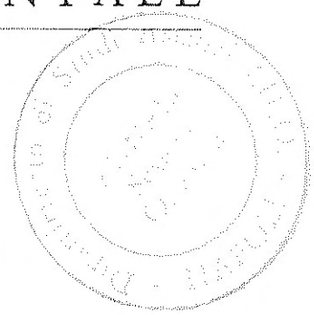
ISTITUTO UNIVERSITARIO ORIENTALE



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THE MYSTERY OF THE UDAYANA BUDDHA

Supplemento n. 64 agli ANNALI – *vol. 50 (1990), fasc. 3*

NAPOLI 1990

Tip. «Don Bosco» - Via Prenestina, 468 - 00171 Roma - Tel. 25.82.640 - Finito di stampare nel mese di gennaio 1992

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I.

The Origin of the Tale of the Udayana Buddha

Buddhist literary sources in China* are filled with references to the famous First Image of the Buddha created for the pious king Udayana of Vatsa who ruled in Kauśāmbī during the Tathāgata's lifetime. According to a fragment of the now lost fifth century *Ming–hsiang chi* of Wang Yen, Emperor Ming (A.D. 58–75) dreamed that he saw a divine man, twenty feet tall and golden in color, wearing a solar halo about his head[1]. He was told by one of his courtiers that the dream image was that of a deity known in the West as the Buddha. Thereupon the emperor sent an embassy to India, which returned with a copy of the *Sutra of the Forty–two Sections*, Buddhist *śramaṇas*, and an *i* image of Śākyamuni that had been painted for King Udayana[2]. This event, according to Chinese Buddhist tradition, was the first entry of Buddhism to China; and although the story is apocryphal, it is nevertheless full of interesting details. After the arrival of the embassy, we are told that the Emperor

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* I must acknowledge at the outset my debt to Alexander C. Soper for his many important articles on aspects of early Buddhist art in China, and above all to his monumental *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China*, which has served as a mine of information to many scholars over the years. Abbreviations in this study are as follows: A.C. Soper, *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China. Artibus Asiae* Supplementum XX, Ascona, 1959 (*Evidence*); E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, vols. I and II, Leiden, 1972 (*Conquest*); B. Nanjio, *A Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, Oxford, 1883 (*N*); *Taisho issaikyo*, ed. J. Takakusu and K. Watanabe, 55 vols. Tokyo, 1924–1929 (*T*); *Hōbōgirin: Dictionnaire encyclopédique du Bouddhisme d'après les sources chinoises et japonaises*, ed. P. Demiéville, Paris, 1929 (*Hōbōgirin*); S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, 2 vols., London 1884 (*Records*).

[1] *Evidence*, pp. 1–2. This version, as Soper notes, is quoted in Tao–hsüan's *Chi shen chou san–pao kan–t'ung lu*, II (*N* 1484; *T* 2106). Tao–hsüan dates are between 596 and 667, setting him at one more remove from the supposed date of the Emperor Ming's dream. For the classic study of the Ming legend, see H. Maspéro, "Le songe et l'ambassade de l'empereur Ming", *BEFEO*, X, 1910, pp. 95–130.

[2] The problem of exactly what an *i* image is appears confused. Soper (*Evidence*, p. 2), notes that in ordinary usage it means "to depend on" or "to lean on". Later Chinese Buddhist literature identifies it as an image seated in European position, i.e., on a chair (homophonic *i* with wood radical). Later in this study we shall find that the archaic foreign image of the Buddha acquired by Tao–an in the third quarter of the fourth century was also an *i* image. We shall also note that the only extant replica of the Udayana image, the Seiryōji Buddha, is a standing one.

commissioned artists to make copies of this painting which he set up in conspicuous places around his palace, at a city gate, and at his mausoleum.

This popular Chinese tale, known as the Dream–and–Embassy Story, exists in a number of versions; but it is significant that the fifth century *Ming–hsiang chi* is the first to mention that the painting was that made for King Udayana of Vatsa. In an expanded version of this story found in the sixth century collection of biographies of Buddhist monks, the *Kao–seng chuan*, the painting that was brought to China was of Śākyamuni, "painted on fine cloth", and was the fourth work done by the master of King Udayana's sandalwood image[3]. The prototype for these later versions of the Dream–and–Embassy tale is, according to Soper, the *Mou–tzu Li huo*, probably of the mid–third century, which omits any reference to an image imported from the West, but does state that Buddha images were set up by Emperor Ming at key points around Loyang[4].

In even the most cursory of analyses, the Dream–and–Embassy stories are patently contradictory. How could a courtier in Ming's palace know about the Buddha if Buddhism was unknown in China? How could images be set up around the capital, in Mou–tzu's story, if there were no ready models for them? In spite of these inconsistencies, it is interesting to note that the use of paintings of the Buddha as imperial guardians around the Han capital rather than in temple settings is an unusual detail, and may allude to an early practice at a time when Buddhism was just beginning to be known in China, before the establishment of orthodox places of worship. Scholars now acknowledge that Buddhism was practiced to a limited extent in China during the first century A.D., and that the religion was not unknown to the imperial court at that

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Indeed, a reference to the Udayana image in the *Wei–shu* of the mid–sixth century calls the image a standing one (See J.R. Ware, "Wei Shou on Buddhism", *T'oung Pao*, 30, 1933, pp. 111–112). In a earlier publication, Soper unhesitatingly called Tao–an's *i* image a standing one, as well ("Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist art in China: Foreign Images and Artists", *Oriental Art*, 2, ser. 1, 1949, p. 29, note 10). Thus, all that can be said is that, when referring to the Udayana Buddha image, the term did not necessarily mean that it was seated.

[3] The *Kao–seng chuan* (*N* 1490; *T* 2059) was compiled by Hui–chiao (497 to 554) of the Liang Dynasty (See *Evidence*, p. 2; also *Conquest* I, p. 10). It is by far the most important work dealing with the early history of Buddhism in China, and appears to date from around A.D. 530. (See also A.F. Wright, "Hui–chiao's Lives of Eminent Monks", in *Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zinbun–Kagaku–Kenkyusyo, Kyoto University*, Kyoto, 1954, pp. 383–432).

[4] *Evidence*, loc. cit.; *Conquest* I, pp. 13–15. The date of this work is controversial. For a critique of Mou–tzu, see P. Pelliot, "Meou–tseu ou les doutes levés", *T'oung Pao*, 19, 1920, pp. 255–286. This work is quoted in the *Hung–ming chi* (*N* 1479; *T* 2102), by the Liang Dynasty monk Seng–yu (444 to 518), which is an anthology of Buddhist literature. Soper notes that the *Hou–Han chi* of the fourth century, and the *Hou–Han shu* of the fifth century echo the statement that Ming inaugurated the Buddha image in China. The purported earliest source, which is the preface to the *Sūtra of the forty–two Sections* (*N* 678, *T* 784), does not mention images at all (See S. Beal, *A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from Chinese*, London, 1871, pp. 190–203).

time[5]. One might speculate from this circumstantial evidence, that imported paintings depicting the Buddha might well have existed in first century China. The highly controversial problem of just how far back in time we may place the actual origin of the Buddha image in India has a direct bearing on its appearance in China, and will be discussed later. As to the designation of the Emperor Ming's painting as the famous Udayana Buddha, it is probable that Wang Yen simply added this detail to the *Ming–hsiang chi* because other stories of the Buddha image made for King Udayana were popular in China during the fifth century. One difficulty which the author appears to have ignored, however, is that the image of King Udayana was supposed to have been carved of ox–head sandalwood, and thus was obviously a piece of sculpture not a painting. Since the tradition of the painting of Emperor Ming was already extant, it is likely that the author simply added to its prestige by labeling it the famous first image of the Buddha created for King Udayana. In the *Kao–seng chuan*, this lapse was apparently rectified by making the painting one of four done by the same artist who had fabricated the sandalwood image for the king of Vatsa[6].

The *Ming–hsiang chi* marks only one example of the great enthusiasm of Chinese Buddhists from the fifth century onward for a tradition of an actual portrait of Śākyamuni done during his lifetime at the behest of King Udayana. It is little short of amazing that China adopted so whole–heartedly an apocryphal story surrounding an Indian king about whom they had little previous knowledge. Another puzzling aspect of this mystery is the fact that there was apparently no recognizable tradition in contemporary Buddhist India that King Udayana had anything to do with the manufacture of a sandalwood portrait of the Buddha.

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[5] See *Conquest* I, pp. 19 ff. This is inferred by casual remarks from secular literature of the Later Han Era, also from Buddhist stories, which are less reliable since they are propagandistic retrospectives. Buddhism must have been brought to China initially by foreigners: i.e., merchants, envoys, refugees, etc., and later by Chinese forays into Central Asia. The earliest secular evidence involves king Liu Ying of Ch'u, and mentions the existance of a Buddhist community at P'eng–ch'eng around A.D. 65. This was the capital of his kingdom, which comprised what is now the southern part of Shantung and the norther part of Kiangsu. (See *Conquest* I, pp. 26–27). Here, no doubt, there was a foreign enclave which came under the purview of Liu Ying. The king's major interest appears to have been Taoist, and his Buddhist practices no more than an exotic accretion — a situation characteristic of Buddhism among the gentry of the Later Han Era. According to the Later Han Annals, the Emperor Ming decreed in A.D. 65 that an amnesty would be granted for capital crimes, which included the rebellious Liu Ying's activities. The grateful prince sent thirty pieces of yellow and white silk to the emperor. As a part of Ying's demonstrations of repentance, he recited Taoist chants and performed "gentle sacrifices of the Buddha". Ming returned the silk to contribute to the "lavish entertainment" of the *upāsakas* and *śramaṇas*. (See also K. Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, Princeton, 1972, pp. 33 ff.).

[6] Another reason might have been that Hui–chiao was in the patronage of the Liang Dynasty, whose pious Emperor Wu claimed to be in possession of an authentic copy of the Udayana Buddha.

According to the evidence of Niti Adaval, brought together in comprehensive form from all early Indian sources, there can be little doubt that King Udayana actually existed, that he was a memorable king of Vatsa, resident in Kauśāmbī during the Buddha's lifetime, and that all sorts of popular tales of his exploits were disseminated throughout India for many centuries after his death[7]. The tales of King Udayana characterize him as a hot–tempered, fierce brawler and womanizer, vivid and passionate in nature, having little time for or interest in religion of any type. Although two problematic plays of Bhāsa, dated between the third century B.C. and third century A.D., deal with Udayana, the primary source material for the history of this ruler comes from the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇādhya, who lived between the first and third centuries A.D.[8]. Two important later works that borrow information on Uday ana from it are the the Kashmiri *Bṛhatkaṯhāmañjarī* of Kṣemendra, and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva[9]. Another work of similar age (ninth to eleventh century) which also borrows from Guṇādhya is the Nepali *Bṛhatkathālokasaṃgrāha* of Budhasvamin[10]. From a very early period, oral and literary interpretations of the life and deeds of King Udayana must have been well–known throughout North India. Thus it is not surprising that both Buddhism and Jainism adopted him in order to add a popular veneer to their appeal.

Buddhist legends of King Udayana in the Pali *Saṃyutta Nikāya* and the *Commentary on the Sutta Nipāta* relate that he was converted by the celebrated monk Piṇḍola Bharadvaja. According to the first (and earliest) of the texts, the ruler of Vatsa was converted after visiting the sage who was staying at the famous Ghositarama at Kauśāmbī[11]. The second text gives a much more elaborate tale involving the sage Piṇḍola, discovered by the impetuous king in his royal pleausure garden preaching to the ladies of his harem[12]. Udayana attacked him with red ants; but he escaped unharmed, returning later to convert

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[7] Niti Adaval, *The Story of King Udayana*, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Studies, LXXIV, Varanasi, 1970. See especially pp. 55 ff. In his rashness, pride, cruelty, love of music and weakness for women, he resembles an ancient Indian Henry VIII.

[8] Bhāsa, considered an important forerunner of Kālidāsa, is known mainly from the controversial discovery of thirteen plays ascribed to him (See N. Dasgupta, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, I, Calcutta, 1962, pp. 101–117). For Guṇādhya, see F. Lacote, *Essai sur Guṇādhya et la Bṛhatkathā*, Paris, 1908, pp. 19–29.

[9] The *Bṛhatkāthāmañjarī* was written within thirty years of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, and agrees on some points but disagrees on others. Both use the Udayana framework to accommodate other tales (See Adaval, *op. cit.*, p. xxii; also Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, p. 692).

[10] Unfortunately, this work, which is the most reliable in its recension of the *Bṛhatkathā*, exists in an incomplete form (Adaval, *op. cit.*, p. xxii).

[11] *Saṃyutta–nikāya*, vol. IV (127), Pali Text Society Edition, London, 1894, pp. 110–113. (See Adaval, *op. cit.*, p. 204)

[12] *Sutta–nipāta Commentary* (*Paramaṭṭahajotikā II*), of Buddhaghoṣa, vol. II, Pali Text Society Edition, London, repr. 1966, p. 514. (See also Adaval, *op. cit.*, pp. 204–205). Udayana's encounter with Piṇḍola is also found in the *Mataṅga Jātaka* which adds that when the Tathāgata

the king who had realized his error. The *Dhammapada Commentary* gives the honor of Udayana's conversion to his pious Buddhist queen Samāvatī[13]. According to this story, the king's mind was poisoned against her by his vengeful, anti–Buddhist wife, Magaṇdiya. Udayana tried to kill Samāvatī with arrows from his mighty bow; but they fell harmlessly to the ground at her feet. Convinced of her virtue and miraculous power, he knelt before her in contrition and thereafter became a convert to Buddhism. In the Sanskrit *Divyāvadāna*, a similar tale makes no mention of Udayana's conversion, only that he granted his queen permission to have the Dharma preached to her regularly in her apartments[14]. It would seem that the author of this early version of the story of Udayana's Buddhist queen had not yet the temerity to make the violent king a proper convert as well. Adaval's thorough investigation of the many threads of the Udayana traditions clearly shows no actual connections between the king and Buddhism[15]. Nonetheless, it is very likely that with the early rise of popularity of Buddhism at Kauśāmbī, local exegetes concocted apocryphal links between their religion and the famous ancestral king. There is no evidence, however, that the Udayana Buddha story began there[16].

It is reasonable to assume that traditions of Buddha portraits came into being with the epiphany of an iconic tradition. Without the actual manufacture of Buddha images, such tales would have no value. Once production had begun, patrons would likely have been exhorted to fund the creation of images and thereby gain stores of merit. The alleged pious donations by important human and divine personages were cited as precedents. These, quite naturally,

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found out about Piṇḍola's ill–treatment at the hands of the king, he noted that in a previous rebirth the same individual had also mistreated ascetics. No conversion takes place in this version, which, according to Adaval, is probably the earliest of the encounter stories, and was created in the third century B.C. (Adaval, *op. cit.*, p. 216). This story belongs to the Canon and is the most authoritative. Adaval points out that, up to the fifth century A.D. in India, Buddhist tradition was not fixed on Udayana as a convert.

[13] *Dhammapada Commentary (Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā)*, ed. H.C. Norman, vol. I, Pali Text Society Edition, London, 1906, pp. 199–203; Adaval, *op. cit.*, pp. 207–209.

[14] *Divyādāna*, ed. E.B. Cowell and R.A. Neil, Cambridge, 1886, XXXI, pp. 519–529. Adaval, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

[15] Adaval, *op. cit.*, pp. 216 ff. The conversion story comes from mainly non–canonical sources. The only canonical one is the *Saṃyutta–nikāya*. The early *Matanga Jātaka* and the late *Divyāvadāna* make Udayana a non–Buddhist. The most important *argumentum ex silentio*, however, comes from the very early *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, ch. XVI of the *Dīgha–nikāya* (Ed. Lily de Silva, Pali Text Society Edition, London, 1970, vol. II, pp. 158–247, see pp. 164–167; also Adaval, *op. cit.*, p. 219). This important early text does not mention Udayana of Vatsa among the eight claimant states with Buddhist rulers who divided his body relics. Since Udayana's kingdom was an important region of India at the time, it would not have been overlooked had the historical Udayana fostered Buddhism.

[16] See B.C. Law, *Kauśāmbī in Ancient Indian Literature*, Delhi, 1939, p. 18. Law notes that nowhere is there any mention before Hsüan–tsang's account that a temple or a Buddha image was created by Udayana at Kauśāmbī, or anywhere else. Adaval opines that the Udayana conversion stories were the result of sectarian eagerness (*op. cit.*, p. 219). See also J. Przyluski, *La*

might have become associated with venerable icons in specific locations, which were thought to have supernatural powers and attracted many worshippers. From this we may deduce that the Buddhist school at Kauśāmbī did not invent the story of the Udayana Buddha, since there is no mention in any text of an Udayana Buddha image at Kauśāmbī before Hsüan–tsang's visit in A.D. 640[17]. Nevertheless, it is highly probable that the Udayana First Image story was meant to accompany an actual icon in a specific location. The evidence on this subject, most of which comes from China, is contradictory and convoluted, but does contain important clues regarding the origin of both the tradition and the image.

The earliest text to mention the Udayana Buddha is the Chinese translation of the *Ekottarāgama–sūtra*, made originally by the Tocharian monk Dharmanandi around 385, with a final redaction several years later by the Kashmiri monk Saṅghadeva[18]. In this translation we are told that after the Buddha went to Heaven to preach to his mother, two of his leading royal converts, King Prasēnajit of Kōsala and King Udayana of Vatsa, were deeply distressed at their temporary loss[19]. The later, in order to console himself, ordered a five foot high ox–head sandalwood statue to be made in the Tathāgata's likeness. Not to be outdone, King Prasēnajit then ordered a similiar gold statue to be made. These, it is stated, were the first Buddha images to be made in Jambudvipa. The *Ekottarāgama* appears to be an elaborate Mahayanist rendering of the Pali *Aṅguttara–nikāya*, which had gone through an intermediate Sanskrit phase before translation into Chinese[20]. Soper notes that, in the Chinese version, Udayana is inserted in a number of places in the text[21]. Although far

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légende de l'empereur Aśoka, Paris, 1923, pp. 68 ff. This scholar renders the *Dhammapada Commentary* as the product of the Kauśāmbī school of Buddhism.

