405A. He remarks that the pedestal, whose inscribed date he reads as 629 A.D., "is evidently earlier than the figure itself". Wai-kam Ho, who has corrected the reading of the pedestal to 649 A.D., dates the image, which he discusses as not belonging to the pedestal, to the N. Ch'i period. W.K. Ho, "Notes on Chinese Sculpture from N. Ch'i to Sui, Part I: Two Seated Stone Buddhas in the Cleveland Museum", *Archives of Asian Art*, XII, 1968–69, pp. 8–12. It appears to this writer that the image dates ca. 650's by its stylistic association with the Buddha in the Nanking stele dated 655 A.D. (*Chung-kuo-ku-wen-wu*, Peking, 1962, Fig. 116), especially in the bold jutting of the upper chest, a marked style of some images of the 650's, including the images of the famous Metropolitan Museum black stone stele (A. Priest, *Chinese Sculpture in the Metropolitan Museum*, New York, 1944, Pls. LXV, LXX, LXXXI). Similar linear patterns appear in the Buddha from the niche dated 662 at the Kung-hsien caves (Fig. 11). An examination of the image does reveal that the pedestal probably did not originally belong to this image as it does not properly fit.

[27] A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Oxford, 1907, Pls. XVIIa, b, c, d. (Hereafter: Stein, *AK*).

chest, both in the ascending and descending folds, which form an alternating sequence. This striking scheme is known from Kushana period Gandharan images and also from Gupta Mathura Buddha figures, but in neither are the folds employed so symmetrically nor in such as emphatically singular way as in this Chinese image. The reversed U–shaped folds on the upper arms are also a Kushana Gandharan and Gupta Mathura pattern. In early T'ang sculpture this pattern occurs in a few examples but, after this period, oblique or vertical folds are the consistent standard. Around the legs of the image, rib folds encircle the limbs with spring–like coils, somehat irregularly spaced. This circular patterning is an unusual rendering in T'ang art, but it does appear on an image at the Kung Hsien caves in Honan province dated 662 A.D. (Fig. 11).

An interesting parallel to the Cleveland Buddha exists with a stone image, which has a strong Gandharan artistic lineage, from the site of Pandrethan in Kashmir (Fig. 12)[28]. This modest Pandrethan image may not be as sophisticated as the Cleveland Buddha, but the correspondence in the fold type (tight rib variety) and fold patterning (casually organized circular folds around the legs and reversed U–folds on the upper arms) are unmistakable. Furthermore, other features generally agree in these two images: tight snail shell curls for the hair, a stiff columnar torso and limbs, and a relaxed, fluid curvilinear edge of the *saṅghāṭī* over the arm. Like the Cleveland image, the Pandrethan Buddha seems to be utilizing old motifs in a new, simplified, and abstract way — not with complete regularity and unity of design as in the images of the Gupta period (such as employed in the 5th–century Mathura Buddha images), but with distinction and discontinuity, in order to mark out and emphasize the separateness and individuality of the localized body part. These like evidences no doubt suggest some sort of artistic contact between China and Kashmir in the mid 7th century, possibly via Khotan, which was on the route from Kashmir to Central Asia and China and was one of the Four Chinese Garrisons, the seats of T'ang Chinese rule in Central Asia after 657 A.D.[29].

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[28] The remains of Buddhist stupas and a monastery wall were uncovered by Sahni at Pandrethan, 3 miles south of Srinagar. He dated the stupas and sculptures found there generally to "about the 8th century". D.R. Sahni, "Pre-Muhammedan Monuments of Kashmir", *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India*, 1915–1916, p. 61. R.C. Kak dates this Buddha image in Fig. 12 from Pandrethan to ca. 7th century in *Handbook of the Archaeological and Numismatic Sections of the Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar*, Calcutta, 1923. In *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, Delhi, 1971 reprint, p. 115, he dates the Pandrethan Buddhist sculpture "to about the 7th century or perhaps a little earlier" (Hereafter: Kak, *AMK*).

[29] It is well known that one of the main communication routes from north India to Central Asia was from Kashmir through Gilgit to Khotan. With regard to Khotan's particu-

For the Pandrethan image we can say that it becomes another addition to remains attributable to 7th century Kashmir, which was apparently a relatively important Buddhist center at that time, though not as flourishing as in the 8th century. Hsüan-tsang (in Kashmir from 631–633) notes that the kingdom of Kashmir included, besides the Kashmir valley proper, the areas of Taxila, Poonch, Hazara, and Rajauri and that this kingdom had 100 Buddhist monasteries with over 5,000 monks[30]. The very length of his stay in Kashmir – two years – further testifies to its relative importance as a Buddhist stronghold and adds substance to the probability of an influential interrelationship existing between Buddhist Kashmir and China even before their well-known political association in the 8th century (see below).

It is important to emphasize at this point that, in the often diverse evolutionary process of Buddhist imagery in the Early T'ang period, what we apprehend in the case of the Cleveland Buddha appears to be a conscious effort to create a new figural naturalism by utilizing, in an innovative way, the old motifs of Kushana Gandharan and Mathura Gupta art. Not by copying exactly the original motifs, but by re-analyzing them, simplifying them, understanding their artistic potential and re-grouping them as clear, abstract patterns or motifs to be used in the definition of a differently conceived form whose individualized parts stand out as clearly as the unitary whole. It is here that we can see a further advance or clarification of the idea that will eventually lead to one of the eminently successful solutions for the T'ang image: the use of abstract, not naturalistic, linear patterns of parallel rib folds, harnessed and tightly controlled in groups which, by their pattern and position, define the natural, articulated body structure in its individual parts. It is this seemingly contradictory nature of line (abstract in form, natural in function) which ultimately produces the truly successful T'ang image. Its co-ordination with a naturally modelled form then creates the characteristic ideal (abstract) naturalism expressive of the T'ang spirit and of a prevailing Buddhist spirit of the time[31]. The Cleveland image admirably shows the in-

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lar relationship with Kashmir, Hsüan-tsang notes one famous instance. Watters, *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 296. Furthermore, in some of the other Buddhist remains from Pandrethan appear motifs which clearly derive from the Rawak Stupa images. With regard to Khotan's relation to China, it is known that in 632 Khotan sent a messenger to the T'ang court and in 639 sent a prince. In ca. 649 the King of Khotan himself went to T'ang and in 650 he was honored by Kao Tsung. T. Nagahiro, "On Wei-Ch'ih I-seng", *Oriental Art*, n.s., I, No. 2, 1955 (Summer), pp. 71–72.

[30] Watters, *Travels*, p. 261.

[31] That is, the style appears to reflect the equal importance placed on the concepts of *karuṇa* (compassion) and *bodhi* (wisdom) as expressed in some forms of Buddhism in this pe-

troductory and still awkward stage of this concept, which reaches culmination ca. 700 A.D., after several more decades of experimentation and various developments.

B. Middle part of the reign of Kao Tsung: ca. 660–670 A.D.

Although China was beset with some military harassments from the Tibetans in parts of Central Asia during the decades of the 660's and 670's, the empire generally continued to prosper and expand, especially with the successful conquests in Korea in the 660's. Contacts with the "western regions" as reflected in Chinese Buddhist art of this period seem to be strongest with areas of Swat (Gandhara) and Afghanistan, possibly indicating a Buddhist art florescence in these regions at this time.

It is interesting to see that elements of the Hadda–Taxila style of stucco imagery of the 3rd–5th century appear in a number of Chinese images during this decade, one example being the Buddha of the bronze altar inscribed with a date corresponding to 664 A.D. (Fig. 13)[32]. In this Buddha we observe an entirely different solution to garment depiction compared with the Cleveland Buddha discussed above. Instead of narrow rib folds tightly clasping the form, there are fluid folds loosely and gently draping the figure[33]. The beauty of the soft folds seems to closely emulate that of Gandharan stucco imagery, such as those at the monastic site of Tapa-i-Shotur at Hadda in eastern Afghanistan, one of the most important and spectacular finds of Buddhist art to be excavated in recent years (Fig. 14)[34]. Generally similar linear patterns occur in both images:

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riod. *Karuṇa* may be interpreted as being expressed in terms of naturalism or human like qualities apparent in the image while the idealized (abstract) character expressed the concept of trascendent wisdom or *bodhi*.

[32] The information comes from Sirén, *CS*, text for Pl. 416A, where he states that the image is gilt bronze, height 8 inches, in the collection of Lo Chen-yü, Tientsin, and is dated 664 A.D. by inscription. The present whereabouts is unknown to this writer. Even though one must judge the image from a photograph, the figure of the Buddha appears genuine and a date of ca. 664 seems reasonable within the chronology of T'ang sculpture.

[33] Although the stylistic type of this image is one which is known earlier, such as in the seated Buddhas dated 657 from Ch'ü-yang Hsiu-te ssu (Akiyama *et al.*, *Arts of China*, II, 1969, Fig. 106), it is in fact probably a type descended from Sui period imagery, which in turn reflects Gupta period art. But in this 664 Buddha, we find the image imbued with elements which bespeak of a more direct renewal with the Hadda–Taxila stucco image style.

[34] Tapa-i-Shotur has been under excavation by the Afghan Archaeological Mission since 1965. A large monastic site was uncovered, including a stupa court with over 30 stupas surrounded by numerous large niches or "porches". A complete report on the site has not yet appeared, but reports on the progress of the excavations have appeared from time to time in the journal *Afghanistan*, for example, see S. Mustamandi, "A Preliminary Report on

long oblique creases which descend from the upper left arm, pleat folds that encircle the forearm, and fluid horizontal folds which are pulled into asymmetrical disposition by the upper crossed leg and balanced by a short section of folds over the knee of the under leg. Also, in both images we note the absence of the rib fold; it does not appear in the Hadda–Taxila stucco imagery, nor does it occur in the T'ang image reflecting the style of that school.

Close as these similarities are, there is a subtle but important difference between the two which is indicative of one of the fundamental changes between the art of the 3rd–5th century period and that of the 7th century. In the 3rd–5th century period Hadda image, the underlying principle of organization is an unconstrained unity of the whole, but in the T'ang image there is clearer distinction of each major section within the whole. The body trunk, for example, is divided in its frontal aspect into three or four parts in the T'ang Buddha, while in the Hadda image stress is laid on the fluid co-ordination of two general parts (bare chest and covered portion) into a single entity. Again we apprehend a creative T'ang period reinterpretation of an older style, in this instance the 3rd–5th century period Gandharan stucco imagery.

This comparison helps in understanding some of the possible reasons for the complexity and diversity appearing in early T'ang sculpture, such as the marked differences between the Cleveland Buddha and the type represented by the 664 Buddha. It should not be surprising, but rather natural, to find many factors at work in the processes of the development of the T'ang image, including the effects of different regional styles, both contemporary and older, from Indian and Central Asian art, especially in the light of the increasingly active economic, political, cultural, and artistic character of this period.

An image which shows not only some stylistic innovations connected with Buddhist art of Afghanistan and Swat, but also some interesting iconographic elements accompanying the growth of *dhāraṇī* or early esoteric Buddhist thought in China is the Buddha in Fig. 15, now in the collection of the Fogg Art Museum. An iscription dated Kan-feng first year (666 A.D.) on the pedestal of the Buddha cites the image as a Śākyamuni [35].

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the Excavation of Tapa-i Shotur in Hadda", *Afghanistan*, XXI, No. 1, Spring, 1968, pp. 58–69. Also M. and S. Mostamindi, "Nouvelles fouilles à Haḍḍa (1966–1967) par l'Institut Afghan d'Archéologie", *Arts Asiatiques*, XIX, 1969, pp. 15–36; Z. Tarzi, "Hadda à la lumière des trois dernières campagnes de fouilles de Tapa-i-Shotor (1974–1976)", *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Juillet-Octobre 1976, pp. 381–410.

[35] This image has been associated with a group of similar niches said to come from

Although this Buddha possesses the soft, plump form and relatively heavy, fluid drapery which generally associates the image with the style of the 664 bronze Buddha (Fig. 13), there is a more symmetrical as well as abbreviated linear definition of the garment folds. A highly unusual, if not singular, occurrence in Chinese T'ang imagery is the fold motif consisting of a pattern of parallel incised lines in groups of three (triple incised lines) around the legs. This is a fairly common manner of portraying folds or textile patterns in some 8th century imagery in India, such as in Pallava bronzes, but in the mid 7th century it occurs most notably, even though sparingly, in some images from Swat (Fig. 16)[36], in Set II of the painted wooden manuscript covers from Gilgit, and in some wall paintings from Bamiyan and Kakrak in Afghanistan (Fig. 17)[37]. Folds disposed in a wave-like pattern such as appear in the Fogg 666 Buddha also are seen in several bronze images, which may be associated with Afghanistan from the second half of the 7th century[38]. The motif of large-sized pearls adorning the rim of the circular halo appears also in the Pandrethan stone Buddha in Fig. 12, dating ca. mid 7th century, as well as some of the other niches thought to belong to the same original group as the Fogg niche. This particular pearl motif seems to make a rather brief re-appearance at this time since its heyday in Chinese art during the Sui dynasty and early years of T'ang.

In certain aspects of its iconography, the Fogg 666 Buddha may be indicative of early esoteric Buddhist elements which were filtering into T'ang Buddhism in the seventh century. Certainly the image is one of the earliest in T'ang art to have not only the jewelled arm band (on a Buddha), but also the *uṣṇīṣa* jewel. Both of these features pose problems with regard to exact meaning and significance, but at least we know from the inscription that their usage is in connection with Śākyamuni Buddha in

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the Pao-ch'ing ssu in Ch'ang-an. Sirén, *CS*, pls. 398A-401B. L. Sickman, "Two Great Chinese Sculptures for the Fogg", *Art News*, 38, 8 (Dec. 2, 1939), pp. 8 and 15.

[36] This bronze Buddha is another of the recent acquisitions by the Department of Archaeology and Museums of Pakistan. See above, note 17.

