

Fragrance Offering as a Call for Rescue: The Sumāgadhā / Sumatī Story Illustrated in the Kizil Grottoes

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Abstract: Sumāgadhā was a laywoman who called for the Buddha's help by offering fragrance. When the fragrant odour of Sumāgadhā's offering reached the Buddha, he flew to her with his enlightened monks, converting many people who lived in the town of Sumāgadhā's new home. The mid-air procession of the Buddha and the monks, and Sumāgadhā welcoming them were depicted in Kizil Caves 178, 193, 198, 205, and 224, in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, on the median strip of the barrel-vault in the main chamber.

The Sumāgadhā illustrations in Kizil are fascinating visualisations of text and material culture at crossroads. Although there are differences in details, the paintings' visual elements illustrate the narrative closest to the Chinese translations before the fourth century. Meanwhile, the texts and objects found locally show that fragrance, especially musk, was likely consumed in the monasteries, especially as an offering for the Buddha, whose presence was conveyed through a statue or painted image in the perfumed chamber (Skt. *gandhakuṭī*).

Keywords: Sumāgadhā, Sumatī, fragrance, incense, *gandhakuṭī*, Kizil, Kucha

DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.15239/hjbs.06.01.06>

Introduction

In the Kizil Caves in the present Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, People's Republic of China, illustrations of Sumāgadhā's rescue are painted on the median strip of the main chamber at least four times in Kizil Caves 178, 198, 205, 224, and likely also in Kizil Cave 193, summing up to a total of five caves. The median strip of the barrel-vault inside the main chamber is the highest point of the cave, often called the 'ridge' (Ch. *zhongji* 中脊) by Chinese scholars, which could also be freely translated as the 'spine' of the cave, or the long strip on the middle and the highest part of the barrel-vault that connects the rear wall and the front wall of the main chamber. The viewers may see it when they tilt their heads back while standing at the centre of the main chamber. While it is difficult to ascertain from the minimal number of caves with their median strips surviving *in situ*, Sumāgadhā seems to have enjoyed some popularity as a theme to decorate the median strip of the caves, being the second most repeated theme among the surviving examples of median strip paintings in main chambers. This makes up at least twelve percent and at most fifteen percent of the surviving median strip paintings in Kizil Caves.

Based on my reading of the *Kezi'er shiku neirong zonglu* 克孜爾石窟內容總錄 [Comprehensive Record of Contents of Kizil Grottoes],¹ there are a total of 333 caves in Kizil, with two caves enumerated twice: cave 65 is also called cave 90-4,² and the corner of the antechamber of the cave 69 was falsely enumerated as cave 90-8.³ The median strip painting is found on the barrel-vaulted ceiling. The axonometric drawing by Dominik Oczkowski shows the structure of the central pillar cave with a barrel-vaulted ceiling, based on Kizil Cave 38 (Fig. 1). There are 165 caves with barrel-vaulted ceilings among the 333 caves in Kizil. Among the 165 caves with a barrel-vaulted ceiling, ninety-six caves are square caves, fifty-one caves are so-called central pillar caves, twelve caves are caves with a rectangular

¹ Xinjiang Qiuci shiku yanjiusuo ed., *Kezi'er shiku neirong zonglu*, 5–260.

² *Ibid.*, 102.

³ *Ibid.*, 103.

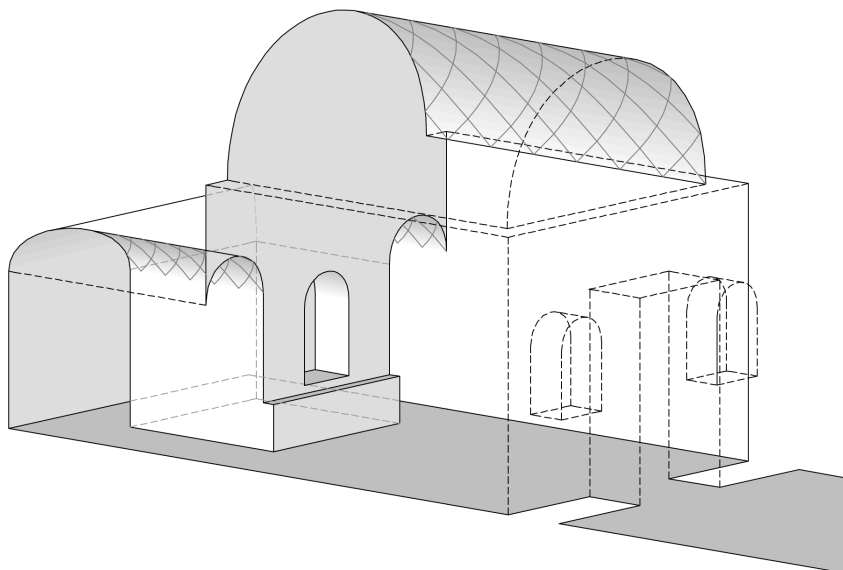


FIG. 1 Schematic Representation of a 'Central Pillar Cave' with the Rear Chamber, based on Kizil Cave 38. Digital Axonometric Drawing by Dominik Oczkowski. © Dominik Oczkowski.

plan, and six caves are monumental caves. Finally, there are only thirty-three caves out of 165 caves with the median strip surviving that was originally on the barrel-vault of the main chamber.⁴

Some of the caves with the painting surviving on the median strip were excluded, because in those cases, the painting on the median strip was part of the larger picture painted all over the barrel-vault. For example, flying deities were painted all over the barrel-vault of the main chamber of Kizil Cave 47 and Cave 139. While both caves are very much damaged, it is possible that the images of those deities also partly covered the median strip. Still, these images were part of the larger picture and thus were not counted as median strip

⁴ I also consulted Monika Zin's latest research to complement the median strip paintings that are now in museums. See Zin, *Gods, Deities, and Demons*, 175–88, 531–51.

paintings. There are also two central pillar caves, Kizil Caves 180 and 197, that had seated Buddha icons painted all over the barrel-vault beginning from the median strip. Buddha icons were painted over the median strip but as part of the larger image, and therefore, these two caves were also excluded from my list of median strip paintings. Ma Shichang 馬世長 mentioned that there seems to have been flying deities painted on the upper part of the barrel-vault in the main chamber of the Kizil Cave 219.⁵ Nevertheless, the median strip of the barrel-vault in Kizil Cave 219 has a groove carved on the part next to the rear wall, and the ceiling is too much damaged to confirm whether the deities were also painted on the median strip. I, therefore excluded Cave 219 from my list. Cave 198A also has three flying Buddhas and a *garuḍa* (golden-winged bird that devours nāgas or snakes) with snakes in its beak painted on the median strip, but Cave 198A is a corridor for Cave 198, and it is difficult to consider this cave as independent from Cave 198. I, thereupon, eliminated this example from my list. My count of caves with the median strip surviving on the barrel-vault is based on my reading of the report made by Kucha Academy and not on my own field survey. Extensive field research in the future may possibly show different results. Nevertheless, the *Kezi'er shiku neirong zonglu* offers the most extensive report of the status of the Kizil Caves up to now, based on the field research by the members of Kucha Academy, and I would like to suggest that the numbers mentioned by myself in this article would not deviate very much from their actual on-the-ground status.

Now turning back to those thirty-three caves with the median strip paintings, twenty-six caves contained the paintings of heaven (Ch. *tianxiangtu* 天像圖) on the median strip: twenty caves are central pillar caves, four are square caves, one is a rectangular cave, and one is a monumental cave. The numbers are different from Miao Lihui's research that reported fifty-five caves with heaven images. He seems to have included the heaven images painted on the median strips not only of the main chamber, but also the rear corridor and

⁵ Ma, 'Kijiru sekkutsu chūshinchūkutsu', 176; *idem*, 'Kezi'er zhongx-inzhuku', 179.

side corridors of the caves. Still, the seventeen caves with surviving images of heaven that Miao analysed in his article are also included in my list.⁶ The image of heaven was discussed and researched by many scholars until now, being the type with the largest number. One of the earliest comments about this type of painting was written by Ma Shichang in 1984 (in Japanese) and 1989 (in Chinese) in his article about the wall paintings in Kizil Caves. He described the common features of sun, moon, wind, nāgas, flying enlightened figures, and *garuḍas* found in Kizil Caves 8, 34, 38, 97, 98, 126, and 171.⁷ Then in 1987, Zhu Yingrong wrote a groundbreaking article about the possible literary sources and historical backgrounds of the pictorial elements, such as sun and moon, that composed the heavenly paintings on median strips.⁸ Miao Lihui discussed the matters further and sorted the paintings in three different categories, based on the combination of different iconographic elements. He also tried to locate some of the caves in the different time range based on visual elements and carbon-14 dating experiment results.⁹ In 2020, Ines Konczak-Nagel wrote an insightful article that situated the images of heaven in the larger visual programme that encompasses all the painted surfaces of a cave. Her article inspired the readers not only to focus on the images of heaven itself, but also on its context. She showed that the image of heaven was an important element of Buddhist cosmology visually represented in the cave.¹⁰ Monika Zin's latest research is especially fruitful in that she discussed the possibility of the paintings having more than one connotation at the same time; that the image of a flying monk without head or body nimbus may represent an arhat in general but could also be a narrative illustration

⁶ Miao, 'The Ceiling Murals of Kizil', 31–32. The seventeen well-preserved caves discussed by Miao are all included among the examples mentioned in the Table 1 of this article.

⁷ Ma, 'Kijiru sekkutsu chūshinchūkutsu', 173–75; *idem*, 'Kezi'er zhongx-inzhuku', 176–78.

⁸ Zhu, 'Shixi Kuche shiku bihua', 73–78.

⁹ Miao, 'The Ceiling Murals of Kizil', 31–39.

¹⁰ Konczak-Nagel, 'Painted Buddhist Cosmology', 1–10.

of a certain enlightened monk. She also provided her own drawings of the median strips, which are very helpful as many of the paintings are difficult to understand due to the heavy damage.¹¹ Sumāgadhā paintings are, as mentioned above, second in number with five caves; all are central pillar caves. There is also a central pillar cave with flying *hamsas* (usually referring to geese but could also be swans) painted on the median strip. Finally, there is another central pillar cave with colourful stripes painted over the median strip. Table 1 of this article summarises the information about the caves with the painting surviving *in situ* on the median strip or in museum collections.

TABLE 1 Kizil Caves with the Median Strip Paintings of Main Chambers Surviving *in situ* on the Median Strip or in Museum Collections

Theme	Total number	Cave type	Cave number
Heaven	26	Central pillar cave	7, 8, 13, 17, 34, 38, 58, 80, 87, 97, 98, 100, 101, 104, 114, 126, 163, 171, 172, 175
		Square cave	14, 85, 110, 229
		Rectangular cave	118
		Monumental cave	60
Sumāgadhā	5	Central pillar cave	178, 193, 198, 205, 224
<i>Hamsas</i>	1	Central pillar cave	196
Stripe	1	Central pillar cave	179

¹¹ Zin, *Gods, Deities, and Demons*, 175–88, 531–51.