[17] Law, *op. cit.*, pp. 19–22. The original placement of the Udayana Buddha appears to have been Śrāvastī, not Kauśāmbī, according to Chinese texts.

[18] Zürcher and others consider that, although the *Ekottarāgama* translation was originally authored by Dharmanandi, the text now preserved was thoroughly reworked by Saṅghadeva ca. A.D. 400 (*Conquest* I, p. 204). For the biography of Saṅghadeva, see T.M. Chau, *The Madhyama Āgama and the Pali Majjima Nikāya*, Saigon, 1965, Appendix I, p. 322. See also Ch'en, *op. cit.*, p. 101, note 4.

[19] *Evidence*, pp. 259–260.

[20] The *Aṅguttara–nikāya* in its original Pali version dates to around the first century B.C., possibly as early as the reign of Menander. According to Nakamura, the work was sanskritized between the second and third centuries A.D. with a Mahāyānist inflection (See H. Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism*, Tokyo, 1980, p. 39).

[21] *Evidence*, p. 259. Soper believes that this was done at a relatively late date, and was a contribution of the Buddhist School of Kauśāmbī. It seems difficult to believe, however, that, if such a school were responsible for this tale, no mention would be made of a cult or shrine for the image of Kauśāmbī, or indeed anywhere else in India.

from being the most frequently mentioned, he is given the status of one of the Tathāgata's important royal supporters.

A second text to mention the Udayana Buddha is the "Sutra of the Sea of Mystic Ecstasy" (*Kuan fo san-mei [hai] ching*), translated by the Kashmiri monk Buddhabhadra between 410 and 420[22]. In this work, King Prasenajit has been done away with entirely. King Udayana has a golden image of the Buddha made during his temporary absence, which is borne on an elephant to Saṅkisya where the Buddha descends from Heaven on the famous Triple Staircase. The gold image walks on air to greet the Buddha, and the Tathāgata kneels before it, prophesying that the icon will do great works for Buddhism in the future, and that it will protect his disciples. To this, 100,000 phantom Buddhas add that after the Nirvāṇa of Śākyamuni anyone who makes and installs a Buddha image, worships it with a banner, flowers, and incense etc., will, in time to come, attain the pure mystic ecstasy of contemplating the Buddha.

Fa-hsien, the first of the great Chinese Buddhist pilgrims to visit India, returned in 414 and is purported to have brought back to China, and co-translated with Buddhabhadra, a scripture entitled, *A Record of the Buddha's Journeying in India*, of which the portion dealing with the Udayana Buddha has been preserved[23]. The text relates that the king, longing to see the missing Buddha, asked the sage Maudgalyāyana to take thirty-two craftsmen to the Trayastriṃsás heaven to carve the thirty-two perfect attributes of the Buddha in one image. The sage returned with the statue which Udayana installed at the Jetavana Vihāra at Śrāvastī. After the Buddha had descended, the image came out of the *vihāra* and bowed to him. The Tathāgata patted its head and prophesied that one thousand years after his Nirvāṇa, the image would be found in Eastern Hsia (China), and would bring great benefits to gods and men. The Buddha then moved to a small *vihāra* near the large one which was kept for the statue.

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[22] This is the *Buddhadhyāna-samādhi-sāgara-sūtra* (*N* 430; *T* 643). The work was probably accomplished while the monk-scholar was visiting the great *dhyāna* master Hui-yüan at Mt. Lu. One important clue to this is the inclusion of a long passage dealing with one of Hui-yüan's favorite subjects, the famous Shadow Cave near Nagarahāra. Zürcher notes that a rather unreliable source gives the date of translation Sung Dynasty Era (after A.D. 420), but he believes that it was originally transmitted earlier to Hui-yüan ca. 411 during his stay at the monastery (*Conquest* I, pp. 224-225).

[23] *Evidence*, pp. 260-261. A sixth century bibliography of the Liang Dynasty era, the *Ch'u san-tsang chi chi* (*N* 1476; *T* 2145) by Seng-yu (435 to 518) written ca. 515 is noted by Soper to contain a list of the scriptures secured in India by Fa-hsien. One was the original of the lost collaboration of Fa-hsien and Buddhabhadra. The segment of the text on the Udayana Buddha was preserved in a document which the Japanese monk Chōnen discovered at Yang-chou in the tenth century (See *Dainihon Bukkyō Zensho* section on pilgrims, *Yūhōden Sōsho*, vol. II, Tokyo, 1923, pp. 309 ff.).

There are two significant factors connected to the Udayana Buddha story in this version. First is the very oddity of the tale on the part of the co–translator, Fa–hsien, who previously had told us nothing about a First Image made for Udayana in the record of his travels in India. When he visited the Jetavana Vihāra at Śrāvastī, he found what he thought to be the ox–head sandalwood portrait of the Buddha made for King Prasenajit of Kosala[24]. He says nothing about a Buddha made for King Udayana, or about craftsmen going to Heaven, but states that the Prasenajit statue was the very first Buddha image and the model for posterity. Fa–hsien did not go to Kauśāmbī, which he very likely would have, had he known of a famous First Image there. One cannot help but conclude from this evidence that King Udayana's Buddha did not exist in Fa–hsien's India, and that Indian Buddhist tradition held that King Prasenajit was solely responsible for the sandalwood image set up during the Buddha's lifetime in the Jetavana Vihāra. The second important feature of this document is the mention of China as the prophesied destination of the Udayana Buddha one–thousand years after the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha in an all–too–knowing way. Soper believes that this detail was added at a much later date than the text, when an Udayana image cult was flourishing in China[25]. Yet, it is quite possible that the thousand year time span from the Buddha's Nirvāṇa to the future date might well have coincided with the era of the translation, which would have taken place between 414 and Fa–hsien's death in 420. If the Chinese Buddhist dating system used in the text was that of the *Wei–shu*, which placed the birth of the Buddha in 688 B.C., the date when the Udayana image was to appear in China would have been approximately

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[24] *Records* I, pp. xliv–xlv. The story is much like that given in the *Ekottarāgama*, but without the mention of Udayana. King Prasenajit, desirous to see the missing Buddha who was temporarily in Trayastriṃśa Heaven, had an ox–head sandalwood portrait of the Tathāgata carved and set up at the Jetavana Vihāra at Śrāvastī. When the Buddha returned it left its place and went to meet him. The Buddha addressed these words to the image: "Return, I pray you, to your seat. After my Nirvana you will be the model from which my followers shall carve their images". On this, the figure returned to its seat. Fa–hsien continues that this image was the very first made of all the figures of the Buddha, and is the one which all subsequent ages have followed as a model. The Buddha then went to a small *vihāra* on the south side of the larger one, to a place separate from that where the image was installed. Fa–hsien goes on to tell us that the great *vihāra* of the Jetavana was originally seven storys high. A fire had consumed the original buildings except for a small eastern building where, miraculously, the Prasenajit Buddha was preserved. Subsequently, the great *vihāra* was rebuilt in two stages, and the image was once again installed in it. This is the icon that Fa–hsien saw. His account suggests that the image was a *seated* one, and that it might have been a replacement for one destroyed in a fire at some previous time. There is a Gandhāran relief in the Peshawar Museum showing a large seated Buddha in *dharmacakra mudrā* being presented a seated Buddha statuette by a royal personage on his left. Benjamin Rowland has seen this as a representation of the gift of Udayana ("A Note on the Invention of the Buddha Image", *HJAS*, vol. XI, 1–2, 1948, pp. 181–186 and plate). In my opinion this is an illustration of the gift of Prasenajit, a story already well–known during the Kuṣāṇa Era.

[25] Soper notes that the *Ch'u san–tsang chi chi* quotes as corraborative evidence the "pair of *sūtras*" on "meditating on King Udayana", which cannot be identified. Their essentials were

A.D. 392[26]. Since this date is not long before the co–translation of Fa–hsien and Buddhabhadra, it seems likely that some sort of icon, purported to be that which was made for King Udayana, had already appeared in China a few years before the text was written.

Significantly, an account of the arrival of the famous First Image of King Udayana takes place in this same era. We are told in Buddhist Annals that the famous sage, Kumārajīva, resided in Kucha and that his fame had spread throughout China by 380. Fu Chien, ruler of the Former Ch'in Dynasty, decided to send his general Lü Kuang to capture the city and bring Kumārajīva to his capital of Ch'angan[27]. In 384, the Chinese general stormed Kucha and made off with the sage and much booty. Before he reached Ch'angan, however, Lü Kuang learned of his patron's death, and halted in North China to create his own feudal state. There he kept the hapless Kumārajīva for seventeen years, until he was finally carted off to Ch'angan after the defeat of Lü Kuang's son by Yao Hsing of the Later Ch'in Dynasty[28]. When Kumārajīva arrived in Ch'angan, he supposedly brought with him from Kucha the Udayana Buddha. This icon, we are told, had been carried from India to Kucha by Kumārajīva's father in order to escape the anti–Buddhist persecution of the Śuṅga king, Puṣyamitra[29]. This detail is patently anachronistic, since that king

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supposedly the same as the *Record* except that the prophecy of the image arriving in China was missing (*Evidence*, p. 261). The location of the Udayana Buddha at Śrāvastī would coincide well with the Udayana Buddha story of the Emperor Wu of Liang, in which the ruler had a copy made there and brought back to China (See *Yūhōden Sōsho*, II, p. 312 a.b.).

[26] See A.C. Soper, "Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China II: Pseudo–foreign Images", *Artibus Asiae*, XVI, 1953, p. 86, note 10. The *Wei–shu* chapter on religion gives 688 B.C. as the birthdate of Śākyamuni, and agrees with the *Li–tai–san–pao chi* (written A.D. 597) which gives a similar date (*Evidence*, p. 269). Fa–hsien's original estimate of the Buddha's dating in his travel account is much earlier. There he speaks of the Nirvāṇa as three–hundred years before the time of King Ping of Chou, which, being ca. 770 B.C., would make it before 1000 B.C. Obviously, this would place the Udayana Buddha in China around the first century B.C. The use of this dating is highly unlikely in this case, since nothing of the sort is mentioned in even the wildest Chinese Buddhist propaganda. The earliest appearance, as we have seen, was made out to be at the time of the Han Emperor Ming in the late first century A.D. (See *Records*, I, p. xxx).

[27] The barbarian proto–Tibetan Fu Chien of the Former Ch'in Dynasty ruled the northern and central provinces, and the Wei Basin, with Ch'angan as capital, between 352 and 384. His reign collapsed after a disasterous defeat against the Chin in the south. Kumārajīva was born in Kucha around A.D. 344 and studied Sarvāstivādin doctrine in Kashmir, but later converted to Mahāyānism in Kāshgar (See *Conquest* I, p. 266; *Evidence*, p. 264).

[28] *Evidence*, p. 88. Kumārajīva's biography recounts that in 377 he was visited by several Central Asian potentates. The *Kao–seng chuan* (II, p. 331, b.c.), relates that a star visible on the foreign plains indicated that a wise man of great virtue was about to enter China. Lü's biography is in the *Ch'in–shu* (pp. 1r ff). During his Central Asian campaign only Kucha held out. On the night of the first attack Lü dreamed that he saw a golden figure fly over the city walls, which was interpreted as the "Buddha–spirit" leaving the city. The conqueror returned with much booty to China. When he learned of Fu Chien's defeat and death, he fought his way to Liang–chou in Kansu and set himself up as head of state. Lü, evidently a non–Buddhist, treated the captive Kumārajīva badly.

[29] See *Evidence*, p. 264; *Yūhōden Sōsho*, II, p. 309. At night the statue was supposed to

reigned between 184 and 148 B.C. We are told that Kumārajīva's image remained in Ch'angan until 417, four years after his death, when Eastern Chin forces overthrew the Later Ch'in regime and took the famed icon to the Lung-kuang-ssu at Chien-k'ang (Nanking)[30]. Between 417 and 588, the statue presumably remained in this location. Although the monastery was destroyed by Sui troops in 588–89, the miraculous image is supposed to have survived. The pious temple rebuilding monk Chu-li subsequently plucked the unharmed icon from the ruins of Lung-kuang-ssu and took it to Yang-chou, Kiangsu, to be placed in his newly renovated Ch'ang-lo-ssu[31]. In 614, he even had a copy made of it, adding two Bodhisattvas.

We shall return to the history of Chu-li's Udayana Buddha later. It would appear that during the later fifth and early sixth centuries, Chinese stories of the Udayana Buddha proliferated. In addition to the fifth century tale of the Emperor Ming's Udayana Buddha painting, we have another version of the Dream-and-Embassy story, this time given to the founder of the Liang Dynasty, the devout Emperor Wu, who dreamed of the Udayana Buddha in 502, and supposedly ordered a mission to India to the King of Śrāvastī to bring the famous image of the Jetavana Vihāra back to China[32]. Since the Indian king refused to part with it, thirty-two craftsmen were engaged to make a five foot sandalwood reproduction of the original, which was brought back to Wu's court. All the details of this version of the Udayana Buddha story appear to be clumsy borrowings, probably fabricated to surround an image created for the Ta-ming-ssu near Ching, the Liang capital, in the later years of the dynasty[33].

Although there was evidently a multiplicity of Udayana Buddha stories from the fifth century onward in China, the earliest (other than the spurious

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have carried Kumārajīva's father on his journey from persecution in India. One of the reasons for identifying the Udayana image with Kumārajīva may have been the account of Lü Kuang's dream of the "Buddha-spirit" leaving Kucha.

[30] The Eastern Chin Dynasty overthrew the Later Ch'in in 417. This regime had seen a short usurpation by the anti-Buddhist Huan Hsüan between 401 and 404. His successor was the strongman Liu Yü who restored the Chin Dynasty. First he put the feeble-minded Emperor An on the throne, and between 419 and 420 elevated the Emperor Kung, who was a devout Buddhist and had ten million cash melted down to make a large bronze Buddha. Liu, however, forced Kung to abdicate and had him killed, bringing the dynasty to an end. Liu Yü's destruction of the northern empire of the Later Ch'in, and his occupation of Ch'angan unfortunately prompted Hun tribes to pour into formerly Ch'in lands, creating new dangers. Liu made himself emperor in 420 and ruled for two years, inaugurating the Sung Dynasty at Chien-k'ang. Zürcher notes that Liu was on friendly terms with the Buddhist clergy, but was not a zealot (*Conquest* I, p. 158). See *Chin shu*, 10, 10a.

[31] *Evidence*, pp. 264–265. (*Dainihon B Z, Yūhōden*, II, pp. 309a, 318a).

[32] *Evidence*, pp. 270–271. See the *Chi shen chou san-pao kan t'ung lu*, XXVIII, 28, also the *Fa-yüan chu-lin* (*N* 1482; *T* 2122), XIV, of Tao-shih ca. 668. It is said that the image's *uṣṇīṣa* emitted a radiance when finished. It was brought back to Wu's capital in 511 by general Ho Ch'ien after many miraculous adventures. Soper notes that, although Wu was noted for his extreme piety, there is nothing in contemporary histories about a copy of the Udayana Buddha made for him in India.

account of the Han Emperor Ming) takes place at Ch'angan and is associated with Kumārajīva's arrival there in 402. Interestingly enough, no such image is recorded in Kumārajīva's biography or that of Lü Kuang[34]. Let us pause for a moment to look more closely at Buddhist activities at Ch'angan under the generous patronage of both the Former and Later Ch'in Dynasties, between approximately 380 and 417. Much of the brilliance of Ch'angan's Buddhist school was the result of the arrival in 379 of the great Buddhist master Tao–an. This sage was active there until his death in 385, following that of his patron Fu Chien. In order to appreciate the character of Tao–an, it is necessary to fill in some of his background. Born in Hopei in 312, he became a monk at an early age and exhibited great brilliance. Early in his career, he became a scholar and translator in the field of *dhyāna* exercises; but, due to unsettled political conditions in North China, he was forced to lead a peripatetic existence until 365, when he was able to collect a large group of followers at Hsiang–yang in Hupei[35]. One of his most famous exploits was to make a collective vow with his disciples before an image of Maitreya to be reborn in Tuṣita Heaven[36]. His interest in images caused him to have an impressive sixteen–foot high bronze Buddha image made, which was said to illuminate the monastery every night, and had the ability of supernatural movement[37]. Fu Chien in Ch'angan knew of An's interests and sent him, among other precious icons, a foreign bronze *i* image of the Buddha, which was so archaic in style that most people had no respect for it[38]. An, however, decided that the image was excellent except for the *uṣṇīṣa*, which he called "incongruous". He ordered a disciple to remove the offending feature so that it could be remolded in a more satisfactory shape and re–attached to the head. When the *uṣṇīṣa*

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[33] *Evidence*, p. 72. The *Kao–seng chuan* (XIII), written in the same decade that the statue was said to have arrived, serves as an *argumentum ex silentio* for the fraud of the Wu Udayana Buddha story.

[34] See *Kao–seng chuan*, II (p. 331 b,c), as indicated by Soper (*Evidence*, p. 88). For Lü's biography see the *Chin shu*, CXXII, pp. lr ff.

[35] For full details of Tao–an's biography, see *Conquest* I, pp. 184–204; Ch'en, *op. cit.*, pp. 94–103. See also A.E. Link, "Biography of Shih Tao–an", *T'oung Pao*, 1958, vol. XLVI, 1, pp. 1–42.

[36] *Kao–seng chuan*, V. 353.2, 1–2; Link, *op. cit.*, pp. 36–47; *Conquest* I, p. 194; Ch'en, *op. cit.*, pp. 100–101.