[37] P. Banerjee, "Painted Wooden Covers of Two Gilgit Manuscripts", *Oriental Art*, n.s., XIV, No. 2 (Summer, 1968), Figs. 3, 4 (Hereafter: Banerjee, "Gilgit MSS"). For the well known Kakrak example, see M. Bussagli, *Painting of Central Asia*, Geneva, 1963, p. 39 (Hereafter, Bussagli, *PCA*) and Rowland, *ACA*, p. 110. A number of fragments of the Buddhas painted in Cave N at Bamiyan also have the triple line motif.

[38] The bronze seated Buddha in the S. Eilenberg collection (Pal, *BK*, No. 83, where it is attributed to the 7th century from "northwest India (Swat?)" and where he groups it with a standing Bodhisattva, No. 82 in *BK*. Both the Bodhisattva and the Buddha have some likeness to a standing bronze Bodhisattva in the Peshawar Museum. In the Museum records, the latter image is stated to have come from the Ghorband Valley in Afghanistan.

this case[39]. It is possible that the *uṣṇīṣa* jewel may be linked with the Buddhist *dhāraṇī* text, the *Spell of the Buddha's Uṣṇīṣa* (*Uṣṇīṣa-vijaya-dhāraṇi*)[40], or with some other concept related to the rise of Tantric Buddhist ideas. As a dated and inscribed image, the Fogg Museum niche is of considerable importance in establishing the early stages of these particular iconographic elements.

C. The end of the reign of Kao Tsung: 670–684 A.D.

By all counts the most splendid achievement in Buddhist art of the Early T'ang period is the making of the Feng-hsien ssu at Lung-men, imperially sponsored by the Emperor Kao Tsung and Empress Wu, who was a devout Buddhist and the subsequent ruler of China from 684–701 A.D. The major colossal images, the Buddha Vairocana and eight attendants, were executed between 671 and 675 are all carved in high relief from the living rock of the cliff (Figs. 18, 19). The style of the images represents one of the major plateaus in the development of T'ang art; it is characterized by an apt and harmonious balance of idealism and naturalism, of the worldly and transcendent, and of the abstract and naturalistic, especially as revealed in the figure of the Vairocana Buddha. Form shows an abstract purity in its large shape, but is tempered by the subtle muscular modulations that impart a degree of fleshy naturalism. Line follows a nearly formalized scheme which suggests abstraction, yet the subtle variations in width of the folds and the conformity of the thin garment with the body form are subtleties which suggest concern for the na-

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[39] There are two other known Buddha images with only an arm band – they are among the Pao-ch'ing ssu reliefs dating ca. 703–705 (Sirén, *CS*, pl. 394B) and 724 (*Ibid.*, pl. 395B). Both of these images display the *bhūmisparśa mudrā*. The *uṣṇiṣa* disc appears on one other example from the group of images with which the Fogg niche is associated. See Matsubara, *Kenkyū*, pl. 271b; Sirén, *CS*, pl. 400B (less visible). This mark also seems to appear on some of the painted Buddhas from Kakrak (Bussagli, *PCA*, p. 39), unfortunately, however, these images have been heavily restored.

[40] In Chinese, the *Fo-ting-tsun-sheng-t'o-lo-ni*, a popular text in the T'ang and Five Dynasties Periods. It is said that when the Indian monk Buddhapali came to Wu-t'ai shan on a pilgrimage in 676 A.D. (I-feng first year) Wen-shu Bodhisattva appeared to him and told him to return to India for the text of the *Uṣṇīṣa-vijaya-dhāraṇī*. Buddhapali did so and came back to China with the text in 682 A.D. He traslated it afterwards in Ch'ang-an. Later in the T'ang period Amoghavajra, among others, also translated the text. Interestingly, in the Hōryūji is a version said to have been brought by one "Ono" from the Sui dynasty in 609 A.D. *Bukkyō Daijiten*, IV, p. 3170. Even if the 609 text is in question and the Fogg 666 Buddha niche predates the translation by Buddhapali of the *Uṣṇīṣa-vijaya-dhāraṇī*, it is still quite possible that iconographic models arrived in China before a formal translation was made into Chinese.

tural curvatures and shape of the body. The face of the Vairocana has both the inaustere quality of fleshy naturalism and features suggestive of an ideal norm; the combination in this case produces a masterful and truly successful expression reflecting both heroic naturalism and transcedent idealism in harmonious, inseparable balance.

Although exact counterparts to equal the inspired figures of the Feng-hsien ssu may not be available, a number of features of the style relate to the bronze image from Swat in Fig. 16 and to some, unfortunately fragmentary, remains of wall paintings at the famous and spectacular Buddhist site of Bamiyan in the Hindu Kush region of northern Afghanistan. For example, both the Lung-men Vairocana and some of the Buddhas painted at Bamiyan (Fig. 17), especially examples from the 53 meter Buddha niche, have similar figural form: broad shoulders, short neck, rounded face and a large body frame with a slightly idealized quality in the purity of shape. The necks of each have the two interior lines drawn only on the front part in short arcs and the eyelids are wide with a distinct angularity in the socket shape, two striking features primarily seen in the style of the Lung-men Buddha and some Bamiyan (and Kakrak) figures. Furthermore, the lines of the sheer garment in each have a remarkable hardness, thinness, and delicate refinement. The "collar" folds are flat, asymmetrical, narrow, and delicate; the straight, sharp edges contrast in their stiff, inelastic tension with the otherwise general curvilinearity of the figures. A similar contrast appears in the Swat bronze Buddha in Fig. 16, an image which can seriously be considered as dating to ca. third quarter of the 7th century because of its stylistic relation with a number of works of that time. It also possesses the general characteristics of subtly modelled, yet compact, columnar form juxtaposed with thin, refined lineaments describing a sheer, clinging garment of the kind observable in the Lung-men and Bamiyan examples under discussion.

The attendant Bodhisattva images of Lung-men Cave XIX display the same linear delicacy that marks most Bamiyan paintings from the 53 meter Buddha niche. In the left attendant (Fig. 19), there appears to be rather realistic rendering of the abdominal muscles, somewhat like the awkward style in a number of the Bamiyan Bodhisattva paintings (Fig. 20)[41]. These examples may be evidence of the formative stage of this realistic muscular motif, which becomes especially prevalent in 8th century

[41] Other examples include the "Maitreya" from Cave K, several Bodhisattvas from the soffit of the 53 meter Buddha and others. See B. Rowland, "The Wall Paintings of Bamiyan", *Marg*, XXIV, No. 2, March, 1971, Figs. 1, 9, 12. This muscular rendering of the abdominal muscles also appears in the bronze Berlin Vishnu, dating ca. second half of the 6th century (Pal, *BK*, pl. 8).

(and later) art of Kashmir, but is usually not so specifically realistic in Chinese imagery.

It may not appear unusual to witness some relation between Buddhist China and Bamiyan at this time, considering the location of Bamiyan on a main trade pilgrimage route of the seventh century, as we know from the records of Hsüan-tsang, and the undoubted fame of the site with its gigantic images and awe-inspiring cave temple complex. Furthermore, it appears that Bamiyan, like the Feng-hsien ssu, was principally an imperial site[42]. It is also likely that the recognized "proto-mandala" nature of much of the Bamiyan painting and the known affiliation of the Bamiyan Buddhists with the Lokottaravādins, a Hinayana sect which is known for its belief in the transcendence of the Buddha[43], may have some bearing on, or at least suggested affinity with, the Feng-hsien ssu Vairocana Buddha, which is also expressive of trascendence. According to S. Mizuno, the Lung-men Buddha is the "religious master of the 3,000 great chilocosmos, as described in the Chinese version of the *Brahmajāla Sūtra*"[44], a text belonging to the Vinaya of Mahayana. Further, it is known that Empress Wu favored the Hua-yen sect of Buddhism[45], a sect based on the *Hua Yen* (Avataṃsaka) *Sūtra*, which stressed the trascendental aspect of the Buddha and a Pure Land presided over by Vairocana in the center of an infinite universe surrounded by countless other worlds in the ten directions. Vairocana's universe appeared equatable to a highly centralized state[46]. A possible parallel between the cosmology of Vairocana's universe and the vast T'ang empire and its

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[42] Inscriptions, such as of individual donors, are conspicuously lacking at Bamiyan and the accounts of Hsüan-tsang suggest strong royal patronage in the donation of monasteries and in the famous "Quinquennial Assembly" rituals. Watters, *Travels*, pp. 118–119.

[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 116–118. It can be noted that one of the texts of this sect was the *Mahāvastu*, a treatise which represents itself as a part of the Vinaya of Mahayana (like the *Brahmajāla Sūtra* noted below).

[44] S. Mizuno, *Bronze and Stone Sculpture of China*, Tokyo, 1960, p. 23.

[45] Apparently Empress Wu's association with the Hua-yen School and the monk Fa-tsang (a disciple of Chih-yen) can be traced back at least to ca. 670 A.D. Prior to her interest, the throne gave little support to this sect (with regard to Buddhism, T'ai Tsung and Kao Tsung favored the Fa-hsiang doctrines propagated by Hsüan-tsang), even though the notable Hua-yen scholars Fa-shun and Chih-yen were active. S. Weinstein, "Imperial Patronage in the Formation of T'ang Buddhism", in *Perspectives on the T'ang*, ed. by A. Wright and D. Twitchett, New Haven and London, 1973, p. 302.

[46] "Another feature of particular interest in the Hua-yen is its cosmology, which depicts a Pure Land presided over by Vairocana Buddha situated in the center of an infinite universe. Surrounding Vairocana's Pure Land in the ten directions are countless other worlds, each with its own Buddha, which reflect perfectly the Central Pure Land of Vairocana in accordance with the Hua-yen principle of the interpenetration of all phenomena". *Ibid.*, p. 301.

centralized system of government may not have escaped the rulers of China at the time.

Although there is a lack of dated evidences at Bamiyan, it is known from the records of Hsüan-tsang that the three colossal Buddhas existed and that the site was in a flourishing state at the time of his visit in 632 A.D. From the account of Hei-cho, a Korean monk, we know Bamiyan apparently continued to prosper at least into the 720's[47]. The stylistic relation of at least some of the paintings from the 53 meter Buddha niche at Bamiyan and of the Swat bronze in Fig. 16 with the Lung-men Feng-hsien ssu images of 675 A.D. can help support a dating for them ca. third quarter of the 7th century[48].

Elements of coarseness, a quality of weight and of richer and heavier decoration begin to appear in T'ang sculpture ca. late 670's and early 680's, the final years of the region of Kao-tsung in the Early T'ang period. The Buddha dated 679 shows marks of this trend, as do the images from Cave 10 (The Wan-fo-tung) dated 684 at Lung-men[49]. The rather large features of the face, the highly arched eyebrows, the heavily lidded eyes, which slant unnaturally upward, and the pouting, heavy lips which appear in these images are characteristic of this time. Such facial features find a conterpart in some contemporary bronze images from the general Gandharan region, such as the seated Buddha from the Eilenberg collection, suggested earlier as a possible Afghanistan image[50]. The several connections noted in this paper between Chinese images from the

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[47] Hsüan-tsang noted some tens of Buddhist monasteries with several thousand Brethren and he makes special note of the extreme piety of the people. Watters, *Travels*, pp. 115–116. The Korean monk Hei-cho (Chinese: Hui ch'ao), who passed through the Bamiyan Valley in the late 720's also notes the flourishing condition of this site. Walter Fuchs, "Huei-chao's Pilgerreise durch Nordwest Indien und Zentral-Asien um 726". *Sitzungsberichte der Preudssichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1938, XXX (Sitzung den philosophisch-historischen klasse) 22, Dezember, p. 449.

[48] There are two recent Ph.D. dissertations dealing with the Bamiyan caves. The first, from the Université des Sciences Humaines, Strasburgo, March, 1972, by Z. Tarzi, *L'architecture et le décor rupestre des grottes de Bāmiyān*, 2 vols., Paris, 1977; the second, from Harvard University, December, 1975, by D. Klimburg Salter, *Buddhist Painting of the Hindu Kush: Bamiyan, Fondukistan, Foladi, Kakrak* (a revised version of this dissertation will soon be published by the Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, Istituto Universitario Orientale, Naples). The recent cleaning, renovation, and preservation of the Buddha images and wall paintings by the Indian government is revealing new materials at the site which will undoubtedly prove important for further study of the art of Bamiyan (see the brief reports by the Archaeological Survey of India in *Indian Archaeology – A Review*, 1969-70 to 1977-78)

[49] Matsubara, *Kenkyū*, pl. 679B; *Lung-men shih k'e*, pls. 119 120 and *Ryūmon*, pls. 14, 15.

[50] See note 38.

660's to 680's and the Eilenberg Buddha suggest a dating for the image ca. third quarter of the 7th century. In its body structure, it is also comparable to the Swat bronze Buddha in Fig. 16 of approximately the same date.

Part II

FLOURISHING T'ANG (684–755 A.D.)

This period is dominated by two strong rulers in China: Empress Wu, who ruled in fact from ca. 684–705 A.D., and the Emperor Hsüan Tsung (Ming Huang), who ruled for the K'ai-yüan (713–742 A.D.) and T'ien-pao (742–755 A.D.) eras. It is a period when T'ang power, prestige, and culture reached its apogée and, at the end, began its decline. T'ang continued an active interest in the central and west Asian regions throughout most of the period, but towards the middle of the 8th century, trouble with the Tibetans and lack of support from the central government in China contributed to the sudden collapse of China's Central Asian dominions with the defeat of the Chinese armies in the battle of the Talas River in western Turkestan against a combined force of the Turks and Moslem Arabs in 752 A.D.

