

11 Globalization and Gandhāra art

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This chapter deals with two examples of Gandhāran art depicting episodes from the life of the Buddha Shakyamuni. These motifs were recreated in the cave painting of the oasis of Kuča, situated along the northern branch of the so-called Silk Roads in the Tarim Basin region (Chinese Central Asia, now in the Xingjiang province).¹ The first section of this chapter engages with the archaeological context in Gandhāra and Kuča, focussing on their relationship during the first centuries CE. The second section lays out how iconography can be analysed within this framework with two examples: male figures as depicted in the lifting of the elephant episode, and the depiction of a nun.



Figure 11.1 The Kushan Empire at the time of Kanishka I (c. 127–150 CE) and the most important trade routes

Source: Author's drawing, not to scale; based on Asia Society 2020.

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The chapter will not propose a comparative date for the paintings. Instead, it will compare two specific iconographic motifs to understand how the scheme may have been transferred and transformed based on the context. The comparison of motifs in the two regions is not without its limitations. Aspects such as the difference in mediums, size, workmanship, and chronology of the reliefs, plan of the cave, and location of the scene in the cave play important roles in a comparative study. Such details are not always present for the examples discussed below. Many reliefs from Gandhāra and paintings from Kuča have been removed from their contexts and the related archaeological data cannot be retrieved. This complicates the process of developing a chain of transmission between the regions. Nevertheless, some attempts have been undertaken in previous studies to contextualise the data, and these will be considered here.

The similarities between the Gandhāran reliefs and the Kuča examples should not be understood as a homogenizing aspect of globalization.² Motifs were adopted, appropriated, and transformed to become features of the local.³ Using the hydraulic metaphors of religious flows studied by Neelis, the ‘currents’ of cultural globalization include both push and pull factors.⁴ The tension between the two factors can be understood as, the tension between iconographies, and the adaptation and transformation of the iconography in local contexts. Although Central India and Gandhāra played an important role in the transmission of Buddhism and artistic motifs, this should not be overemphasised.⁵ Local culture was an active agent in mobilising and disseminating specific cultural influences. The discussion below will highlight the active local choice and artistic reasons for the transfer and transformation of motifs.⁶

Context

Gandhāra

Gandhāra refers to the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa region formerly known as the North-Western Frontier Province (NWFP) of Pakistan aligned along the southern border of Afghanistan. The Peshawar valley was the nucleus of the ancient region and includes sites around modern Peshawar, Mardan, Swabi, Charsadda, and Nowshera. The term ‘Greater Gandhāra’ is commonly used to denote regions outside of this nucleus such as the Dir, Swāt, and Buner valleys, while ‘Gandhāra Proper’ is used to denote the Peshawar valley (Figure 11.1).⁷ In this work, I use the term Gandhāran art to include the artistic production within both ‘Gandhāra Proper’ and the ‘Greater Gandhāra’ regions during the first to the fourth century CE.⁸

To understand why, how, and in what ways non-local motifs and products were used requires an understanding of specific social contexts within which the motifs were reproduced, and the archaeological contexts in which the artefacts were recovered. Even though several reliefs and sculptures,

now located in museums all over the globe, do not correspond to an exact site within the region, they were recovered from Buddhist stupas in settlements and sanctuaries or *ṃgharāma*. They were primarily constructed for the meeting of the *saṅgha* or the community of the ordained during specific communal ritual activities and rainy season retreats.⁹

Excavations have revealed large structures that included dwellings for the ordained, as well as stupas (burial and receptacle monuments for sacred objects) that were funded and visited by the lay worshippers. Even if the retreat locations were in isolated areas such as mountain slopes and forests, or within city walls, they were connected to settlements in their vicinity to obtain resources and protection for their prolonged subsistence.¹⁰ This relationship between the urban (and the semi-urban) settlements that support the monastic communities is also evident in Pali literature where the action takes place within or on the way to urban locations.¹¹

At the advent of Buddhism, the donations of alms to the religious community were vital to its survival. By the first centuries in Gandhāra, large scale monasteries show the financial growth and popularity of the religion. Monastic complexes and their embellishments supported by the Aparaca and Oḍi kings and queens along with mercantile men and women demonstrate the authority of the Buddhist monks and nuns and their role as legitimisers of power.¹² The monasteries were also supported by the Kushan kings and one Gandhārī manuscript notes the donation of Vima Kadphises, the third Kushana king as a donor to a monastery.¹³ This imbued the religious establishments with political, social, and economic dimensions.