[37] *Evidence*, p. 15; *Kao–seng chuan*, V. 352.2.8; Link, *op. cit.*, p. 20. See also the *Ming–seng chuan*, V. A governor of Lian–chou (Kansu) sent him 10,000 catties of bronze for this purpose and the image became the most famous of its period. Tao–an's famous disciple Hui–yüan wrote an eulogy on it (See the *Kuang hung–ming chi* [*N* 1481; *T* 2103], XV, 198.2; XV, 202.2.27). According to a late account, the image represented Amitabha (*Fa–yüan chu–lin*, [*N* 1482; *T* 2122] XIII, 384.2).

[38] *Evidence*, p. 15; *Conquest* I, p. 188; Link, *op. cit.*, p. 29f. *Kao–seng chuan*, V., 350–351. This statue was seven feet tall and covered with gold leaf. Fu Chien also sent a seated gilded image, a Maitreya (adorned with?) strung pearls, a gold embroidered icon, and a woven silk one. The story is repeated in the *Fa–yuan chu–lin*, XVI, 535.6. For the significance of an *i* image, see note 2.

was taken off, a flaming light appeared which filled the hall; and on close inspection, it was found that the *uṣṇīṣa* had a relic inside it. At this point, it was decided to leave the archaic foreign Buddha intact.

It is most likely that, behind the story of this miraculous foreign icon, there is a more mundane truth. Fu Chien, in his day, was Tyrant of the North, the most powerful ruler in China, with vast influence in Central Asia along the trade routes to India. Since he was an ardent patron of Buddhism, we may suppose that he brought to his court and distributed many examples of exotic and archaic images from the Buddhist kingdoms around the Tarim Basin. Fu Chien was well aware of Tao–an's interest in icons, and may have been responsible for sending information about far–away Buddhist sites in the Western Region for the later's book on this subject, the *Hsi–yü chih*, unfortunately now lost[39]. At that time, North China, under the Ch'in, was reaching out militarily and commercially to the borders of India, bringing in return a wave of interest and lore of Buddhist sacred places in the West. This was, no doubt, the ultimate reason for the proliferation of Buddhist pilgrims from China to attempt the arduous journey to India, the most famous of these being Fa–hsien, who left Ch'angan in 399[40].

When Tao–an reached Ch'angan in 379, he was received with great honor and became a close confidante and advisor to the ruler. It was probably at An's urging that Fu Chien made his attempt to bring Kumārajīva to the capital. Unfortunately, An had been dead for seventeen years by the time of the sage's arrival. The main mission of Tao–an in the later part of his life at Hsiang–yang and Ch'angan had been to create new and better translations Buddhist *sūtras* and the *Vinaya*, in order to insure proper regulation for the monastic community. As an official "Jewel of the State" at Ch'angan, Tao–an had at his disposal considerable influence and largesse which he used to attract illustrious foreign monks to form a translation bureau commissioned to render Sarvāstivādin literature into Chinese. Among these were the Kashmiris, Saṅghadeva and Saṅghabhadra (Saṅghabhuti). Other monks from Central Asia included Dharmanadi from "the Western Region", Dharmanandi, a Tokharian, and Kumārabodhi, a former *purohita* of the king of Turfan[41]. None of these monks was fluent in Chinese. This put the main burden of actual

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[39] This lost manuscript is mentioned among Tao–an's works in the *Ch'u san–tsang chi chi*, V. 40.1.6–8.

[40] See Ch'en *op. cit.*, pp. 89–93. Fa–hsien left when Yao Hsing was ruling north China. It is ironic that the pilgrim's main purpose was to obtain the original *Vinaya* for translation. Two years after he left Ch'angan Kumārajīva arrived and made the first translation of the *Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins*.

[41] *Conquest* I, p. 202. Saṅghadeva and Saṅghabhadra were *Abhidharma* specialists who arrived in 381. Dharmanadi (T'an–mo–shih in Chinese) was a *vinaya* master. Dharmanandi was an *āgama* specialist. Also listed by Nanjio under Former Ch'in is a Dharmapriya, who arrived in 382 (*N* pp. 403–404).

translation into proper Chinese in the capable hands of Chu Fo–nien, a Chinese monk well–versed in Sanskrit and Central Asian languages[42]. This important figure proved a worthy predecessor of Kumārajīva, and may have lived to meet him in Ch'angan in 402.

Tao–an's roles in the translation bureau's activities, from 380 until his death in 385, were those of an advisor and general manager. He discussed translation problems, approved or disapproved of translator's efforts, made revisions, and added prefaces to translated texts[43]. It was from the translation school, whose members carried on after An's death, that the aforementioned translation of the *Ekottarāgama*, the first Chinese scripture to tell of the Udayana Buddha, was issued. Dharmanandi was apparently responsible for the first edition of around 384 or 385, with a final redaction made by Saṅghadeva close to the year 400.

Buddhabhadra, another Kashmiri master and supposed descendent of the Śākya clan, who was responsible for the *Buddhadhyānasamādhisagara* or "Sea of Mystic Ecstasy", the second text to mention the Udayana Buddha, came to Ch'angan in 408–09. After a year there, he came into conflict with Kumārajīva and left abruptly, arriving in 411 at Mt. Lu in Kiangsi, whose master was Hui–yüan, the famous disciple of Tao–an[44]. After a stay of a year or more, he journeyed on to Chien–k'ang in 413 or 414 and remained there until his death in 429. It is not known exactly when the "Sea" *sūtra* was translated, but at least parts of it may have been rendered orally for the enthusiastic *dhyāna* master Hui–yüan at Mt. Lu[45].

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[42] Chu Fo–nien's biography comes from the *Ch'u san–tsang chi chi*, XIII, 99.2; also the *Kao–seng chuan*, I, 329.1 (See *Conquest* I, p. 202; Ch'en, *op. cit.*, p. 102).

[43] For Tao–an's translation activities, see *Conquest* I, pp. 202–204. His preface for a translation of the *Prajñāpāramitā* (A.D. 382) contains rules for translators as to what points of deviation were acceptable from the original. This was authoritative for the Ch'angan school (*Ch'u san–tsang chi chi*, VIII, 52.2.23; X, 71.3.2).

[44] Ch'en, *op. cit.*, p. 109. Buddhabhadra was supposedly a descendent of the Śākya clan. In Kashmir he met the Chinese monk Chih–yen while the later was studying under the great *dhyāna* master Buddhasena. Chih–yen pursuaded him to go to China. When he arrived in Ch'angan he found the Buddhist school completely dominated by Kumārajīva, with whom he soon came into conflict. Buddhabhadra was a Sarvāstivādin, while Kumārajīva was an ardent Mahāyānist. As *purohita* of the Later Ch'in, Kumārajīva was excessively venerated and led a life of indulgence which Buddhabhadra probably considered unseemly. After he reached Mt. Lu, the ever accommodating Hui–yüan wrote a letter to Yao Hsing to clarify the expulsion of Buddhabhadra from Ch'angan. (For Buddhabhadra's biography, see *Ch'u san–tsang chi chi*, XIV, 104.1.1 ff).

[45] Hui–yüan (344 to 416) was closely involved with Buddhabhadra between 411 and 413 during this stay at Mt. Lu on projects of translation and the propagation of *dhyāna* exercises. Like his master Tao–an, Hui–yüan also organized a communal vow in front of an image, this time Amitābha, and the vow to be born in Sukhāvatī. This act, like Tao–an's, suggests the importance of the visualization of the actual body of the holy being through a "true image". In his last years Hui–yüan was obsessed with accounts of the famous shadow image of the Buddha of the Shadow Cave near Nagarahāra, so much so that he wrote a moving eulogy on it, and actually had a "replica" of the Cave and Buddha shadow created for himself (See *Ch'u san–tsang chi*

It is probable that Buddhabhadra became acquainted with Saṅghadeva's efforts during his wanderings in China. Saṅghadeva left Ch'angan in 385, stayed in Loyang for five years, and then went south, first to Mt. Lu from 391 to 397, then to Chien-k'ang. One of his translation efforts while resident at Mt. Lu may have been his redaction of the *Ekottarāgama*[46]. By 417, the Ch'angan Udayana Buddha had been moved to Chien-k'ang permanently to grace the Eastern Chin and (after 420) the Sung capital. With its arrival there, the myth surrounding the venerable icon seems to have been fully formed. Since neither the *Ekottarāgama* nor the "Sea" *sūtra* actually tells us the location of the original image, we may assume that it was considered to be in India, probably at the Jetavana Vihāra. If these texts by Dharmanandi/Saṅghadeva and Buddhabhadra were meant to accompany an actual image at Ch'angan, the work must have been deemed a highly valued copy of an original. By the time the text on the Udayana Buddha was written by Fa-hsien and Buddhabhadra (between 415 and 420), the image must have been elevated to the status of the original Udayana Buddha, which had miraculously arrived in China one thousand years after the Nirvāṇa, as predicted by Śākyamuni when he first saw it. One can easily imagine that this transformation from copy to original might have been made to please the Chin ruler, who had brought the icon as a prize-of-war to Chien-k'ang in 417.

Although it seems unlikely that Kumārajīva would have been able to bring a five-foot sandalwood Buddha image from Kucha to Liang-chou, keep it for seventeen years in a hostile, non-Buddhist environment, and finally bring it to Ch'angan, the association of his name with an important image prompted an apocryphal link between the two. It would seem, however, from the

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chi, XV; *Kao-seng chuan*, VI, for biographies of Hui-yuan). See also the *Kuang hung-ming chi*, XV, 194.3, 198.4 for the eulogy. As previously mentioned, Buddhabhadra devoted a long section in his "Sea" *sūtra* to the Shadow Cave (VII, 680.3 ff.). For a translation, see J. Przyluski, "Le nord-ouest de l'Inde dans le Vinaya de Mūla-Sarvāstivādins ou les textes apparentés", *JA*, Nov. and Dec. 1914, pp. 565-568. According to the "Sea" *sūtra* the Shadow Cave image was intended for disciples who lived after the Nirvāṇa and wanted to know what the seated Buddha looked like. Actual contemplation of the Shadow would eliminate the sins of all lives for 100,000 *kalpas*, (VII, 681.3.3). Hui-yüan's model made at Mt. Lu was probably for the same purpose (*buddhānusmṛti*). It is not beyond the realm of possibility that, if the Shadow Cave image was a representation of the Buddha *seated* as he appeared in life, the Udayana Buddha image was a *standing* portrait of the Tathāgata also done from life. One tradition makes Buddhabhadra a native of Nagarahāra. (*Ch'u san-tsang chi chi*, XIV.103.2.28).

[46] *Conquest* I, p. 230. It must be admitted that Saṅghadeva left Mt. Lu some fifteen years before Buddhabhadra arrived there. Saṅghadeva, however, spent six years with Hui-yüan before going on to Chien-k'ang. It is very probable that Buddhabhadra was well aware of Saṅghadeva's *Ekottaragāma*, since it was probably translated at Mt. Lu, or if before he came there, was communicated to Hui-yüan, who would have had the greatest interest in it. If Buddhabhadra had not known of the Udayana Buddha tale before he arrived at Mt. Lu, Hui-yüan would certainly have told him about it. Both Saṅghadeva and Buddhabhadra had initiated their translating carcers in Ch'angan where they may have become acquainted with the unusual Buddha icon that the Udayana story surrounded. Also, both ended up in Chien-k'ang. We do not know the date of Saṅghadeva's demise, but if he was still alive in 414 he could have met Buddhabhadra (See *Ch'u san-tsang chi chi*, X 172.2; also Chau, *op. cit.*, pp. 323-324).

Ekottarāgama, which was completed by the year 400, that the image, first considered a copy of the famous image of King Udayana, arrived in Ch'angan before the sage. Whether it appeared first under the rule of Fu Chien of the Former Ch'in, or under the Yao clan who ruled until 417, is unknown. It was obviously *not* the *i* image sent by Fu Chien to Tao-an, since that work was made of bronze, not sandalwood; but it was undoubtedly a foreign work, distinctively archaic in style and peculiar to the Chinese eye, like Tao-an's Buddha with the odd *uṣṇīṣa*. If the icon arrived at Ch'angan before 399, the year of Fa-hsien's departure for India, he may have been acquainted with it. Yet, if he was aware of the tale in the *Ekottarāgama*, he does not mention it. The only Buddha portrait noted in his travels in India is the Prasenajit image in the Jetavana Vihāra at Śrāvastī. When he had returned to China in 414 and co-authored the *Record of the Buddha's Journeying in India* with Buddhabhadra, he must have then been pursuaded that the *first* portrait of the Buddha was done for King Udayana; and that it was currently in China, having recently been brought to Chien-k'ang from Ch'angan. Buddhabhadra was very likely responsible for this new information, since he had just finished translating a *sūtra* to which he had added an earlier version of the same tale.

From the evidence provided by Chinese sources, and the lack of it from contemporary India ca. A.D. 400, it is reasonable to suggest that the Kashmiri monks, Saṅghadeva and Buddhabhadra, were chiefly responsible for concocting the Udayana Buddha legend between 385 and 420. Chinese sources suggest further that an actual image was the focus of this pious myth-making activity. No tradition of an Udayana Buddha in India is known before Hsüan-tsang's visit to Kauśāmbī in 640. By that time, the city's Buddhist community was languishing, with ten *saṅghārāmas* in ruins and only about 300 priests. Obviously, the famous Chinese pilgrim knew all the details of the Udayana Buddha myth before his arrival in India. He saw the famous sandalwood figure in a large shrine in an old palace. He tells us that this image was indeed the original, that it was immovable, and that princes of various countries had to make do with copies of it[47]. We may imagine that many Chinese and other foreign visitors to Buddhist pilgrim sites between the fifth and seventh centuries had brought the Udayana Buddha story to Kauśāmbī, where Buddhism was experiencing a very sharp decline in prestige, as opposed to the burgeoning popularity of Hinduism. At some time in the later fifth or sixth century, a suitable wooden Buddha image of venerable antiquity must have been set up by local Buddhists as an attraction for visiting pilgrims. This was the statue that Hsüan-tsang saw as he toured the city with Buddhist guides who were eager to recount stories of the ancient sites and abandoned ruins where miraculous events were supposed to have taken place[48].

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[47] *Records* I, pp. 235–236.
[48] *Ibid.*, pp. 236–238.

To return to China, there is no record of the Udayana icon at Chien-k'ang, except that it was said to have been recovered from the ruins of the Lung-kuang-ssu after it was burned down by Sui troops in 588-89. It is hard to believe that Chu-li recovered the wooden statue unscathed from the charred remains; so much so that one is tempted to speculate that Chu-li's Buddha was a copy of the former work. At Yang-chou, more copies appear to have been made. The Japanese monk Ennin visited there in 838 and is recorded to have seen not one but *four* sandalwood Buddhas[49]. When war broke out at the end of the T'ang era, Chu-li's shrine at Yang-chou was destroyed. Once again, however, the image was saved, and in 916 was returned to the K'ai-yuan-ssu by the Later Liang ruler[50]. By this time it is most prudent to believe that we may be dealing with a copy of a copy of the Ch'angan image. Around 940, it was carted off again to Nanking during the brief Southern T'ang regime. In 970, when the Northern Sung absorbed the Southern T'ang, the icon was taken to K'ai-feng. First it was installed in a temple, later in the imperial palace where it was discovereed by the Japanese monk Chōnen, who brought back a copy of the statue to Japan, and with it a document giving an account of its history, which he had secured at Yang-chou, where an Udayana Buddha cult was still thriving[51].

This image still exists in the Seiryōji Temple in Kyoto, and has been proven to be the original one that Chōnen had made during his visit to China which ended in 988[52]. Interestingly enough, the icon copy seems to have had the same effect in Japan as it had in China. In time, the Japanese pursuaded themselves that the Chinese "original" and Chōnen's copy had miraculously changed places, and that they were the proud custodians of the authentic Udayana Buddha[53].

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[49] *Evidence*, p. 264 (See *Kao-seng chuan*, II., also E. Reischauer *Ennin's Diary*, New York, 1955, p. 49).

[50] *Evidence*, loc. cit.

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 265. The image remained there for a long period of time (between ca. 600 and 900) which would have provided ample time to codify its history and to build a cult around it.

[52] See G. Henderson and L. Hurvitz, "The Buddha of Seiryōji", *Artibus Asiae*, XIX, 1, 1956, pp. 5-55.

[53] The work was known as "the red sandalwood image of Śākyamuni transmitted through three countries" (*ibid.*, pp. 6-7).

II.

The Origin of the Udayana Buddha

The Seiryōji Buddha is about five feet in height, and is made of fourteen pieces of Chinese cherry wood[54] (Plate I). The figure stands frontally, leaning slightly forward, on a lotus base, and is totally draped, with the folds of the *saṅghāṭi* falling in cascading concentric linear bands which radiate axially from under the turned–over upper edge of the robe. This pattern ends at the thighs, where it becomes vertically elongated, clinging closely to the upper legs in comma–like whorls. Crescents accentuate the knees, and the lower legs are individually covered by a design of linear catenaries. Two underskirt hems, probably the long skirt–like *antaravāsaka* and shorter *uttarāsaṅga*, hang below the edge of the robe[55]. The hair is treated in braid–like bands, which radiate from a central point above the forehead. The *uṣṇīṣa* is bound by a band with a red jewel in the center; and there are two crystals in the ears. There is a hollow passage between the ears, so that originally, they may have caught and emitted light[56]. In the forehead is an *ūrṇā* in the form of a circular silver piece like a coin, with an engraved figure of a seated Buddha on it[57]. The hands

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[54] *Ibid.*, pp. 8 ff.

[55] For a key study on this subject, see A.D. Griswold, "Prolegomena to the Study of the Buddha's Dress in Chinese Sculpture", *Artibus Asiae*, XXVI, 1963, pp. 85–151. According to the *Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins*, monastic dress consisted of three parts: the *antaravāsaka*, a skirt–like garment generally gathered in loose pleats at the waist by a band, the *uttarāsaṅga*, an "upper–robe" draped loosely over the left shoulder, and the *saṅghāṭi* or "over–robe", an outer garment, in Gandhāra of somewhat heavier material (probably wool) covering both shoulders, which was the formal dress of the Buddha when appearing in public. Standing Buddhas of Gandhāra show the *antaravāsaka* below the hem of the *saṅghāṭi*, while the *uttarāsaṅga's* lower hem may be seen under the Buddha's raised right arm. In China, the *uttarāsaṅga* was lengthened until it was seen as a second hem under the hem of the *saṅghāṭi* (See p. 99, and figs 1–6).