For Buddhist art, the period is probably one of the most productive, not only in China but also in the northern border regions of India where the Buddhist religion remained a potent reality. In the evolution of the T'ang image, even after reaching a successful peak of expression ca. 700 A.D., superlative and creative interpretations and variations characterize the generous quantity of remains of the period. For the areas of Kashmir, Swat, and Afghanistan, the period is one of full flowering for this late phase of their Buddhist art. The entire northern Buddhist world, with a powerful China in the center, appears to be vigorously revitalized, perhaps due in no small measure to the economic prosperity in Asia at the time and to the active role of the Chinese empire in the economic and cultural spheres. The period is beyond all question one of international preeminence in the cultural history of Asia, reflected proudly and magnificently in the beautiful remains of its religious art.

A. The period of Empress Wu: 684–705 A.D.

The decade of the 680's was a relatively peaceful one for China, especially following the successful campaigns in 681 of the T'ang General

from Paekche, Hei-ch'ih Ch'ang-chih against the Tibetans [51]. This peace lasted until ca. 692 when "serious warfare broke out once more, due to Chinese aggression with the object of recovering the Four Towns" (i.e., Kucha, Khotan, Kashgar and Karashahr). However, the Tibetans were defeated by Wang Hsiao-chieh on December 8, 692, and the Four Towns were once again recovered for China [52]. Interrelationships between Chinese Buddhist art of this time seem most prolific with the art from two general areas to the west: the site of Pendzhikent (near Samarkand in Soviet Central Asia) and Kashmir.

A stylistic relation with particular works from Pendzhikent appears in two important Chinese monuments executed during Empress Wu's reign: the sculpture from Cave 328 at Tun-huang, datable stylistically to the late 680's [53], and the sculpted reliefs of the Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara (Kuanyin) images from the Ch'i-pao-t'ai (later removed to the Pao-ch'ing ssu) in Ch'ang-an, datable to ca. 703–705 A.D. [54].

Pendzhikent, the Sogdian city in western Turkestan, was a flourishing and independent city from the late 5th or early 6th century until its destruction by invading Arabs in 772 A.D., after which it fell into demise [55]. Excavations by the Soviet Union have found rich yields from the site, including spectacular wall paintings which have been classified by Diakonov into two general stylistic groups: Style I, incorporating figures suggestive of volume and Style II, including the more abstract, two dimensional and decorative styles. In the famous "Harpist" painting (Fig. 22), placed in the Style II category [56], there are a number of relevant

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[51] Huk-Ch'i Sang-ji, a general for T'ang after the defeat of Paekche by T'ang in 663, was especially famous for his skillful warfare against the Tibetans in Central Asia. It is his middle daughter who, along with her husband, General? Pu Hsŭn, another Korean who became a general for T'ang, donated images (Cave XXI) and a stele at the T'ien-lung shan cave temples in 706–707. See Rhie, *AAA*, 1974/75, pp. 6–10.

[52] C.P. Fitzgerald, *The Empress Wu*, London, 1968, p. 144.

[53] The figures stylistically relate to the Bodhisattva dated 687 now in the Cleveland Museum. Siren, *CS*, pl. 482.

[54] Five reliefs bear the date of 703, one 704, and another 705; two others are dated 724. The standing Eleven-headed Kuanyin images stylistically belong to the earlier group.

[55] "Pendzhikent came into existence as an urban settlement... in the 5th or early 6th century A.D. ... The settlement was abandoned by its inhabitants as a result of the Arab conquest between the twenties and seventies of the 8th century... Thereafter no attempt was made to re-establish the town". A. Belenitskii, *Central Asia*, Cleveland and N.Y., 1968, pp. 154–155 (Hereater: Belenitskii, *CA*). "Pendzhikent was first conquered and partly destroyed by fire in 722 under the impact of Islam... After having survived for awhile on a reduced scale, this city was definitively destroyed in 760". G. Frumkin, *Archaeology in Soviet Central Asia*, Leiden, 1970, p. 72 (Hereafter: Frumkin, *Archaeology*).

[56] Rowland dates the "Harpist" figure to the 7th–8th century, placing it stylistically

stylistic traits which appear closely conjunct with the images in Cave 328 at Tun-huang, especially as witnessed in the seated Bodhisattva in Fig. 21. Despite the difference in medium and iconography[57], the conception of form is similar in each. The torsos are long, straight and relatively wide, but without strength or tension. The arms are plump and held rather stiffly but serenely, contrasting to the delicate, measured gestures of the raised hands and long, curved fingers. There is a quality of egg-shell thinness to the surface of these figures, which not only conveys an effect of abstraction or two dimensionality, thereby heightening the sense of ephemereality notable in the interpretation, but also aptly sets off the applique of selective, stiff, and rather richly engraved (in the case of the Cave 328 images) jewelry. The thin, sure drawing of the Harpist seems to impart the same brittle quality as the sharp contours and delicate, almost unnoticeable demarcation lines of the upper chest muscles and abdomen in the Tun-huang Bodhisattva[58]. In the quiet, refined faces with their perfect, ovoid shape and long, smooth cheeks appear similar features: a long aquiline nose, small mouth, and horizontal, almond-shaped eyes (Figs. 23, 24). The close stylistic relation between these works from the opposite ends of Central Asia can perhaps help to pinpoint a dating ca. 680 for this famous Harpist painting from Pendzhikent.

The standing Eleven-headed Kuanyin images dating 703-705 from the Pao-ch'ing ssu (originally from the Ch'i-pao-t'ai) (Fig. 25) exhibit some comparable stylistic points with the remains of three charred wooden statues recovered from Pendzhikent (Fig. 26)[59]. Both groups of sculpture have a peculiar elongation of the upper torso which can be specifically limited to the period ca. 700-705 in Chinese sculpture. Unlike the styles of torso elongation in images of the 650's or 680's (Figs. 5, 21), these images exhibit an unusually narrow aspect from the frontal view and have a prominent muscular bulge below the constricted waist. This

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with the Rustam legend cycle, a subdivision of the "second style" in Diakonov's classification of the Pendzhikent wall paintings. Rowland, *ACA*, pp. 56, 59, 62.

[57] The exact identity of the "Harpist" figure and its meaning within the configuration of the wall painting (adjoining scenes represent Mazdean fire-worship) is as yet unknown. From the presence of a halo and the hieratic appearance of the figure, Rowland suggests the figure is "a deity in the syncretic religious cults that flourished in Pendzhikent". *Ibid.*, p. 59.

[58] Interestingly, this same kind of thin linear demarcation of the form appears in the images of the Saiva Cave (Ravan Phadi) at Aihole, dating stylistically ca. 670-680. A. Lippe, "Early Chalukya Icons", *Artibus Asiae*, XXXIV, 4, 1972, p. 281 and Fig. 16.

[59] For other views, see A. Belenitskii, *Monumental Art of Pendzhikent*, Moscow, 1973, pls. 40, 58; Belenitskii, *CA*, Figs. 107, 108. For the dating of Pendzhikent, see above note 55. These particular statutes are dated to the 7th century by T.T. Rice, *Ancient Arts of Central Asia*, New York, 1965, Fig. 85.

abdominal bulge has the unique appearance of being squeezed into an irregular shape, different from the more common circular shape frequently utilized in T'ang sculpture of the Flourishing T'ang period. Although the muscles are more clearly patterned in the Pao-ch'ing ssu images than in the Pendzhikent statues, which are more naturalistically modelled without sharply defined areas, this difference may be due, at least in part, to the inherent tendency of Chinese art to define form in clear patterns. However, both groups of statues are basically stiff and frontal in their postures and have a tension in the binding quality of line. Also, the circular necklaces in each are worn close to the neck rather than hanging low on the chest, which is the more common manner in T'ang sculpture. This stylistic relationship with Cave 328 may help to date the rare Pendzhikent statues ca. late 7th century or ca. 700 A.D.

Also during the reign of Empress Wu, a number of caves were opened in the Eastern Hills at Lung-men near Loyang in Honan province. These caves were probably completed in their present state by ca. 701 A.D. when the Empress moved the court back to Ch'ang-an after its long sojourn in Loyang. The images in the three main caves[60] of the Eastern Hills are marked by a spirit of boldness, grandeur, and strength. Facial features are prominent and bulging, and figural form is large and coarse, generally characterized by a compactness and toughness which engender a sense of power. A similar style appears in some works from the group of monumental stone Hindu images discovered at Pandrethan in Kashmir[61]. For example, in both the Crowned Buddha from the southern cave of the Lei-ku-t'ai group of the Eastern Hills caves (Fig. 27) and the four-armed Siva from the Pandrethan group (Fig. 28) appear forcefully rounded planes of the chest, strong modelling of the form and face and large facial feature with bulging eyes and a large mouth with lobe-like divisions. Also, the neckband with its richly carved designs are nearly identical in each. The particular comma-shaped motif which appears in

[60] *Ryūmon*, pp. 116–122.

[61] These images were noted by R.C. Kak in *AMK*, p. 116: "While digging for the foundations of the military buildings in the new cantonment nearby, nearly a dozen beautiful sculptures, more than life-size, representing Indrani, Chamunda, etc. ... were discovered". Some of the Pandrethan Hindu images have been included in an article on Mahesamurti iconography by Krishna Kumar, "A Dhyāna-yoga Maheśamūrti and some Reflections on the Iconography of the Maheśamūrti Images", *Artibus Asiae*, XXXVII, 1/2, 1975, pp. 105–120 where they are dated ca. 9th century. Although the images of this group have some variations in style and some appear to be unfinished, the group is relatively consistent. The Siva in Fig. 28 seems to be among the earliest in the group.

these necklaces is a popular motif found in the jewelry on Chinese sculpture primarily during the Empress Wu period[62]. Although the Pandrethan images are not dated and are of Hindu iconography, the comparable stylistic traits with the Crowned Buddha can be a factor in suggesting a date for this Siva image in the decades around the end of the 7th or beginning of the 8th century. Possibly the re–opening of Central Asia after 692 led to renewed contacts between China and Kashmir which these sculptures may reflect.

As suggested in an earlier article, the wall paintings of the Hōryūji Kondō appear to show a style prevalent in China during the Empress Wu period[63]. Although the paintings have been variously dated, the most probable date seems to be that determined by Naito, who places them in the period ca. 707–711 A.D. As still more evidences for the study of this famous cycle of paintings, which seems to epitomize the painting of this period in Asia, are two wall paintings of greatly differing iconography and geographical location, which nevertheless both bear resemblances to the Hōryūji paintings, namely, the figures from the Red room of the palace at Varaksha in Soviet Central Asia and the fragment of a figure of Mahāpurusha from the Tirunandikkarai cave, Koṅgumandalam, south India.

The Varaksha image in Fig. 30 (probably part of a royal hunting scene) both in the shape and posture of form and in the subtlety of line is one of the closest parallels for the Hōryūji Bodhisattva in Fig. 29. Although the Hōryūji painting utilizes shading techniques known in early T'ang painting but which are not seen in this Varaksha work, the outline drawing has a similar clarity, continuity, and sharpness as well as delicacy and evenness. One cannot fail to notice the resemblances in the generous ease of the open pose, in the gentle curves of the belt line, and in the alert turning of the raised foot in each. The Varaksha paintings are generally dated to the 6th century and they may represent an example of the "Sogdian" style of painting famous in Chinese records and which seems to have made some impact on Chinese painting of the late 6th and 7th century[64].

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[62] It appears on a number of images from the Lung-men caves of this period and in images dating ca. 700 (Fig. 25). Tokiwa and Sekino, *Shina bunka shiseki*, Kyoto, 1940, Vol. II, pl. 74 (2), 71 (2).

[63] Rhie, *AAA*, 1974/75, pp. 25–26.

[64] Rowland dates the paintings of the Red Room to the 5th–6th century, the time of the reconstruction of the palace. Rowland, *ACA*, pp. 70, 73. Belenitskii states that the town existed between the 5th and 10th centuries and that the structures belong "mainly to the period before the

As for the south Indian painting of Mahāpurusha (Fig. 32), dated by Sivaramamurti to the early 8th century, in the firm, even line, wide cheeks, shape of the nose, the similar double chin line, heavy-lidded and downcast eyes, we can observe a remarkable likeness in form and technique with the head of the Avalokiteśvara from wall No. 6 in the Kondō (Fig. 31)[65]. The commercial relations of the south Indian kingdoms of the Pallvas and Pandyas via the sea routes with South East Asia and China could easily afford the passage of south Indian art styles to China and from there to Korea and Japan[66]. This sea route between India and China was travelled by such notable Buddhist pilgrims as I-Ching in the 690's and in the 8th century by Amoghavajra, Vajrabodhi and Hei-cho. Surely in the Hōryūji wall paintings we see clear testimony to the international character of art styles in the late 7th and early 8th century in Asia, including, apparently, a possibly significant relation between the art of south India and the Far East.

B. The reign of Hsüan Tsung: 713–755 A.D.

The period between the end of the reign of Empress Wu and the beginning of the reign of Hsüan Tsung (Ming Huang), that is, between 705–713, is marked by political problems of succession in the T'ang line

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Arab conquest (7th and 8th centuries)". Belenitskii, *CA*, p. 143. "According to Shishkin (excavator of Varaksha) the wall paintings of the castle can hardly have been executed before its reconstruction, which took place in the 6th century". Frumkin, *Arhcaeology*, p. 122.

The painter Ts'ao Chung-ta, famous in the N. Ch'i period, was said to come from the country of Ts'ao (Sogdiana), although there is some controversy on this point. Ts'ao was noted for the "supernatural effects of his painting; his was a style said to portray garments which looked as if drenched in water and the figures were clad in garments which clung to the body". It is further noted in the Chinese records that "the same distinction of the Ts'ao and the Wu (referring to the style of Wei-ch'ih I-seng of Khotan) school existed in sculptures". Siren, *Chinese Painting*, London, 1956–58, Vol. I, pp. 69–70.

[65] C. Sivaramamurti, *South Indian Paintings*, New Delhi, 1968, p. 73, where he notes the stylistic similarity with the Kailāsanātha (Kānchipuram) works dating ca. 700–725.