TABLE 2 Monks and Their Attributes in the Mid-Air Procession from Jetavana to Sumāgadhā's Residence in the Kizil Examples

	Kizil Cave 178	Kizil Cave 193	Kizil Cave 198	Kizil Cave 205	Kizil Cave 224
Direction of the procession	towards the rear wall of the main chamber	towards the rear wall of the main chamber	towards the entrance	towards the entrance	towards the entrance
	Sumāgadhā	Sumāgadhā?	damaged	Sumāgadhā	Sumāgadhā
1	carrier of the cooking utensils		monk on a lion	monk carrying the pot and cooking utensils	monk carrying the pot
2	carrier of the pot		monk on an elephant	monk inside a palace	monk seated inside a pavilion-like structure
3	monk with flames emerging from his shoulder		monk on <i>haṃsa</i>	monk riding nāgas	monk on a peacock
4	monk on something		monk seated on a mountain (?)	damaged	monk riding nāgas
5	monk on <i>haṃsa</i>		Vajrapāṇi	a monk on two leopards*	monk on <i>haṃsa</i>
6	monk on <i>garuḍa</i>		set of empty head and body nimbi	one [monk] in a sun disc*	monk on a lion
7	monk on an elephant		Ānanda	one [monk] in a moon disc*	monk on elephants
8	monk on a lion				monk on a predator animal
9	monk riding nāgas				monk on something?

10	set of empty head and body nimbi				monk on a horse
11	damaged	damaged	damaged	damaged?	damaged

* Following Grünwedel's note on the drawing now kept in the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin (TA 6512).

TABLE 3 Monks and Their Attributes in the Mid-Air Procession from Jetavana to Sumāgadhā's Residence According to Three Chinese Texts: *T* no. 125, *T* no. 128a, and *T* no. 128b.*

	<i>T</i> no. 125 (<i>T</i> no. 128b, written in parentheses if different)		<i>T</i> no. 128a	
	Person	Attribute	Person	Attribute
1	Gaṇḍaka	a pot on his back	Gaṇḍaka	a pot and a big ladle
2	Cunda (Xiupo 須跋, Śubha)	500 flower trees	Cunda	500 flower trees
3	Panthaka	500 bulls	Culāpanthaka	500 lions
4	Rāhula	500 peacocks	Rāhula	500 gaṛuḍas
5	Kapphina	500 <i>gaṛuḍas</i>	Subhūti	500 elephant kings
6	Uruvilvākāśyapa	500 nāgas	Mahāmaudga- lyāyana	a mountain of seven jewels
7	Subhūti	a beryl mountain	Mahākāśyapa	500 nāgas
8	Mahākātyāyana	500 <i>haṃsas</i>		
9	Revata	500 tigers		
10	Aniruddha	500 lions		
11	Mahākāśyapa	500 horses		
12	Mahāmaudga- lyāyana	500 elephants		

Around Buddha	Ājñātakauṇḍinya on Buddha's right as the moon. Śāriputra on Buddha's left as the sun. Ānanda after the Buddha.	Ājñātakauṇḍinya on Buddha's left as the moon. Śāriputra on Buddha's right as the sun. Ānanda on the left side of the Buddha.
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* Lai Wen-ying made a table including all Chinese versions and their plots in her work summarised in simplified Chinese (in Lai, 'Lun Kezier shiku Xumotinü gushihua', 62–63), and a table of the painting arrangements in four Kizil Caves (in Lai, 'Lun Kezier shiku Xumotinü gushihua', 64). Ma Shichang made a table comparing the order of the procession of *T* no. 125 and the paintings in Kizil and Dunhuang, in Ma, 'Kijiru sekkutsu chūshinchūkutsu', 176 in *Kizil Grottoes* 1983–1985; Ma, 'Kezi'er shiku zhongxinzhuku', 179 in *Kizil Grottoes* 1989–1997.

All five illustrations of the Sumāgadhā story mentioned in the beginning of this article contain a procession of flying monks, which represents the procession of the enlightened arhats accompanying the Buddha travelling in mid-air to Sumāgadhā. The theme of a mid-air procession of arhats presented in this story could even have been incorporated into a different text such as *Guanfo sanmei hai jing* 觀佛三昧海經 [Sūtra on the Ocean-Like Samādhi of the Visualisation of the Buddha].¹² In most versions of this story, which is well-known in the Buddhist cultural realm, it is with this procession that the rescue of Sumāgadhā begins. This scene is also important, as her call for help, triggered by her prayer accompanied by the pouring of water and the donation of fragrances, was immediately answered in a miraculous way.¹³

¹² According to Nobuyoshi Yamabe, the theme of flying monks from *Sumāgadhāvadāna* may have been incorporated later into the *Guanfo sanmei hai jing* 觀佛三昧海經, *T* no. 643, 15: 648a29–c12. It was possibly depicted on the walls of Toyok Cave 20 without the link to the narrative, as 'a depiction of supernatural powers attained through meditation' as discussed by Akira Miyaji. See Yamabe, 'The Paths of Śrāvakas', 72–74 and Miyaji, 'Turufan Toyoku sekkutsu', 46.

The illustration of Sumāgadhā's rescue was also found in different cultural regions, such as Ajanta in India and Dunhuang in the western part of China. Nevertheless, the focus of the artisans in those regions was strikingly different from the focus of Kizil painters focusing only on Sumāgadhā making an offering and the Buddha's instant response to fly to her with his attendant enlightened monks. In Ajanta, according to Dieter Schlingloff's tentative explanation, the painters' illustrations focused on what happened inside the new home of Sumāgadhā, such as her encounter with naked ascetics and the festive meal with the Buddha.¹⁴ Turning to the second example in Dunhuang Mogao Cave 257, the painters there strived to illustrate all the important events from beginning to end, on the second register from the bottom on the west wall and north wall, painted during the reign of Northern Wei (386–535).¹⁵ Ma Shichang wrote that the order of the monks' procession painted in this cave corresponds perfectly to the version of the Sumāgadhā story in the *Zengyi aban jing* 增壹阿含經 (Skt. *Ekottarikāgama*).¹⁶ Although the content of the illustration in Dunhuang Mogao Cave 257 is the same as the Kizil examples, the style of the painting seems vastly different. Moreover, while the examples from Kizil locate only the Sumāgadhā illustration on the median strip, in Dunhuang it was painted along with other narrative paintings. Given these

¹³ Meanwhile, the gift of fragrances also often appears as part of the good deeds made by persons who will be future Buddhas due to such good actions. For such a story painted in Kucha's cave, Kumtura Cave 34, especially concerning the gift of agarwood, see Konczak, 'Prajñidhi-Darstellungen', 142. For the gift of agarwood made by the persons who will be future Buddhas painted in Bezeklik Caves, see Konczak, 'Prajñidhi-Darstellungen', 232, 237.

¹⁴ Schlingloff, *Ajanta*, vol. 1, 427–29.

¹⁵ Illus. in *The Mogao Grottoes of Dunhuang 1980–1982/1982–1987*, vol. 1, pls. 43–45. Zhongguo Dunhuang bihua quanji bianji weiyuanhui, ed., *Zhongguo Dunhuang bihua quanji*, vol. 1, 153–68; *Dunhuang shiku quanji*, vol. 3, 62–72, pls. 43–53. See also Dunhuang Academy, 'Mogao ku di 257 ku Beiwei'.

¹⁶ Ma, 'Kijiru sekkutsu chūshinchūkutsu', 175–76; *idem*, 'Kezi'er zhongx-inzhuku', 178–79.

differences, we might then ask why the monks or nuns at Kizil may have chosen this specific part of the narrative for the caves' decoration. This article begins from this question and investigates the Sumāgadhā story and its illustration with a focus on the role of fragrance in the Buddhist monasteries. It proposes that the vital role fragrances play in the story was what triggered the placement of its illustrations on the median strip. This article will discuss three key points related to Sumāgadhā illustrations to demonstrate the important role of fragrance offerings in Kucha. First, this article will discuss narrative literature, beginning with the various surviving versions of the Sumāgadhā story and what this tells us about a possible source for the paintings. Second, the paintings will be analysed. I will make a brief outline of the scholarly research on the representations of the Sumāgadhā narrative in Kizil, and address the imagery contained in the paintings, showing that the images highlighted fragrance's role as a messenger between the believer and the Buddha himself. Finally, I will discuss the fragrance's use in Kucha's monasteries, showing that it was not only consumed by both the local monastic community and laypeople, but that it was also deemed so extremely valuable that the offering of such a luxurious material was likely promoted by the monastic community. In short, this article will analyse the surviving texts, paintings, and material objects to show that the monastic community in the Kizil Caves of ancient Kucha may have sought to promote the efficacy of fragrance offering via illustrations of Sumāgadhā's story. The donation of fragrances, which may have been caused by the increase of such faith, could have been one of the possible motivations that influenced the monks and nuns to locate the narrative on the one of the most visible locations inside the caves. As described above, this article will shed light on the various aspects of Buddhist culture in ancient Kucha regarding fragrance.

Narrative Literature

The story of Sumāgadhā converting her in-laws seems to have been popular, judging by its survival in texts written in diverse languages.

The Pāli version of the story was dated ca. 450.¹⁷ The Tibetan version translated in the ninth century also survives in four different editions, according to Yutaka Iwamoto 岩本裕.¹⁸ There are various Sanskrit versions of this story from different periods. First, in the twenty-seventh story of *Divyāvadāna*, *Kuṇālāvadāna*, Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja mentioned the Sumāgadhā episode very briefly without much detail while he recounted his experiences with the Buddha in front of the king Aśoka.¹⁹ Then it was treated in detail by Kṣemendra in his collection of stories in the eleventh century.²⁰ Moreover,

¹⁷ *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, 21 Pakinnakavaggo, 8 Cūlasubbhaddā in Norman, ed., *The Commentary on the Dhammapada*, vol. 3, 465–70. The dating, 450, is based on Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends*, vol. 1, 57–58. Translated into English in *ibid.*, vol. 3, 184–87.

¹⁸ The discussion on the Tibetan text is based on four different editions of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka, Sde dge, Snar thañ, Peking, and Lhasa, found in Iwamoto, ‘Die tibetische Version des *Sumāgadhāvadāna*’, 1–6. The romanised transcription of the original Tibetan text is in *idem*, *Sumāgadhāvadāna*, 111–30; *idem*, *Sumāgadā avadāna kenkyū*, Appendix 3; *idem*, ‘Die tibetische Version des *Sumāgadhāvadāna*’, 7–19. Translated fully into Japanese in *idem*, *Sumāgadā avadāna kenkyū*, 71–96.

¹⁹ *Divyāvadāna*, twenty-seventh story, *Kuṇālāvadāna*, 258, line 12. Translated into English in Strong, *The Legend of King Aśoka*, 263. According to Buswell and Lopez, eds., *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, 262, the stories in this collection seem to be old as the beginning of the common era, but as the earliest extant manuscript is dated as made in seventeenth century, the formation of current collection may be late.