[56] Henderson and Hurvitz, *op. cit.*, p. 12. It is of interest to note that "iconographic jewelry" characterizes the image. The red jewel may possibly be related to a document found in the image itemizing its contents, which relates that in 985 a tooth of the Buddha was installed in the face, and that later the top of the Buddha's head emitted one "blood–spot" (p. 48). This supernatural event was seen by a multitude of people and was thought to be portentous.

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 12 and pl. 6. Possibly, this was used to cover the Buddha's tooth.

and feet are over–sized, with the right hand in *abhaya* and the left in *varada mudrā*. The entire figure was once covered with black lacquer on which a design was painted in gold, still faintly discernible in some areas. Patches of red lacquer on the surface may indicate that the image was at one time painted or lacquered red. Inside a hollow compartment in the back of the image, a large number of objects were discovered, including internal organs made of silk, miscellaneous precious items, and a group of documents, one signed by Chōnen himself[58].

The Seiryōji Buddha is important as a rare extant work of tenth century Chinese wood sculpture, but, more than that, as an example of what must have been a sinicized version of the originally non–Chinese, Udayana–style Buddha. It has been suggested that this work was derived from the copy of the so–called Udayana Buddha image of Kauśāmbī, brought back to China by Hsüan–tsang in the mid–seventh century[59]. Even a cursory glance at the figure, however, shows little trace of direct Indian influence. The frontal pose and drapery arrangement have led some authorities to see Gupta or Kuṣāṇa Mathurā precedents for this work[60]. Yet, in spite of the superficial similarities in the linear banding of the drapery and pose, large differences are evident. The earliest fully draped Buddha images of Kuṣāṇa Mathurā were undoubtedly modelled on those of Gandhāra, which was far more open to Hellenizing influences than Central India. Draped Mathuran Buddhas with a centralized pattern of drapery folds appeared by the year 51 of the Kaniṣka I Era, as demonstrated by the seated Buddha image of that date found at Anyōr[61]. A standing Mathuran Buddha figure of this period shows a style of drapery which, although based on Gandhāran precedents, is treated in a distinctly

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[58] *Ibid.*, pp. 45 ff.

[59] *Ibid.*, pp. 13–15. As we have seen, this is highly unlikely. Hsüan–tsang brought back seven images in all.

[60] Henderson and Hurvitz discuss the supposed precedents (pp. 17–21), which certainly *did* exist in China, since the Udayana typology must have been well–known and widely copied before Chōnen's version was created. The large headless and armless white marble Buddha in the Victoria and Albert Museum from the Hseu–te Pagoda near Chu–yang in Hopei, with its fleshy Gupta–like appearance is discussed in this light. (See also M. Sullivan, *The Arts of China,* Berkeley, 1973, fig. 99). Actually, if we follow the history of the Yang–chou document, which came with Chonen's Buddha, and do not treat it as apocryphal, which it could not be *in toto*, Hsüan–tsang is much too late in the chronology of the Udayana Buddha in China to have had much effect on the already well–established tradition.

[61] See V.S. Agrawala, "Buddha and Bodhisattva Images", *JUPHS*, 21, 1948, p. 49 ff.; J.E. van Lohuizen–de Leeuw, *The Scythian Period*, Leiden, 1949, pp. 234–235, fig. 54; H. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, ed. K. Janert, Göttingen, 1961, no. 74; R.C. Sharma, *The Mathurā Museum and its Art*, Mathura, p. 68, fig. 109; Idem, *Buddhist Art of Mathurā*, Delhi, 1984, pp. 197 ff., fig. 109. The Anyōr image shows undoubted Gandhāran influence.

Indian manner[62] (Plate II). This work, now in the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā, exhibits a clinging linear pattern which runs fairly even down the whole surface of the robe, a pleating not unlike a horizontal stripe in the fabric. These linear elements run across and closely define the legs as well as the upper body; but no attempt is made to change or interrupt the flow of the design. This same formula holds for Gupta Buddhas as well.

The basic difference in drapery style and pose between Gandhāran and Mathuran Buddha images of the Kuṣāṇa Era is that the pose in the former style is always slightly off–center, in an uneven stance with one leg slightly advanced. In relief, Buddha figures are often shown in what must be interpreted as a walking pose, although still fairly frontal. Following the more classicizing influences on Gandhāra from the West, the drapery folds of the Buddha's robe are vertically distorted and occasionally pulled flat to indicate the advanced leg under the garment. Admittedly, most extant Gandhāran Buddha images of the Kuṣāṇa Era exhibit an elaborate and fairly naturalistic, non–symmetrical treatment of the folds of the *saṅghāṭi* pulled strongly over the right shoulder, held up in the left hand, and drawn taut by an advanced leg[63] (Plate III). Nevertheless, recent investigations have shown that, in Gandhāra and particularly in the Swat Valley, the early stylistic norm appears to have been a Buddha draped in an axial, centralized fold–pattern, albeit modified by the stress on the material due to the advanced leg[64]. It is clear that the sculptors of Kuṣāṇa Mathurā borrowed the centrally draped idea, but ignored the foreign convention for defining limbs under drapery, choosing rather the more familiar formula of having the material cling to and thus define the body with creases or pleats, simply following the body contours without deformation[65].

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[62] Sharma, *Buddhist Art*, p. 196, fig. 107. Here we have a remarkable combination of Gandhāran and Mathuran idioms, since the head, which is still shaven with the *kapardin uṣnīsa*, is pure Mathurā. The idea of showing the *saṅghāṭi*, as a voluminous cloak held high by the left hand is Gandhāran. The pose of the hand, turned to the side rather than frontal is *abhaya mudrā* is Mathuran as well.

[63] For the walking pose see the Buddha images on the Bīmarān reliquary. In this pose the leg is more raised than it would be in an easy stance, and probably originated in narrative relief scenes. (See S.L. Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India*, New York and Tokyo, 1985, pl. 4 for this detail). For numerous reliefs of the Buddha in a walking pose, see D. Faccenna, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I*, vols. II, 2 and 3, IsMEO Reports and Memoirs, Rome, 1962–1964, pls. XXb, LVa, LVIa, LIX, and *passim*. For innumerable examples of standing Buddha images with the diagonal drape from the left shoulder see H. Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*, Connecticut, 1971, figs. 87, 88, 89, 92, 188, 195–228, and *passim*.

[64] Faccenna, *op. cit.*, II, 2, pls. LXXIVa and b, LXXVa and b, LXXVI, LXXVII; CXII, CCV, etc.

[65] See Griswold, *op. cit.*, pp. 112–113. In some cases it appears that the *uttarasaṅga* was worn like the *saṅghāṭi* in Gandhāra, that is, over both shoulders. The cause of its smoothness stems from the fact that the material appears to have been very thin and supple, probably of light cotton. Pre–pleating of the cloth would cause a linear pattern. It would seem that Mathuran artists

A good example of an early Gandhāran centrally draped Buddha appears on a schist relief in the Cleveland Museum depicting the Great Miracle at Śrāvastī (Plate IV*a*). This work, dated to about A.D. 100 by Czuma, shows a frontal figure standing with left leg slightly advanced and the centralized pattern of drapery, which falls in irregular linear bands to the hem, but is deformed vertically over the legs where it is pulled more tautly[66]. It is also important to note the large *uṣṇīṣa*, which seems to be an early Gandhāran trait, and the banded treatment of the hair, strangely reminiscent of the "braids" of the Chōnen icon. Another diminutive, but very significant Gandhāran Buddha image of the early style is found on rare reverses of coins of Kaniṣka I. One exceptional example, formerly in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, is seen on a gold dinar reverse which shows clearly the standing Buddha in *abhaya mudrā* with tha *saṅghāṭi* draped over both shoulder and treated in a centralized pattern of creases to the bowed lower edge of the garment which reaches to approximately knee length[67] (Plate IV*b*). Here the *antaravāsaka* can be seen hanging to the ankles, as well as the edge of the robe, which is held in the Buddha's left hand. Again we may note the large *uṣṇīṣa*, which is very high and covers the whole top of head. There are, as we shall see, a number of examples of Buddha images from the Gandhāra– Swat area which probably pre–date Kaniṣka, and perhaps even the Kuṣāṇa Era. These will be discussed further on in this analysis.

As to the gestures of the Seiryōji Buddha, the *abhaya mudrā* is the earliest positive gesture known in Buddhist imagery, found at both Gandhāra and Mathurā, in slightly differing version. The *varada*, however, is unknown and must have developed elsewhere as a variant or misunderstanding of the usual pose of the left hand holding the edge of the robe[68]. In Gandhāra, this fea-

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liked the fold–effect of the Gandhāran robe, but turned it into the pre–formed pleating with which they were more familiar.

[66] S. Czuma, *Kushan Sculpture: Images from Early India*, Cleveland, 1985, p. 92, no. 104.

[67] See R.C. Craven, *A Concise History of Indian Art*, London, 1976, p. 85, fig. 50. Note how short the *saṅghāṭi* appears to be, and also the accentuated curve of its lower edge to the raised arms. This causes a large part of the *antaravāsaka* to show. I can find no exact correspondence between this representation and extant images. The figure has the earmaks of an early Gandhāran icon, however (i.e. draping of *saṅghāṭi* hand positions, large *uṣṇīṣa*, double–lined nimbus). If it is true that this is a miniaturization of an actual image, it must have been an important early icon, well–known by the time of Kaniska I.

[68] Obviously, many hands are missing among the extant Gandhāran Buddha images; but none appear to be in this *mudrā*. The gesture of the raised right hand with palm open has many antecedents in the West connected with both rulers and divinities, and thus the Buddhist *abhaya mudrā* is probably of very early origin in the repertoire of significant gestures in the ancient Near East. It is a gesture of benevolence and protection on the part of the deity or monarch (i.e., the *magna manus* or *manus dei*). It may also be used as a gesture of obeisance and worship by devotees before a deity, as seen on many images from Parthian Hatra. (See E. Dale Saunders, *Mudrā*, New York, 1960, pp. 55–56, for a discussion of this subject). See also J. Huntington, "The Iconography of Maitreya Images in Gandhāra", *Journal of Central Asia*, VII, 1, 1984, p. 140. Huntington discusses the *abhaya*–and–*varada mudrā* in China and Japan as the "welcoming", or literally "future–going–out–to–meet" (*laiying* in Chinese), gesture, which becomes the *raigo–in* in

ture of the standing Buddha image also distorts the general cascading effect of the drapery. A further investigation of the stylistic origins of the Udayana Buddha will continue below; but for the present, it is sufficient to stress the fact that the ultimate model for this type of image as it first appeared in China must have had its origin in Northwest India in the Gandhāran region during its early phases of development.

The earliest known Chinese ecample of an Udayana–style is a small bronze 53.5 cm. in height and dated by inscription to A.D. 443. This work is now in a private collection in Japan[69]. The figure is more squat and far less elegant than the Seiryōji Buddha, but has the same basic characteristics. The drapery on the legs falls in a vertical pattern outlining the area from thigh to knee in an unnatural, but far less stylized manner than the whorls of the Seiriyōji image. The two underskirts, the *muḍrās*, the dimple–centered rosette elements on the hair, and large *uṣṇīṣa* are very similar. A large example of this type (138.5 cm. in height), now in the Metropolitan Museum, is a gilt bronze image, showing in much more detail the patterning of the drapery, which is just beginning to define the upper leg in an ovoid linear design (Plate V). Also notable are the descending cusps of drapery between the legs, the braid–like whorls of hair, and the enlarged hands. This work is dated 477 and is designated in the inscription, as is the earlier smaller image, a Maitreya[70]. This is perplexing, since in both cases we have a figure which is without doubt a Buddha not a Bodhisattva. From an iconographic standpoint, it is possible to depict Maitreya as the Future Buddha; but, it has been suggested that the inscription on the larger image is spurious[71]. Nevertheless, since *both* Udayana–type Bud-

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Japan. He is, however, unable to find its source. It could be used under appropriate circumstances by all sorts of Buddhist deities (Śākyamuni, Maitreya, Amitābha, etc.).

[69] See H. Munsterberg, *Chinese Buddhist Bronzes* Vermont and Tokyo, 1967, p. 31, pl. 19. The author notes that, although no fourth century examples of this type has been preserved, a small Gandhāra–style image in the Masaki Collection, Tokyo, was probably made in the period (See also N. Kumagai, "Three Buddhist Bronzes of the Earliest Ages in China", *Bijutsu Kenkyu*, 203, 1959, pl. 5).

[70] Munsterberg, *loc. cit.*, and fig. 20. (See also C. Deydier, *Chinese Bronzes*, Switzerland, 1980, p. 142, pl. 113).

[71] The identification of the figure as Maitreya Buddha is not at all unusual, and is frequently found in Chinese imagery. (See J. Huntington, *op. cit.*, pp. 138 ff.) The author distinguishes the Maitreya cult in China as a double cult of Maitreya as Bodhisattva (in Tuṣita Heaven) where he presently resides, and in his future state as a Buddha on eart in the paradisical realm of Ketumatī (See the *Mi–lo lai–shih–ching* [*Maitreya–vyākraṇa*], *N* 206; *T* 457). This is the earliest Chinese version with only a fragment extant. A later version was made of the text by Kumārajīva (ca. 410), of which more remains (*N* 205; *T* 454). The text also exists in a Khotanese Saka version probably composed in the third century A.D (See Nakamura, *op. cit.*, p. 180). Whether we can distinguish between a Śākyamuni Buddha and a Maitreya Buddha in Gandhāran imagery, as Huntington suggests, is debatable. Even in his future status on earth Maitreya would be both Bodhisattva and later Buddha, as in the case of Śākyamuni. In the event that Maitreya is shown as an attendant of Śākyamuni, he would probably not show the *laiying mudrā*. See also T. Akiyama and S. Matsubara, *Arts of China: Buddhist Cave Temples, New Researches*, trans. A.C. Soper,

dhas are inscribed as Maitreya, the idea that this was their original identification seems probable. The cult of Maitreya reached its height in China during the fifth and sixth centuries; so it would not be surprising that Chinese devotees might adapt Maitreya icons from those which had been Śākyamuni models. There may be other factors at work in the transposition of a supposedly Udayana–style Buddha image to that of an identical Maitreya. One fact that seems clear, however, in regard to these two fifth century Chinese bronzes is that, at this period, not all images which we presently label as "Udayana" in style were reserved to portray Śākyamuni.

Cave XX at Yün–kang (ca. 470–480) displays the famous forty–five foot rock–carved seated Buddha with a smaller standing Buddha beside it showing a very abstract rendering of the Udayana–style draped robe (Plate VI). Here the linear patterns have a totally non–naturalistic life of their own, and the knees under the drape are seen as oval bosses. Possibly the Buddha, shown in *abhaya* but not *varada mudrā*, is meant to be Maitreya as Future Buddha[72]. Whether this is true or not, the figure is another fifth century example of a generic Buddha type, of ultimately Gandhāran stylistic origin, belonging to the same tradition as the sandalwood Udayana icon.

If we pause for a moment to consider the general precedents for the Udayana–type imagery of fifth century China, it becomes apparent that, although Gandhāran style is at the basis of this typology, an intermediate phase of transformation existed between India and China. This must lie in the art of the Buddhist centers of Chinese Turkestan which ringed the Tarim Basin. At the Rawak Vihāra at Khotan, Aurel Stein found the remains of dozens of stucco Buddha images, probably created over a fairly extended period from the third to seventh century. Of the photographed remains of the vihāra's image–incrusted walls, several figures show an almost identical treatment of drapery (Plate VII*a*). They also demonstrate that the striding or off–center pose of the Gandhāra Buddhas had gradually given way to a solid flat–footed frontality, with the upper legs accentuated by vertical striations[73].

Tokyo, 1969, p. 223, fig. 70. A standing Buddha from Ping–ling–ssu Cave no 169 in Kansu dated ca. A.D. 420 also shows a strong resemblance to the Udayana typology, having a similarly treated robed but a more attentuated Gupta–like proportion to the body.

[72] See Akiyama and Matsubara, *op. cit.*, p. 123, p. 229, pl. 101; Sullivan, *op. cit.*, pp. 106–107, fig. 78. One might well speculate that the uniqueness of the Udayana Buddha as a true portrait of Śākyamuni had much more to do with "iconographic jewelry" especially the treatment of the hair with the red gem "blood clot" as a mark of authenticity, rather than the more generalized stylistic characteristics.

[73] See M.A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan,* vol. 1, Oxford, 1907, pp. 488–500; vol. II, pl. XVII. There appear to have been a number of variants of the standing Buddha image ranging from "classical" Gandhāran (pl. XV) to examples showing a much later clinging drapery style of raised string–like pattern folds on scalloped–edged robes which cascade downward from the arms. This detail is met in Gupta India and also notable on the Metropolitan Udayana Buddha–type image. Obviously, this later rendering is an attempt to show a much lighter material, very probably silk

The Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, Sung–yun, reached the eastern edge of the kingdom of Khotan in 518, arriving in a city which he called Han–mo[74]. In a large temple nearby he saw a magnificant golden, "full–length" Buddha image, which he estimated to be about 18 feet in height. Once, he was told, the king of Khotan had tried to carry it off to his capital, but it disappeared and miraculously returned to its old location, always facing West. As to its origin, he was told that it had flown to Khotan "from the South", which could only have been over the mountains from India. The image was kept in a tower with four–hundred attendants who cared for its premises; and marvelous cures were effected by the image for those who placed gold leaf on its body. Around the image tower, the sage found ten–thousand smaller votive towers, all ornamented with silk banners and streamers. More than half of these, he discovered, were presented by Chinese sovereigns of the Wei Dynasty, or were made during their reigns, according to their inscriptions. Interestingly enough, he tells us that one flag had the name of Yao Hsing, ruler of the Later Ch'in and patron of Kumārajīva at Ch'angan[75]. This was the earliest Chinese inscription that he noticed; and he mentioned it, no doubt, because of his surprise at seeing evidence of Chinese patronage of the Khotanese shrine over one–hundred years prior to his visit.