Kuča

The Kingdom of Kuča was located in the northern part of the Taklamakan Desert in the Tarim Basin where the important Buddhist sites of Qizil with 235 caves, Qumtura with 113 caves, and Simsim with 56 caves were found.¹⁴ The artistic activities in the Kuča region began around the third century CE according to Yaldiz.¹⁵ These cave sites were decorated with wall paintings that include both narrative, devotional, and ornamental themes. The caves were not decorated with scenes at random. In Thapar's words,

the selection of symbols which are constituted into a tradition are seldom random and generally have a purpose which should not go unnoticed; that such cultural symbols are not solely aesthetic forms and religious forms but have a social reference point.¹⁶

The selection of the scenes also depended on the structure of the cave. The episodes from the final life of the Buddha as Siddhārtha were painted based on the theme of the cave.

The Qizil grottoes lie 43 miles outside of Kuča and along the northern Silk roads in Chinese Central Asia (Xinjiang).¹⁷ They were investigated

at the beginning of the twentieth century by the German team of Le Coq, Grünwedel, and Waldschmidt.¹⁸ This was followed by a series of investigations by Peking University in the 1980s.¹⁹

The investigations show that the grottoes were cut in the vertical cliff and used by the Buddhist *saṃgha*. The chronology of paintings in Qizil remains unsettled. Grünwedel studied the decorated caves and classified them into three different styles: the First Style was based on Gandhāran models, the Second Style used a new colour scheme of green and blue pigments, and the Third Style included Chinese inscriptions.²⁰ Le Coq and Waldschmidt concluded that Grünwedel's First Style should be dated to the sixth century CE and the Second Style around the seventh century CE.²¹ This suggests a long gap between the final period of Gandhāran art and the first murals in Qizil.²² Bussagli stated that Kuča paintings began in the fourth century CE and continued till the eighth century CE and beyond.²³ Vignato suggested that the caves should be divided based on architectural elements: those with one or more square and rectangular caves and monastic cells and, those with a central pillar cave.²⁴ Howard and Vignato's relative periodisation showed that Style I and II coexisted in Cave no. 47.²⁵ To avoid confusion, they renamed the styles as A, B, and C. Style A and B were identified by them as following two different themes and not two different painting styles. This classification is used in this chapter. They were categorised as two different 'formal language[s]' that coexisted rather than 'dissimilar and consecutive artistic expressions'.²⁶ Style A was attributed to groups of caves with square caves and monastic cells. Style B was associated with groups containing the central pillar caves. Style C was a later development and was dated to the mid-eighth to the mid-tenth century CE.

Transmission along the trade routes

Buddhism was introduced in Kuča between the first and second centuries CE.²⁷ It was transmitted through multiple networks from Central India, and Gandhāra by land and sea.²⁸ According to literary sources, the 'Jibin route' connected the Pamirs to Kāśmīra and Uddiyāna (Swāt Valley) and was another frequently used land route before the Tang period.²⁹ Commercial activities and religious networks within the subcontinent grew as the Kuṣāṇa influence extended from Central Asia to the Tarim Basin.³⁰ Evidence of inscriptions and rock art created by various travellers show that a land route existed and connected Gandhāra Proper, Swāt, and Kashmir to the Tarim Basin.³¹ Many of the carvings cannot be affiliated to a single category such as monastics and lay followers as little is known regarding the status of the travellers. The voyage of monks, merchants, and caravans intertwined as they travelled these well-known paths.³² The travellers brought back with them texts, objects, and souvenirs of art and architecture.³³

According to Zürcher, the Xinjiang area was a mere transit zone in the early transmission of Buddhism into China.³⁴ Monasteries around the northern

Taklamakan were commonly located near water sources and mountain passes that were also important commercial outposts. The strategic location of the monasteries played a crucial role in transmitting Buddhist religious philosophy, artistic elements, and architecture into the region. New agricultural practices in the oasis region resulted in a surplus and a population boom made the region attractive to Buddhist communities.³⁵

The Sarvastivadin school of Buddhism (along with the Dharmaguptaka monks) operated in both Gandhāra and Kuča and played an important role in the transmission of Buddhism to the region. Kuča artists may have also created the iconography of the region independently and its similarity to Gandhāra could be incidental as the two regions were interested in ‘same or similar subject matters’.³⁶ The common influential denominations in the regions could be one reason for the ‘commonalities in the theme and motifs’ in art.³⁷

Iconological Study

Lifting the elephant in Qizil and Gandhāran art

Santoro has compared the depiction of the life of the Buddha in Cave no. 110 with Gandhāran art. She evaluated the narrative scheme of the paintings in Qizil and the linear narrative relief panels to suggest a close relationship between the two regions.³⁸ A closer examination of the male bodies in the lifting of the elephant episode, with surviving reliefs from known excavated contexts in Swāt, reveals a direct relationship with the Qizil painting. This suggests that the iconographic scheme was not greatly modified between the two regions in this instance.