²⁰ Kṣemendra’s *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* from the eleventh century, no. 93. The romanised transcription of the original Sanskrit text in Iwamoto, *Sumāgadhāvadāna*, 89–98; *idem*, *Sumāgadā avadāna kenkyū*, Appendix 2. Translated fully into Japanese in *idem*, *Sumāgadā avadāna kenkyū*, 55–69. Iwamoto consulted the two manuscripts in Cambridge University (Add. 1306 and Add. 913) and the Bibliotheca Indica’s publication of the Sanskrit version along with the Tibetan translation of the *Avadānakalpalatā* for his transcription and translation, which I in turn consulted. Also see de Jong, *Textcritical Remarks on the Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*, 230–37; Mejer, *Kṣemendra’s Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*, 47, 79.

there are eight Sanskrit manuscripts of *Sumāgadhāvadāna* surviving today, dated later than the thirteenth century, and studied by Yutaka Iwamoto.²¹ Finally, Sumāgadhā's story was also included in the later literary collection named *Avadānasārasamuccaya*.²² In Chinese, there are five Chinese translations ranging from the third to eleventh centuries included in the Taishō Tripiṭaka. These are *Foshuo Sanmojie jing* 佛說三摩竭經 (Skt. *Sumāgadhāvadāna*),²³ *Xumotinü jing* 須摩提女經 (Skt. *Sumāgadhāvadāna*),²⁴ the other, second, *Xumotinü jing* 須摩提女經 (Skt. *Sumāgadhāvadāna*),²⁵ the third story in the thirtieth chapter *Xutuopin* 須陀品 [Chapter of Sudhā (this may be related to the fact that this chapter begins with Sudhā's story)] in the twenty-second fascicle of the *Zengyi ahan jing* 增壹阿含經 (Skt. *Ekottarikāgama*),²⁶

²¹ Edited Sanskrit text in Iwamoto, *Sumāgadhāvadāna*, 7–44; *idem*, *Sumāgadā avadāna kenkyū*, Appendix 1. Abbreviated English Translation in *idem*, *Sumāgadhāvadāna*, 83–88.

²² The surviving manuscripts of *Avadānasārasamuccaya* are later than the nineteenth century according to Handurukande, ed. and trans., *Five Buddhist Legends*, 3–5. The exact number of this story is unknown to the author. It was recorded as the fourteenth story in manuscript Add. 1598 kept in the Cambridge library, as discussed by Handurukande, 'The Avadānasārasamuccaya', 88–89 and Hahn, *Poetical Vision of the Buddha's Former Lives*, 49–50. However, the official number of the story seems to be different, as the fourteenth story of the whole collection, also surviving in different manuscripts, is recorded as the story of Mayūra. See Hahn, *Haribhaṭṭa and Gopadatta*, 6.

²³ T no. 129, 2: 843a24–845c1. Summarised English translation in Iwamoto, *Sumāgadhāvadāna*, 175–78. Full English translation of this text in Tokiwai, *Studien zum Sumāgadhāvadāna*, 40–52. Full Japanese translation in Iwamoto, *Sumāgadā avadāna kenkyū*, 173–82.

²⁴ T no. 128a, 2: 835c15–837c7. Summarised English translation in Iwamoto, *Sumāgadhāvadāna*, 171–74. There is a full English translation of this text in Tokiwai, *Studien zum Sumāgadhāvadāna*, 52–63. Full Japanese translation in Iwamoto, *Sumāgadā avadāna kenkyū*, 159–67.

²⁵ T no. 128b, 2: 837c9–843a21.

²⁶ T no. 125, 2: 660a01–665b10. Full Japanese translation in Iwamoto, *Sumāgadā avadāna kenkyū*, 135–57. Summarised English translation in Iwamoto,

and *Foshuo Jigu zhangzhe nü dedu yinyuan jing* 佛說給孤長者女得度因緣經 (Skt. *Sumāgadhāvadāna*).²⁷

The basic plot of the story is as follows: the wealthy patron of Buddhism, Anāthapiṇḍada, had a daughter named Sumāgadhā. She is also called Sumatī in Chinese sources and Cūlasubhaddā in Pāli. A son of a prosperous merchant family from another city, in some versions a king who seeks a bride for his son, asks for her hand in marriage. The families were about equal in wealth; the only problem was that this man's family were heretics that revered naked ascetics. Anāthapiṇḍada consults the Buddha, asking whether he should marry his daughter to a heretic family; the Buddha answers that he should consent and thus Sumāgadhā is married to a heretic man. Her family-in-law offers a large wedding banquet for the heretic ascetics, whom Sumāgadhā refuses to serve. This causes uproar and anger among the naked ascetics. After talking with her in-laws, she invites the Buddha and his disciples, via sending the odour of fragrance as a messenger, to the in-laws' home at their request. The Buddha and the arhat monks fly from Jetavana to Sumāgadhā's place. The Buddha gives a sermon, and as a result, many residents of the town, including Sumāgadhā's in-laws, are converted to Buddhism.

A possible source for the Sumāgadhā story was identified by Iwamoto in the Viśākhā story as conveyed in the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*.²⁸ Viśākhā was the most famous female patron of Buddhism, standing as a counterpart to Anāthapiṇḍada.²⁹ According to the Pāli sources summarised in the *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*,³⁰ Viśākhā lived in

Sumāgadhāvadāna, 164–68. Full English translation in Tokiwai, *Studien zum Sumāgadhāvadāna*, 17–40.

²⁷ *T* no. 130, 2: 845c7–854a28. Full Japanese translation in Iwamoto, *Sumāgadā avadāna kenkyū*, 98–130. Summarised English translation in Iwamoto, *Sumāgadhāvadāna*, 134–60. Summarised German translation in Waldschmidt, *Die Legende vom Leben des Buddha*, 209–18.

²⁸ Iwamoto, *Sumāgadā avadāna kenkyū*, 198–203.

²⁹ Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, vol. 2, 900–04, s.v. 'Viśākhā'.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

Sāketa near Śrāvastī. After marriage to Pūrṇavardhana from a heretic family in Śrāvastī, she lived with her in-laws. Her father-in-law served Jainism, and her son, Migāra, was named after him. One day, a Buddhist monk came to their house while he was collecting alms. Migāra, Viśākhā's father-in-law, continued to eat and offered nothing to the monk. At that moment, Viśākhā said to the monk that he should leave and go on, as her father-in-law was busy eating rotten food. The father-in-law was furious and wanted to dismiss her. Viśākhā asked Migāra to let eight householders designated by her father judge her and decide whether she had made a mistake. These householders said she was not guilty and wanted her to return to her own family. Migāra was sorry and asked her to stay. Viśākhā said that she would stay if he allowed her to invite the Buddha and his disciples. The Buddha visited them and converted everyone, including Migāra.

Returning to the Sumāgadhā story, none of the surviving texts corresponds perfectly with the illustrations in the Kizil. Among those texts, *Foshuo Sanmojie jing*, translated by Chu Lü-yen 竺律炎 in 230, focuses solely on the Buddha's reaction to Sumāgadhā's request for rescue made by burning incense. This text does not mention anything about her former life, which seems relevant given that the illustrations in the Kizil Caves also lack this part of the story. Meanwhile, there is an episode of Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja flying while carrying a mountain to follow the Buddha who went to see Sumāgadhā included in *Foshuo Sanmojie jing*, and this episode was also mentioned in the *Kuṇālāvadāna* in *Divyāvadāna*.³¹ Iwamoto supposes that the *Foshuo Sanmojie jing* might be related to the Sarvāstivāda school.³² While this text, *Foshuo Sanmojie jing*, shows connection with the illustrations in Kizil, the text does not mention the presence of the carriers of the cooking utensils and vessels that are shown clearly in three examples found in Kizil: Kizil Cave 178 (Figs. 2–3),³³ Kizil Cave 205

³¹ *Divyāvadāna*, 258, line 12. Translated into English in Strong, *The Legend of King Aśoka*, 263.

³² Iwamoto, *Sumāgadā avadāna kenkyū*, 183–84, 188.

³³ Kizil, Cave 178, main chamber, barrel-vault, median strip, taken by the



FIG. 2 Scenes of Buddha's Former Lives. Kizil, Cave 178, main chamber, barrel-vault, left haunch. Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin (no. III 8449), in: <https://id.smb.museum/object/848618/vorgeburtenszenen-jatakas-buddhas>. Photo: Jürgen Liepe © Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin / Jürgen Liepe.

third German expedition now kept in Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin (no. III 8449). Illustrated in Grünwedel, *Alt-Kutscha*, fig. II 42; *Mural Paintings in Xinjiang of China*, vol. 3, 116–17, pl. 102; Zhao et al., eds., *Kezi'er shiku bibua fuyuan*, vol. 2, 442–43. Drawing by Grünwedel illustrated in Grünwedel, *Alt-Kutscha*, fig. II 44; Zhao et al., eds., *Kezi'er shiku bibua fuyuan*, vol. 2, 444–45.

(Figs. 4–5),³⁴ and Kizil Cave 224 (Fig. 6),³⁵ that will be discussed below. This source also lacks detail on the procession of miraculous monks, only saying that they all went together to Sumāgadhā by flying. It seems, therefore, that *Foshuo Sanmojie jing* may not have been the closest source literature for the paintings in Kizil.

³⁴ Kizil, Cave 205, main chamber, barrel-vault, median strip, fragment containing a monk surrounded by a garland of nāgas taken by the German expedition; the rest of the painting is *in situ*. The state of preservation *in situ* at the time of the German expedition was illustrated in a historical photograph taken by the third German expedition in 1906, now kept in the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin (no. B 824). Illustrated in Le Coq and Waldschmidt, *Die buddhistische Spätantike VI*, 40, fig. 95; Zhao et al., eds., *Kezi'er shiku bibua fuyuan*, vol. 2, 607. Also illustrated in historical photograph by the French expedition in Musée Guimet, Paris (no. AP 7497). Drawing by Grünwedel now kept in Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin (no. TA 6512), illustrated in Grünwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten*, 165, fig. 382; Le Coq and Waldschmidt, *Die buddhistische Spätantike VII*, 52, fig. 33. The fragment with the monk surrounded with nāgas taken by the fourth German expedition, and now kept in the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin (no. III 9075). Illustrated in the historical photographs in Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin (nos. A 495, B 64). Illustrated in Le Coq and Waldschmidt, *Die buddhistische Spätantike VII*, Tafel 19b (detail); *Mural Paintings in Xinjiang of China: Kucha*, 85; *Mural Paintings in Xinjiang of China*, vol. 2, 128, pl. 117; Zhao et al., eds., *Kezi'er shiku bibua fuyuan*, vol. 2, 607. The rest of the painting is *in situ*. Illustrated in *Kizil Grottoes 1983–1985/1989–1997*, vol. 3, pls. 115, 117; *Mural Paintings in Xinjiang of China*, vol. 2, 127; Zhao et al., eds., *Kezi'er shiku bibua fuyuan*, vol. 2, 606. Partly illustrated in Tan and An, *Shinkyō no hekiga*, vol. 2, pl. 157; *Mural Paintings in Xinjiang of China*, vol. 2, 127, pl. 116.

³⁵ Kizil, Cave 224, main chamber, barrel-vault, median strip. Illustrated in Tan and An, *Shinkyō no hekiga*, vol. 2, pls. 181–82; *Kizil Grottoes 1983–1985/1989–1997*, vol. 3, pls. 142–50; *Mural Paintings in Xinjiang of China: Kucha*, 94; *Mural Paintings in Xinjiang of China*, vol. 2, 156–59, pls. 140–41. Visible in the historical photograph taken by the French expedition, now kept in Musée Guimet, Paris (no. AP 7483); *Kizil Grottoes 1983–1985/1989–1997*, vol. 3, pl. 156; Zhao et al., eds., *Haiwai Kezi'er shiku bibua*, 138, pl. 168.