[66] "The direct sea route between China and India is... known to have come into common use by the close of the 7th century, and I-tsing mentions no fewer than 37 Chinese pilgrims who took this route to India in his time. At no time had Indian merchantmen ever ceased to frequent the shores of the Malaya peninsula and the islands of the archipelago, even Indo-China and China. Mahabalipuram, Kavirippumpattinam, Saliyur and Korkai on the east coast, and Quilon on the west, were great emporiums frequented by the traders of other countries... The T'ang empire in China, Sri Vijaya under the powerful line of the Sailendras, and the Abbasid Khalifat at Baghdad, were the chief states outside India that flourished on this trade". Nilankanta Sastri, *The Colas*, Madras, 1955, p. 604.

for the throne, but relative peace with regard to central and west Asian relations. The major example of this short period which shows the interrelated links in Buddhist art is Cave XXI at the T'ien-lung shan cave temples in Shansi province. The imagery from this cave, as discussed in a previous article, reveals stylistic associations with motifs from Hadda stucco sculpture, with Buddhist sculpture from the site of Pandrethan in Kashmir, and with the wall paintings of Kizil in Central Asia[67]. It is possible that the renewed contact with Kucha-Kizil after 692 prompted the appearance of the Kizil style in Cave XXI, dating ca. 707 A.D.

With the K'ai-yüan era (713-742 A.D.), China enters a period of recognized greatness and prosperity. In Buddhist art, this period can be considered a climax of the "international" style, which seems to clearly and forthrightly exist from Kashmir to Afghanistan to the heart of China and, by extension, beyond to Korea and Japan. The parallelisms between Chinese art and the art of those regions are sometimes so consistent as to demonstrate an astonishing reciprocity and open receptivity between the cultures of this time, while the dated evidences reveal that interchange must have been swift and the relatively large quantity of the examples involved suggests frequent contact. No doubt partly because of these conditions, the Buddhist art of China is characterized by some complex and subtle currents. On the other hand, the relative stability of the chronology of Chinese sculpture again provides a useful reference or measure for dating some important remains from Afghanistan and Kashmir in particular.

T'ien-lung shan and Afghanistan

One of the most extraordinary stylistic relationships of this period is between the sculpture from some of the caves at T'ien-lung shan in Shansi province and the images from the famous site of Fondukistan and from the newly excavated site of Tapa Sardar, both in Afghanistan[68]. A

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[67] Rhie, *AAA*, 1974/75, pp. 20-24.

[68] Tapa Sardar in Ghazni is being excavated by the Italian Mission (IsMEO) under the direction of Maurizio Taddei. Although a final report has not yet come out, various notices on the course of the excavations and the exciting discoveries have appeared. See "IsMEO Activities", *East and West*, until XXVI 3-4, 1976; M. Taddei, "Results of New Excavations in Tapa Sardar", *Afghanistan*, XXIII 3, Fall, 1970, pp. 85-87; M. Taddei, "Tapa Sardār. First Preliminary Report", *East and West*, XVIII, 1968, pp. 109-24; M. Taddei, "Il santuario buddhistico di Tapa Sardār, Afghanistan", *Quaderni de 'La ricerca scientifica'*, no. 100, CNR, Rome, 1978, pp. 575-89; M. Taddei and G. Verardi, "Tapa Sardār. Second Preliminary Report", *East and West*, XXVIII, 1978, pp. 33-135; M. Taddei and G. Verardi, "La Missione Archeologica Italiana in Afghanistan, 1976-1979", *Quaderni de 'La ricerca scientifi-*

relation between the sculpture of Fondukistan and Cave XVIII east wall at T'ien-lung shan was first noted in my earlier article (see note 67), but since then further study and examination of material in Afghanistan reveals an even broader dimension to the relation, involving at least several caves at T'ien-lung shan. In fact, the subtle stylistic variations found within the Fondukistan group of sculpture are also reflected within a sequence of T'ien-lung shan sculpture.

Cave XIV

The earliest comparable material appears to be between T'ien-lung shan Cave XIV, datable to ca. 720 or slightly earlier, and the images from Niche D at Fondukistan. In the main Bodhisattva of the west wall of Cave XIV (Fig. 33) not only is there smooth modelling of the three prominently bulging divisions of the upper torse (i.e., the upper chest, rib cage, and abdomen) characteristic of the general Fondukistan sculptural style, but there are several notable resemblances with the main Bodhisattva of Niche D in particular (Fig. 34). Both are main images of comparably large size, seated lalitāsana with a broad spacing in the posturing of the legs which imparts a magnanimous attitude to the images. The raised leg in each is tilted above the level of the pedestal (supported by cushions in the Fondukistan example). Furthermore, the drapery in each is extremely thin, light, and delicate in sharp contrast to the solid and rather tough quality of the form. This gauze-like drapery is a style-motif appearing in Chinese sculpture of ca. 720's; earlier examples of drapery tend to appear transparent or "wet" but have heavy or stiff folds that do not impart the special quality of lightness seen here. The diaphanous effect is achieved by portraying folds which are raised in shallow ribs or pleats on the legs or flutter in loose, wavy clusters over the pedestal, producing a flurry of movement, another prevailing feature of this style.

The same style appears in the standing Bodhisattva from the same wall of Cave XIV (Fig. 35). The disparate nature of the folds of the dhoti and the plain or unlined areas, which emphasize the clinging nature of the cloth and show a particularized shape of the body, are similar to the drapery treatment in the seated attendant Bodhisattva from Niche D (Fig. 36), except that in the clay image the lines are incised. Even the faces of the Bodhisattvas in Cave XIV (Fig. 37) show comparable stylistic qualities with the clay Fondukistan images, despite the more Chinese fa-

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ca', no. 112, CNR, Rome, 1985, pp. 273-301; M. Taddei adn G. Verardi, "Clay Stūpas and Thrones at Tapa Sardār, Ghazni", *Zinbun* (Memoirs of the Research Institute for Humanistic Studies, Kyoto University), 20, 1985, pp. 17-32.

cial type, especially in the small size of the features, in the thick edges of the eyes, and in the overall lack of sharp definition (Figs. 36, 38, 40).

Cave XVIII (east wall)

Stylistically, the images of the east wall of Cave XVIII at T'ien-lung shan follow shortly after Cave XIV[69]; the style shows an advanced elongation of the torso and a drier, more repetitive linear scheme in the drapery (Fig. 39). This style is comparable in the latter point, both in the Buddha of the east wall and in the Buddha from Niche D at Fondukistan (Fig. 38), where a repetitive and rather dry effect of pleats is created by shallow grooves. But the Cave XVIII east wall style is most compatible in this and other stylistic features with images from Niche A, which disclose a slightly more advanced or mannered style of form, suggesting either a different hand, type or slightly later dating than Niche D. For instance, in the Deva image from Niche A (Fig. 40), the long, uninterrupted, sinuous curves of the lionine upper chest, bulging rib cage, contracted waist, and rounded abdomen expressed in conjuction with increased elongation of the torso seem almost identical to the carving of the seated Bodhisattva figures of Cave XVIII east wall (Fig. 39). This fluidly, sinounsly, and smoothly modelled torso with extreme elongation is distinctively characteristic to this particular period and style, that is ca. early 720's in T'ang sculpture. It should be distinguished from both the wide and flat elongation of the 680's imagery (Fig. 21) and the narrow frontal elongation of images ca 700 (Figs. 25, 26).

Cave IV

The seated Bodhisattva in Cave IV at T'ien-lung shan (Fig. 41), though no doubt closely related to the style of the Cave XVIII east wall images, nevertheless displays an even greater attenuation of the torso; it is stretched out to the extent of what could be described as "mannered" elongation, as it suggests weightlessness. It, too, can be compared with the Fondukistan Niche A examples, such as the image in Fig. 42, one of the few images at Fondukistan to wear the *uttarīya* or chest shawl. In each image this shawl is very long to fill the length of the elongated torso; furthermore, the necklaces of each are both simple and hang quite low on the chest. As stylistically similar as these examples may be, prob-

[69] For details of the stylistic dating of Cave XVIII, see H. Vanderstappen and M. Rhie, "The Sculpture of T'ien-lung shan: Reconstruction and Dating", *Artibus Asiae*, XXVII 3, 1965/66, pp. 218-219. (Hereafter: Vanderstappen and Rhie, *AA*, 1965/66).

ably an even more apt similarity exists between the Cave IV Bodhisattva and the Naga figures unearthed at the monastery site of Tapa Sardar near Ghazni (Fig. 43). These Naga images appear to be a logical stylistic extension of the Niche A imagery at Fondukistan and they certainly are evidence that the Fondukistan style is not an isolated phenomenon in Afghanistan. The excessive elongation and mannered bulges of the torso parts, the plump and stiff but lighly held arm, and the patterning of parallel pleats falling vertically from the waist between the legs are singularly like features in the Tapa Sardar Naga and the Cave IV image. The substitution of exaggerated shape for weight, the emphasis on contrasting extremes of wide shoulders and narrow waist, the long rib cage and the slackening tension in the posturing of the limbs, held stiffly and lightly away from the body, are all factors which indicate a further step towards mannerism than evinced in the "classic" Fondukistan style of Niche D. The torso style, less elastic than that of the "classic" style of sinuous elongation, could be termed manneristic elongation for this phase and it is most clearly represented by the Tapa Sardar Naga images.

The remarkably clear and close comparability in so many features of the groups discussed here suggests a common international style which certainly must include the important T'ien-lung shan works as major examples. Since the T'ien-lung shan images date within several years around 720 A.D., that date can be suggested as a terminal one for the Fondukistan and Tapa Sardar images [70]. This style represents an inventive and spectacular expression of the naturalistic image conception of the T'ang period, one based on showing movement both in form and drapery. The lineage of this style is an intriguing and as yet unsolved problem [71]. However, it seems evident that certain elements of the style, such as

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[70] The site of Fondukistan was dated by Ghirshman to the 7th century on the basis of the coins found in the funerary urn in Niche E. R. Ghirshman, "The Chionites Hephtalites", *MDAFA*, Cairo, 1948, Vol. XIII, p. 28. Göbl subsequently noted that one of the coins (of Khosroes II) had a countermark dating it to 689 A.D. R. Göbl, *Dokumente zur Geschichte der iranischen Hunnen in Baktrien und Indien*, 4 vols., Weisbaden, 1967, Vol. II, p. 314. Rowland in *ACA*, p. 107 states, "The date of the material at Fondukistan based on scanty finds of coins of Khusrau II (590–628) and a Hepthalite prince of the same period, is certainly no earlier than the 7th century". D. Barrett in "Sculpture of the Shahi Period", *Oriental Art*, n.s., III, 2 (Summer, 1957), p. 57 and note 17 says: "There is good reason to believe that Fondukistan terracottas dated from about 700... They can hardly be earlier than A.D. 657... The Chosroes II type coin has been overstruck by an Arab governor: John Walker has expressed the opinion that this may well have taken place some thirty of forty years after A.D. 657".

[71] J. Auboyer in *The Art of Afghanistan*, 1968, p. 53 says, ... "the tradition is borrowed from the art of Hadda and from the post-Gupta style of India (6–7 centuries)... it is re-

the modelled torso as portrayed in the "classic" Fondukistan manner, and the curling hair coiffure in the Niche D Bodhisattvas, are known in Kushan period Gandharan imagery, examples of which would still be available to the artist of the early 8th century[72].

There are a number of important materials in the areas contiguous to Afghanistan which bear obvious relationship with the Fondukistan style. These include some sculpture from Adzhina Tepe in Soviet Central Asia[73], the female figure in the painting from Shrine D II at Dandān Uiliq at Khotan (Fig. 50) and the paintings of Set I of the Gilgit manuscript covers, now in the Sri Pratap Singh Museum in Srinagar (Figs. 44, 45)[74]. In the Gilgit paintings, the tough, firm outlines of the Bodhisattva figure convey the same shape and elastic sinousity as the wiry contours of the Fondukistan sculpture (Fig. 46). In the Buddha image, the contours and garment folds, although somewhat simplified, are swift and tense (especially in the contours of the robe and in the "sleeve" edges) as well as brittle and disparate (as in the interior folds); this stylistic variety in the folds is comparable to that in the Buddha in Fig. 38 from Niche D at Fondukistan. These examples further confirm the popularity and importance of this international "Fondukistan" style. The association also indicates a dating for this group ca. 720 or slightly earlier.

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miniscent of contemporary work at Tumsuq". Rowland notes that some aspects of the mannerist mode seen at Fondukistan were "already forecast in the provincial Indian wall paintings of Bamiyan". *ACA*, p. 115.

[72] H. Ingholt and I. Lyons, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*, New York, 1957, Figs. 385 and 387 for the muscular torso style (most clearly apparent in the Atlas figures) similar to that of the Fondukistan sculptures and Figs. 282, 286, and 293 for similar wavy hair styles.

[73] Some of the terracotta sculpture from Adzhina Tepe appear so closely related to the Fondukistan style that they could probably be taken as close contemporaries. See especially the torso from Room XXIII and XXV. B.A. Litvinsky and T.I. Zeymal, *Adzhina Tepe*, Moscow, 1971, Pls. 38–40. This relation has been noted by these authors, *Ibid.*, p. 237. Rowland states: "Whether Fondukistan marks the center of this phase of Buddhist art or whether the style was developed in the religious establishments north of the Amu Darya is not of vital importance; what is significant is that we can now be certain that this Mannerist Style was flourishing in a region extending from the Hindu Kush region northward into Bactria in the seventh and eighth centuries...". Rowland, *ACA*, p. 115.

[74] The Gilgit manuscripts were discovered in 1938. Banerjee in "Gilgit MSS", p. 117, dates the covers to the 9th century. Joanna Williams in "The Iconography of Khotanese Painting", *East and West*, n.s., XXIII, 1–2, 1973, p. 110 dates them to the 7th–8th century. (Hereafter: Williams, "IKP").