The series of physical feats performed by the prince Siddhārtha against the other Sakya princes to compete for the hand of his future bride have been studied due to their depiction of the ancient Indian courtly marriage ceremony, the *swayamvara*, using Greco-Roman iconography.³⁹ A related episode is that of the killing, dragging, and throwing of the elephant that does not form part of the marriage competitions. The goal of the present analysis is to understand which motifs were used to present this episode in Swāt and Qizil. The form and posture of the male body in this episode is another example of motifs that travelled between Swāt and Qizil due to the interconnectivity between the two regions.

In short, the episode begins with Devadatta chancing upon an elephant designated for his cousin, the Prince Siddhārtha. In an envious rage, he dealt a blow to the elephant and killed it. Upon seeing that a dead elephant was blocking the city gate, Nanda, another Sakya youth, dragged the elephant to the side of the main road. When the prince arrived, he was informed of the deeds of both Devadatta and Nanda. He judged their deeds and remarked that the large rotting corpse of the elephant would be a hindrance to the

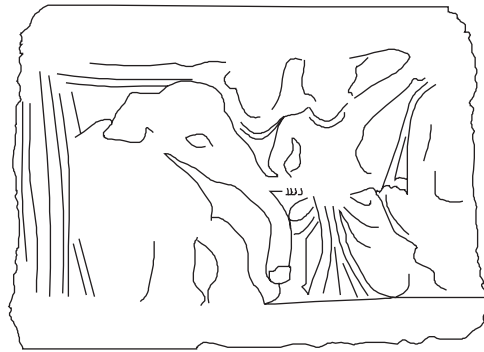


Figure 11.2 Relief fragment of Devadatta killing the elephant, Gogdara

Source: © Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale 'G. Tucci'/Museo della Civiltà Romana Inv. 2487; author's drawing.

city-folk. He was able to clear the road by lifting the elephant and tossing it over the city walls.⁴⁰

The excavations in the Swāt valley conducted by the Italian Archaeological Mission of the Italian Institute for the Middle and Far East (IsMEO, now IsIAO, Italian Institute for Africa and the East) between 1956–62 in Butkara I and between 1970–80 in Saidu Sharif I and environs, under the direction of Domenico Faccenna, afford an opportunity to study the artistic 'language' of this episode. The following fragments were stratigraphically dated roughly between the first to the third century CE. The fragment from the Buddhist sacred area on the hill of Gogdara, near Udegram, Swāt measuring 12.5 × 16.5 cm, shows Devadatta, the male figure on the left wearing an *uttariya* and a *paridhana* (an upper garment covering the shoulder and a lower garment respectively), with his right hand grabbing the tusk of the elephant and his left hand raised to attack it (Figure 11.2).⁴¹

A fragment of a relief carved in greenschist from Saidu Sharif I consists of the prince Siddhārtha lifting the elephant with his right knee bent bearing the weight on his right shoulder as he throws the elephant over the city walls (Figure 11.3). His left hand is placed on his hip as he leans to the right side to throw.

A fragment discovered in the excavations in Chatpat, conducted along the Swāt river by the Department of Archaeology at the University of Peshawar, demonstrates that the artist was acquainted with depicting every necessary bodily movement in the illustration of the three figures.⁴² Devadatta, on the left side of the relief, is shown at ease with his raised hand stretched out to kill the elephant. Nanda is shown on the right, with his left leg bent forward, right hand extended to pull the body of the unconscious elephant

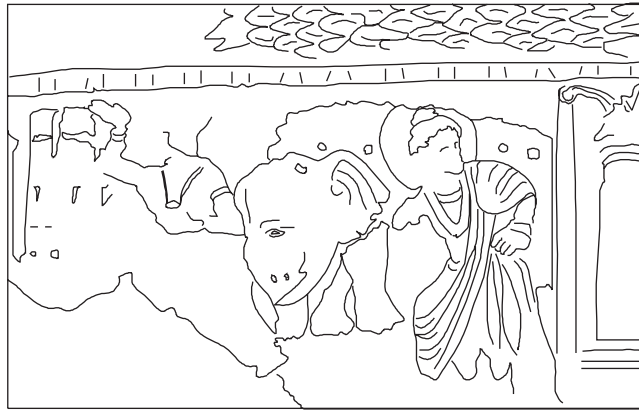


Figure 11.3 Relief of Siddhārtha lifting the elephant, Saidu Sharif I, first to the third century CE

Source: © Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale 'G. Tucci'/Museo della Civiltà Romana Inv. 4104; author's drawing.

by its tail. His neck and left side move leftwards to show the force of the dragging movement.