FIG. 4 Monks Flying to Sumāgadhā. Kizil, Cave 205, main chamber, barrel-vault, median strip. Photograph taken on the third German expedition in 1906 (no. B 824). © Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

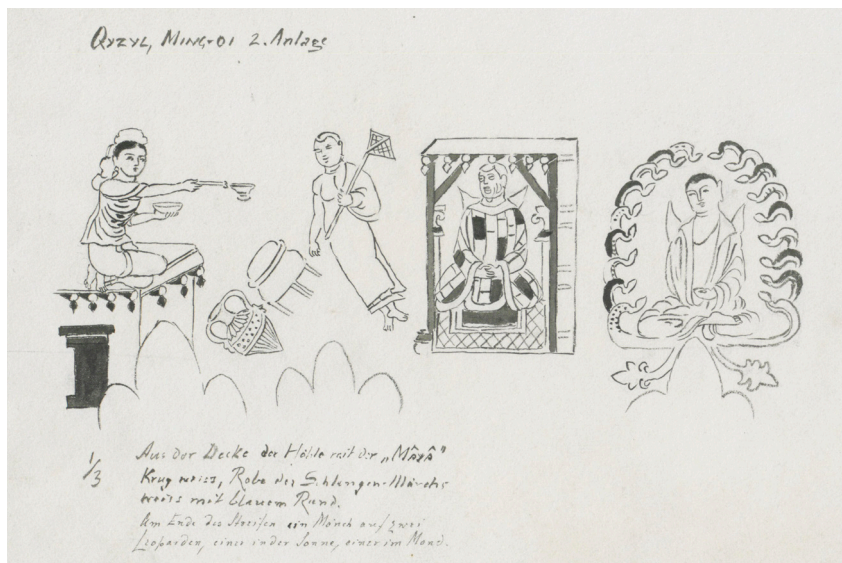


FIG. 5 Monks Flying to Sumāgadhā. Kizil, Cave 205, main chamber, barrel-vault, median strip. Drawing by Albert Grünwedel (no. TA 6512). © Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.



FIG. 6 Monks Flying to Sumāgadhā. Kizil, Cave 224, main chamber, barrel-vault, median strip. Drawing by Ji Ho Yi.

Of the texts I have consulted, the carriers of cooking utensils and vessels, such as the monk with the kitchen tools at the beginning of the procession depicted in the images of Kucha, are only mentioned in the following three texts. In other texts they are absent. The first of these texts is an independent short sūtra, *Xumotinü jing*, translated by Zhi Qian 支謙 between 223 and 253.³⁶ In this article, I will call this text the first *Xumotinü jing*. The second is the thirtieth chapter in the *Zengyi aban jing*, translated by Gautama Saṃghadeva (Ch. Qutan Sengqietipo 瞿曇僧伽提婆) in 397.³⁷ The third text has the same title as the first text, *Xumotinü jing*,³⁸ translated by Zhi Qian between 223 and 253, will be called the second *Xumotinü jing* in this article. Yutaka Iwamoto writes that the Sumāgadhā story in the third text, the second *Xumotinü jing*, and the *Zengyi aban jing* seem to have been transmitted by the Dharmaguptakas.³⁹

In contrast to the *Foshuo Sanmojie jing*, these three texts (the first and second *Xumotinü jing* and the thirtieth chapter in the *Zengyi aban jing*) mentioned the carrier of cooking utensils in the procession and focused on describing renowned monks. Nevertheless, there are differences between the three texts to be discussed below. The critical difference among these three texts is the method that Sumāgadhā used to deliver the fragrance to the Buddha. As mentioned above, Ma Shichang suggested that the source narrative for the images in Kizil could be the version in *Zengyi aban jing*, whose

³⁶ T no. 128a, 2: 835c15–837c7. Summarised English translation in Iwamoto, *Sumāgadhāvadāna*, 171–74. There is a full English translation of this text in Tokiwai, *Studien zum Sumāgadhāvadāna*, 52–63. Full Japanese translation in Iwamoto, *Sumāgadā avadāna kenkyū*, 159–67.

³⁷ T no. 125, 2: 660a01–665b10. Full Japanese translation in Iwamoto, *Sumāgadā avadāna kenkyū*, 135–57. Summarised English translation in Iwamoto, *Sumāgadhāvadāna*, 164–168. Full English translation in Tokiwai, *Studien zum Sumāgadhāvadāna*, 17–40.

³⁸ T no. 128b, 2: 837c9–843a21.

³⁹ Iwamoto, *Sumāgadā avadāna kenkyū*, 188.

story of Sumāgadhā is also found in the second *Xumotinü jing*.⁴⁰ In *Zengyi aban jing* and the second *Xumotinü jing*, Sumāgadhā burns incense on top of a pavilion. In contrast, in the first *Xumotinü jing*, Sumāgadhā anointed her own body with the fragrances. The Sanskrit versions except the *Divyāvadāna*, Pāli, Tibetan, and Chinese texts, written later than these four—*Foshuo Sanmojie jing*, the first and second *Xumotinü jing*, and *Zengyi aban jing*—seem to focus equally or sometimes more on the former life story of Sumāgadhā and what good deeds she did in her former life to have been born rich and meritorious.⁴¹ The four early Chinese texts above focus more on the reaction of the Buddha to Sumāgadhā's request, although they do briefly mention about the Sumāgadhā's former life that brought merits in her present life. It seems, therefore, that these later Sanskrit versions and Tibetan versions of the narrative are more distant from the Kizil paintings than the early Chinese translations discussed above.

Based on images it is possible to conclude that the versions of the Sumāgadhā story surviving in Chinese translations of the two texts with the same title of *Xumotinü jing*, *Zengyi aban jing*, and possibly also the *Foshuo Sanmojie jing* would have been available to the monastics who designed the cave.

Paintings

The paintings illustrating the Sumāgadhā story in the caves of ancient Kucha have been much discussed by scholars. In the following, I would like to propose that the Sumāgadhā story was probably selected to be depicted on the median strip to promote the offering of fragrance. The five examples in Kizil (Caves 178 (Figs. 2–3), 193⁴²

⁴⁰ Ma, 'Kijiru sekkutsu chūshinchūkutsu', 175–76; *idem*, 'Kezi'er shiku zhongxinzhuku', 178–79.

⁴¹ Iwamoto, *Sumāgadā avadāna kenkyū*, 187–90.

⁴² Kizil, Cave 193, main chamber, barrel-vault, median strip, *in situ*. Visible in *Mural Paintings in Xinjiang of China*, vol. 3, 211, pl. 188; Zhao et al., eds., *Haiwai Kezi'er shiku bibua*, 108, pl. 135; *idem*, *Kezi'er shiku bibua fuyuan*, vol. 2, 538.



FIG. 7 Person Seated on the Building (Sumāgadhā). Kizil, Cave 193, main chamber, barrel-vault, detail of the median strip, *in situ*. Drawing by Ji Ho Yi.

(Fig. 7), 198⁴³ (Fig. 8), 205 (Figs. 4–5), and 224 (Fig. 6) seem to be identical in their source narrative and they all depict the story of Sumāgadhā's rescue. Scholars agreed that the median strip paintings of the Kizil Cave 178 (Figs. 2–3), 198 (Fig. 8), 205 (Figs. 4–5), and 224 (Fig. 6) do represent the narrative of Sumāgadhā. Nevertheless, previous researchers have focused on their relationship to Buddhist values and literature, and their possible connections with the local Buddhist culture have not yet been studied in depth. Beyond this, the existence of a Sumāgadhā illustration in Kizil Cave 193 (Fig. 7) has not been recognised in previous research except in the recent study by

⁴³ Kizil, Cave 198, main chamber, barrel-vault, median strip. Illustrated in *Mural Paintings in Xinjiang of China*, vol. 3, 221, pl. 198. Partly visible in Zhao et al., eds., *Kezi'er shiku bibua fuyuan*, vol. 2, 548.



FIG. 8 Buddha and Monks Flying to Sumāgadhā. Kizil, Cave 198, main chamber, barrel-vault, median strip, *in situ*. Drawing by Ji Ho Yi.

Monika Zin. In the following, I will briefly outline the most important scholarly interpretations of these five examples.

In 1912, Albert Grünwedel recognised the paintings on the zenith in Kizil Cave 205 (Figs. 4–5) and 224 (Fig. 6) as illustrations of the Sumāgadhā story.⁴⁴ However, he did not confirm the example in Kizil Cave 198 (Fig. 8) as illustrating that same story, only describing the image,⁴⁵ and he also did not recognise the story's possible presence in Kizil Cave 193 (Fig. 7). In the case of Kizil Cave 178 (Figs. 2–3), Grünwedel interpreted the zenith painting as showing the reception of the arhat teacher by a Brahman woman.⁴⁶ In my view, however, it is unlikely that the example from Kizil Cave 178 (Figs. 2–3) depicts a different theme than that shown in Kizil Caves 205 (Figs. 4–5) and 224 (Fig. 6), which have similar iconography. Still, it is noteworthy that Grünwedel also recognised that depicting the figures as flying mid-air with flames and water emitting from their bodies was an important iconographical element used for fully enlightened figures, as they can control the natural elements.⁴⁷

In 1928, contrary to Grünwedel, Ernst Waldschmidt proposed that the example from Kizil Cave 178 (Figs. 2–3) seems to illustrate the same Sumāgadhā story as in Kizil Caves 198 (Fig. 8) and 205 (Figs. 4–5). It was a claim he made based on iconography, such as the woman pressing her hands together and two servants with pots

⁴⁴ Grünwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten*, 165, 167–68, fig. 382.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 139.

⁴⁶ Grünwedel, *Alt-Kutscha*, II 81–II 82 (II, 61). A woman on the right end of the picture welcomes the mid-air procession of monks led by two servants carrying the cooking utensils. The persons carrying the cooking utensils were therefore read by Grünwedel as carrying water to show the zeal and skilfulness of the woman to serve the arhat. Grünwedel then read the scene from left to right, from the empty aureole to the flying monk with flames emitting from the shoulder that is behind two servants carrying cooking utensils in front of the woman. Here he proposed that the aureole is a sign of arhat status, and the various carriers, like snakes and *hamṣa*, are serving the arhat, who is showing his mighty power of levitation, being an arhat and the pratyekabuddha.

⁴⁷ Grünwedel, *Alt-Kutscha*, I 60–I 61 (I, 42).

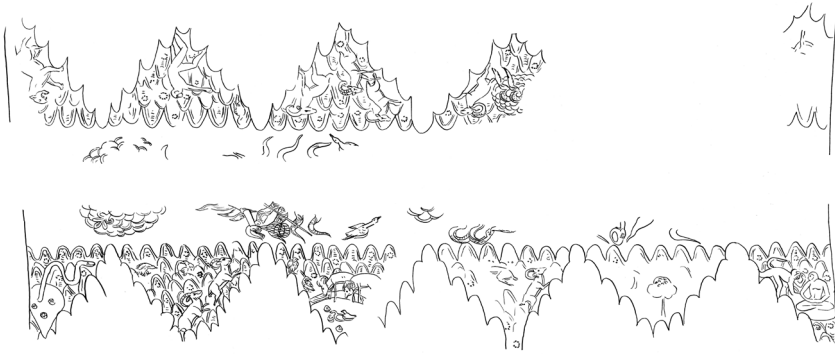


FIG. 9 Nāga, Haṃsa, and Flying Monks. Kizil, Cave 114, main chamber, barrel-vault, median strip, partly *in situ*, partly taken by the fourth German expedition, now kept in the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin (no. III 9103). Reconstructive drawing by Monika Zin.

hurrying to her.⁴⁸ In 1933, Waldschmidt confirmed his stance on the connection between the examples from Kizil Caves 178 (Figs. 2–3), 198 (Fig. 8), and 205 (Figs. 4–5), and further proposed that the median strip painting from Kizil Cave 114⁴⁹ (Fig. 9, not discussed in Grünwedel’s description)⁵⁰ should also be read as another illustration of Sumāgadhā’s story.⁵¹ Waldschmidt did not recognise the example

⁴⁸ Le Coq and Waldschmidt, *Die buddhistische Spätantike VI*, 40.