T'ien-lung shan and Kashmir

During the reign of Hsüan Tsung, several factors undoubtedly contributed to the significant relation which can be seen between some of the Buddhist art of China and that of Kashmir. It is known from the annals of the Chinese that Kashmir was an intimate ally of China until at least 751 A.D.[75]. Also, from the annals of Kashmir, namely, Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅginī*, we can obtain some literary accounts of this splendid period in Kashmir history during the reign of Lalitāditya, whose military accomplishments and religious dedications, both Buddhist and Hindu, became legendary along with those of his chief minister, the Tokharian Buddhist, Caṅkuṇa[76].

Cave XVIII (north wall)

An unusually marked difference between the style of the north wall images of Cave XVIII at T'ien-lung shan (Fig. 47) and those of the east

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[75] In 713 the Kashmir king Candrapīḍa (Tchen-t'o-lo-pi-li in the Chinese Annals) applied to the Chinese emperor for aid against the Arabs. In 720 the Emperor Hsüan Tsung granted Candrapīḍa the title of King. Lalitāditya (Mu-to-pi in Chinese Annals) sent an embassy to the Chinese court during the reign of Hsüan Tsung (713–755) but after the first Chinese expedition against Baltistan, which occurred sometime between 736–747. A. Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅginī*, A Chronicle of the Kings of Kaśmīr, Delhi, 1961 reprint, p. 88 (Hereafter: Stein, *KR*). In 747 the Chinese-Korean general Kao Hsien-chih defeated the Tibetans in the famous battle at Gilgit, a place of strategic importance in the Chinese empire in the first half of the 8th century, as it was considered the western gate of Chinese territory. After 751 and the defeat of Kao by Arab forces, the Chinese were forced to abandon their position in Gilgit and the communications through it with Kashmir, Kabul, and Uḍiyāna (Swat). Stein, *AK*, pp. 7–8, 11–12.

[76] The *Rājataraṅginī* abounds in references to the magnificent shrines, temples, and other constructions initiated by Lalitāditya, sure testimony to the flourishing condition of the country during his reign. It is said "there is no town, no village, no river, no sea, no island, where he did not consecrate a shrine". (Stein, *KR*, p. 139; IV, 181). Numerous specific references occur, such as *Ibid.*, pp. 142–143 (IV: 200–208). Caṅkuṇa, a Tokharian and minister under Lalitāditya figures in verses 211, 215, 246–262 and 361 of the fourth book. He is stated to have built a Vihara and a Caitya in the "other capital" (probably present Srinagar) where he placed the famous image brought from Magadha (on the back of an elephant after one of Lalitāditya's campaigns and given to Caṅkuṇa). At Parihāsapura (the capital built by Lalitāditya north of present Srinagar) Caṅkuṇa made a stupa "loftier even than the mind of the King, and golden images of the Jinas (Buddha)". *Ibid.*, pp. 143–144, 146. The name Caṅkuṇa, as Stein points out, is probably a Sanskrit transcription of "Tsiang-kiun" (Chiang chün), the title "general" in Chinese. *Ibid.*, note 211, pp. 143–144. Goetz dates Caṅkuṇa's Stupa as one of the earliest monuments undertaken in Lalitāditya's reign, stylistically dating the Parihāsapura monuments (including the Stupa) earlier than Martand. H. Goetz, *Studies on the History and Art of Kashmir and the Indian Himalayas*, Wiesbaden, 1969, chapter: "The Beginnings of Medieval Art in Kashmir", pp. 47, 51.

(and west) wall of the same cave (Fig. 39) was noted as early as 1966 by Vanderstappen and Rhie[77]. The crowded five-image composition, the stiffer, more compact and squatter forms and the tense and sometimes rigid parallel lines of the north wall images all bespeak of an interpretation differing from the other images in the cave. This difference was attributed by Vanderstappen and Rhie to a probable but inexplicable time gap in completing the cave. This may still be considered to be a reasonable explanation; however, the present study shows that there is apparently another important factor contributing to this stylistic anomaly, that is, a difference in stylistic lineage, not within Chinese art, but within the international sphere of Buddhist art. While the images of the east wall show a lineage most directly associated with the Afghanistan (Fondukistan) style, those of the north wall appear to show a connection with works primarily from the Kashmir school, especially with some of the famous "Kashmir" ivories and with the stone sculpture from Cańkuṇa's stupa at Parihāsapura, datable to the period (probably early) of Lalitāditya (r. ca. 724–760 A.D.)[78]. These Kashmir ivories include the Buddha image in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Fig. 48), the one in the Cleveland Museum and the shrines in the Prince of Wales Museum and in the Gopi Krishna Kanoria collection, all generally dated to the 8th century according to recent scholarly opinion[79].

Comparative analysis shows the Cave XVIII north wall Buddha (Fig. 47) to relate stylstically to the seated ivory Buddha images in Figs. 48 and 49. It is remarkably analogous in the alert, rigidly held posture, in the short proportions of the torso, in the wide, thickly rounded shoul-

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[77] Vanderstappen and Rhie, *AA*, 1965/66, pp. 218-219.

[78] Kalhaṇa in the *Rājataraṅginī* dates Lalitāditya's reign to 699-736 A.D. However, Stein has shown that a 25 year correction of Kalhaṇa's chronology of the Karkota dynasty kings is probably needed, although there is no certain point to corroborate this with regard to Lalitāditya's reign, which is now generally accepted as ca. 724 to ca. 760 A.D. Stein, *KR*, introduction, Book IV, pp. 88 and 124, note 45.

[79] Dr. Moti Chandra, in a pioneer article on the Kashmir ivories, "Ancient Indian Ivories". *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, 6, 1957-59, pp. 36-48, does not specifically date the images but links the style of the shrine images with the "classical Gupta tradition" and notes their stylistic affinities with figures from Jaulian (Taxila), Fondukistan, Aknur, and Ushkur (the latter two styles he dates to the 6th century). Since then, others date the ivories generally to the 8th century: D. Barrett, "A Note on Ivories", *Lalit Kalā*, 10, Oct., 1961, p. 57; M. Beach, "Two Indian Ivories Newly Acquired", *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, LXII, No. 329, 1964, p. 101; F. Asher, "Buddhist Ivories from Kashmir", *Oriental Art*, XVIII, 4, Winter, 1972, pp. 367-373; *Indian Art from the George P. Bickford Collection*, Cleveland Museum of Art, 1975, No. 33 (cat. by S. Czuma); V.P. Dwivedi, "The Kashmir Ivories", in *Chhavi*, Golden Jubilee Volume, Bharat Kala Bhavan, 1971, pp. 322-326 and Figs. 446–471 for the most complete assessment and group of photographs.

ders, in the tapered form of the waist, and in the tautly stretched, narrowly spaced "tight" parallel rib folds. Although lacking certain flourishes and motifs evident in the Kashmir ivory Buddhas, such as the curling hemlines and V-shaped pattern of the folds of the chest, the north wall Buddha does have the short, fluted, fan-shaped projection of the robe under the crossed feet (but without the central separation) characteristic of the Kashmir examples. Also, the heads are all similar in their round shape, large, bulging and gently slanted eyes, highly arched eyebrows and tiny, puckered mouth with carefully defined divisions.

Elements of stockier form and rather dry, stiff and closely set parallel lines, which appear in the Bodhisattvas of the north wall, also appear in the stone images from Cańkuṇa's stupa [80]. The images from the stupa would appear to date slightly later than the ivory works, as they have more thickly set figures and less flexible movement than the ivory images. The linear designs, however, appear closely derived from the ivory style. Both the Cańkuṇa style images and the Cave 18 north wall images can be independently dated to approximately 725–ca. 740 period. This comparison reinforces the supposition of rather swift or nearly contemporaneous contact between Chinese art of this period and that of the north Indian areas.

As a final remark in this section, the parallelisms detailed above can have a bearing on the dating of the Fondukistan sculptures. Since the style of the east wall images of Cave XVIII (dating ca. early 720's) corresponds with the Fondukistan style and that of the north wall images (ca. 725–ca. 740) with the Kashmir style of ca. 725–ca. 740, the approximate interval of from 0 (contemporary) to 20 years between the carving of the east and north wall images suggests a corresponding 0 to 20 year interval between the Fondukistan (earlier) and Kashmir (later) group, thereby indicating a date for Fondukistan between ca. 700 and 720 A.D. (as the latest probable date). The appearance of similar linear motifs in the Fondukistan and Kashmir ivories in particular would seem to uphold a relative proximity in dating between these two groups. The lilting posture of the Bodhisattvas in the Prince of Wales Museum Shrine (Fig. 49) shows some correspondence with the graceful postures preferred in the Fondukistan sculptures. The curling hems, more subdued in the Kashmir style, are a vigorous motif in the Fondukistan style, possibly indicating a slightly earlier usage. The double arc lines below the knees and the short,

[80] This same style appears in the Hari-Hara image at the Durga Temple at Aihole, which is among the sculptures at the temple recently dated to the first half of the 8th century by A. Lippe, "Early Chalukya Icons", p. 281 and Fig. 310.

parallel, incised lines on the inner sides of the legs appear in examples of each group (figs. 36, 49, 51).

These various links with the sculpture of Cave XVIII at T'ien-lung shan not only help to explain the diversity found within Cave XVIII and to indicate the complex currents at work in this period, but also aid in establishing an approximate period or date for a number of important sites and images of Buddhist art from Afghanistan and Kashmir in the first quarter of the 8th century.

Another important relation with Kashmir ivory images appears in the Bodhisattva in the Nelson Rockefeller collection (Fig. 52), long considered a masterpiece of T'ang sculpture and stylistically striking for its walking posture, realistically modelled torso, delicate drapery, and soft texture. The image has been variously dated to nearly the entire range of the T'ang period, but most probably it dates to ca. 725–early 730's. This rare (for Chinese art) "walking" posture, so graciously portrayed in this famous Chinese Bodhisattva and so indicative of the compassionate nature of the being in its relation to the beholder, appears related to the Buddhist art of Kashmir of ca. 725, particularly as expressed in the ivory standing Buddhas, such as the one in Fig. 52. The similar posture as well as the sharp thrust of the hip and the columnar shape of the supporting leg are stylistic features also appearing in the attendant Bodhisattva of the Prince of Wales Museum ivory shrine, although the latter has more vigor of movement (Fig. 49). In the stiffness of the legs the style relates more closely to images from the Cañkuṇa stupa (Fig. 51). The sensitive modelling of the torso and wide, repetitive folds of drapery on the legs also seem related to Kashmir styles as seen in these ivory images (Fig. 53).

Central Asia: Khotan

Several Chinese bronzes stylistically dating to the 720's–730's reveal characteristics which appear in some works from the Khotan region on the southern silk route in Central Asia. The bronze seated Śākyamuni Buddha in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 54), for example, in a number of ways is related to the wall painting of figures in monkish garb photographed by Aurel Stein in Shrine II D at Dandan Uiliq near Khotan (Fig. 50). Both portray expressive, tense curvatures of form and line, such as seen in the sloping shoulder contours and swift arcs of the garment hems as they pass over the right arm and across the chest. Both also reveal a broad expanse of undergarment on the chest and have noticeably similar, mobile, flexible fingers. The cross hatching lines representing tex-

tile designs on the Metropolitan Museum Buddha's undergarment, a feature seen on other T'ang bronze Buddhas, though not appearing in this Khotan work, interestingly does find other Central Asian parallels, such as the example of the wooden Buddha from Kizil now in the Berlin (Dahlem) Museum (Fig. 55). Since the Metropolitan Museum image can stylistically be associated with Cave IV, VI and Cave XVIII (north wall) images at T'ien-lung shan, all dating ca. 725 A.D.[81], this date may act as a probable terminal date for the Shrine D II painting. Further evidence for the painting is provided by the standing female figure at the right in Fig. 54: the firm, tough contours, sinuous twist and smooth transitions in the torso are clearly relatable to the classical Fondukistan style (Fig. 46) while the jewelled girdle is comparable to similar motifs in Pendzhikent imagery (Fig. 26), both previously suggested as dating close to 700 A.D. These three separate evidences all point to a date for the Shrine D II painting in the first quarter of the 8th century[82].

Another Chinese bronze image, a Bodhisattva (Fig. 56) seated in the *lalitāsana* pose (now in the City Art Museum, St. Louis), has one particularly interesting parallel with a small bronze plaque-like Bodhisattva said to have been bought by Sir Aurel Stein in Khotan and now kept in the Sri Pratap Singh Museum in Kashmir (Fig. 57). Both possess a similar but fairly rare style lotus configuration (stalk, bud, and leaf) projecting in an unusual manner from the base of the pedestal. A few other examples are known in T'ang sculpture – all in connection with lalitasana Bodhisattva images and all dating from the second quarter of the 8th century[83]. Judging from this factor and also from the appearance of the necklace with three stiff vertical pendant lines, a type seen only on images of the second quarter of the 8th century (T'ien-lung shan Cave XVIII north wall Bodhisattva and Tun-huang Cave 79), the Khotan Bodhisattva can probably be dated similarly. The image, which has a

[81] The face of the Metropolitan Museum Buddha is nearly identical to the one of the Buddha from the west wall of Cave VI (M. Rhie, "Aspects of Sui K'ai-huang and T'ang T'ien-pao Buddhist Images", *East and West*, n.s., XVII, 1–2, 1967, Figs. 24–26 (Hereafter: Rhie, "Aspects"). The taut rib folds and the motif of the fluted, fan-shaped projection of cloth under the legs are similar to the representations in the Buddha of the north wall of Cave XVIII (Fig. 47).

[82] J. Williams dates the Shrine D II paintings "soon before or soon after the Arab conquest of Pendzhikent in 722 A.D. ..." Williams, "IKP", p. 153. She also discusses a possible identification of the wall paintings of this shrine.