Unfortunately, Sung–yun does not provide any more specific information on the image or the shrine than that related above. Hsüan–tsang, writing over a century later, tells us much more[76]. The city was now called Pi–mo or Pima, and may be the same as the Pein visited by Marco Polo[77]. In its shrine, the cult was still thriving. The pilgrim describes its icon as a standing image made of sandalwood about 20 feet in height, and tells us that it reflected a bright light and worked many miracles. Hsüan–tsang recounts that he was told that the natives considered the image to be the original First Image of King Udayana of Kauśāmbī on his journey through India. Nevertheless, he relates the then current Khotanese tale of its origin. For some unexplained reason, King Udayana's image had flown north to a city called Ho–lao–lokia (Ro-

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for which Khotan was famous. Here we may see the heavy folds of the Gandhāran woolen *saṅghāti* transformed into clinging silk, but with a stylized remembrance of Gandhāran fold patterns. This odd combination of influences, with the preference for silk over wool to dress the Buddha, may account for the convention of whorl–like patterning over the limbs.

[74] *Records* I, p. lxxxvi.

[75] *Records* I, p. lxxvii. Beal gives the date as A.D. 406.

[76] *Records* II, pp. 322–324. The city was 300 *li* east of the capital, and was probably the closest great Buddhist center of its time on the southern route around the Tarim Basin from China. Just beyond it was an extensive desert marsh.

[77] *The Book of Marco Polo*, trans. and ed. by H. Yule, vol. I, London, 1903, pp. 191 ff. (See also Stein *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 452–464). Stein declared that he had discoverd Píma in the closely adjoining oases of Chira, Gulakhma, and Domoko. He suggested that the ancient shrine might be identified with the Islamic *Ulūgh Ziārat* (i.e. "Holy Shrine") near Uzun–Tati. He did not, however, find any strong evidence that any of the area's architectural remains had any connection with the Píma Buddha shrine.

ruka) after the Nirvāṇa[78]. Although the city was rich and prosperous, its inhabitants were heretics and paid it no respect. When an arhat came to the town and bowed down to the Buddha image, the king had him buried alive. One man in the city was distressed at this inhumane treatment and secretly gave the arhat food and water. As the sage made ready to leave the city by supernatural means, he warned the man that seven days hence the city would be destroyed by a terrible sandstorm which would cover it with dirt and stones, leaving none alive. The arhat's benefactor spread the alarm to his family and friends, but none would listen. Soon a great wind began to blow, bringing a rain of dust and sand. Having been reviled by his fellows, the good man dug an underground passage leading out of the city and lay concealed there. On the evening of the seventh day, the city was covered by a huge mound which buried all of its inhabitants. The good man alone escaped through his tunnel and journeyed to the neighboring city of Pima, where he discovered that the Buddha image had already miraculously appeared. In a seeming postscript to the tale, we are told that, according to ancient tradition, the Udayana image will enter the "dragon palace" when the Buddhist Dharma is extinct.

From the account of Hsüan–tsang, it is clear that the Khotanese gilt sandalwood image of Pima was considered by the natives of that city in the early seventh century A.D. to be the genuine Udayana Buddha. From the earlier account of Sung–yun, however, we are told simply that the image flew miraculously to Pima from the South. At some time in the intervening period, the famous image of Pima had acquired the designation of the Udayana Buddha, which is not surprising, when we consider the Chinese enthusiasm for the image. In one sense, this tale may not be too far–fetched, since it is not unlikely that a copy of this statue became the Udayana Buddha at Ch'angan around A.D. 400. The Khotanese image and its cult were known to Yao rulers of the later Ch'in regime, as demonstrated by the name of Yao Hsing which Sung–yun found among the votive banners around the shrine. Although the five–foot high sandalwood copy was designated as the Udayana Buddha by the Indian monks at the court of Ch'angan, the original Khotanese sandalwood Buddha had no such tradition. This legend was probably added by the natives of Pima, under Chinese influence, at some time during the sixth century. The Khotanese story of the buried city of Roruka, however, has nothing to do with the original legend of the Udayana image. This version of the story, which explains its flight to Pima, comes directly from an earlier Buddhist tale, first recorded in the *Divyāvadāna*, of a kingdom of Roruka, far distant from Central India, ruled by a King Udrayana who was sent a painted portrait of the

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[78] *Records*, loc. cit.; Stein, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 455 ff. Beal suggests that this might have been Ragha or Raghan; but as we shall see, it must have been the same as the Roruka of the *Divyāvadāna*. (See also W.W. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, London, 1907, pp. 145 ff., who sees Roruka as Rāmagrāma). For a Khotanese Moslem modern variation of the story, see Stein, *op. cit.*, I, p. 460.

Buddha by the pious King Bimbisāra[79]. Although Udrayana (also Rudrayana) became a Buddhist convert and abdicated his throne, his son was a persecutor of Buddhism and tried to bury a Buddhist arhat alive. This was the cause of the extinction of Roruka. The elements of this story, which found their way into the Udayana tradition, will be examined more closely below. It is sufficient to note, however, that this tale appears to be part of a very old and popular tradition of sand–buried "lost cities" which were probably as much in evidence in the seventh century as when Aurel Stein made his explorations of the Tarim Basin in the early twentieth century[80].

Although the confusion of Udayana with Udrayana is not improbable, there is no evidence that the concocted origin of the Udayana Buddha image in China had any connection with the Buddhist king of the *Divyāvadāna*. After the five–foot wooden statue was taken from Ch'angan to Chien–k'ang, it probably very quickly became transformed from the copy of a famous Central Asian image to an original miraculous Buddha icon. We may surmise, that it might have been a small replica of the Pima Buddha brought to Ch'angan by one of its late fourth century rulers. Those familiar with the Khotanese icon would have told the Buddhists of Ch'angan that the icon had originally come from the South, across the Karakorum Mountains from India, after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa. When asked for more details on the statue's origin, they were probably informed that it came from the heartland of early icon production in Northwest India and specifically from Uḍḍiyāṇa. This, to the Chinese, would have been *Wu–chang–na* or *U–chang–na*, the general region of the Swat Valley and hill country north of Gandhāra proper.

Wu–chang–na has often been translated as "Udyāna", which is close to the Chinese. In Sanskrit, *udyāna* means "garden" or "park", and must have seemed to have been and appropriate name to the Chinese pilgrims who had crossed the desolate wastes between China and Northwest India. The major problem with both the Chinese and Western interpolations of this title is that they are not accurate. The name designating the Swat Valley and adjoining regions from at least the first century A.D. was Uḍḍiyāna, Oḍḍiyāna, Uḍi, or Oḍi. A king of Oḍi is mentioned in an early first century Buddhist relic casket Kharoṣṭhi inscription which also mentions Kujula Kadphises[81]. A slightly later inscription from Kuṣāṇa Mathurā is inscribed with the name of a monk,

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[79] *Divyāvadāna*, ed. P.L. Vaidya Darhanga, The Mithila Institute, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts no. 20, pp. 544–586 (chapter 37). See also J. Nobel, *Udrayana, König von Roruka: Eine buddhistische Erzählung. Die tibetische Übersetzung des Sanskrittextes*, Wiesbaden, 1955, vol. I; see also E. Burnouf, *Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhisme indien*, Paris, 1876, pp. 304–307.

[80] See Stein's comments on the topography of sand–buried ruins in the region with its shifting dunes and changing hydrological conditions (*op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 459 ff.).

[81] See H.W. Bailey, "A Kharoṣṭhi Inscription of Sena Varma, King of Oḍi", *JRAS*, 1970, pp. 21–29.

Jīvaka Odīyanaka[82]. The main reason for the transformation of Uḍḍiyāṇa into Udyāna (or *Wu–chang–na*) appears to have been the retroflex "ḍ", which both Chinese and Westerners have some difficulties in interpreting correctly. Western Sanskritists tend to change the "ḍ" to "d", although actual Sanskrit pronunciation has tended to modify it to an "r" sound[83]. Thus the Tibetans designated the location by the name of *Urgyan*, which was probably close to a contemporary Sanskrit pronunciation. As Sylvain Lévi has contended, it seems very likely that the appelation "Udyāna" never existed in India as a name used by the inhabitants of the Swat Valley to designate their ancient kingdom[84]. Chinese pilgrims seem to have accepted uncritically the name *Wu–chang–na*, or cognates thereof, which they associated with the region; and the West has often accepted Udyāna, rather than the correct Sanskrit Uḍḍiyāṇa. The eighth century Korean pilgrim monk Hye Ch'o, however, knew both the Chinese and the actual name of the location. A recent translation of his *Diary* relates that he arrived in "...Udyāna which the natives call Uḍḍiyāṇa"[85]. The Tibetans, it would appear, also knew that their Urgyan was Uḍḍiyāṇa in correct Sanskrit[86].

To return to the Chinese Buddhists of Ch'angan, who were anxious to discover the miraculous history of their new–found icon, it is most probable that they turned to the resident Indian monks of Tao–an's translation bureau for elucidation. When asked to explain the connection of the origin of the image with *Wu–chang–na* (Udyāna), the answer must have been that what was actually meant was that the image was a portrait of the Buddha made for King Udayana of Vatsa during the Buddha's lifetime, a far more illustrious origin than a kingdom on the northwest frontier of India. The story was fabricated on lines very close to the already extant tale of the Buddha image of King Prasenajit. Udayana was a well–known and popular figure in the contemporary mythic imagination of India, and many Buddhist tales existed about him, his Buddhist queen and his conversion to the faith. To some extent the stage had already been set for Udayana to become the author of the first Buddha image by two minor *sūtras* translated during the Later Han Era, which are dialogues

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[82] See H. Lüders, "A List of Brāhmi Inscriptions from the Earliest Times to about A.D. 400 with the Exception of those of Aśoka", *Epigraphia Indica*, X, 1909, no. 62.

[83] See W.D. Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1889, pp. 16–17 (45–46). This "ḍ" is a lingual uttered with the tip of the tongue turned up and drawn back into the dome of the palate, somewhat as the usual English "r" is pronounced, and is called a *cephalic* or *cerebral*. It is a non–Indo–European sound, and, in practice, among European Sanskritists, no attempt is made to distinguish it from a *dental* "d".

[84] S. Lévi, "Le catalogue des Yakṣa de la Mahāmayūri", *JA*, 1915, pp. 105–112, see p. 108. See also J. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmir*, Delhi, 1980, pp. 34–37 for a recapitulation of information on the name Uḍḍiyāna and its transmission as Udyana.

[85] *The Hye Ch'o Diary*, trans. and ed. by Han–sung Yang, Yun–hua Jan, Shōaro Iida, and L.W. Preston, Seoul, n.d., p. 50

[86] See A. Grünwedel, "Das Weg nach Sambhala", *Abhandlungen der Königlich Bayerischen*

between King Udayana and the Buddha on the merits of image-making[87]. Nothing would have given the Ch'angan image higher status in the eyes of the strongly Buddhist court than to furnish it with such an important royal pedigree. Perhaps the Kashmiris gave their information with a knowing wink. They may have been well aware that the Chinese Udyāna was Uḍḍiyāṇa the place, not Udayana the historical personage. But perhaps, since Uḍḍiyāṇa was no longer a very important Buddhist kingdom compared to Kashmir, or simply to add luster to the origin of the statue, they opted for the fantasy of King Udayana. By the time of Hsüan-tsang in the seventh century, the Udayana story had travelled from China to Khotan and India. The Jetavana Vihāra at Śrāvastī had been destroyed, and was no longer an active community. Hsüan-tsang is somewhat equivocal about the image he saw in the remains of the Jetavana Vihāra; and it is not clear from Beal's translation of the text that he meant to indicate that the Buddha image that he saw in the one remaining brick building on the site was supposed to be the original Prasenajit Buddha[88]. Clearly, the focus of the First Image cult in India had moved to Kauśāmbī, where there was probably a lively industry centered around making small replicas of the latest and only Indian version of the Udayana Buddha.

In regard to the actual origin of the image, or most probably of its Khotanese prototype, Uḍḍiyāna was indeed an ultimate point of departure for the initial spread of Buddhist doctrine to Northeast Asia. Buddhism became well-known there at an early period, and the earliest of its stupa foundations date as far back as the Aśokan Era[89]. Explorations of this century have proved the region to be rich in early Buddhist monuments, and overflowing with stone sculpture, mostly from shrines of the Kuṣāṇa Era. As excavations at the site of the Butkara Stūpa have shown, the style of Buddhist sculpture must have

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Akademie der Wissenschaften, philologische und historische Klasse, XX, 1912, ix, 3, p. 27: "The holy country Udyāna whose Sanskrit name is Oḍiyana...".

[87] The Kashmiri monk Saṅghabhuti (Saṅghabhadra?) is said to hae brought a manuscript of the *Dharmapada* (with commentary) to Ch'angan in 383. This was translated by Chu-fo-nien and was the third of four Chinese translations. It was finished in 398. It might have contained in its commentary the story of Udayana's conversion in its original version (*N* 1321, *T* 212).

[88] *Records*, II, p. 4. Hsüan-tsang notes hundreds of *sanghārāmas*, mostly in ruin, with few Buddhists in the environs of Śrāvastī. Many *deva* temples connoted the flourishing of Hinduism in the region. The pilgrim saw only the foundations of residences of the monks at the Jetavana. Only one brick building still stood, which, he said, contained, "... an image of the Buddha". He tells us that when the Tathāgata ascended to the Trayastriṃśa Heaven, Prasenajit, "... having heard that the king Udayana had caused a sandalwood figure of the Buddha to be carved, also caused this image to be made". He tells us little about the icon that he saw, however, and nothing about is appearance or miraculous qualities. It is apparent that he was not entirely satisfied that what he had seen was the original famous portrait, since the site was a field of ruins and the image had no cult.

[89] *Records*, vol. I, pp. xxxi. Fa-hsien noted five-hundred *sanghārāmas*, all Hinayāna, and recounts miraculous visits of Śākyamuni to the region, where he 'eft his footprint, and the imprint of his robe on a stone. He places Uḍḍiyāna north of the Swat River. Sung yun (pp. xcv-xcvi)

gone through several periods of development, beginning in a local interpretation of the Śuṅga style of Indian Buddhist monuments in the late second and first centuries B.C. At this time, the Butkara sculptors depicted mainly guardian deities, Yakṣas, Devatas, etc. of the popular Indian religious imagination. Most prominent among these are fragments of figures of voluptuous, elaborately dressed and coifed Yakṣīs reminiscent of the style of Bhārhut[90]. Following this, we find a transitional style which forms a bridge from the art of the first century B.C. to the first century A.D. This period corresponds to the period at Sirkap (Taxila) labelled by Sir John Marshall as "Śaka/Indo–Parthian"[91]. During this phase of iconographic development, the earliest Buddhist imagery appeared, including some crude narrative scenes of the life of the Buddha before Enlightenment and figures of princely adorants, who might have been considered to be Bodhisattvas[92]. The third phase of the evolution of style and imagery at Butkara takes us well into the Kuṣāna Era of the late first and se-

puts Uḍḍiyāna south of the Tsung–ling Mts., abutting Śambi (Chitral). He visited the robe and foot imprints, notes that the Vessantara Jātaka took place in that region, and describes a temple which he calls To–lo (Tara?) containing sixty golden standing Buddha images. He also mentions an Aśokan stupa south of the capital where Śākyamuni in a former life wrote sacred precepts with a bone from his body on his own skin (probably a parchment or vellum manuscript). Another Aśokan monument was raised above a cave with a rock seat where prince Sudatta supposedly sat. He also mentions an odd temple supposedly built by Yakṣas. For Hsüan–tsang (I, pp. 119 ff). Uḍḍiyāna was located on both sides of the Swat River. He mentions fourteen hundred old *saṅghārāmas*, mostly desolate except for a few Mahāyānists. He mentions the footprint and robe–print, an Aśokan *stūpa* where the ransom of the dove took place in the Śibi Jātaka, and also the Rohitaka *stūpa* built by Aśoka, which was located west of Mungali.

[90] See Faccenna, *op. cit.*, vol. II, 2, pls. CLIV, CLV, CLVI, CLXX, CLXXI, CLXXVI, CLXVII, CLXXX, CLXXXI (royal figures of Devas or Yakṣas as princely adorants); vol. II; 3, pls. CDXXVI through CDXXIX, and CDXLVI through CDXLVIII (Yakṣi types of languorous beauties). The Yakṣīs are especially interesting in their fine facial tattooing, similar to Bhārhut figures, also their small incised pupils, and generally a style which tends to a hard–edged decorative surface, combined with a rather lumpy flatness and primitive awkwardness. The Devas and Yakṣas may well be the earliest examples of Gandhāra sculpture, reflecting close ties with Central India of the Śuṅga Period. See also the early limestone figures excavated as Sirkap by Sir John Marshall, which also probably belong to an early phase (*Taxila*, Cambridge, vol. II, 1951, pp. 694–695, vol. III, pl. 212, nos. 6–7, and pl. 213, nos. 9–19).

[91] The Swat and Sirkap (Taxila) works belong, as Marshall suggests, to the Śaka–Indo–Parthian Era (*op. cit.*, II, pp. 691 ff.). Marshall dates the Sirkap group from around 30 B.C. to around A.D. 40. It is probable that the most Indianizing of the Swat material belongs to the late first century B.C. That which begins to exhibit a more distinctively Parthian (Graeco–Iranian) style would date to the earlier part of the first century A.D. (See also idem, *The Buddhist Art of Gandhāra*, Cambridge, 1960, chaps. III and IV). There is no clear–cut division between Śaka and Indo–Parthian styles of Gandhāra. The Indo–Parthian, however, has a veneer of Oriental–Hellenism and tends to favor a dry linear style with prominent frontality.