⁴⁹ Kizil, Cave 114, main chamber, barrel-vault, median strip, partly *in situ*, partly taken by the fourth German expedition, now kept in the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin (no. III 9103). Illustrated in *Kizil Grottoes 1983–1985/1989–1997*, vol. 2, pl. 134, *Mural Paintings in Xinjiang of China*, vol. 1, p. 187, pl. 165; Zhao et al., eds., *Kezi’er shiku bihua fuyuan*, vol. 1, 282–83. Partly illustrated in Le Coq and Waldschmidt, *Die buddhistische Spätantike VII*, Tafel 11–12; Zhao et al., eds., *Haiwai Kezi’er shiku bihua*, 58, pl. 63; Zhao et al., eds., *Kezi’er shiku bihua fuyuan*, vol. 1, 266. Zhao Li’s reconstruction in *idem*, *Kezi’er shiku bihua fuyuan*, vol. 1, 284–85. Reconstructive drawing by Monika Zin in Zin, *Gods, Deities and Demons*, 537.

⁵⁰ Grünwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten*, 115.

⁵¹ Le Coq and Waldschmidt, *Die buddhistische Spätantike VII*, 42–43.

from Kizil Cave 193 (Fig. 7). His claim concerning Kizil Cave 114 (Fig. 9) was based on the residue of a monk's hand carrying an almsbowl and the snakes and *haṃsas* flying in the air. Nevertheless, the iconography differs from the other examples of Sumāgadhā illustrations to be discussed below. In addition, this image is very similar to the typical representations of flying arhats and the Buddhas in the median strips of many caves in Kucha.⁵² Moreover, Waldschmidt seems to have interpreted the paintings according to his reading of *Foshuo Jigu zhangzhe nü dedu yinyuan jing*, a Chinese translation from the year 1006 by Dānapāla (Ch. Shihu 施護) that is similar to the later Sanskrit versions that also focus much on the former life of Sumāgadhā.⁵³ This text seems to be the one that he used in the year 1929 to interpret a Tibetan scroll in the Berlin collection, based on his understanding of the monk riding the nāgas as Ājñātakauṇḍinya being the first monk among the procession.⁵⁴ The *Foshuo Jigu zhangzhe nü dedu yinyuan jing*, however, does not mention the carrier of kitchen tools that often appear in the Kizil paintings, and this text has much longer descriptions about the procession of monks than the earlier translations made before the fourth century.

In the wake of Grünwedel's and Waldschmidt's research, subsequent scholars would come to accept the four examples from Kizil Caves 178 (Figs. 2–3), 198 (Fig. 8), 205 (Figs. 4–5), and 224 (Fig. 6). Discussion on the four paintings has been ongoing. In the 1980s, Ma Shichang tried to identify the source narrative for the four accepted examples in the Kizil Caves, concluding that

⁵² Zin, *Gods, Deities, and Demons*, 531–51.

⁵³ *Foshuo Jigu zhangzhe nü dedu yinyuan jing*, T no. 130, 2: 845c7–854a28. Full Japanese translation in Iwamoto, *Sumāgadā avadāna kenkyū*, 98–130. Summarised English translation in *idem*, *Sumāgadhāavadāna*, 134–60. Summarised German translation in Waldschmidt, *Die Legende vom Leben des Buddha*, 209–18. Its relationship with the Sanskrit version was discussed in Iwamoto, *Sumāgadhāavadāna*, 160–63; *idem*, *Sumāgadā avadāna kenkyū*, 187–90.

⁵⁴ Waldschmidt, *Die Legende vom Leben des Buddha*, 209–18. The title of the source text (Text V) is mentioned in pages 245–46.

they are closest to the version in *Zengyi aban jing*.⁵⁵ In 2014, Lai Wen-ying addressed the paintings depicting the Sumāgadhā story in her discussion of the visual representation of dharmakāya in the Buddhist caves.⁵⁶ In 2015, Angela Falco Howard located this story in a visual programme centred on meditation, mentioning that levitation depicted in the illustration of *Sumāgadhāvadāna* was the fruit of meditative practice.⁵⁷ Yet the example from Kizil Cave 193 (Fig. 7) that I am proposing here was not recognised, possibly because of its damaged present state. Lastly, Monika Zin proposed in 2023 that the remaining fragment of the median strip of the barrel-vault of the main chamber in Kizil Cave 193 (Fig. 7) could be considered as an illustration of the Sumāgadhā story.⁵⁸ The example from Kizil Cave 193 (Fig. 7) also seems to share one of the most important features of the illustration of this story that is commonly featured in the other examples: a woman kneeling on the building structure. Having now outlined the key scholarship, I will offer a close description of each of the examples in turn. In doing so, I will establish the following points. First, the scene selected to represent this story by the monks and nuns of Kizil shows the role of fragrance as a messenger between a layperson and the Buddha. Second, the examples in Kizil illustrate the carriers of cooking utensils and vessels, showing their connection with specific texts translated into Chinese before the fourth century.

Kizil Cave 178

The median strip painting from Kizil Cave 178 (Figs. 2–3) is the best preserved of the five examples. It is currently in the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, in Berlin, Germany, under inventory number III

⁵⁵ See Ma, ‘Kijiru sekkutsu chūshinchūkutsu’, 175–76; *idem*, ‘Kezi’er zhongx-inzhuku’, 178–79.

⁵⁶ Lai, ‘Lun Kezier shiku Xumotinü gushihua’, 58–65.

⁵⁷ Howard, ‘The Visual Language of Meditation’, 124–31.

⁵⁸ Zin, *Gods, Deities, and Demons*, 181.

8449 (Fig. 2). The fragment was detached from the left haunch of the barrel-vault. The procession of monks begins from what would have been the side nearest to the entrance and proceeds towards what would have been the side closest to the rear wall of the main chamber. In the image, Sumāgadhā seems to kneel before a gate connected to a building. She is located on the right end of the representation. Before her there are two figures wearing only undergarments and carrying a pot and cooking utensils like a ladle and a wooden board. A monk in black robes follows them and seems to walk in the air with flames emerging from his shoulder. This flame issuing from the shoulder is a feature repeated in many other figures in this scene, which could be a sign of the superhuman features of an enlightened being. The flame is observed in the images of many monks, nuns, and the Buddha figures illustrated in Kucha. The next monk is surrounded by a body nimbus and sits in meditation; then comes a monk seated above the group of white *hamsas*; then a monk follows him, seated in a meditative pose upon a *garuḍa*. Next comes a monk seated above an elephant, then a monk upon a lion, and a monk surrounded by *nāgas*. The final ‘figure’ at the far left is a set of head and body nimbi without a human figure inside. Ines Konczak-Nagel noted that the combination of head and body nimbi is only present in the case of the fully enlightened Buddha in the paintings of Kucha, including the Kizil Caves.⁵⁹ She further elaborated that the iconography of arhats and pratyekabuddhas are also different in Kucha’s caves, with a pratyekabuddha signified with only the head nimbus, and the arhat without any nimbus, but often only with flames and water emitted from the body. Therefore, these head and body nimbi may represent a Buddha in an aniconic way. The exact meaning of the empty mandorla lacking the Buddha figure is not yet known, but both nimbi suggest it was meant as the perfectly enlightened Buddha,⁶⁰ and in the context of our narrative, Śākyamuṇi. In this example, Sumāgadhā does not hold an incense burner, and there are persons carrying kitchen utensils. This image, therefore, could be connected

⁵⁹ Konczak-Nagel, ‘Representations of Architecture’, 49–55.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 54.

with the first *Xumotinü jing*, in which Sumāgadhā does not burn incense but anoints the fragrance on her own body.

Based on Grünwedel's description of Cave 178, there were two rows of the donor portraits on each side of the front wall of the main chamber.⁶¹ There are also donor figures in the antechamber revering cult figures with details on their attributes unknown.⁶² Returning to Grünwedel,⁶³ on the right side of the entrance was a portrait of a man with armour and a red skirt and his wife behind him wearing a crown, a green robe, and a pink jacket with violet-grey borders and holding the stalk of a flower that looks like a fleur-de-lys design. These two were followed by a girl wearing a yellow jacket and a sky-blue skirt. Below them, there were four monks in red robes in a row, with the first monk holding an incense burner. The other side, the left side of the entrance, had two rows of four monks wearing red robes. The attributes mentioned here, the stalk of flower and an incense burner, also remind us of the fragrance caused by these items.

Kizil Cave 193

The example from Kizil Cave 193 (Fig. 7) remains *in situ*. A small section of the image remains on the barrel-vault near the rear wall of the main chamber. This extant section contains part of a building structure and the silhouette of a person seated upon it. There is critical damage to the image, and as a result it cannot be identified with certainty. Regarding the visual programme of the cave as a whole, Ines Konczak-Nagel mentioned the Kizil Cave 193 could possibly be one of the caves that are 'decorated with a pictorial programme that appears to represent cosmological space and time'.⁶⁴ Meanwhile, regarding the median strip of the main

⁶¹ Grünwedel, *Alt-Kutscha*, II 57–58 (II, 39).

⁶² Xinjiang Qiuci shiku yanjiusuo, *Kezi'er shiku neirong zonglu*, 200; Lai, 'Lun Kezier shiku Xumotinü gushihua', 64.

⁶³ Grünwedel, *Alt-Kutscha*, II 57–58 (II, 39).

⁶⁴ Konczak-Nagel, 'Painted Buddhist Cosmology', 1, note 3.

chamber, Monika Zin proposed that the surviving fragment *in situ* could have illustrated the Sumāgadhā story.⁶⁵ I agree that the woman seated upon a building seems likely to be another image of Sumāgadhā, although the image in Kizil Cave 193 is too fragmentary. Admittedly, an outstanding problem would be that the structure under the person resembles a city fortification more than a house, as it is decorated with merlons that are simplified into a row of triangles in the picture.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, I would argue that the location of the fragment on the median strip next to the rear wall, where the long image would end with Sumāgadhā welcoming the procession of monks and the Buddha, suggests it illustrated the Sumāgadhā story.

At the time of Grünwedel's visit to a cave in 1906, the donor portraits were painted on the jamb of the left and right-side corridors, showing men and women wearing Klappenrock (a coat fastened with a belt with one lapel covering the other; could be coarsely translated as a flap coat).⁶⁷ Grünwedel did not comment on their attributes. There was also a group portrait of four monks in front of the niche on the outer wall of the right-side corridor.⁶⁸ These are not preserved *in situ*, and possibly no longer preserved.⁶⁹ Meanwhile, according to the *Kezi'er shiku neirong zonglu*, there are additional donor portraits in the antechamber.⁷⁰ There is one Kuchean donor painted on the right side of the passageway from the antechamber to the main chamber. On the right sidewall of the antechamber was a lay donor and a monk painted on each side of the standing Buddha on the middle register, and on the lower register, there were the portraits of the Kuchean lay donors.

⁶⁵ Zin, *Gods, Deities, and Demons*, 181.

⁶⁶ Konczak-Nagel, 'Representations of Architecture', 29–33, Drawings II-4, II-5, II-6, II-7, II-14, II-21, II-23, II-24a, II-24b, and II-30.

⁶⁷ Grünwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten*, 132. See Dreyer, *Abenteuer Seidenstrasse*, 152–69 for more details regarding the German expedition in Kizil.

⁶⁸ Grünwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten*, 132.