The artist defined the scene with specific markers in the appearance of the figures including body posture, clothing, jewellery, and architecture. The depiction of the clothing marked the moment in which the events occurred. The two youths are represented in aristocratic clothing which is different from the garment worn during archery and wrestling competitions. This shows that the lifting of the elephant was not part of athletic competitions during which the participants wore short lower garments and no upper garment to facilitate ease of movement.

In the Hellenistic repertoire, according to Masségia, the arms akimbo posture was accorded to an 'alpha male body language'.⁴³ This pose was utilised to secure the long folds of the drapery away from the feet to show the capacity of the body. It also extended the width of the body to create an impression of dominant body size.⁴⁴ Although no direct evidence can link the motifs, a comparative assessment reveals the dramatic posture of the male body in the fragment from Andanḍherī (Figure 11.4).⁴⁵ The arm placed on his hip enlarges the size of his upper body, to show strength and provide a clear view of the elaborate drapery folds. His feet are spaced apart and his left leg is slightly bent at the knee to bear the weight of the elephant. The relief depicting Siddhārtha's physical strength was standardised in Gandhāra using accurate bodily movements based on balance and posture.

The same outline for the posture and movement of the body is followed in the mural from Qizil Cave no. 110. The cave is comprised of a small vestibule and a rectangular hall with a vaulted ceiling. The painting of the Buddha's

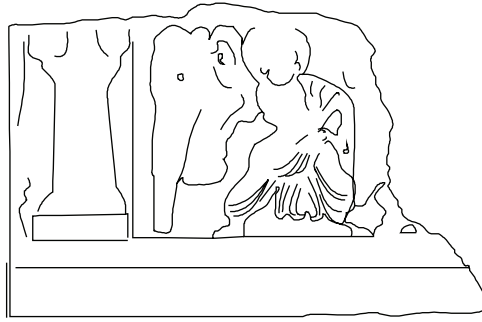


Figure 11.4 Relief showing Siddhārtha lifting the elephant, Andhandherī

Source: Author's drawing based on PL 20.b Dani 1968–69.

life in sixty episodes can be found in the west, north, and east walls and depict the scenes from the dream of Queen Māyā till the Mahāparinirvāṇa.⁴⁶ Each episode of the life of the Buddha is depicted within a dark frame decorated with white rosettes. Some episodes contained partially legible inscriptions.

In the foreground Siddhārtha lifts the elephant and, in the background, Nanda drags the elephant that lies unconscious on the ground.⁴⁷ Keeping in mind that the comparison is between two different mediums of art, on the one hand, the relationship to the body and the garment, as well as the positioning of architectural elements in the scene, the scene bears a striking resemblance to the reliefs from Gandhāra. Here, we can identify the bodily posture of the prince with his left arm placed on his hip and right hand lifting the elephant with his feet shoulders-width apart to balance the weight. Further, this posture highlights the drapery folds that cover his leg to the knees and which fall elaborately between the two legs as noted in the reliefs. On the other hand, specific details such as jewellery and clothing are differently imagined. The city gates and part of the road add to the depth and distance between figures. In Qizil, the size of the elephant also shrinks considerably between the dragging and the lifting, emphasizing the strength and centrality of Siddhārtha in the episode.

Even in the shortest rendition of the episode, the reliefs ranked the strength of Siddhārtha above the Sakya youths. Continuous narrative fragments of this episode, where preserved in Gandhāra, depict the superiority of Siddhārtha over the others and never just the throwing of the elephant. This is also evident in the painting from Cave no. 110 where Nanda is depicted in the background as a comparison.

The nun Utpalavarṇā in Kuča and Gandhāran art

Within the artistic representations, several reliefs show the nun Utpalavarṇā welcoming the Buddha as he descends from the



Figure 11.5 Relief of the nun Utpalavarṇā welcoming the Buddha

Source: © Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale 'G. Tucci'/Museo della Civiltà Romana Inv. 2524; author's drawing.

Trāyastriṃśa or Thirty-Three Gods' heaven.⁴⁸ The greenschist relief measuring $36 \times 34 \times 0.7$ cm was found in Butkara I and was classified under 'drawing group' which was the earliest relief style in the site dating to the first century CE (Figure 11.5).⁴⁹ The descending Buddha is depicted using two footprints on the staircase. Utpalavarṇā is the only nun who can be identified without doubt in Gandhāran art.⁵⁰ The iconographic feature setting her apart from the monks is the sleeved tunic with an *uttariya* thrown back to cover her shoulder.