[92] See Faccenna, *op. cit.*, II, 2. For narrative scenes see the following: pls. CL (Chandaka and Kaṇṭhaka return), CLI (The Great Departure), CLII (palace scene), CCXXXIV (young Siddhārtha riding a ram), CCXXVI (Chandaka returns with Siddhārtha's turban), CLXII (Siddhārtha meets Yaśodharā). For Bodhisattvas see: pls. CXXXVII, CXXXVIII (in this relief one figure is identified as Siddhārtha and one as Padmapāṇi), CXXXIX, CXLI, CXLIII, CXLVII, CXLVIII.

cond centuries A.D. Now the full panoply of imagery of the life of Śakyamuni Buddha was shown, and the early images of the Buddha which displayed the simple, centrally draped figure with a large *uṣṇīṣa* gradually gave way to the Classical style of Kuṣāṇa Gandhāra[93]. Whether the centrally draped Buddha images of Uḍḍiyāṇa, as seen at Butkara, were earlier than those produced elsewhere in Gandhāra is unknown. All that can be said with certainty is that many examples have been found there. It is not unlikely that small replicas of such icons accompanied the Buddhist missionaries who pioneered the routes to Khotan and beyond. Such early works would have undoubtedly been treasured by Khotanese Buddhists and copied to form the basis for Khotanese style. Some of the linear fluidity of the Khotanese style, however, may have been due to the use of wood and stucco as sculptural materials, since workable stone, such as the schists of Gandhāra and Uḍḍiyāna were unavailable. Bronze casting on both a small and large scale for Buddhist images may have developed early in Khotan, as well[94].

One interesting variant in the Chinese tradition of the origins of the Udayana Buddha is extremely garbled, and differs markedly from the story woven around the image supposedly brought by Kumārajīva to Ch'angan. This comes

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[93] *Ibid.* 2. For early centrally draped Buddha images see the following: pls. LII, LIV, LV, LVI, LIX, LXVIII, LXXIV, LXXV, LXXVI, LXXVII, LXXVIII, LXXIX, LXXXI, LXXXIIIa, CXIII, CCV, CCXIX, CXXXIII, XCCXXVIII, CCCII. For the later diagonally draped Buddha immages, see pls. XXIV, LXXXIIIb, CXXVIIICCIV, CCLXXXIX, CCXCII, CCXCVI, XXCXX, CCC, CCCI, CCCIV, CCCXXXI.

[94] Although the early history of Khotan is fragmentary, according to existing Chinese and Tibetan accounts, Khotan became strongly Buddhist by the first half of the first century B.C. Its conversion is the subject of extravagant legend. (See *Conquest*, I, p. 62). Tibetan tradition which generally agrees with Hsüan–tsang, states that Buddhism was introduced by a Kashmiri monk named Vairocana in the reign of the legendary king Vijāyasambhāva (See Rockhill, *op. cit.*, pp. 230 ff.; B.S. Chandra Das, "Buddhist and other legends about Khotan", *JASB*, 1886, 1, pp. 193–203; Stein, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 151 ff.; II, App. E, pp. 581 ff.; S. Lévi, "Notes chinoises sur l'Inde", *BEFEO*, V, 1905, pp. 256 ff.) Khotan achieved importance as a commercial and strategic center of Chinese dominance in the Tarim Basin during the first three centuries A.D. It appears to have become strongly Mahāyānist by the fourth century. As to its metalurgy, Stein found an abudance of early bronze objects of utilitarian purposes (*op. cit.*, II; pp. 600–601, index). It is likely that larger bronzes, including bronze Buddha images, were made there as well. In 1910 the Otani Mission brought back from Khotan the largest bronze ever found in the region, a most unusual Buddha head with a large bun–like *uṣṇīṣa*, no indication of hair, an *ūrṇā* (?) very high on the forehead made up of seven round indentations for inlays surrounding a single one, forming a rosette. The *uṣṇīṣa* is tied with a Heracles knot in the center of a double band or fillet. The ears are pierced, but not elongated, and the face square, with a short nose, thin mouth and mustache. This work looks almost like a portrait, and bears little stylistic resemblance to mature Gandhāra Buddha heads. The bronze was gilded, and perhaps placed on a body of a different material. Its height is 17 cm. (See B. Rowland, *The Art of Central Asia*, New York, 1974, p. 130 and pl. 134). Rowland places the head in the third to fourth century; but I would place it much earlier, perhaps in the mid to later first century due to its lack of mature Gandhāran style, and obviously anomalous details. It resembles the facial physiognomies of early Swat Buddha heads. (See also, *Central Asian Objects Brough Back by the Otani Mission*, Catalogue of the Tokyo National Museum, Tokyo, 1971, figs, 17, 18, 19).

from the *Tao-hsüan Lu-shih kan-t'ung lu*, or "Accounts furnished to Tao-hsüan by Angelic Visitors", which tells us that the Famous First Image of Lung-kuang-ssu was *not* brought to China by the illustrious sage, but was captured as booty in Funan (Cambodia) by Hsiao Wu Ti of the Sung Dynasty (A.D. 420-478)[95]. This piece of information on the Sung ruler's activites was probably added to make yet another Chinese despot the hero a pious tale, and is patently wrong, since the Sung invaded Champa, not Cambodia, and the conquest took place in 446 under Wu's predecessor Wen[96]. Nevertheless, this bit of sycophantic confabulation is preface to an interesting history of the origin of the Udayana Buddha. We are told, essentially, that the icon came from the great Maitreya shrine at Darel in the region of Uḍḍiyāna. The tale first describes the history and physical setting of the shrine, explaining that in the third century after the Nirvana of the Buddha the Arhat Upasena presided over the excavation of a huge mountain with five stories of chambers, around three-hundred feet in overall height, surrounding a large rock-cut shrine for a sacred image. Upasena transported craftsmen to Tuṣita Heaven on three separate occasions to observe the Bodhisattva Maitreya there, and created a huge sandalwood image for the main shrine. The place was evidently a veritable storehouse of precious Buddha icons; since we are informed that the second story contained sandalwood images the third, jade; the fourth, gold; and the fifth, bronze. Commoners had to be content with the bottom floor, since the upper four were closed. Three hundred years after the foundation of the shrine, a Cambodian Arhat named Fo-nai-che took from it a sandalwood figure on behalf of his dead mother. Thus the image found its way to Fu-nan where it was captured by the Sung ruler.

Obviously there are many problems with the extravagant description of this shrine, by far the most detailed and far-fetched of all in Buddhist literature. Certain elements appear to have been borrowed from descriptions by Fa-hsien and Hsüan-tsang of a rock-carved temple in south India; but the idea that the Darel Maitreya shrine was an important distribution center from which Buddha images were disseminated across Asia by visiting pilgrims is not implausible[97]. Also, the great shrine would have been a most appropriate place

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[95] *Evidence*, pp. 46-47, (*Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 437c; a similar story exists in the *Fa-yuan chu-lin* (*N* 1482; *T* 2149) of Tao-shih, chap. xiv.).

[96] *Evidence*, p. 47, see n. 51.

[97] *Evidence*, loc. cit., n. 53. (See also *Records*, lxvii-lxix; II, pp. 214-215). The South Indian rock-carved shrine described by Fa-hsien and Hsüan-tsang is nt really very close to the description of the Darel shrine. Fa-hsien describes the former as a five-story rock-cut building of 500 chambers on the ground floor (decorated with elephants), 400 chambers on the second (decorated with lions), 300 on the third (decorated with horses), 200 on the fourth (decorated with oxen), and 100 on the fifth floor (decorated with doves). It must have had the shape of a ziggurat, according to the description. A spring at its summit supplied running water throughout the monument. It was clearly supposed to be a free-standing entity, and was located in a desolate region of the

of origin for a Buddha image which was carried to Khotan, with a replica reaching China by the year 400. This site was one of the most famous and popular in Northern Buddhist tradition, the last place of pilgrimage on India's mountainous border on the track across the Tsung–ling Range to the cities of the Tarim Basin, and the first to greet foreigners. The first Chinese monk recorded to have visited it was Pao–yun in 397, who supposedly "witnessed marvels" there for fifty days, and saw the Maitreya image eighty feet in height, covered with "gold plates", which blazed forth with light at night[98]. Many visitors came to view the marvelous colossus which appeared to glow like the "rising sun". The second monk to visit Darel and to leave a record of it was the more famous Fa–hsien who arrived in 401[99]. He explains that, in olden times, an Arhat used his supernatural power to transport a skilled artisan to Tuṣita Heaven to observe the Bodhisattva Maitreya, making three ascents before he could finish the wooden image which was eighty feet tall. The upturned foot of the statue was eight feet long. This suggests that the image was of a seated figure in a pose of meditation, not a standing one, or one seated in "European" pose. According to the sage, local tradition had it that the missionary activities of Buddhism were first carried from India eastward after the completion of the statue. The date that Fa–hsien gives for this is three–hundred years after the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha, which he adds, was in the reign of King P'ing of Chou. Since this Emperor ruled in the seventh century B.C., such a date would be much too early for credibility. Nevertheless, it serves to indicate that Fa–hsien thought that the shrine was exceedingly ancient in A.D. 400.

Deccan. It is not said to be Buddhist, but rather existed among a population of "heretics". Hsüan–tsang tells of a rock–carved shrine at Brahmaragiri, tunnelled out of rock in a cliff, having five stages of excavated chambers, which was supposedly a *saṅghārāma*. Again a water system is mentioned, plus a gold statue of the Buddha. This does not appear to be the same site that Fa–hsien mentions, but perhaps it is a conflation of several sites, since neither pilgrim visited the place which they describe. Tao–hsüan, in his biography of Chu–li continues the story of the Udayana Buddha, explaining that this was the actual origin of the pious Liang Dynasty Emperor Wu's image (See *Evidence*, p. 70). Obviously he is contradicting himself, very probably confusing the Sung Dynasty monarch Hsiao Wu Ti with the Liang monarch Wu (See *Evidence*, p. 49). Thus we have three stories of how the Udayana Buddha came to China: 1) it was brought to Ch'angan by Kumārajīva in 402 and subsequently taken as booty by the Chin to Chien–k'ang in 417–418; 2) It was brought via Funan from the Maitreya shrine at Darel by the Sung Emperor Wu in the mid–fifth century; and 3) It was a copy of the original Indian image at Śrāvastī made for the Liang Emperor Wu in the early sixth century. The last two accounts are most probably efforts to link the already existant image with royal propaganda; although both the later stories show that there was no real consensus as to the history of the icon. Both are also valuable in that they give differing significant evidence on the origin of the image.

[98] *Evidence*, p. 268; *Ming–seng chuan*, xxvi, (by Tao–ch'ang, A.D. 519). This work no longer exists separately, being largely subsumed in the *Kao–seng chuan*. Similar exerpts are preserved in the Japanese *Meisōden–shō* by the monk Shūshō (ca. 1235) which was copied from a then existing manuscript of the *Ming–seng chuan* (See Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 408 ff.).

[99] *Records*, p. xxix.

Following in the footsteps of Fa-hsien, a third Chinese pilgrim, Fa-sheng, led a party from Ch'angan in 404 to visit the Darel shrine[100]. He speaks of the site as located northeast of *Yu-ch'ang* (Uḍḍiyāna). The icon, we are told, was made of ox-head sandalwood and was created by the Arhat Harinanda who went to Heaven himself and sketched Maitreya's true form and impressed it upon the image. Fa-sheng also mentions that the image emitted light, and that devotees came from afar to be attendants of the icon. Several tens of these won the "first fruit of salvation" there every year. The monk joined an international gathering of some five-hundred clerics and laymen, all praying to be reborn in Maitreya's Heaven and to see his true features.

The statue and its shrine were still in place around 640 when Hsüan-tsang visited it. He notes that it lay in the *Ta-li-lo* Valley where the ancient capital of *Wu-chang-na* once stood[101]. He estimates that the image was one-hundred feet in height, clearly somewhat generous, and describes it as dazzling gold in color. This time the arhat who presided over the creation of the image was Madhyāntika, who used his magic to carry a craftman to Tuṣita Heaven to observe the actual Bodhisattva. After three trips, he completed the carving of the image. Hsüan-tsang also reiterates that when the great Maitreya was first created the current of the Dharma began to flow eastward due to the Bodhisattva's blessed influence. This again points to the authentic antiquity of the shrine. Fa-sheng and the Sui Dynasty *Li-tai san-pao chi*, give the date of the icon's fabrication at 480 years after the Nirvana, which is considerably later than the date of Fa-hsien or Tao-hsüan[102]. By using the birthdate of 688 B.C. found in the *Wei shu*, this comes to 129 B.C.[103]. According to current scholarship, which calculates the Nirvāṇa at close to 480 B.C., the date would come at the dawn of the Christian Era. A date of 129 B.C. for the creation of a colossal Bodhisattva image anywhere in India is generally assumed to be far too early for an anthropomorphic Buddha icon; although a date in the early first century A.D. would probably be deemed improbable, but not impossible. We must remember that the Darel shrine was far from the hub of Buddhist doctrinal regulation in Central India; and, as we shall see, the depiction of a Bodhisattva, in some cases, was probably allowed before that of a Buddha.

This brings up the interesting but extremely controversial problem of the exact time and place of the so-called invention of Buddha image. Joan van Lohuizen-de Leeuw recently demonstrated that the earliest representations of the Buddha in relief sculpture found in Gandhāra (actually, most are from Swat)

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[100] *Evidence*, pp. 268-269. This is note in Chih-meng's biography in the *Kao-seng chuan*, iii.

[101] *Records*, I, pp. 133-134.

[102] *Evidence*, p. 269. *The Li-tai san-pao chi*, ii (*N* 1504; *T* 2034), by Fei chang-feng, dates to A.D. 597.

[103] See note 26.

are of the Bodhisattva/Buddha type dressed in the fashion of the Kapardin images of Kuṣāṇa Mathurā[104]. Although she points to Mathurā as the origin of this remarkable occurrence, it is not easy to be certain of this. Clearly, close contact must have existed between the community of Sarvāstivādins in Uḍḍiyāna and that in Mathurā from the pre–Kuṣāṇa Śaka period (ca. mid first c. B.C. to mid first c. A.D.) onward. All that can be said of this assemblage of reliefs is that it must have come at the very beginning of the period when Buddha images were first made; since later on, in Kuṣāṇa Gandhāra, the bare–chested Buddha in *uttarīya* and *paridhāna*, gave way to the classical Gandhāran totally draped image.

As noted above, the stylistic development of Buddhist schist sculpture found in Butkara in ancient Uḍḍiyāṇa demonstrates a fairly clear development from a quasi–Śuṅga style, mainly depicting images of Yakṣas and popular tutelary divinities, through an era of transition to a more specifically Buddhist repertoire of narrative subjects, and finally to a style which is close to that commonly found in other areas of Gandhāra. Within the period of transition, which I would date roughly to the Śaka/Indo–Parthian Period, the most archaic examples of narrative relief panels show the infancy, early life, palace life, and wanderings of the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha before the Enlightenment[105]. Significantly, however, there are no narratives dealing with the post–Enlightenment missionary activities, miracles, etc., which show the Tathāgata in iconic form. As in the case of the narrative scenes at Bhārhut and Sāñchī, only symbols are used to designate the presence of the Buddha[106]. This situa-

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[104] J.E. van Lohuizen–de Leeuw, "New Evidence with regard to the Origin of the Buddha image", in *South Asian Archaeology 1979*, ed. H. Härtel, Berlin, 1981, pp. 377–400. The images which come from Butkara (Swat) are: figs. 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17 and 19. Those from other sites in Swat are figs. 32, 33, and 34. Those of unknown provenance, but very likely from Swat are figs. 11, 13, and 31. Those from other regions of Gandhāra are figs. 6, 7, 18 and 35. A large number of her illustrations (14) come from Swat, in comparison with other areas.

[105] The early style of Butkara is very little hellenized, and much like the early style of Bhārhut and Sānchī, there is a tendency to compress space and make figures isocephaiic. The Butkara reliefs are distinctive, however, in their linear angularity and awkward vigor (See note 92 and pls.). If we may tentatively call this style "Indo–Śaka", probably the most striking quality of the style is the physiognomy: square or round–headed figures, heavy jawed, with small noses, mustaches, thin lips, and eyes close together. We may suppose that we are looking at the reflections of hardy Śaka mountaineers, Buddhist and Indianized to a marked degree, but still distinctive in appearance. They have straight hair, and the women wear bangs and large tubular earrings. During the Indo–Parthian Era, other more long–headed, prominent–nosed, and curly–haired and bearded individual types appear on the Butkara reliefs, as well as Indian ethnic types. If one can characterize an Indo–Parthian as opposed to an Indo–Śaka style in Butkara, the former is more strongly frontal, hieratic, and isometric in relief schema.

[106] For aniconic scenes, see Faccenna, *op. cit.*, II, 2, pls. CXXIX (adoration of the Stūpa); CCXXIX (adoration of the *triratna, dharma,* and *cakra*); CXXXIII (descent of the Buddha from Trayastrimśa Heaven); CCLXXXVIIa, b (Parinirvāṇa). *Ibid.*, II, 3, pls. CDLXVI (adoration of the Buddha's throne).

tion is very probably explained in the forty–eighth chapter of the *Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins* (*Shih Sung Lü*, *T.* 352, xxiii [*T* 1435, *N* 1115]). In this text, Anathapiṇḍika asks the Buddha: "World–honored one, if images of yours are not allowed to be made, pray may we not at least make images of Bodhisattvas in attendance upon you?" The Buddha answers affirmatively[107]. In the *Vinaya of the Mulasarvāstivādins*, *T.* 434b, xxiv (*T* 1452, *N* 1133) is a passage of a presumably later date in which the Buddha gives Anathapiṇḍika permission to make images of himself, without reservation[108]. There is significant evidence from recently discovered Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, that a Gandhāri Prakrit version of the Canon was in circulation in Gandhāra by the first century A.D.[109]. This suggests that the *Vinaya's* rule allowing Bodhisattva but not Buddha images was in force during the later part of the first century B.C. As Waley has indicated, the mention of Bodhisattvas does not preclude an early date, since the term might apply generically to any being seriously endeavoring to seek Enlightenment[110]. In early times, the only Bodhisattva to have a definite persona was Siddhārtha Gautama before he became Śākyamuni Buddha. Nevertheless, although Siddhārtha was the first recognizable individual Bodhisattva to be depicted, Maitreya must have appeared soon afterward.