⁶⁹ Qiuci shiku yanjiusuo, *Kezi'er shiku neirong zonglu*, 218.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 217.

Kizil Cave 198

The example from Kizil Cave 198 (Fig. 8), which also remains *in situ* and has partial damage on the median strip, is very similar to the image in Kizil Cave 178 (Figs. 1–2). Here, however, only seven figures in the procession are extant, with the rest lost. Interestingly, the procession on the median strip of Kizil Cave 198 (Fig. 8) proceeds towards the entrance, in contrast to Kizil Cave 178 (Figs. 1–2) and Kizil Cave 193 (Fig. 7), where the procession goes towards the rear wall. Among the extant figures, the first monk on the left end sits on an animal with a long tail, resembling that of a lion. To his right is a monk with flames emerging from his shoulders, seated upon four or five elephants. Next, a monk seated upon the group of *ham̐sas* follows him, surrounded by a round body nimbus with radiating lines resembling the sun. A monk seated inside a floating mountain follows him. Vajrapāṇi comes after him, making way for the Buddha, who is not in the drawing, but represented as the set of empty head halo and body nimbus without the human figure inside the nimbi instead. The set of empty nimbi is followed by a monk dressed in a brown robe; probably Ānanda, based on the translated texts. The surviving parts are not sufficient for me to conclude their direct link with a certain text.

Kizil Cave 198 (Fig. 8) had rows of monks with donors on the second register of the inner and outer wall on its left and right-side corridors. According to Grünwedel, there was a group portrait of the monk leading the procession, followed by six lay donors described by him as female donors based on their wearing long coats with Brāhmī inscriptions on the outer wall of the left side corridor.⁷¹ On the inner wall of the left side corridor was a group portrait of five monks.⁷² It seems that the fourth German expedition took the wall painting containing five monks and brought it to Berlin to be registered under the number IB 9058. Grünwedel also wrote that on the inner and outer walls of the right-side corridor there were portraits of men with long

⁷¹ Grünwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten*, 139.

⁷² *Ibid.*

swords.⁷³ These paintings were taken out by the German expedition in fragments and are now dispersed among different museums. One of them is now in the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg, Russia (БД 816,⁷⁴ Fig. 10). The St. Petersburg piece contains an image of three monks. There are three other pieces in Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin. The first piece contains three lay donors followed by a monk and another lay donor (no. III 8428a,⁷⁵ Fig. 11). The second piece contains two standing donors, a standing monk, and four torsos of lay donors (III 8428b,⁷⁶ Fig. 12). The third piece contains two monks and two lay donors (III 8428c,⁷⁷ Fig. 13). I

⁷³ Grünwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten*, 141.

⁷⁴ Kizil, Cave 198, left side corridor, inner wall, second register, taken out by the fourth German expedition, now kept in State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (no. БД 816), the three monks in the fragments were formerly part of the object IB 9058 in the Berlin collection. Illustrated in Zhao et al., eds., *Kezi'er shiku bibua fuyuan*, vol. 2, 559. Zhao Li's reconstruction in Zhao et al., eds., *Kezi'er shiku bibua fuyuan*, vol. 2, 560

⁷⁵ Kizil, Cave 198, side corridor, second register, taken by the third German expedition. Now kept in Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin (no. III 8428a). The first layperson from the left of the object illustrated in a historical photograph now kept in Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin (no. B 2329). Also illustrated in Zhao et al., eds., *Kezi'er shiku bibua fuyuan*, vol. 2, 554. Zhao Li's reconstruction in *Ibid.*, 554, 557, 567.

⁷⁶ Kizil, Cave 198, side corridor, second register, taken by the third German expedition, now kept in Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin (no. III 8428b). Illustrated in Zhao et al., eds., *Kezi'er shiku bibua fuyuan*, vol. 2, 554. Zhao Li's reconstruction in *ibid.*, 554, 557, 565.

⁷⁷ Kizil, Cave 198, side corridor, second register, taken by the third German expedition, now kept in Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin (no. III 8428c). The two laypersons in the object were photographed together with the first layperson from the left on the object III 8428a in the historical photograph B 2329 kept in the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin. The two monks in the object were formerly part of the object IB 9058 in the Berlin Collection before the second World War. Also illustrated in Zhao et al., eds., *Kezi'er shiku bibua fuyuan*, vol. 2, 559. Zhao Li's reconstruction in *ibid.*, 559, 560, 567.

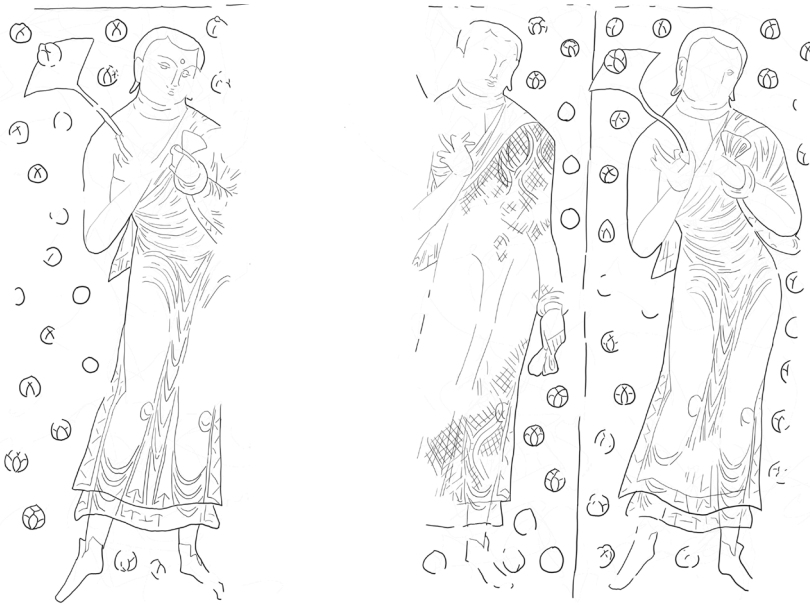


FIG. 10 Monks. Kizil, Cave 198, left side corridor, inner wall, second register, now kept in State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (no. ВД 816). Drawing by Ji Ho Yi.



FIG. 11 Monk and Donors. Kizil, Cave 198, side corridor, second register, Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin (no. III 8428a). Photo: Jürgen Liepe. © Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin/Jürgen Liepe.



FIG.12 Monk and Donors. Kizil, Cave 198, side corridor, second register, Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin (no. III 8428b). Photo: Jürgen Liepe. © Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin/Jürgen Liepe.



FIG.13 Monks and Donors. Kizil, Cave 198, side corridor, second register, Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin (no. III 8428c). Photo: Jürgen Liepe. © Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin/Jürgen Liepe.

agree with Zhao Li's reconstruction of the portraits on the inner wall of the left side corridor with three monks in the object BД 816 in the St. Petersburg collection, and two monks in object III 8428c in the Berlin collection, forming a group portrait of five monks.⁷⁸ The object IB 9058 mentioned earlier was probably divided into two objects during the war: no. BД 816 in St. Petersburg with three monks and the half of III 8428c in Berlin with two monks.

I would like to mention that Zhao Li managed a tremendous task of reconstructing the original state of a few hundred caves in Kizil, and the fruits of her research are indispensable for present and future scholars studying ancient Kucha. Keeping that in mind, I would like to suggest that some reconstructions made by Zhao for the portrait figures of the Kizil 198 should be reconsidered. On the outer wall of the left side corridor, Zhao Li relocated the torso of the monk and a layperson from III 8428a and the torsos of the four laypersons on the right of III 8428b together. Meanwhile, there are five laypersons in this reconstruction, which does not fit exactly with Grünwedel's description of a monk followed by six laypeople.⁷⁹ I would propose that it is more likely that all the fragments of III 8428a and the two laypersons of III 8428c should have been originally located on the outer wall of the left side corridor, and then it would form a group portrait with a monk followed by six laypersons. This is because one of the three laypersons, the first person from the left, on III 8428a is shown next to the two lay donors of III 8428c in the historical photograph B 2329 (**Fig. 14**) now kept in Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin. Zhao Li also would have noticed this, and she relocated the two lay donors on the right of the III 8428c and the first three laypeople on the left of III 8428a together on the inner wall of the right-side corridor. Then she relocated the fragments with the two laypersons turning to the right and a monk turning to the left from the left of III 8428b to the outer wall of the right-side corridor. It seems, however unlikely to me that the laypersons and the monk should turn towards different directions as in Zhao's reconstruction.

⁷⁸ Zhao et al., eds., *Kezi'er shiku bishua fuyuan*, vol. 2, 560.

⁷⁹ Grünwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten*, 139.



FIG. 14 Donors. Kizil, Cave 198, side corridor, second register. Photograph taken on one of the German expeditions between 1902 and 1914 (no. B 2329). © Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

Meanwhile, Zhao Li attributed the object БД 868⁸⁰ (IB 9069, partially depicted in Fig. 15) in St. Petersburg collection to the right side of the front wall in Kizil Cave 198,⁸¹ based on Grünwedel's description that there were portraits at that location that were similar to the other portraits on the side corridors of the Kizil Cave 199,⁸²

⁸⁰ This is a fragment with its original findspot unknown to myself. It is now kept in State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia (no. БД 868). It was formerly in Berlin collection (no. IB 9069). The image of the fragment was illustrated in the historical photograph now kept in the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin (no. B 417), and Zhao et al., eds., *Kezi'er shiku bibua fuyuan*, vol. 2, 550.

⁸¹ Zhao et al., eds., *Kezi'er shiku bibua fuyuan*, vol. 2, 550.

⁸² Grünwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten*, 136.



FIG. 15 Donors. Original find-spot unknown to the author (relocated on Kizil, Cave 198, main chamber, front wall, right side by Zhao Li). Partial Depiction of the object now kept in State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (no. БД 868), formerly in Berlin Collection (no. IB 9069). Historical photograph now kept in Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin (no. B 417). ©Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

some of which are now kept in the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin: there are namely two objects, the object III 9020a (**Fig. 16**),⁸³ and the object III 9020b (**Fig. 17**).⁸⁴

⁸³ Kizil, Cave 199, right side corridor, inner wall, taken by the third German expedition, now kept in Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin (no. III 9020a). Illustrated in the historical photographs now kept in Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin (nos. A 12, A 55, B 305). The object is also illustrated in Le Coq and Waldschmidt, *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien VII*, Tafel C; *Kizil Grottoes 1982–1985/1989–1997*, vol. 3, pl. 214; *Mural Paintings in Xinjiang of China*, vol. 3, 239, pl. 215; Zhao et al., eds., *Kezi'er shiku bibua fuyuan*, vol. 2, 589.

⁸⁴ Kizil, Cave 199, left side corridor, inner wall, taken by the third German expedition, now kept in Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin (no. III 9020b). Illustrated in the historical photographs now kept in Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin (nos. A 11, A 11a, B 72). The object is also illustrated in Le Coq and Waldschmidt, *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien VII*, Tafel C and Tafel 14 (details), Zhao et al., eds., *Kezi'er shiku bibua fuyuan*, vol. 2, 585. The former state of the piece is partly illustrated in *Mural Paintings in Xinjiang of China*, vol. 3, 238, pl. 214.



FIG.16 Portraits of Donors. Kizil, Cave 199, right side corridor, inner wall. Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin (no. III 9020a). Historical photograph now kept in Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin (no. B 305). © Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.