The scene elaborates on the event during which the nun, through miraculous power transformed herself into a *cakravartin* or Universal Emperor, to be the first to welcome the descending Buddha. At the arrival of the Buddha, the *cakravartin* changed back to the nun's original form.⁵¹ According to Taisho no. 1509, the fifth-century CE translation of the second-century CE text, *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsāstra* of Nāgārjuna, the Buddha chastised the nun for her miraculous transformation.⁵² Instead, the monk Subhūti was praised as he contemplated on the Buddha instead of visiting him. The monk 'visited' the Buddha through his eye of wisdom (*prajñācakṣu*) and was able to truly see him.⁵³

Two partial mural depictions of this episode have been identified in Qizil and one in Simsim.⁵⁴ Although the theme of the episode is common – the miraculous transformation of a nun – their respective compositions of the episode are different. The Gandhāran reliefs depict the arrival of Buddha on a long continuous staircase with multiple registers. Each register is filled with gods and deities and the nun is depicted amongst the human figures at the bottom of the staircase. The Kuča paintings do not show an organised

multi-register separation of the Thirty-Three Gods' heaven. The monumental staircase is discarded for a few steps behind the Buddha's legs and the figures are limited to the core components of the scene. This may have stemmed from the medium and spatial constraints faced by the painters.

In Qizil Cave no. 184 (Drittletzte Höhle), the nun is depicted wearing a green garment that covers only one shoulder. This consisted of two central pillar caves and were built after the types that consisted of only one central pillar cave.⁵⁵ Zin suggested that the artist began to depict a monk and later realised the error. As a solution, lines were added around the sleeve and chest to denote the undergarment worn by nuns. In the relief from Swāt, lines are also visible on the tunic of the nun. The lined tunic is not worn by monks in the reliefs. The upper garment is wrapped around the nun with one end terminating below the left shoulder. The same arrangement of the garments is visible in the Loriyan Tangai relief (Indian Museum no. 5105/ A23293). This clarifies that the robe worn by nuns in the region was identifiable to the viewer and separated them from monks as the other characteristics were indistinguishable. Another painting is located on a lunette from Simsim Cave No. 48 and depicts the nun in a dark-coloured robe covering her upper body. The robe is thrown back on both shoulders up to the neck.

The episode in Kuča depicts the attitude of the Buddha differently. Both Gandhāran and Kuča works depict the nun as the first to receive the Buddha. Neither the paintings nor the reliefs depict the monk Subhūti. The available data from Gandhāra do not depict the Buddha reproaching her for her excessive zeal. He is portrayed standing in Abhayamudrā, the gesture of fearlessness. The gesture can be found in a myriad of contexts including preaching, blessing, and accepting followers. This is supported by Fa Xian who stated that the Buddha himself transformed her into a *cakravartin* so she might be the first to greet him.⁵⁶ Pindola Bharadvaja also described the transformation of the nun in a positive light in the *Aśokāvadāna*.⁵⁷ In the Qizil painting, the Buddha is shown with his thumb and index finger touching each other likely suggesting a discourse.⁵⁸ The location of the painting in Cave no. 184 clarifies the positive representation of the nun. The artistic programme of the cave focussed on eminent monks and followers in Buddhist history and narratives.⁵⁹ A miracle-performing nun would have certainly belonged to this category of prominent renunciates.

The Buddha is commonly flanked by Brahmā and Indra on either side. Furthermore, the staircase is approached only by the nun in the Gandhāran episodes. She is depicted closest to the final step while other figures occupy the place on either side of the steps. In Loriyan Tangai, the nun is seated in front of the staircase with her back to the viewer.⁶⁰ In Kuča, two figures approach the Buddha on either side. To the left of the Buddha is the kneeling nun and to his right is a kneeling male figure. Zin suggested that he might be King Prasenjit or Udayana, as he likely holds an image of the Buddha in his hand. The figure can be identified as King Udayana as he not only presented

the image of the Buddha but also ceremonially welcomed the Buddha after his assembly with the gods.⁶¹

Another difference can be found in comparison to larger reliefs such as the Zar Dheri arch. In Zar Dheri, the Seven Jewels are located on the left side, above the *cakravartin* on the chariot. The Seven Jewels are the Jewel of Wheel, the Jewel of Gem, Jewel of Elephant, Jewel of Horse, the Jewel of Wife, the Jewel of Citizen, and the Jewel of General.⁶² An elaborate relief (IS.11–1947), without provenance in the Victoria & Albert Museum in London, does not depict the Seven Jewels of the *cakravartin*. The Buddha flanked by Brahmā and Indra is approached only by the nun whose outline survives on the lower file of the relief. The male figures stand on either side of the monumental staircase. In the Simsim painting, the Seven Treasures are located on the right around the kneeling nun. The same arrangement is followed in Qizil Cave no. 189 (Zweite Höhle von vorn).⁶³ It was originally a monastic cave but was later modified into a square cave.⁶⁴ In this fragment, the figure of the nun has not survived but the Jewel of the Citizen (*grihapati-ratna*) can be identified above where the nun would have been depicted.