One of the most significant elements in van Lohuizen's group of Gandhāran reliefs is that they show an image of the Tathāgata seated under the Bodhi Tree with attendants, usually Brahmā and Indra[111]. The figure, as noted, is of the princely Indian type, sans turban and jewelry, which Siddhārtha cast off when he became an ascetic. Jewels and princely torques, however, are seen hanging in the Tree above and around him as seen in this illustration (Plate VII*b*). Most frequently, Brahmā and Indra are shown flanking the Buddha in attitudes of both adoration and supplication, evidently begging the Enlightenend One to go out into the world and spread his Dharma. We are told in the

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[107] See *Hōbōgirin*, "Butsuzō", p. 210; A. Waley, "Did Buddha Die of Eating Pork?", *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, Brussels, 1932, pp. 352–353; A.C. Soper, "Early Buddhist Attitudes toward the Art of Painting", *Art Bulletin*, 32, 1950, p. 148, n. 4. The monumental translation of this work was done by Kumārajīva in Ch'angan in 404, and the Indian *Vinaya* is noted by Waley to date from the first century A.D. if not earlier. The original *Dāsabhānavāravinaya* is dated by Nakamura and others to between A.D. 1 and 100. See this author for numerous references and bibliography (*op. cit.*, p. 51).

[108] See *Hōbōgirin*, loc. cit.; Waley, *op. cit.*, p. 353. This work is generally dated in its original form to between A.D. 300 and 400, and was first translated into Chinese by I–tsing (ca. 710).

[109] See S. Konow, *Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II, 2, Calcutta, 1929, pp. 56–58, no. 15; J. Brough, *The Gandhāri Dharmapada*, London, 1962, p. 42, pp. 50–54; R. Salomon and G. Schopen, "The Indravarman (Avaca) Casket Inscription Reconsidered; Further Evidence for canonical passages in Buddhist Inscription", *JIABS*, VII, 1, 1984, pp. 107–123.

[110] Waley, *op. cit.*, p. 352, n. 4.

[111] See van Lohuizen–de Leeuw, in *South Asian Archaeology 1979*, figs. 11, 12, 13 and possibly 17, which show Brahmā and Indra as attendants. Figs. 6, 7, 14, 16, 18 and 19 show antithet-

Buddhacarita, however, that Śākyamuni was hesitant as to whether it would be possible for him to do so successfully, or whether he should keep his knowledge to himself and become a Buddha–for–his–own–sake[112]. Here we may be in a "gray area" in regard to the Sarvāstivādin restrictions. Is the figure under the Bodhi Tree technically a Buddha or still a Bodhisattva? Although a conservative interpretation of the *Vinaya* would very likely have considered such imagery unlawful, there was probably a strong popular effort to relax the Buddha image prohibition in order to show the new flood of barbarian converts the scenes of the Buddha's miracles and other important events in his career, with his participation in human form. From this, it was only a step to the production of a Buddha icon. In Gandhāra, the change prompted a change in dress for Śākyamuni. In order to clearly distinguish his representation as Buddha from that as Bodhisattva in his pre–Enlightenment life, he was shown totally covered by the voluminous monastic *saṅghāṭi*. Some equivocation must have existed in Mathurā as to the identity of the early Kuṣāṇa Buddha images, however, since many are inscribed as Bodhisattva[113].

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ical groups of "princely" adorants, in some cases probably retinues of *devas* with Brahmā and Indra. Fig. 15 depicts the four Lokapālas offering the Buddha begging bowls.

[112] On the doubts of Siddhārtha after Enlightenment on whether it was possible to take on a missionary career to save the world, see *The Buddha–karita of Aśvaghosha*, trans. E.B. Cowell, in *Buddhist Mahāyāna Texts: Sacred Books of the East*, XLIX, Bk. 15, pp. 81–84, p. 168; also *The Buddhist Tradition*, ed. W.T. de Bary, New York, 1969, pp. 69–70; also A. Comaraswamy, *Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism*, repr., New York, 1964, pp. 37–38.

[113] The problem of why so many Buddha images are labeled in their Mathuran inscriptions as Bodhisattvas in the early Kuṣaṇa Era has been duly noted and commented on with many ingenious solutions. J.Ph. Vogel was the first to note that the famous Katra image in the Mathurā Museum (A1) was called a Bodhisattva, while a similar headless image from Anyōr (A2) was inscribed as a Buddha, (*Archaeological Museum at Mathurā*, Allahabad, 1910, pp. 47–49). As to early dated examples from the Kuṣāṇa Era, the Kauśāmbī image in the Allahabad Museum is dated to the year 2 of the Era of Kaniṣka I, and is inscribed as a Bodhisattva (See P. Chandra, *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, American Institute of Indian Studies, Poona and Bombay, n.d., pl. XXXVII, no. 86, pp. 61–62 and references. See also Sharma, *Buddhist Art of Mathurā*, pp. 183–184, fig. 93). The well–known "Friar Bala" standing image of the Kaniṣka I Era year 3 is likewise inscribed as a Bodhisattva (Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 184–185, fig. 94). Another example which must be of similar date, although this is not given, is the standing image from Śrāvastī, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (with its inscribed umbrella staff in the Lucknow Museum), is designated a Bodhisattva once more, and again dedicated by Bala. (See P. Myer, "Bodhisattvas and Buddhas: Early Buddhist Images from Mathurā", *Artibus Asiae*, XLVII, 1986, pp. 126–127). On the problem of inscription terminology, Sharma notes that in the Early Kuṣāṇa phase at Mathurā, no distinction was made between Buddha and Bodhisattva, and only through the epigraph can we tell the difference (*op. cit.*, p. 134). This begging the question. Myer makes an elegant argument that the Bodhisattvas are intended as "anthropomorphic symbols of the Three Refuges", and not actual icons (*op. cit.*, p. 133). The term "Bodhisattva", according to van Lohuizen–de Leeuw, was not restricted at that time to the pre–Enlightenment career of the Buddha (*The Scythian Period*, p. 179). I cannot find any textual corroboration for the use of this term during the missionary career period to designate Śākyamuni. The *Sarvāstivādin Vinaya* passage cited above clearly makes the distinction between "Buddha" and "Bodhisattva". Most probably the Mathuran inscriptions of the early phase of the Kaniṣka I Era had not yet made the transition from a

Although it is often suggested that the primary reason for the creation of a draped Buddha image in Gandhāra was the elevation of the Tathāgata to a divine status in the guise of an Apollo or togate Roman Emperor, it seems most probable from the most recent evidence of the Swat material that the original motive was not so grandiose. Even though the Buddha was adored as a superior being, as supernormal, blessed, physically radiant, etc., he still retained a human status, not yet subject to the theories of "Three Bodies", of which his earthly manifestation was only an illusion. When restrictions against showing the Buddha were relaxed among the dominent Sarvāstivādin order in Gandhāra, a distinctive image of a berobed wandering mendicant was created to appear in narrative reliefs showing his missionary career. The fact that the robes are "classicizing" is due to a formal Gandhāran convention which was beginning to gain in strength during the Śaka/Indo–Parthian Era. Actually, the earliest Gandhāran Buddha images tend to look more Graeco–Iranian than Graeco–Roman[114]. Prior to the Kuṣāṇa era, Western stylistic influence appears to have filtered in from the Irano–Hellenistic artisan centers of Bactria, and across the trade routes of the Arsacid Empire from Syria. The centrally draped Buddha images of Gandhāra reflect more the philhellenic tastes of Eastern Iran, than the cosmopolitan sophistication of Roman Alexandria or the formerly Greek cities of Asia Minor in the early first century A.D.[115]. We might well imagine that these early icons were fabricated within

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time when images of the Bodhisattva Siddārtha and perhaps other Bodhisattvas were created, and the new custom of representing the Buddha after Enlightenment. The inscriptions appear to demonstrate a reticence on the part of donors to designate their gifts as actual Buddha images. Sharma shows a number of images which are probably earlier than Kaniṣka I in date, some perhaps from the late Śaka Period. (See *Buddhist Art of Mathurā*, pp. 174 ff.; also van Lohuizen–de Leeuw, *The Scythian Period*, pp. 171 ff.). Of these, only one can be designated as a depiction of Śākyamuni during his missionary years as the Buddha. This is a *toraṇa* (M. 3), which shows an obviously very early seated Mathuran figure with little attempt to render the dress, no nimbus, and showing *abhaya mudrā*. The scene is of the Buddha seated in *padmāsana* in the *Indraśailaguha*. Sharma places it in the pre–Kaniṣka transition era, i.e. before A.D. 78, (*Buddhist Art of Mathurā*, pp. 173–174). Myer, however, dates the relief from the Kaniṣka I period, because of its resemblance to the archaeologically datable *toraṇa* found in excavations at Sonkh (*op. cit.*, p. 111).

[114] For examples of simple centrally–draped figures, see M.A.R. Colledge, *Parthian Art*, Ithaca, 1977, p. 85, fig. 7 (A limestone statue of a draped female beside a pillar, and an excellent example of the simplification and centralization of drapery pattern from Greek Bactrian Ai Khanum). The form is still strongly hellenizing, but with an incipient rigidity inherent in its style. It probably dates from around the mid–second century B.C. (See also P. Bernard, "Campagne de fouilles a Aï Khanoum", *CRAI*, 1972, pp. 605–635). Also notable is the bronze statue of a chieftain of Eastern Iran found in Shāmī, which again shows the linear simplification and cusping of drapery on the wide trousers (See Colledge, *op. cit.*, fig. 12). See also the clay and stucco draped female figure from the Square Hall at Old Nisa (*ibid.*, fig. 26a), and the clay draped female figure from Toprak Kale in Choresmia (*ibid.*, fig. 26c), for comparison, The Nisa and Shāmī examples probably date around A.D. 100, if not before, while the Toprak Kale figure dates to the third century A.D.

[115] Bactria appears to have preserved its quasi–Hellenistic mode in the minor arts after the barbarian conquests of the late second century B.C., producing extravagant gold and jewelled per-

the provinces of the empire of Gondophores. It seems probable that the prototype for the Udayana (Uḍḍiyāna) Famous First Image appeared at this time to become a model for countless others, constantly copied, with replicas carried elsewhere by Buddhist missionaries of Gandhāra. The draped image spread to Mathurā by the second century, where the central folds of the robe were traditionally treated as a kind of continuous linear pleating. The same imagery spread to Khotan, probably slightly later; but here the Gandhāran treatment of drapery folds crystalized into vertical lines or whorls on the upper legs, and curved linear bands from the knee to hem. From Khotan, the image type reached China.

Indeed, the Kashmiri Buddhist sages of Ch'angan who originally thought up the idea of making a newly–acquired foreign Buddha image a First Image of the Buddha were not entirely wrong, in the sense that its prototype may be traced back to the Gandhāran region and to a period when the creation of the robed Buddha image was new.

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sonal ornaments for the barbarian ruling class, a situation similar to the workshops on the Black Sea and in the Balkans (See V. Sarianidi, *The Gold Hoard of Bactria*, New York, Leningrad, Kabul, 1985). Here Sarmatian inlay work and "animal style" motives mix with Graeco–Iranian and even Chinese elements. It is also not improbable that a school of ivory carvers from the same area was responsible for the magnificently garish collection of ivory rhyta found at Parthian Nisa (See Colledge, *op. cit.*, p. 116, fig. 37). The growth of Palmyra as a caravan center with strong links to the East began in the late first century B.C. and early first century A.D. A Palmyrene trading outpost appears to have been set up at Merv, with resident families of merchants. (See M.E. Masson, "Two Palmyrene Stelae from the Merv Oasis", *East and West*, XVII, 3, 1967, pp. 239–247). One of the funerary stelae shows a young girl, standing frontally and simply dressed in a robe which follows the centrally draped mode (fig. 3). This work compares well with a similar relief of a young girl in the Damascus Museum, dated ca. A.D. 100 to 125 (See *Da Ebla a Damasco*, exhibition catalogue, Milan, 1985, p. 290, no. 184). Palmyra represents the western edge of the Graeco–Iranian world, but one which readily communicated with the East, and exhibited a similar taste, particularly in religious and funerary imagery.

III.

Related Traditions

First among these and closest to the Udayana Legend is that of King Prasenajit of Kosala, whose Buddha image carved of ox-head sandalwood, was placed on a throne in the Jetavana Vihāra, while the Tathāgata was visiting the Trayastriṃśa Heaven to preach to his mother. Fa-hsien clearly states that he saw it there, and that it was supposed to be the model from which all others were made[116]. The wooden image that the Chinese pilgrim viewed was probably a very old work of the Central Indian, Mathuran tradition and had little to do with Gandhāra. That it was seated, probably in *padmāsana*, is clear from its placement on the Buddha's throne. Mention is made of Prasenajit's image in the *Mahākāśyapa-saṅgīti*, which is a part of the much larger collection of the *Ratnakūṭa sūtra*[117]. In it there is a dialogue between Mahākāśyapa and the Buddha regarding many questions relating to sacred images. The sage asked the Buddha if Prasenajit acquired merit by having a Buddha image made; and the Buddha replied that as long as such activity was not carried out for material gain, great spiritual merit might be accrued. The *sūtra* was a collection probably made up between the third and fifth centuries in India[118]. The *Mahākāśyapa-saṅgīti* is thought to have first appeared in a Chinese translation between A.D. 534 and 550, over a century after the appearance of the tale of Udayana and Prasenajit in the *Ekottarāgama*[119]. Thus, the Chinese in A.D. 400 had no knowledge that the story which they were told by the Kashmiri monks about the Udayana Buddha was anything but a well-known Buddhist tradition in India. They did not know that their Udayana Buddha story was an imitation of the tale of the Prasenajit icon, which had probably been the focal-point of a First Image cult at Śrāvastī for many years before the arrival of Fa-hsien.

Another probable borrowing came to the Udayana Buddha story from the tradition surrounding the great Maitreya image of the Darel shrine. Here, as

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[116] See note 24.

[117] *T* 310, LXXXIX (512b, 514b); *N* 23 (23).

[118] *Hōbōgirin*, p. 213. For the *Ratnakūta*, see Nakamura, *op. cit.*, pp. 210–211.

[119] The *Mahākāsyapa-saṅgīti* was translated by Upasūnya during the E. Wei Dynasty, ca. 534–550 (See *N*, p. 15).

we have seen, the creator of the image was variously designated as an anonymous arhat, Harinanda, Madhyāntika, or Upasena; but all the legends revolve around the miraculous flight of artisans to the celestial regions to visit the Bodhisattva in order to make his portrait. The *Ekottarāgama* and "Sea" *sūtra* say nothing about sending craftsmen to heaven. It was probably decided by Buddhabhadra and Fa-hsien that sending sculptors to the Trayastriṃśa Heaven to model the Buddha's true likeness while he was temporarily there, as in the tale of the creation of the colossal Maitreya, would be most appropriate. The mention of the Jetavana Vihāra as the location of the Udayana Buddha is, of course, borrowed from the Prasenajit story. By Hsüan-tsang's time, the locale of the icon changed from Śrāvastī to Kauśāmbī; and it is doubtful that the Prasenajit image cult was still in existence[120].

To some extent the stage has already been set in China for the creator of the first Buddha image to be Udayana of Vatsa. One minor *sūtra* (*T* 156, *N* 289) deals with the same theme. Yet a third version of this *sūtra*, the *Tsao-li hsing-hsiang fu pao ching* (*T* 693, *N* 290), was made during the Eastern Chin Era (317–420), and may have had a more direct influence on the choice of Udayana as author of the Ch'angan icon[121].

It was probably inevitable that the legends surrounding the mythical King Udrayana (or Rudrāyaṇa) of the unidentifiable city state of Roruka should have become mixed with that of Udayana. The *Rudrāyaṇāvadāna*, which is the thirty-seventh chapter of the *Divyāvadāna*, tells of the conversion of this king whose land was so far from Central India that he knew nothing of the Buddha, although he was his contemporary[122]. At the beginning of the story, the king of Roruka sent to King Bimbisāra of Magadha, a gift of manificent jewelled armor, although he had never met his brother monarch. Bimbisāra, at a loss as to what he might give to Udrayana which would be of such great worth, decided to have a portrait of the Buddha made for the king, a gift which he considered to be of inestimable value. He gave a feast in his palace to which the Tathāgata was invited.The artists which he had engaged to paint Śākyamuni while he was there were bedazzled to the point that they could not work. Śākyamuni obligingly cast his shadow on the canvas so that the artists could fill in the color and details; and then he asked them to inscribe sacred precepts below the image. He also dictated a letter addressed to Udrayana, asking him to receive the portrait with a special honor guard, with the route through the city to his palace festively decorated. This would bring the king great merit. The king of Roruka received the letter and the gift, and did what was asked of him. He was still mystified until visiting merchants from Central India saw

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[120] See note 47.

[121] This is the *Tathāgata-pratibimba-pratisthānasamsā*, or "Sūtra spoken by the Buddha on the happy reward of making or setting up (Buddha) images". *T* 693 is an earlier translation, and *T* 156 is a different version of the text.

[122] See note 79. This was first recorded by E. Burnouf, *op. cit.*, pp. 304–307.

the Buddha portrait and bowed down before it. They explained to the king the life and teachings of the Buddha. Afterward, the king practiced meditation and became and enthusiastic convert to the Dharma. We have already noted that the story of the Buddha portrait of Udrayana of Roruka became confused with the story of the origin of the Udayana Buddha at Pima in Khotan. That part of the tale, however, concerns Udrayana's anti–Buddhist son, Sikhandin, who was not only a parricide, but attempted to bury alive the Arhat Kātyāyana while he was meditating[123]. The sage warned loyal Buddhist court officials of the city's imminent doom, just before the city and its evil–doers were annihilated.