FIG.17 Portraits of Donors. Kizil, Cave 199, left side corridor, inner wall. Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin (no. III 9020b). Historical photograph now kept in Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin (no. B 72). © Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

The object БД 868 contains the lower body of a monk on the left side, and a man and a woman on the right side. Nevertheless, I think that the costume worn by the man in object БД 868 (IB 9069, Fig. 15) looks different from the clothing of the donors in other pieces found in Kizil Cave 198, such as III 8428a (Fig. 11), III 8428b (Fig. 12), III 8428c (Fig. 13), and the pieces found in Kizil Cave 199, like III 9020a (Fig. 16) and III 9020b (Fig. 17), from the Berlin collection. For example, the figures from the Kizil Cave 198 among the Berlin objects wear simple black knee-length boots, and the figures from the Kizil Cave 199 seem to have worn special pair of shoes with a v-form around the ankle over the leggings, while the man in the St. Petersburg object wears a pair of more refined boots with many pieces of textile, probably leather, sewn together.⁸⁵ In addition, the floating lotuses painted in white and green dots in the background of the figures are different from the fluttering lotus in the background of Berlin pieces with clear outlines of the petals. I, therefore, would suggest that object БД 868 (IB 9069, Fig. 15) would have originally been in a different cave or that there must have been a renovation happening in the cave for the portraits to be wearing different styles of clothes. The inventory card of the former IB 9069 mentions that the findspot was Kizil Cave 179, which seems unlikely to me due to different reasons that are beyond the scope of this paper. The relocation of the piece БД 868 (IB 9069, Fig. 15) to a certain cave would require profound research on the piece in the future.

I, meanwhile, find Grünwedel's identification of the lay figures on the outer wall of the left side corridor of the Kizil Cave 198 as noble ladies as problematic,⁸⁶ as all the lay donors on the surviving pieces seem to have typical men's hairstyles with the upper part of the hair cropped short and the rest of their hair being about chin-length, while acknowledging some of the ladies also had their hair done in that way in Kucha's portraits. Moreover, many of the figures in the portraits carry swords and daggers attached to their clothes.

⁸⁵ I thank Astrid Klein for sharing her insights about the footwear of Kuchean donors depicted in the portraits with me.

⁸⁶ Grünwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten*, 139.

Therefore, there are many questions to answer regarding the donor portraits found in this cave. Nevertheless, what is evident and noteworthy about these portrait paintings is that all the portrait figures are carrying a flower stalk that reminds us again of the fragrance that these flowers will bring together to the chamber.

Kizil Cave 205

In Kizil Cave 205 (Figs. 4–5), two figures, Sumāgadhā and a monk with kitchen tools, remain *in situ*, while one figure surrounded by the nāgas is housed at the Museum für Asiatische Kunst (no. III 9075, Fig. 18). The historical photographs and the drawing by Grünwedel show one more monk, a person seated inside a palace-like structure, with the three figures mentioned above. Grünwedel described three additional figures that are not extant in any images in a text inscribed on the drawing, suggesting there were once a total of seven monks remaining at the time of his visit in 1906.⁸⁷ The greater part of the procession scene was already damaged.⁸⁸

Near the end of the median strip next to the front wall with the entrance, Sumāgadhā kneels on the top of a building. She stretches out her right arm, holding an incense burner, from which the fragrant smoke of the incense rises, while holding a plate with her left hand. According to the Chinese translations of the Sumāgadhā story made before the fourth century, it is likely that there were flowers on the plate. The modern photographs of the image *in situ* make visible that Sumāgadhā wears a headdress, a blue-and-white

⁸⁷ Grünwedel wrote on the drawing TA 6512 now kept in the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin, as follows. ‘Aus der Decke der Höhle mit der “Mâyâ”/Krug weiss, Robe der Schlangen-Mönchs weiss mit blauem Rand./Am Ende des Streifen ein Mönch auf zwei Leoparden, einer in der Sonne, einer im Mond’ (From the ceiling of the Cave with ‘Mâyâ’/Jug white, robe of the snake-monk is white with blue borders./At the end of the strip a monk on two leopards, one [monk] in sun, one [monk] in moon).

⁸⁸ Grünwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten*, 167–68.



FIG. 18 Monk Surrounded by nāgas. Kizil, Cave 205, main chamber, barrel-vault, median strip. Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin (no. III 9075). Photo: Jürgen Liepe. © Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin/Jürgen Liepe.

blouse with brown sleeves, and skirt in blue and green. She is shown kneeling barefoot facing the monks. The first monk in front of the Sumāgadhā wears a dark robe and is holding a ladle or rice strainer. He leads the procession with a floating three-legged pot and a white jar in front of him. The cooking vessels were supposedly brought to cook enough rice to feed the large audience. Next to him is an elderly monk wearing a *pāṃśukūla* (rags-robe) with flames on his shoulder, seated inside the pavilion. Then comes a young monk surrounded by nāgas. According to Grünwedel, the section containing three figures, which continued after this young monk with nāgas, was damaged;⁸⁹ he still could further recognise the monk seated on the two prancing panthers, a monk in the sun disc, and a monk in the moon disc. As mentioned above, these three figures further recognised by Grünwedel are not extant in any images. Curiously, there seems to have been no image of a Buddha or the empty mandorla between the monks in the sun and moon discs at the time of Grünwedel's visit to the cave in 1906. The Buddha's absence in the procession would be noteworthy if Grünwedel had not missed anything painted on the wall. In Kizil Cave 205 (Figs. 4–5), Sumāgadhā does hold an incense burner, and this painting may be related to the version in *Zengyi aban jing* and the second *Xumotinü jing*.

The identity of the first three monks surviving in the published images—the monk carrying kitchen tools, the monk wearing the *pāṃśukūla* inside the palace, and the other monk riding nāgas—is debated. According to Waldschmidt, the monk in the *pāṃśukūla* seated inside the palace should be read as Mahākātyāyana and the person riding the nāgas should be read as Ājñatakaunḍinya, according to his reading of the *Fosbuo Jigu zhangzhe nü dedu yinyuan jing*.⁹⁰ As mentioned above, this text was translated in 1006, much later than the Kizil paintings' creation. In the following texts translated before the fourth century, there is no comment on the monk inside a palace; however, there are comments on the monk riding the nāgas. In the *Zengyi aban jing* and the second *Xumotinü*

⁸⁹ Grünwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten*, 167–68.

⁹⁰ See footnote 54 in this article.

jing, Uruvilvākāśyapa rides on the nāgas and the Mahākāśyapa rides horses.⁹¹ In the first *Xumotinü jing*, Uruvilvākāśyapa is absent while Mahākāśyapa is carried by the nāgas.⁹² An iconographic problem arises because an elderly monk wearing the *pāmśukūla* is usually identified as Kāśyapa in the paintings of ancient Kucha.⁹³ In the paintings of ancient Kucha, the two persons, Uruvilvākāśyapa and Mahākāśyapa, with similar names are both represented as old monks wearing *pāmśukūla*, as in the example from the rear corridor of Kizil Cave 114 (Fig. 19).⁹⁴ This contrasts with the image in Kizil Cave

⁹¹ Quotation on Uruvilvākāśyapa riding the nāgas: *Zengyi aban jing*, *T* no. 125, 2: 662c17–19: ‘爾時，優毘迦葉化作五百龍，皆有七頭；在上結加趺坐’ 往詣彼城’; *Xumotinü jing*, *T* no. 128b, 2: 840b28–c1], ‘爾時，優毘迦葉化作五百龍皆有七頭，在上結加趺坐往詣彼城’. English translation in Tokiwai, *Studien zum Sumāgadhāvadāna*, 29, ‘Then Uruvilvākāśyapa, having created five hundred dragons each with seven heads, placed himself, cross-legged, on them, and went to that town’. (Translation by Tokiwai) Quotation on Mahākāśyapa riding the horses from *Zengyi aban jing*, *T* no. 125, 2: 663a29–b2, ‘是時，尊者大迦葉化作五百匹馬，皆朱毛尾，金銀校飾；在上而坐，並兩天華，往詣彼城’. Quotation on Mahākāśyapa riding the horses from *Xumotinü jing*, *T* no. 128b, 841a12–14, ‘是時，尊者大迦葉，化作五百匹馬，皆朱毛尾金銀交飾，在上坐並兩天華往詣彼城’. The English translation of this Chinese version in two texts (*T* no. 125, *T* no. 128b) in Tokiwai, *Studien zum Sumāgadhāvadāna*, 30, ‘Then the venerable Mahākāśyapa, having created five hundred horses, adorned with gold and silver, and having vermilion-coloured tails, placed himself on them and, showering celestial flowers, went to that town’. (Translation by Tokiwai)

⁹² *Xumotinü jing*, *T* no. 128a, 2: 837a18–20. ‘上座大迦葉次後來，化作五百大龍，齊有七頭白日昇天，人在其上結加趺坐，躡身高飛徑向彼國’. English translation in Tokiwai, *Studien zum Sumāgadhāvadāna*, 60, ‘Thereupon the Sthavira Mahākāśyapa created by magical power five hundred great seven-headed dragons, which rose into the sky in broad day-light. Then, cross-legged, he placed himself upon them and flew through the air to that country’. (Translation by Tokiwai)

⁹³ Zin, ‘The Monk Kāśyapa in Kucha’, 112–13, 154–58.

⁹⁴ Kizil, Cave 114, rear corridor, outer wall, *in situ*. Illustrated in *Mural Paintings in Xinjiang of China*, vol. 1, 226–27, pl. 103. Drawing by Monika Zin in Zin, ‘The Monk Kāśyapa in Kucha’, 112, Drawing III-2. Partially illustrated in Tan and

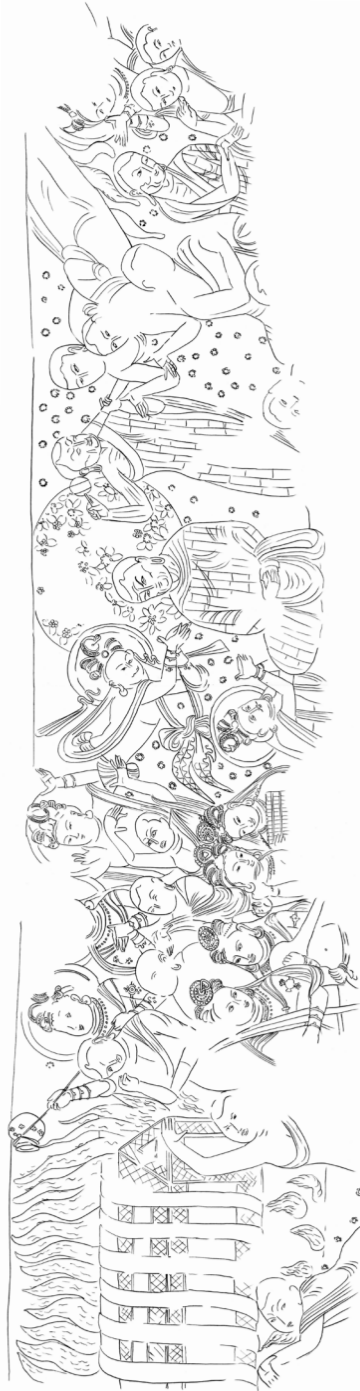


FIG. 19 Kāśyapa in the *Parinirvāṇa* Story Cycle. Kizil, Cave 114, rear corridor, outer wall, *in situ*. Drawing by Monika Zin.