The differences between the two representations may have occurred during the process of transmission. According to Zin, the trajectory of such changes cannot be understood due to the lack of intermediary figures within Gandhāra and outside. Due to the geographic distance between the two sites, several intermediary examples likely existed but were not preserved in the archaeological record.⁶⁵ Such differences, I believe, point likely to the originality and independence of the painters in the region in transforming the motifs.

Conclusions

The representation of the life of the Buddha not only provides us with the aesthetic nature of art during the first centuries in Gandhāra and nearby regions, but also allows us an insight into the social and cultural ideals held by followers of the religion, particularly where multi-cultural symbols were exchanged and adapted. The impact of globalization should be understood as diverse, experienced, and enacted differently in different contexts. Rather than the influence of Gandhāran art over Kuča Buddhist paintings, the resulting similarities and differences can be understood as a local choice. The motifs were likely selected from a repertoire found in the famous Buddhist sites of Gandhāra and were locally transformed and appropriated.

The two examples discussed in this chapter show two ways in which the iconography was transformed and remade in Kuča. In the study of the concurrence of motifs between Gandhāra and Qizil, the depiction of the ideal male body demonstrating a physical feat that was incomparable is another example. The form of the male body, as Siddhārtha lifts the heavy elephant, is reproduced similarly in the two works. The bodily posture and drapery are treated similarly indicating a direct connection to the Qizil Cave no.

110 episode with Swāt reliefs. The ‘prototypes’ are not faithfully copied and reproduced in this cave for this episode. The iconographic similarities in the two depictions can be attributed to the popularity of Gandhāran sanctuaries along the trading routes.

In the case of the nun, a direct connection between the Gandhāra and Kuča representation cannot be established. Both depictions suggest a positive attitude of the Buddha towards the miracle-performing nun although some literary sources reveal that he chastised her. This can be identified as an example of local independence and choice in depicting the episode. The two examples show that the iconography from Gandhāra was not always faithfully copied and reused in the eastern Buddhist centres. The motifs underwent changes based on choice and spatial constraints.

Acknowledgements

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Notes

- 1 Gandhāran art as a model for the paintings in Qizil Cave no. 110, the so-called Treppenhöhle (Stepped Cave), has already been proposed by Santoro (2003). Filigenzi suggests that artists at Miran, in the same region may have been directly influenced by particular reliefs from Saidu Sharif I rather than generic examples (2006): 78. References to connection between Kuča paintings and neighbouring cultures including Sassanian art can be found in Härtel (1982): 47, Cat. No. 107, 108; Bussagli (1979): 20, 71. The iconological relationship between the two regions was also suggested by Li Chongfeng based on the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* or the final *nirvāṇa* of the Buddha in Kuča (2014): i. 254–312.
- 2 According to Appadurai (1990): 307, ‘globalisation of culture is not the same as its homogenization, but globalization involves the use of a variety of instruments of homogenization (armaments, advertising techniques, language hegemonies, clothing styles and the like), which are absorbed into local political and cultural economies, only to be repatriated as heterogeneous dialogues of national sovereignty, free enterprise, fundamentalism, etc. in which the state plays an increasingly delicate role’. Hannerz also noted that ‘global culture’ is not homogeneous as different cultural factors and transmitted, renegotiated and reconstructed to various degrees through different kinds of ‘network links’ (2002): 49.
- 3 On the use of appropriation to understand the local contexts as active in the process and local changes has been studied by Hahn (2008): 197–199. Also see globalization, the process in which local culture used elements of a global culture, modifying both in the process and leading to interconnectedness of the global and the local in Robertson (2012): 35–53.
- 4 Neelis (2010): 7–12.