[83] Sirén, *CS*, Pls. 416B, 417A.; Matsubara, *Kenkyū*, Pls. 294A, B.; H. Trubner *et al.*, *Asiatic Art in the Seattle Art Museum*, Seattle, 1973, Fig. 100, p. 153.

small Buddha seated on top of the lotus branch held in its right hand, may be a form of Avalokiteśvara, but because of a lack of further attributes in this image and a total lack of distinguishing attributes in all known Chinese examples, no certain identification can yet be made. The Khotan image appears to have been a right attendant, originally attached by a projection (still partially visible) to a larger configuration.

Central Asia: Adzhina Tepe

The sculptures from Cave XVII at T'ien-lung shan are excellent examples of the particularly bland, corpulent, slightly mannered style associable with the T'ien-pao era (742–755 A.D.) in China (Fig. 58)[84]. This style seems to have a relation with some sculptures discovered from excavations at Adzhina Tepe in Tadzhikistan, Soviet Central Asia. The kneeling Bodhisattva in Fig. 59, for example, has a similar, soft, lumpy carving of the body and jewelry peculiar to this style. Adzhina Tepe is dated from the late 7th to the first half of the 8th century by its excavators, Litvinsky and Zeymal[85]; however, a correspondence with the distinctive Cave XVII image style could suggest a dating in the latter part of the life of the site for this kneeling Bodhisattva.

An interesting comparison in facial type and features occurs between a stucco head from Ak-Beshim (Fig. 61)[86] and the Bodhisattva faces from Cave XVII (Fig. 60). Both have similar fat, round faces, a pronounced slant to the eyes and eyebrows, and the chunky rendering of the strands of hair above the forehead.

Although interrelationships between Chinese and central and west Asian Buddhist art, especially that of Swat and Kashmir, continue

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[84] Rhie, "Aspects", pp. 110-114.

[85] B.A. Litvinsky and T.I. Zeymal, *Adzhina Tepa*, Moscow, 1971: The monastery site dates from the 7th–8th century (p. 219). Coins found at the site are mainly from the second half of the 7th and first half of the 8th century. "This seems to be the date of functioning of Adzhina Tepa as a monastery..." (p. 220). "The sculpture is above all a solid complex, accurately dated (second half of the 7th century) and closely connected with the painting and architecture of the monastery" (p. 235). "The ultimate desolation... was due to Arab conquest... in mid 8th century". The latest Arab coins are from 779/80 A.D. (p. 220).

[86] Two Buddhist temples were excavated in 1953-54 by Kyzlasov and Zyablin at Ak-Beshim, 11 miles west of Frunze in the Khirgiz Republic. They are generally dated to the 7th–8th century. Fig. 61 comes from the site of the "second temple" where numerous stucco remains were found and which may have been destroyed at the end of the 7th century as a result of the inroads of Turgesh tribes. Belenitskii, *CA*, p. 137; Frumkin, *Archaeology*, pp. 37–38.

throughout the remainder of the T'ang period, there is a slackening in the intensity, number of examples, and in the closeness of the corresponding stylistic features. Furthermore, other factors become more prominent in the analysis of mid and late T'ang Chinese Buddhist art, notably, the beginnings of an interrelation with Nepalese art and an increased relation with the art of south India.

Postscript

This study was originally written in 1976 following the extensive research trip in Asia and Europe mentioned in Footnote 1. Continued study and teaching of T'ang Buddhist art over the intervening ten years has confirmed the conclusions presented in this work. I am very grateful to Prof. Maurizio Taddei for his enthusiastic support of the study and his personal initiatives in arranging to have it published in the series of Supplements of the *Annali* of the Istituto Universitario Orientale, Naples.

Although the study basically stands as written in 1976 with only a few additions to some footnotes, I would like to take this opportunity to include several other pertinent examples to those already presented for the period at the end of Early T'ang and the beginning of the Flourishing T'ang, that is, from the 660's to the 690's A.D.

It is clear that in Early T'ang the cave temples of Tun-huang and Lung-men are of utmost importance as major sites of activity and they offer the best group of remains of Early T'ang Buddhist art to survive to the present day. Both sites have continuity of activity over the majority of the entire Early T'ang period and the images therefore provide the main chronological basis for Early T'ang art. Both sites also have a strong local stylistic idiom markedly different from the other. Although these factors could only be briefly touched on in this study, they will be covered in detail in subsequent writings on T'ang Buddhist Art. At this time, however, I would like to underscore one interesting factor regarding the Lung-men sculptures of Early T'ang: they tend to be strongly Chinese in character with influences from Indian or Central Asian art not easily discernable. But, within that context, there is one especially interesting group of Buddha images which is a notable exception.

The Buddhas of this group stand out as an obvious and overt replication of a foreign type of image and as such are particularly pertinent to this study. These Buddha images are seated in *bhadrāsana* and garbed in the clinging, uncreased garments well known as the typical style brought to fruition in the Sarnath school of the Gupta period. I was able to observe at least 14 of these images distributed in several small caves next to Cave IV on the southern end of the terrace of the Ch'ien-hsi ssu

(Fig. 62) and in niches scattered on the cliff around Cave V at Lung-men (Fig. 63). Mizuno and Nagahiro noted these Buddhas and remarked that they occur mainly in areas together with sculptures from the end of the reign of Kao-tsung (*Ryūmon Sekkutsu*, p. 31). It appears that they may date from ca. 660's or 670's together with most of the sculptures in the vicinity of Cave V. There is an inscription dated in accordance with 661 A.D. located in one of the numerous small caves and niches near Cave V.

Although almost all of the Buddhas I could observe of this style near Cave IV occurred as single images without accompanying attendants, in the group around Cave V only one example was unaccompanied. The other cases had varied arrangements: in one instance the Buddha was accompanied by Ānanda and Kāśyapa; in another case one was grouped with two seated Buddhas garbed in Chinese style dress but only those latter two Buddhas had a pair of attendant Bodhisattvas; a third case showed a niche with two of these Buddhas seated side by side; and a fourth example had only a single Bodhisattva attendant. With this variety of grouping, the iconography is not immediately clear. More than likely these figures may represent either Maitreya or Śākyamuni, but this is by no means definitely established.

Though the source of the style of these Buddhas may ultimately be the Sarnath school, the particular details seem to be closer to the special interpretation of that school in the sculptures of Southeast Asia dating from ca. 6th–7th century. The small Buddha in Fig. 66 is one such example. The distinguishing features in this set of Lung-men Buddhas, this small Buddha, and other south Asian images include: a low and broad *uṣṇīṣa*, the right shoulder bared, the right hand in either the *abhaya* or *vitarka mudrā* and the left hand holding the hem of the garment and resting on the left knee, the heavy hem roll on the outer *saṅghāṭī*, and the pleats of the undergarment gathered at the center between the two legs (a Sarvāstivādin manner). Although the Chinese examples closely follow the south Asian style, there are, nevertheless, certain subtle differences in the rendering; these emphasize the clarity of the various parts of the body, the solid volumes of the undergarment as it flares out a bit from the legs and, in most cases, a slight ripple of pleating in the garment over the left arm. The heads of these Buddhas (Fig. 64) are not typical of the prevailing Chinese style; they appear closest to south Indian, or possibly Javanese style.

Some of the Lung-men Buddhas have the remains of a throne backing incised into the wall surface behind the image (Fig. 64). It has the form of a simplified rendering of the typical Indian style with a square back and *makara*-headed cross bar. This kind is also prevalent in South-

east Asian images, such as those from Thailand of the 7th century. It appears in more elaborate form behind the Maitreya Buddha of Cave XI dated 673 A.D. at Lung-men. The Lung-men examples all have the addition of a jewel decorated, scalloped edged top part which extends in a semicircle above the crossbar. Examples of this kind of top part are also seen in some small Chinese clay Buddha plaques of the 7th century and this style is known in Thailand Buddhist art as well. In the examples of two broken images of this special style Buddha now found placed in a small cave between Cave IV and V (Fig. 65), there is considerable detailed carving of the throne legs with lion figures in small niches, a type also of Indian-Southeast Asian style. The usage of the single lotus pedestal for the feet in all the images of this special group rather than the two separate pedestals invariably seen in other Lung-men images in *bhadrāsana* is another feature in common with the Buddha images of Thailand of this time.

These images are so distinctly different from the usual Lung-men style of Buddha figure that it is clear there must have been some special incentive to produce this foreign kind. Although a loose image of this same style is also seen at the Kung Hsien caves (which have a number of inscriptions dated in the 660's-690's showing activity at the site during this time), there does not seem to be widespread usage of this style beyond the Loyang sphere in this brief period. At the moment it is not clear why this style is used and what it may mean in historical and Buddhist context, but this particular group definitely reveals the conscious usage of a basically untransformed foreign style by the Chinese and one whose origins appear to be from south Asia[87].

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[87] In a recent report on the Lung-men caves, it is noted that some of the images of this particular style group have an inscription stating them to be an "Uddayana King image" (Yü-t'ien Wang hsiang). The earliest is dated according to 655 AD and the latest 680 AD (the latter is in the Wan-fo tung). There are said to be about 100 images in this style at Lung-men and at least two at Kung Hsien. See Wen Yü-ch'eng, "Ryūmon Tōdai kutsugan no hennen", in *Chūgoku Sekkutsu* series, *Ryūmon Sekkutsu*, Vol. II, Tokyo, 1988, pp. 184-185.

There is some ambiguity in the phrase "Uddayana King image" in Chinese; it could be interpreted as the image of Sākyamuni Buddha made by King Uddayana, or as an image of King Uddayana himself. More than likely the former is the case, but certainly the style of this group of images is not the traditional one for the Śākyamuni image as made by King Uddayana, which generally has both shoulders covered and continuous concentric fold lines like the Seiryōji Shaka, one of the most renowned and well documented replicas of the image said to have been made by King Uddayana. The Early T'ang group of this type at Lung-men and Kung Hsien would seem to reflect some south Asian tradition, possibly brought to

A second example is in relation to the style of Bodhisattva images from the Tun-huang caves from the 680's and 690's A.D., especially in regard to the images from the famous Cave 328, which has already been discussed above in Part II as dating to the early years of the Flourishing T'ang period, ca. late 680's. A stylistic similarity with some art from Central Asia, notably Pendžikent, has also been noted, but I would like to add here the example of an especially superb bronze Bodhisattva of the Kashmir stylistic school which appears to have some definite stylistic links with the Cave 328 images. The Bodhisattva (Fig. 67) was photographed in 1967 at the Fujii Yūrinkan in Kyoto, but upon subsequent visits over the years to the museum, I was unable to locate the work[88]. It is gilded bronze, probably Maitreya Bodhisattva (apparently originally holding a water vessel in the left hand) and standing about 10 inches high to the best of my recollection. It is well preserved and can generally be dated to the second half of the 7th century by virtue of its stylistic similarities with the 7th century wall paintings at Bamiyan and with the sculptures from Pandrethan. It does not appear to possess the fully developed muscular and articulated form of the Fondukistan and 8th century Kashmir ivories. With its rather tall and slim body held a bit stiffly and quietly, the image has the same quality of restraint and composed balance as seen in the Cave 328 images (Fig. 21). Similarly, the fairly rich yet selective ornamentation and the specific designs of the armbands in particular are rather close in each. The long face with sharp and refined features is also a distinctive part of each (Fig. 23). Certainly, the Chinese drapery folds are looser and less tightly and closely parallel, but such features as the chest scarf find relatively similar treatment in the left attendant Bodhisattva of Cave 328 and in other Bodhisattvas from Caves 319 and 384 from the 680's and 690's at Tun-huang. These factors, combined with the overriding sense of similar body definition, facial type and elaborate ornamentation, seem to suggest a generally compatible style, indicating probable interrelationships between the Buddhist art of the Kashmir school and the art of Tun-huang around the end of the 7th century.

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the Loyang area in the mid-seventh century and flourished there for a few decades before dying out. This is, however, an interesting question for further research.

[88] Since writing this postscript it has been my pleasure to see this excellent image again. It is now part of the Nitta collection in Japan.



Fig. 1 Wall p... ...w...



Fig. 2 – Eleven headed Avalokiteśvara, from Toyuq, Central Asia, wood, H. 38 cm., Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin (Dahlem).



Fig. 3 Rear view of Fig. 2.

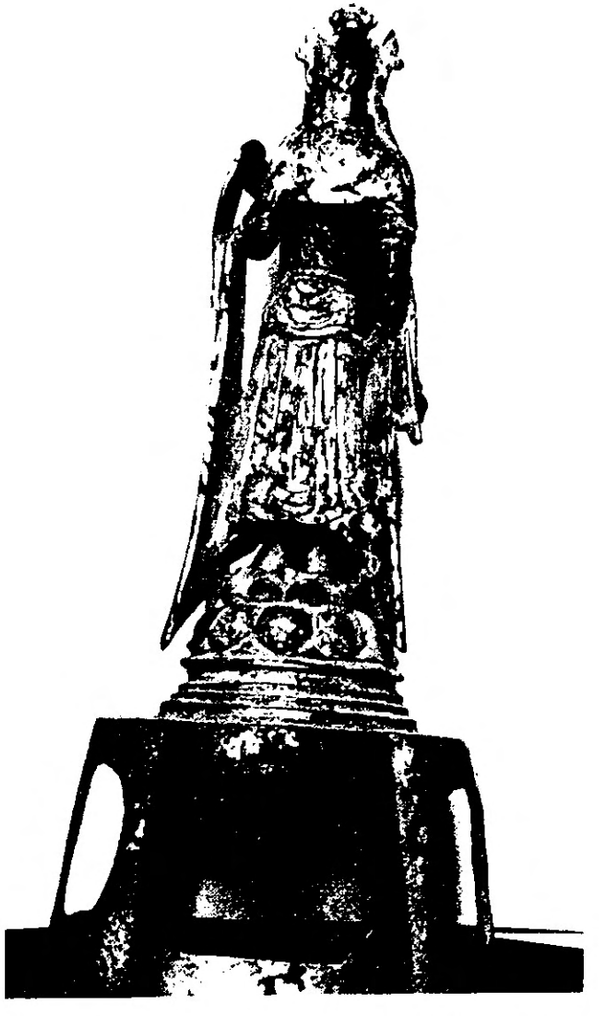


Fig. 4 Rear view of standing Bodhisattva, bronze, Early T'ang period, Auriti Collection, Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale, Rome.