It seems probable that this *Divyāvadāna* story was set outside of India, perhaps in one of the kingdoms to the west of Khotan on the trans–Pamir trade route to China. The cities which Kātyāyana passed through between India and Roruka are Lambaka (probably Laghman or Lamghan). Śyamaka (probably She–mi or Śāmbī, i.e. Chitral), and Vokkana (Wakhān in the Pamirs)[124]. By the time that Hsüan–tsang reached Pima, the legend had attached itself to the famous Buddha icon of its shrine, and probably to a sand–buried ruin to the north of it, which was designated as the site of Roruka[125]. Another conflation of the Udayana Buddha with the Udrayana Buddha may be found in Tibetan texts. L.S. Dagyab has brought together several interesting stories on Famous First Images, the most elaborate that of a king named *U–ta–ya– na* (Udayana) of *sGra–sgrog* (Roruka), who sent to King Bimbisāra a priceless coat of mail[126]. In return, Bimbisāra had a portrait made of the Buddha inscribed with precepts of the Dharma. The artists were mesmerized by the magnificence of the Buddha when they saw him, and were unable to make their sketches. The Tathāgata magnanimously sat beside a pool, and the painters were able to paint his picture from the reflections in the water. The portrait of the Buddha came to be known as *Chu–lon–ma*, meaning "taken from water". The painting was sealed in a gold cylinder inside a silver one, which was inside a copper one and sent away to King Udayana. The rest of the story follows the lines of the *Rudrāyaṇāvadāna*, even to the dispatch of Arya Kātyāyana to spread the gospel in the remote borderland.

Obviously, we are confronted with a conflation of the two stories. Udrayana (Rudrāyaṇa), recipient of the first painted portrait of the Buddha, has been totally mixed up with the Udayana, the creator of the first Buddha image. It is of interest to note, however, that the reflected image in the water suggests the "ripples" of drapery which spread over the Buddha's robe, and may refer

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123 Nobel, *op. cit.*, pp. xiii–xiv, pp. 69 ff. (translation of the Tibetan version).

124 *Ibid.*, pp. xiv–xvii for references.

125 See note 77.

126 L.S. Dagyab, *Tibetan Religious Art, Part I: Texts*, Wiesbaden, 1977, pp. 20–21.

to a painting on canvas of the Udayana type. In the *Divyāvadana*, Udrayana's painting was made by casting a shadow on the surface to be painted and has nothing to do with water reflections.

Interestingly enough, there is a second account of the origin of a painting of the Buddha, done in his lifetime in Dagyab's compendium. In this tale, a maid-servent in a Śākya household was grief-striken when she was told to leave the Buddha's presence in order to fetch a necklace. On her way she was accidently killed, then subsequently reborn as the daughter of the king of Singa-la. Upon hearing traders from Śrāvastī speak of the Buddha, the princess experienced a re-awakening of her faith, and sent a message to the Buddha asking him for a portrait of himself. In this version of the legend, the Buddha let rays from his body shine on the cloth so that artists could outline his form, similar to the method used in the Udrayana tale. This Buddha portrait was later known as *'Od-zer-ma*, meaning "taken-from-the-rays"[127].

Thus, the Tibetans distinguished *two* portrait types which they considered to be models for posterity. The *Chu-lon-ma* type was of a draped image probably of Gandhāran type, possibly the Udayana/Uḍḍiyāṇa centrally patterned early variety. The *'Od-zer-ma* is likely to have been the early Mathuran type. Dagyab relates that Tibetan tradition held that the Central School of Buddhist art in India used the *'Od-zer-ma* Buddha image as a model for its Buddha icons[128]. The Eastern School did likewise. We are not told what model the Old Western School of Buddhist art utilized; but the only other possibility would have been the *Chu-lon-ma* portrait, which seems perfectly reasonable.

Tibetan texts distinguish painted portraits of the Buddha from portrait statuary done in the Buddha's lifetime. Here Udayana, the king of *gSal-ldan* (Vatsa), was the originator of the sandalwwod First Image[129]. This must have been confusing, since Udayana in one tale is king of Roruka and in the other, of Vatsa. The legend given in Tibetan is virtually that of Buddhabhadra and Fa-hsien, complete with the prophecy of the Buddha that the statue would subsequently migrate to China. This version of the tale must have come from China to Tibet, since no Indian Buddhists would have subscribed to such an idea.

The Tibetan painted portrait legend, confusing Udayana and Udrayana, brings up an interesting possibility. In the fifth century *Ming-hsiang chi*, the Emperor Ming was the far-away recipient of a painted portrait of the Buddha, one originally done for King Udayana. This is the only other text where the Udayana image became a painting, and may again have arisen out of some basic confusion between Udayana and Udrayana.

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[127] *Ibid.*, p. 21.
[128] *Ibid.*, p. 24.
[129] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

One interesting detail of the Tibetan Udayana sandalwood image tale, not found in other versions, is that a dazzling "sun stone" was set in front of the Buddha's *uṣnīṣa*. This may refer to the type of red gem found in that location on the Seiryōji Buddha, and may be a characteristic feature of an Udayana Buddha which set it apart from others.

Another probably late and thoroughly Mahāyānist Tibetan account of the image of the Buddha deals with the Triple Body of the Buddha and Trikāya System of Buddha manifestations[130]. Before his Nirvāṇa, the Buddha, we are told, communicated by means of rays to Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śakra (Indra) to make representation of his "Three Bodies". Brahmā made a magnificent *stūpa* to represent the "truth body" as an object of worship for the dākiṇī of Oḍḍiyāna. Viṣṇu made a statue of jewels to represent the "enjoyment body" of the Buddha, which was placed in the ocean for Nāgas to worship. Śakra actually had three statues made to represent the "created body" at different times of the Tathāgata's life. These were made of five kinds of celestial jewels and five hundred and one varieties of glass jewels. They were cast into Buddha images by Viśvakarman. Following nursemaids' descriptions, the first and second statues were of Siddhartha as a child at the ages of eight and twelve. The third one portrayed him as a prince at the age of twenty–five. The Buddha let the rays of his body shine forth on the statues and blessed them. The largest of the statues was taken to a heavenly sphere, *lHa--yul*. The two smaller ones were taken in turn to *lHa–yul*, then to Uḍḍiyāna, then to *Klu–yul*, the region of the Nāgas, and finally to Bodhgayā. We are informed that in the reign of Devapāla, the statue of the twelve year old Buddha was taken to China and that of the eight year old taken to Nepal.

It is difficult to venture any interpretation of this complex myth, except to point out that the three images of the Buddha were portraits of him as a Bodhisattva, before he left his palace to become a Buddha, which was at the age of twenty–nine. We may suspect that there may jave been some reminiscence here of the early Sarvāstivādin prohibition against making Buddha images, while allowing those of Bodhisattvas, including Siddhārtha, before his Enlightenment. Another interesting point is that Uḍḍiyāna is twice mentioned, once as the location of the *stūpa* representing the "truth body" and once as an early location of the two representations of Siddārtha as a child.

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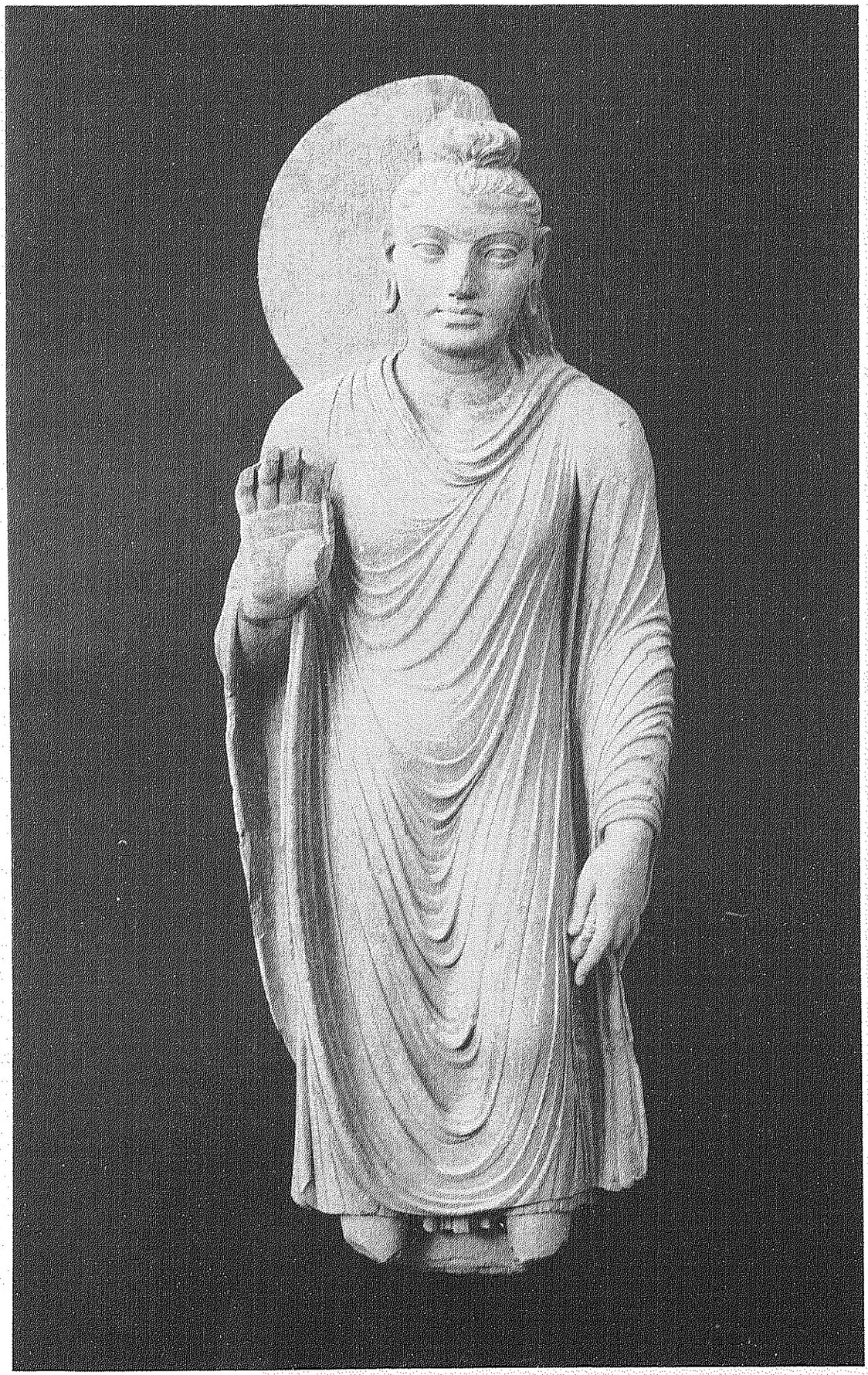
[130] *Ibid.*, pp. 22–23.



Standing Buddha, Chinese cherry wood, from the Seiryōji Temple, Kyoto, A.D. 988. (Photo from G. Henderson and L. Hurvitz, "The Buddha of Seiryōji", *Artibus Asiae*, XIX, 1, 1956, fig. 1).



Standing Buddha, spotted red sandstone, from Mathurā, Kuṣāṇa Period, early 2nd century A.D. *Mathurā Museum, no. A4.*



Standing Buddha, gray schist, from Gandhāra, Kuṣāṇa Period, later 2nd century A.D. *The Cleveland Museum of Art. Gift of Morris and Eleanor Everett in memory of Flora Morris Everett, no. 72.43.*



a) Relief of the Miracle of Śrāvastī, gray schist, from Gandhāra, Kuṣāṇa Period, around A.D. 100. *The Cleveland Museum of Art. Andrew and Martha Holden Jennings Fund, no. 75.102.*



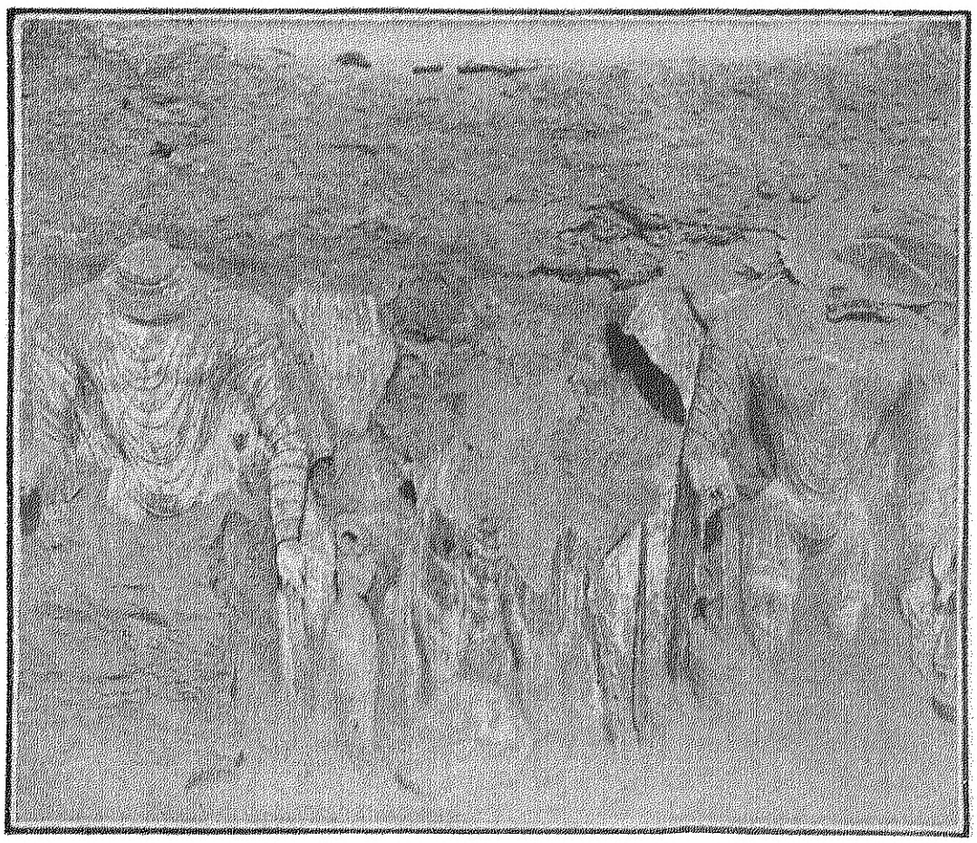
b) Gold dinar reverse of the Buddha, from a coin issue of Kaniṣka I, late 1st or early 2nd century A.D. *Formerly in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Seth K. Sweetser Fund.*



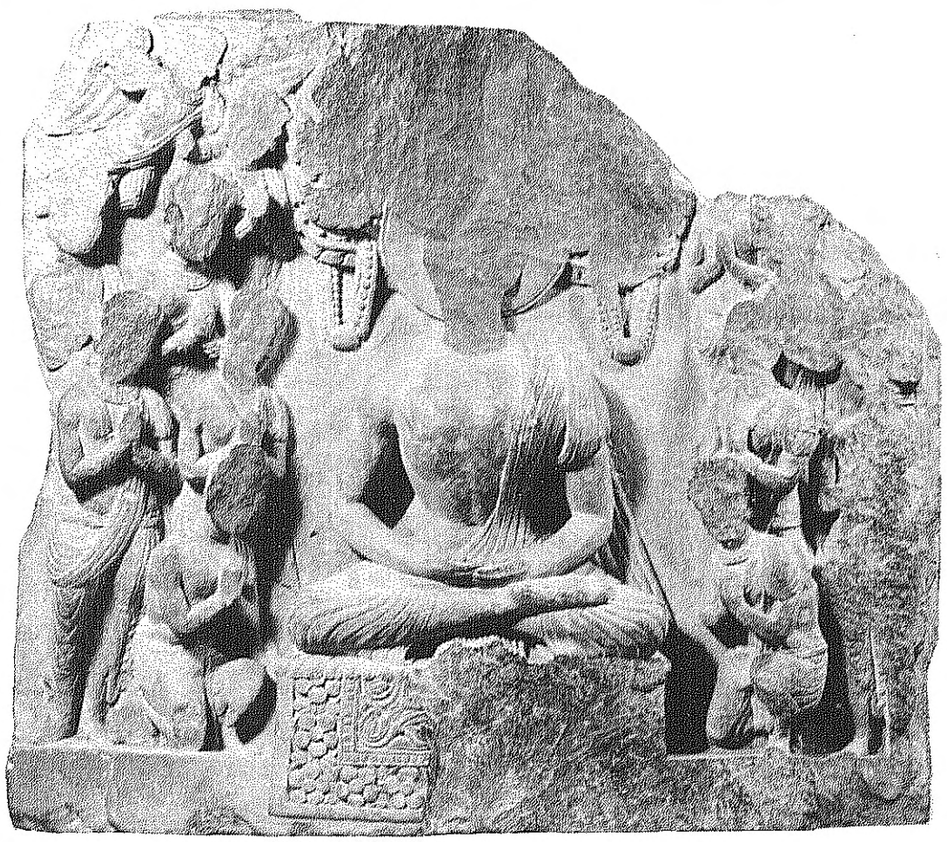
Standing Buddha, gilt bronze Northern Wei Dynasty, 5th century A.D., A.D. 477. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Kennedy Fund, 1926, no. 26.123.*



Colossal rock-carved seated Śākyamuni Buddha and standing smaller Buddha (Maitreya?). Cave 20, Yüan-kang Caves. Northern Wei Dynasty, around A.D. 470–480.



a) Fragmentary clay and stucco relief Buddha images on the southeast wall of the Rawak Vihāra Stūpa court, Khotan. (Photo from A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, pl. XVII, c).



b) Relief of the adoration of the seated Buddha, gray schist, from Hadda, Afghanistan, Kuṣāṇa Period, second century A.D. *Victoria and Albert Museum, London, no. I. S. 70–1880.*