- 5 According to Hannerz (2002): 50, 'The tracing of cultural currents from centre to periphery, however, hardly gives us the complete view of the place of centres in the contemporary global ecumene'.
- 6 This is supported by the study of Howard and Vignato who concluded that Kuča artists 'remade the Gandhāran model and developed aspects which Gandhāra had ignored' (2014): 168.
- 7 Klimburg-Salter (1995): 120–121; Salomon (1999): 3; Behrendt, (2004): 3.
- 8 Filigenzi (2019): 53.
- 9 Winters (1988): 12.
- 10 Pichard and Lagirarde (2003): 14.
- 11 Ghokale (1982).
- 12 Thapar (1987): 21–22.
- 13 Mark Allon identified that in Fragment A of the Gandhārī manuscript of the *Pratyutpannabuddhasammukhavasthitasamādhī Sūtra*, Grema Kataphsa or Katapha of the ledger as Vima Kadphises (2019): 2. He dated the manuscript between 104/5 CE and 127 CE as it corresponds to the reign of the king.
- 14 As the name suggests much of the area was uninhabited due to the dry conditions. The northern and southern edges were occupied due to the availability of meltwater from the mountains. Kingdoms in the regions were centered around these oases such as Kashgar, Khotan, Turfan, Korla and Kuča.
- 15 Yaldiz (2010): 1029.
- 16 Thapar (1987): 30.
- 17 Morita (2015).
- 18 Grünwedel (1912); Le Coq and Waldschmidt (1924); Le Coq (1933).
- 19 Department of Archaeology, Peking University and Institute for Cultural Management in Qizil Caves (1997).
- 20 Grünwedel (1912): 5–6.
- 21 Le Coq and Waldschmidt (1922–33): vol. 7, 29. This classification has been challenged due to Carbon-14 dating. Su Bai of the Beijing University classified the caves into three period based on absolute chronology (1989): 10–23. A summary of his analysis can be found in Howard (1991): 69–72.
- 22 A complete analysis of the chronology of Qizil caves has been documented by Howard (1986): 68–69.
- 23 Bussagli (1979): 71. According to him 'It is generally considered that painting at Kuča began in the fourth century AD and continued, somewhat attenuated, throughout the eighth century, and even beyond. The first, of Indo-Iranian type, flourished around 500 A.D. while the second, more strongly Iranian reached its peak about 600–650'. He added that 'the paintings of the first phase do, however show signs of a general Indian tendency, in their evident concern with relief and chiaroscuro, in the draftsmanship and figures embodying minor Sassanian features'.
- 24 Vignato (2006): 368–369. A comprehensive list of monasteries with its caves arranged according to type can be found in Howard and Vignato (2014): 39.
- 25 Howard and Vignato (2014): 5.
- 26 Howard and Vignato (2014): 5.
- 27 Howard and Vignato (2014): 107. For a summary of how Buddhism came to China through the Silk Road and Sichuan, see Zufferey (2008): 22, fn. 32.
- 28 Ray (1994) detailed the way in which trade networks were a catalyst of social change and spread Buddhism in South East Asia. Holcombe (1999): 28: highlighted that religious practice demanded commodities that had to be obtained in India such as icons and incense. A study of the various maritime routes in South Asia including the routes between Central India and China was conducted by Neelis (2010): 183–228.
- 29 Chongfeng (2014): ii. 721. The exact geographical identification of Jibin is not settled. Enomoto Fumio 1994): 365, distinguished how the word was used and