Fig. 5 - Right Attendants from the main niche, Cave 322, Tun-huang. (Photo by Langdon Warner).

Fig. 6 Frieze of images *in situ* at Toqquz Serai, Tumsuq, Central Asia, stucco, Musée Guimet, Paris.





Fig. 7 Bodhisattva (Avalokiteśvara?), from Swat, Pakistan, bronze, National Museum, Karachi.



Fig. 7a Detail of Fig. 7.



Fig. 8 Rear view of Fig. 7.



Fig. 9 Bodhisattva, bronze, Early T'ang, ca. mid 7th century.



Fig. 11 Niche dated 662 A.D., outside Cave IV. Kung Hsien cave temples, Honan province.



[illegible] Museum of Art, marble.



Fig. 12 Buddha from Pandrethan, Kashmir, stone, Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar. (Photo courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi).



Fig. 13 Buddha shrine dated 664 A.D., bronze, former Lo Chen Yü collection, Tientsin.



Fig. 15 Niche with seated Śākyamuni Buddha, dated 666 A.D., stone. Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts. (Photo: Fogg Art Museum).



Fig. [illegible] Buddha head. Stūpa No. 21 stupa court at Ta[illegible] Sardam, Hadda, Afghanistan, ca. 3rd–5th Century A.D.



Fig. 16 Buddha, from Swat, bronze, National Museum, Karachi. (Photo courtesy IsMEO, Rome).



Fragment of a wall painting from Bamiyan, Museum, Kabul, Afghanistan.



Fig. 18 Vairocana Buddha, Cave XIX (Feng hsien ssu), Lung men cave temples, Honan province, 670-675 A.D.



Fig. 20 Wall painting, Bodhisattva, soffit of the 53 m. Buddha niche at Bamiyan, Afghanistan.

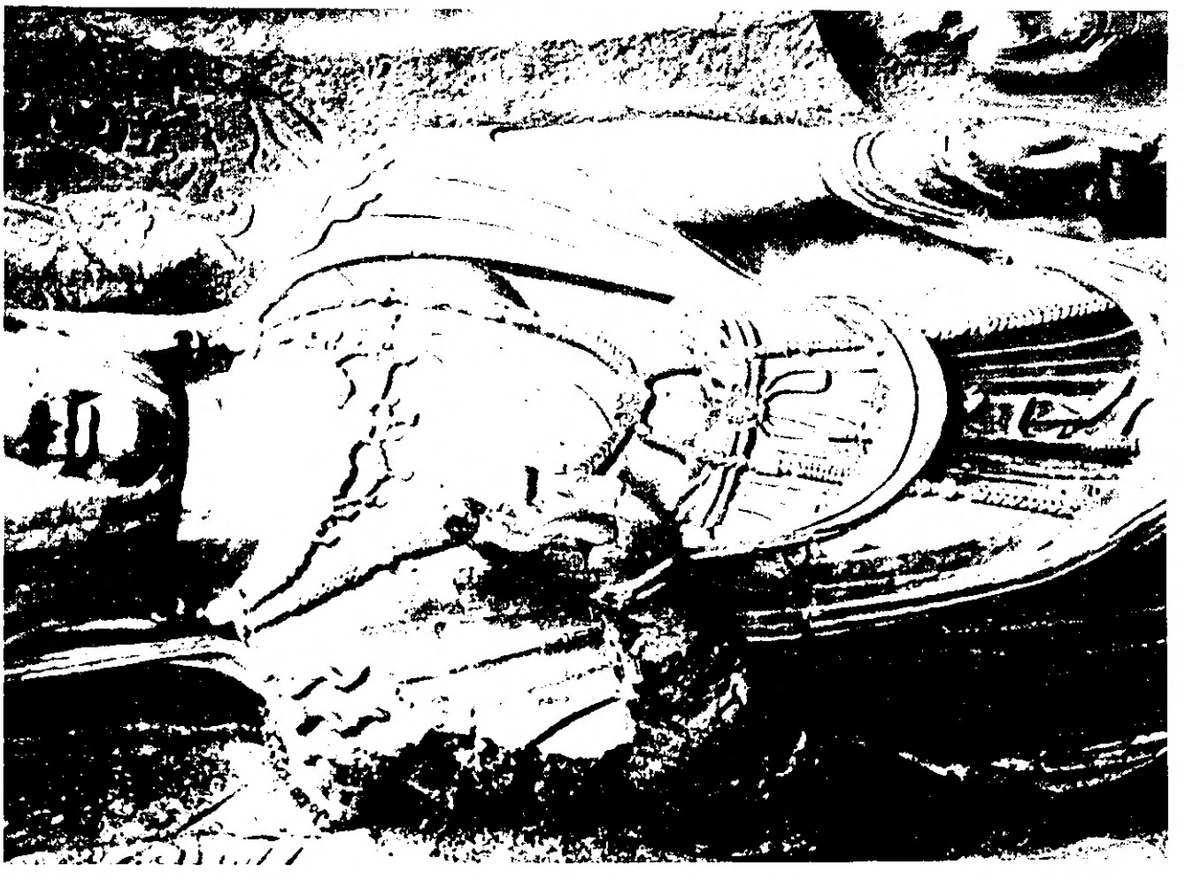


Fig. 19 Detail of Left Attendant Bodhisattva, Cave XIX, Lung men, 670 675 A.D.



Fig



Fig. 22 - Wall painting, "Harpist", from Pendzhikent, Soviet Central Asia, now Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.



Fig. 23 Head of image in Fig. 21.



Fig. 24 Head of the "Harpist" in Fig. 22.

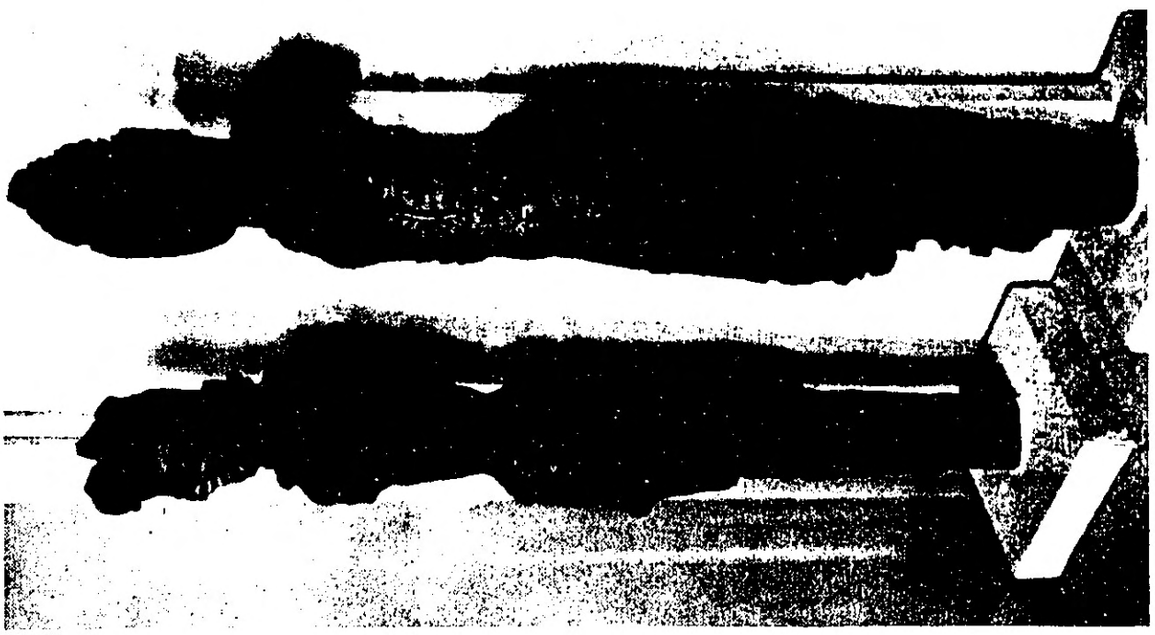
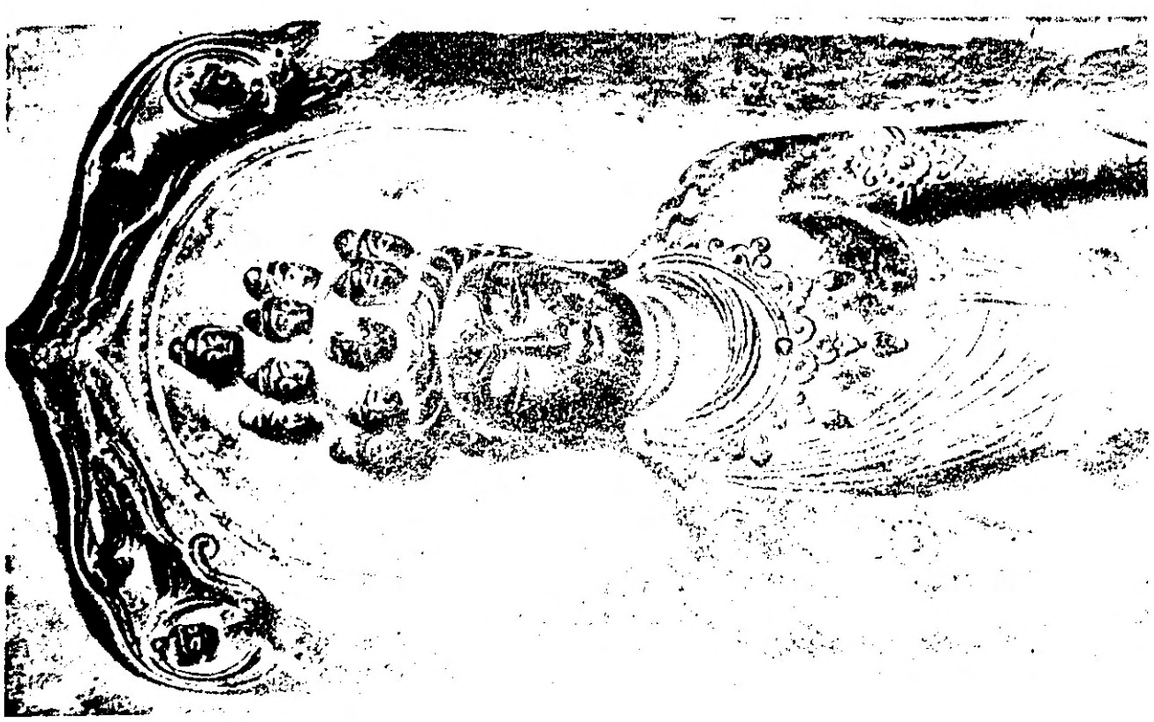


Fig. 26 Standing figure from Pendzhikent, wood. now in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.



Eleven headed Kuanyin from the Ch'i pao ... the Pao ch'ing ssu, Ch'ang an, ca. 703-705 ... now private collection, Japan.



Fig. 27 – Crowned Buddha, central image in the south cave of the Lei-ku-t'ai group, Eastern Hills, Lung men.



Fig. 28 – Siva from Pandrethan, kashmir, stone, Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.



Fig. 30 - Detail from frieze of a hunt. Red Room. Varaksha Palace. Bukhara. Soviet Central Asia. Now in the Hermitage Museum. Leningrad.



Fig. 31 - Bodhisattva, wall painting. Kondō. Hōryūji. Nara. Japan.

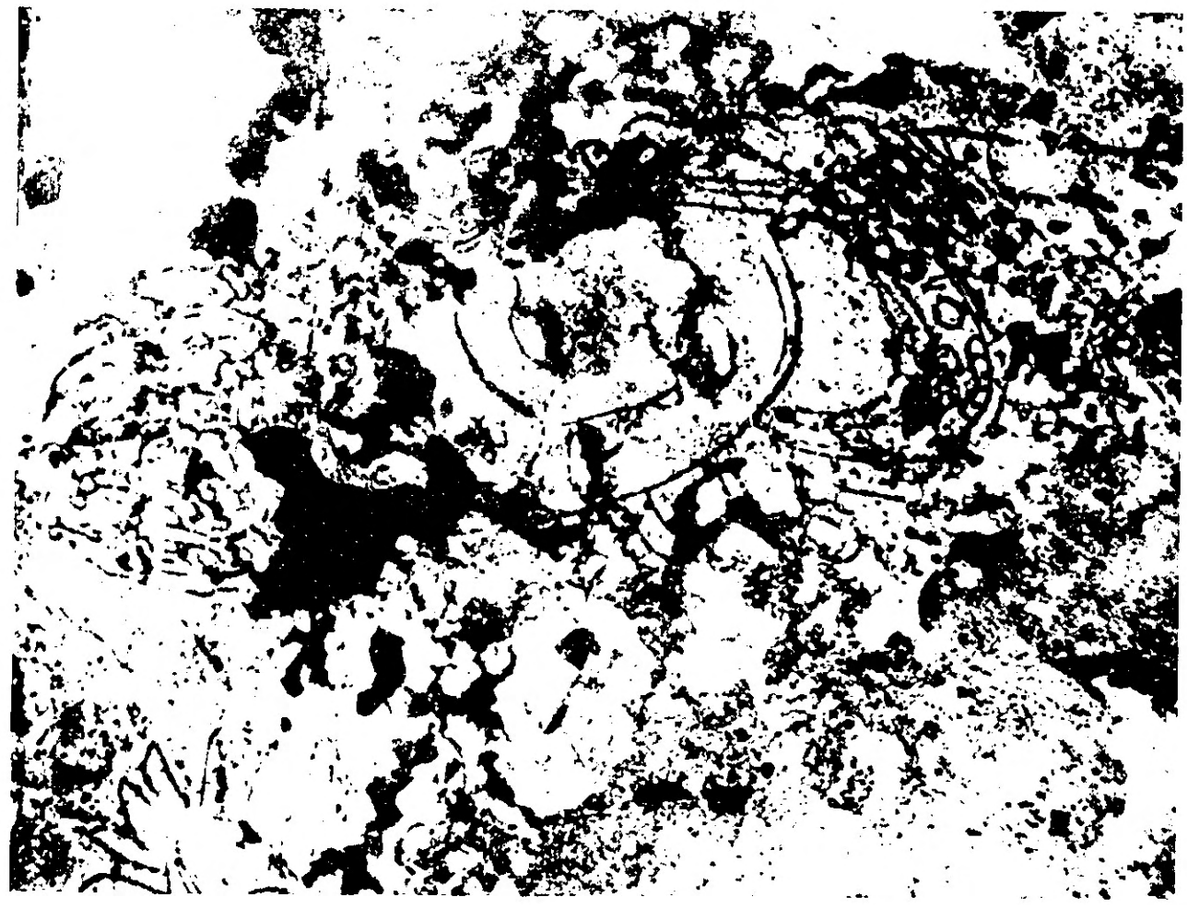


Fig. 32 Head of Mahāpurusha, cave temple at Tirunandik karai, Koṅgumandalam, south India.