- identified (. He showed that in some texts it only referred to Kāśmīra and in others, it included both Gandhāra and adjoining areas. Chongfeng (2014): ii. 657–706, also lists the various ways in which the word was used in Chinese literature. Based on the itinerary of travellers such as Fa Xian, Dharmavikrama, Zhi-meng, and Hui-lan from China to visit the bowl of the Buddha, Kuwayama (1987) concluded that Jibin is Gandhāra in the fourth and fifth century CE in Buddhist sources.
- 30 Hitch (1988): 170–192. Brough (1965), suggested that the Kuṣāṇas also dominated the Tarim basin but sufficient archaeological evidence does not exist. Hitch (1998): 191, used the 78 C.E. date for Kanīška and formulated the Kuṣāṇa Tarim domination around c. 90–125 C.E. Xinru Liu (1998a): 6–8; (1998b): 25–35, concluded that Kuṣāṇas controlled major urban centres in Begram, Peshawar, Mathura, Saketa, Kausambi, Pataliputra in Central Asia, Gāndhārī and Central India which were located on the trade routes.
 - 31 Jettmar (1985) catalogued the various rock carvings identified along the route around the mountainous region in Northern Pakistan where the Hindu Kush, western Himalayas and the Karakorum range converge together. The finds cover a wide range starting from the Neolithic period to the fourteenth century CE. Many of the engravings reveal the Buddhist faith of the travellers. The first results of a selected carving from the second century BCE till the first century CE and its relation to Gandhāra art has been presented by Marike van Aerde (2019).
 - 32 Neelis (2010): 1. Neelis classified the pattern of transmission based on names. The names of foreign translators of Buddhist texts in China between the second and fifth century reflect the pattern of long-distance transmission of Buddhism from the subcontinent to China, see Neelis (2010): 306. According to Whitefield, Buddhist monks travelled with merchants, diplomats, and military across the Pamirs under Kushan protection (2018): 259.
 - 33 Wong (2018): 23–56: outlined the various images and memories of architectural elements Xuanzang brought back from his journey to Gandhāra and Central Indian Buddhist sites.
 - 34 Zürcher (1990): 182; (2012): 5. He labelled the gradual diffusion of Buddhism near agricultural and commercial sites from a core such as Central India and Gandhāra as ‘contact expansion’ (Zürcher 2012): 4.
 - 34 Zürcher (1990): 181.
 - 35 Zürcher (1990): 181.
 - 36 Howard and Vignato (2014): 163. According to Filigenzi (2009): 85, ‘the analogy in visual forms and their ideological substratum from Afghanistan to Pakistan to Far East Asia to Himalayan countries confirms the existence of an osmotic flow, certainly supported by a complex road network but, what is more, nurtured by common denominators, first of all points of cultural convergence provided by the spread of Buddhism’ in discussing the seventh and eighth century imagery of Buddhahood and kingship.
 - 37 Howard and Vignato (2014): 169. Not to mention the relationship between Gāndhārī Buddhist texts and early Chinese translations see Deeg (2008): fn. 16; Deeg (2010): 94–97.
 - 38 Santoro (2003): 118: ‘the derivation from Gandhāra is quite clear and indisputable if one passes from the single pictures to consider the way in which they are combined to narrate Siddhārtha’s biography. The subject of the *Life of the Buddha* has been constructed by a succession – reading from left to right – of the various events arranged in chronological order, according to a linear conception of time that is wholly different from the Indian one, but in every way similar to the Gandhāran’.
 - 39 Giuliano (2002); Christopoulos (2013).
 - 40 Senart (1882–1897): ii. 74–75; Lefmann (1902): 144–145; Beal (1875): 91–92.

- 41 A detailed biography of the character of Devadatta including this scene can be found in Li (2019).
- 42 Dani (1968–69): 65–102.
- 43 Masségliia (2015): 35.
- 44 Masségliia (2015): 38.
- 45 Dani (1968–69): 33–64.
- 46 Pinault (2000): 159–161; Vignato (2006): 393. Santoro (2003): fn. 3, noted that the documentation confirms that there were fifty-seven paintings and not sixty. Santoro identified a publication by Ding Mingyi which this author could not consult. This cave belonged to the first type of Vignato's classification and under Style A of Howard and Vignato.
- 47 The image can be found in Karetzky (2000): 212; Santoro (2003).
- 48 Faccenna (1962): 62, PL CCXXXIII b, Inv No. 2524; Bopearachchi (2011): 353–368, Bopearachchi (2020): Cat. No. 142 depicts the nun touching the feet of the Buddha.
- 49 Zin (2018): 104, cautiously suggested that the style may be an influence of Central Indian art in Swāt rather than an indication of the age.
- 50 A fragment of a standing statue from Shahr-i-Napursan (near Rajar) shows a pedestal with four figures venerating the Buddha (Lahore Museum no. 1194). Vogel suggested that two of the figures could be nuns. A close examination of the clothing shows that the pedestal depicts four monks based on their clothing. The inscription on the pedestal does not state that the dedication was made by nuns, see Vogel, (1900).
- 51 There are only two examples in Gandhāra art where a female figure performs a miraculous act: Māyādevī, the mother of Siddhārtha during the birth of the prince, and this nun.
- 52 Lamotte (1949): 634.
- 53 Strong (2007): 140–141.
- 54 The three paintings of this episode have been identified by Zin with excellent images (Zin 2013): 7.
- 55 Howard and Vignato (2014): 35. This cave belonged to the second type of Vignato's classification and Style B of Howard and Vignato.
- 56 Beal (1884): xl.
- 57 Strong (1989): 262.
- 58 Zin (2013a): 6.
- 59 Morita (2015): fn 38. Zin noted that the paintings brought from Cave no. 184 are lost (Zin 2013): fn. 17.
- 60 Bopearachchi (2011): fig 5.
- 61 Lamotte (1949): 634.
- 62 Zin (2012): 149–166.
- 63 According to Vignato, this cave also belonged to the first category.
- 64 Both Cave no. 135 and 189 were transformed into a square cave in a second period. Vignato (2006): 369.
- 65 Zin (2013b): 35–50 and Zin (2016): 291, proposed a Gandhāra school of painting that may have provided a prototype. Howard (2015), suggested that the words 'somewhat similar' may be used instead of prototypes.

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