Fig. 31 Detail of the head of Avalokiteśvara, wall painting, Kondō, Hōryūji.



Fig. 33 Main Bodhisattva of the west wall, Cave XIV, T'ien lung shan cave temples, Shansi province.

Fig. 34 Excavation photo of the main ("grand") Bodhisattva. Niche D, Fondukistan, Afghanistan.





Fig. 36 – Left Attendant Bodhisattva, Niche D, Fondukistan, now Kabul Museum.



Fig. 35 – Standing Right Attendant Bodhisattva, west wall, Cave XIV, T'ien-lung shan.



Fig. 38 - Buddha from Niche D, Fondukistan, now Kabul Museum.



Fig. 37 - Head of Right Attendant Bodhisattva, south wall, Cave XIV, Tien lung shan.



Fig. 39 - View of the east wall, Cave XVIII, T'ien-lung shan.



Fig. 41 Seated Bodhisattva of the east wall.
Cave IV, Tien lung shan



Fig. 40 Deva or Bodhisattva from Niche A.
Fondukistan, Kabul Museum.



Fig. 43 – Naga from Vihara No. 37, excavation photo from Tapa Sardar, Ghazni, Afghanistan. (Photo courtesy IsMEO, Rome).



Fig. 42 - Bodhisattva from Niche A, Fondukistan, now Kabul Museum.



Fig. 44 – Buddha, painted wooden manuscript cover (Set I) from Gilgit, Pakistan, now Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.



Fig. 45 – Painted wooden manuscript cover (Set I) with Bodhisattva from Gilgit, now Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.



Fig. 46 – Bodhisattva from Niche A, Fondukistan, now Kabul Museum.



Fig. 48 – Buddha, ivory, Kashmir style, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Fig. 47 – Buddha and two atendants, north wall, Cave XVIII, T'ien-lung shan.



Fig. 49 – Buddhist shrine, Kashmir style, ivory, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



Fig. 50 – Wall paintings at Si[illegible] [illegible]ng, Central Asia



Fig. 51 – Crowned Buddha from Cańkuṇa's Stupa, Parihas-apura, Kashmir, stone, Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.



Fig. 52 – Bodhisattva, from Hopei province, marble, Nelson A. Rockfeller collection, N.Y., H. 70½ in. with base. (Photo by Charles Uht).



Fig. 53 – "Walking Buddha", ivory, Kashmir style, Gopi Krishna Kanoria collection, Patna. (After R. Asher, "Buddhist Ivories from Kashmir", Pl. IV).

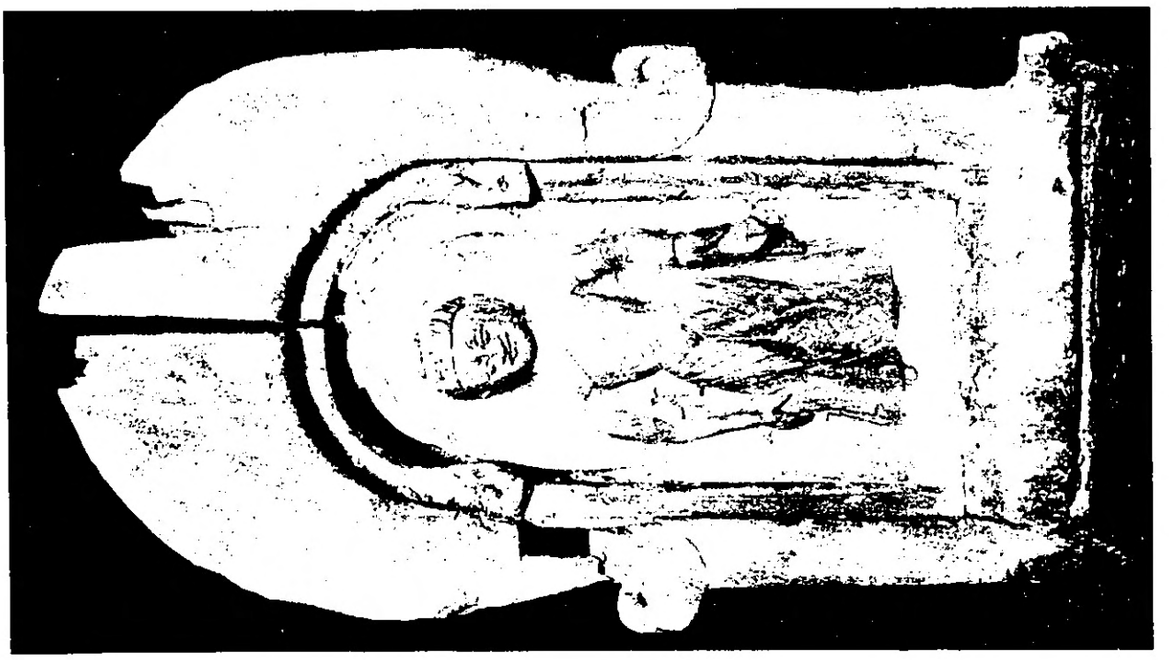


Fig. 55 - Buddha niche from Kizil. Central Asia. wood. Museum für Indische Kunst. Berlin (Dahlem).

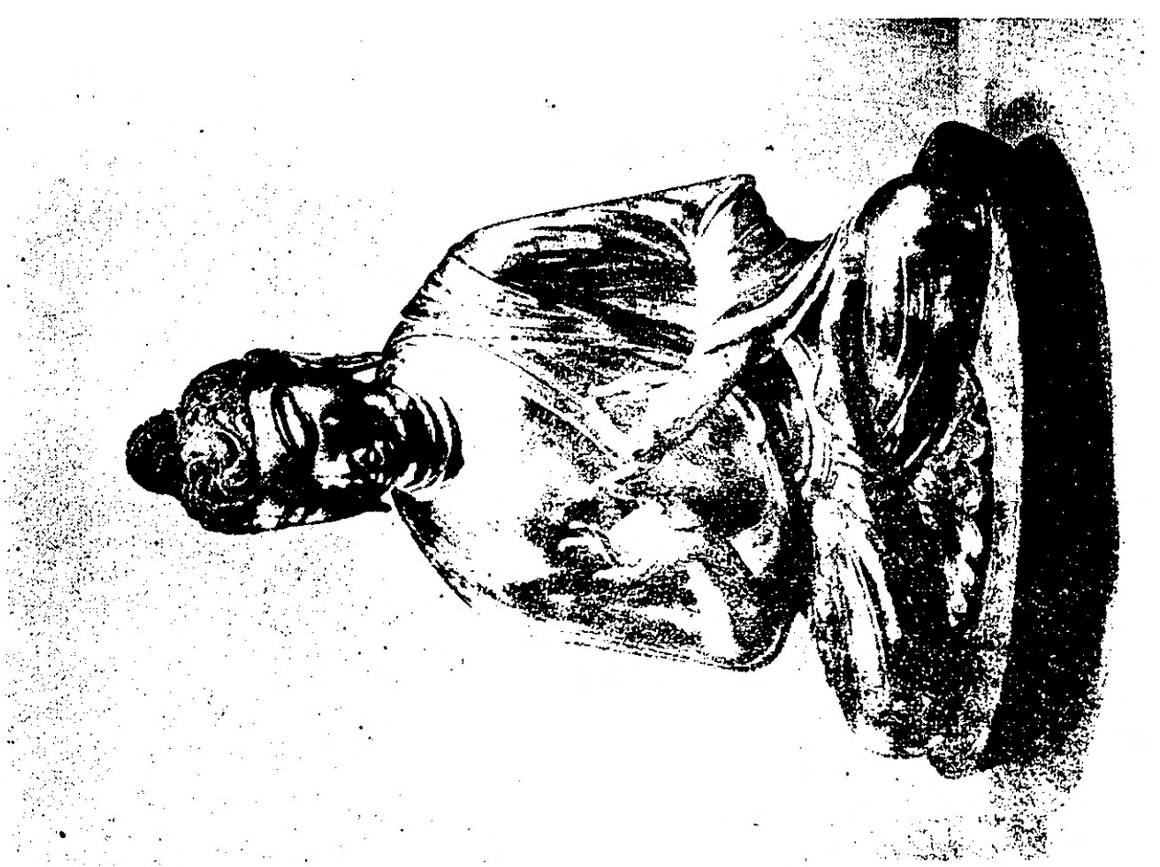


Fig. 54 - Śākyamuni Buddha. bronze. H. 8 in.. Metropolitan Museum of Art. N.Y.



Fig. 56 – Bodhisattva, bronze, City Art Museum, St. Louis. (Photo: City Art Museum).



Fig. 57 – Bodhisattva, metal, said to come from Khotan, now Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.



Fig. 58 Seated Right Attendant Bodhisattva of the east wall, Cave XVII, T'ien lung shan.



Fig. 59 Bodhisattva, from Adzhina Tepa, Tadzhistan, Soviet Central Asia, terracotta, now Museum, Dushanbe.



Fig. 60 Head of attendant Bodhisat[illegible] east wall, Cave XVII, T'ien lung [illegible] now Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orien[illegible] Rome.



[illegible]



Fig. 63 – Niche with *bhadrāsana* Buddhas in high relief below Cave V, Lung men, Honan province.

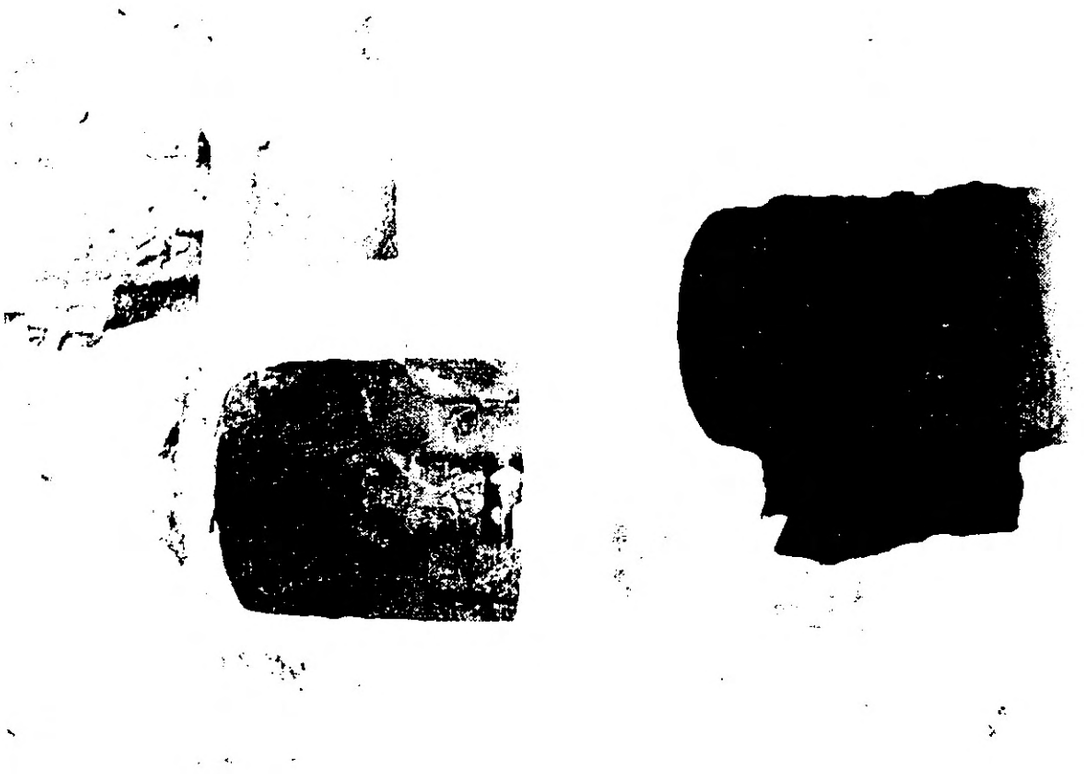


Fig. 62 – View of small caves and niches on the south cliff near Cave IV (on the terrace of the Ch'ien-hsi ssu), Lung men, Honan province.



Fig. 64 — Detail of one of a pair of seated *bhadrāsana* Buddhas in high relief near Cave V, Lung men, Honan province.



Fig. 65 — Remains of an independent statue of a *bhadrāsana* Buddha now in a small cave between the Ch'ien-hsi ssu terrace and the Cave V group, Lung men, Honan province.



Fig. 66 Seated *bhadrāsana* Buddha (Śākyamuni) in *vitarka mudrā*, said to come from Thailand, ca. 6th–7th century, bronze, H. 2 7/8 in., private collection (from P. Pal, *The Ideal Image*, The Asia Society, 1978, Fig. 76, p. 122).



Fig. 67 – Maitreya Bodhisattva, Kashmir school, gilt bronze, second half on 7th century, Fujii Yūrinkan, Kyoto (photo 1967 by M. Rhie).