205 (Figs. 4–5), because the elderly monk wearing the *pāṃśukūla* seated inside the palace is not described as Kāśyapa in the texts that may relate to these images. Furthermore, the younger monk seated in a meditation pose surrounded by two nāgas with seventeen heads, knotted by their tails, should be read as Kāśyapa, according to these three texts, but they depart from the typical iconography of Kāśyapa in Kucha—that is, the elderly monk wearing rags-robe. Interestingly, similar iconography of the monk wearing the rags-robe seated inside a palace-like structure is also found in Kizil Cave 224 (Fig. 6) that will be discussed below.

On the left side of the entrance, seen from the cave's interior, there was a portrait of a nobleman with a lady, guided by two monks (Fig. 20).⁹⁵ The nobleman is holding an incense burner in his right hand and a dagger in his left hand. One of the monks seems to hold a stalk of a lotus. According to Albert von Le Coq and Ernst Waldschmidt, there was an additional inscription on the portrait of the lady with a nobleman. This was translated by Waldschmidt as '(Bildnis) der Großkönigin von Kuci (Kutscha), (der) Svayamprabhā

An, *Shinkyō no bekiga*, vol. 2, pls. 35–44; *Mural Paintings in Xinjiang of China*, vol. 1, 228–29, pls. 204–05. Drawing of Kāśyapa by Grünwedel, in Grünwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten*, 114, fig. 247. Drawing of the Kāśyapa by Monika Zin, in Zin, *Representations of the Parinirvāṇa*, 117, 119, Drawings 48–49. Drawing of the Demons by Grünwedel, in Grünwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten*, 114, fig. 246; Zin, *Representations of the Parinirvāṇa*, 112, Drawing 45.

⁹⁵ Kizil, Cave 205, main chamber, front wall, right side, second register, taken by the third German expedition to the Berlin Museum (no. IB 8440a), lost at war. Illustrated in historical photographs now kept in Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin (nos. A 505, B 124, B 125, K 112). Also illustrated in Grünwedel, *Alt-Kutscha*, Tafel 48–49, fig. 1; Ma and Fan, *Qiuci: Zaixiang*, 42; *Mural Paintings in Xinjiang of China: Kucha*, 83; *Mural Paintings in Xinjiang of China*, vol. 2, 139, pl. 126; Zhao et al., eds., *Haiwai Kezi'er shiku bibua*, 115, pl. 142; *idem*, *Kezi'er shiku bibua fuyuan*, vol. 2, 603. Reconstruction by Zhao Li in *ibid.*, 605. Drawing by Grünwedel now kept in Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin (no. TA 6456). Illustrated in Grünwedel, *Alt-Kutscha*, I 28 (I, 24), fig. 15; Zhao et al., eds., *Kezi'er shiku bibua fuyuan*, vol. 2, 603.



FIG. 20 Portraits of Donors. Kizil, Cave 205, main chamber, front wall, right side, second register. Formerly in the Berlin Collection (no. IB 8440a), lost at war. From Grünwedel, *Alt-Kutscha*, Tafel 48–49, fig. 1.

..... (Bildnis des) Großkönigs von Kuci' ([Portrait] of the Great Queen of Kuci [Kucha], [the] Svayaṃprabhā..... [Portrait of] the Great King of Kuci)'.⁹⁶ This shows that the name of the lady in the portrait, the queen, was Svayaṃprabhā. Interestingly, this name was also found among the manuscripts in the Kizil Grottoes. In one, summarised by Lore Sander,⁹⁷ Queen Svayaṃprabhā and King Tottika made donations of food, drinks, bathwater, and resources to be used by the sick people attached to the monastery. It is therefore probable that the same person, who was the consort of King Tottika, was also painted on the walls of Kizil Cave 205 (Fig. 20), although there is also a minimal possibility that there was more than one queen with the same name.

On the opposite side of the entrance to the right, as seen from the cave's interior, was a portrait of the Kuchean king attended by two noblemen holding flowers in their hands (Fig. 21).⁹⁸ One of them seems to hold a stalk of a flower that looks like a fleur-de-lys design, and the other a stalk with a blossom of a blue lotus.⁹⁹ Grünwedel wrote in 1920 that there was an inscription next to this painting containing the Kuchean king that was damaged while taking out the

⁹⁶ Le Coq and Waldschmidt, *Die buddhistische Spätantike VII*, 28–29, 'kuci [mahā](de)[vyā] svaya(ṃ)pra[bh](ā)/kucimahār[ā](ja).....'

⁹⁷ Sander, 'Tocharische Dokumente', 96–97. It was discussed again in Sander, 'Tocharian Donors', 227–28.

⁹⁸ Kizil, Cave 205, main chamber, front wall, left side, second register, taken by the third German expedition to the Berlin Museum (no. IB 8440b), lost at war. Illustrated in Grünwedel, *Alt-Kutscha*, Tafel 48–49, fig. 2; *Mural Paintings in Xinjiang of China*, vol. 2, 140, pl. 127. Drawing by Grünwedel now kept in Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin (no. TA 6455). Illustrated in Grünwedel, *Alt-Kutscha*, I 29 (I, 24), fig. 16; Zhao et al., eds., *Haiwai Kezi'er shiku bibua*, vol. 2, 116, pl. 143; *idem*, *Kezi'er shiku bibua fuyuan*, vol. 2, 604. Reconstruction by Zhao Li in *ibid.*, 605.

⁹⁹ The nobleman with the lady in IB 8440a is often regarded as a king by scholars, but Grünwedel regarded the person with the triangular hat in IB 8440b as a king, and the person next to the lady in IB 8440a as a nobleman. Grünwedel, *Alt-Kutscha*, I 29 (I, 24).



FIG. 21 Portraits of Donors. Kizil, Cave 205, main chamber, front wall, left side, second register. Formerly in the Berlin Collection (no. IB 8440b), lost at war. From Grünwedel, *Alt-Kutscha*, Tafel 48–49, fig. 2.

painting fragments.¹⁰⁰ According to him, it said: ‘Als Anantavarmâ, der Großkönig von Kutscha, den Brief des Ilmonis, die Einweihung und das Moschubüchschchen sah, ließ jener Buddha Ehre antun’ (As Anantavarmâ, the great king [Großkönig] of Kucha, saw the letter of Ilmonis, the offering and the casket containing musk, he let everyone honour the Buddha).¹⁰¹ Grünwedel also wrote about a story that told of King Preṭhre of Kucha having the box filled with musk pods from two princes to build a temple, monastery, and caves for the Tathāgata.¹⁰² While the validity of this story about King Preṭhre should be proven in further research, it seems, based on the inscription, that there was a custom of offering musk pods in a casket as a luxury item that was worth celebrating by building or decorating a monastery. It was also recorded in Muslim sources from the tenth to eleventh centuries, such as *Shahnameh*, that the musk was used as a gift between kings.¹⁰³ Once again, painting offering of goods such as flowers and incense burners as attributes to the figure clearly point to the use of fragrance in Buddhist rituals executed in the cave.

Kizil Cave 224

In the median strip of the barrel-vault in Kizil Cave 224, there is another example of the Sumāgadhā illustration. As usual, Sumāgadhā is kneeling on the top of the building. She wears flowers on her head. Unfortunately, her hands are damaged. The example in Kizil Cave 224 (Fig. 6) is similar in style to Kizil Caves 198 (Fig. 8) and 205 (Figs. 4–5); specifically, the iconography of the earlier part of the procession coincides with that in 205 (Figs. 4–5) and the latter part with 198 (Fig. 8). The procession scene in Kizil Cave 224 (Fig. 6) seems to have been much longer than the example from Kizil Cave 178 (Figs. 2–3), and

¹⁰⁰ Grünwedel, *Alt-Kutscha*, I 29 (I, 24).

¹⁰¹ Ibid., ‘anantavarmâ-kuchamahārājena ilmonislek-hanaṃ prokṣanaṃ muṣṭhikaraṇḍaṃ viditva buddhaṃ pratināmayaṃcakāra’.

¹⁰² Ibid., I 12 (I, 7)

¹⁰³ Newid, *Aromata in der iranischen Kultur*, 96–98.

the latter part of the procession scene is damaged. Nevertheless, the surviving image does contain a section with the carrier of a cooking pot and therefore the example from this cave may be related to any of the three Chinese versions mentioning the carrier of the kitchen tools.

In the procession scene from Kizil Cave 224 (Fig. 6), the first monk holds his green robe and is floating mid-air with a pot in front of him. Next to him is a monk wearing a dark, chequered robe, possibly a *pāṃśukūla* robe, meditating inside the pavilion-like structure, shaped like the structure of two intertwined nāgas in the other examples. The third figure in the row is a dark-skinned monk in a white robe seated on a flying green peacock. Next, the fourth monk seated in a meditation pose, wearing a blue inner garment and green outer garment, is surrounded by nāgas with their tails in a complex knot. The fifth monk wearing a black robe, with flames exuding from his shoulders and seated in the meditation pose upon flying *hamsas*, follows him. Then comes the sixth monk seated in a meditation pose wearing a white outer robe and blue inner garment with flames emerging from his shoulder, seated on a roaring lion. He is succeeded by the seventh monk seated in meditation pose, with flames from his shoulder, upon three white elephants. The elephants' formation is like the example from the right sidewall of Kizil Cave 67 (Fig. 22).¹⁰⁴ Another monk, the eighth monk with flames on his shoulder, wearing a white outer robe, blue inner garment, is seated on a predator animal that looks like the bears depicted in Kucha's caves. The ninth monk wearing a blue robe inside a circular structure

¹⁰⁴ Kizil, Cave 67, main chamber, right sidewall, taken by the fourth German expedition, now kept in the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin (no. III 8403a). Illustrated in the historical photograph taken by Paul Pelliot and the French expedition, now kept in Musée Guimet, Paris (no. AP 7458); the historical photograph taken on one of the German expeditions between 1902 and 1914 (nos. A 369, B 631), and the historical photograph (no. B 341) now kept in the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin; *Mural Paintings in Xinjiang of China*, vol. 2, 186–87, pl. 164; Zhao et al., eds., *Haiwai Kezi'er shiku bibua*, 54, pl. 57; Zhao et al., eds., *Kezi'er shiku bibua fuyuan*, vol. 1, 179, 181. Zhao Li's reconstruction in *ibid.*, 182–83.



FIG. 22 Narrative Painting Including the Monk on the Elephants. Kizil, Cave 67, main chamber, right sidewall, first register, now kept in the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin (no. III 8403b). Photo: Jürgen Liepe. © Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin/Jürgen Liepe.

then follows. The exact form of the round structure cannot be identified due to damage on the painting surface; however, the radiating rays surrounding the monk can be seen. The last monk in the extant section, the tenth monk, is wearing a black outer robe and blue inner garment and is shown upon two horses. It is not clear whether these two monks symbolise the monks within sun and moon discs, or if they are just riding on different animals. It is noteworthy that the colours of the robes and skin of the monks alternate.

The Sumāgadhā illustration in Kizil Cave 224 (Fig. 6) corresponds with the other examples from Kizil Caves 178 (Figs. 2–3) and 198 (Fig. 8) in that the flying Buddha is represented by the set of an empty head and body nimbi. The aniconic representation of the Buddha as this set of nimbi on the median strip contrasts with the iconic presentation of the Buddha statues in the niche in the central pillar. It is therefore likely that the set of nimbi representing the Buddha has an additional meaning to it because the travelling Buddha was usually depicted as a Buddha figure surrounded by the head and body nimbi in the zenith of other caves, such as Kizil Cave 17 (Fig. 23),¹⁰⁵ and not

¹⁰⁵ Kizil, Cave 17, main chamber, barrel-vault, median strip. Illustrated in Tan

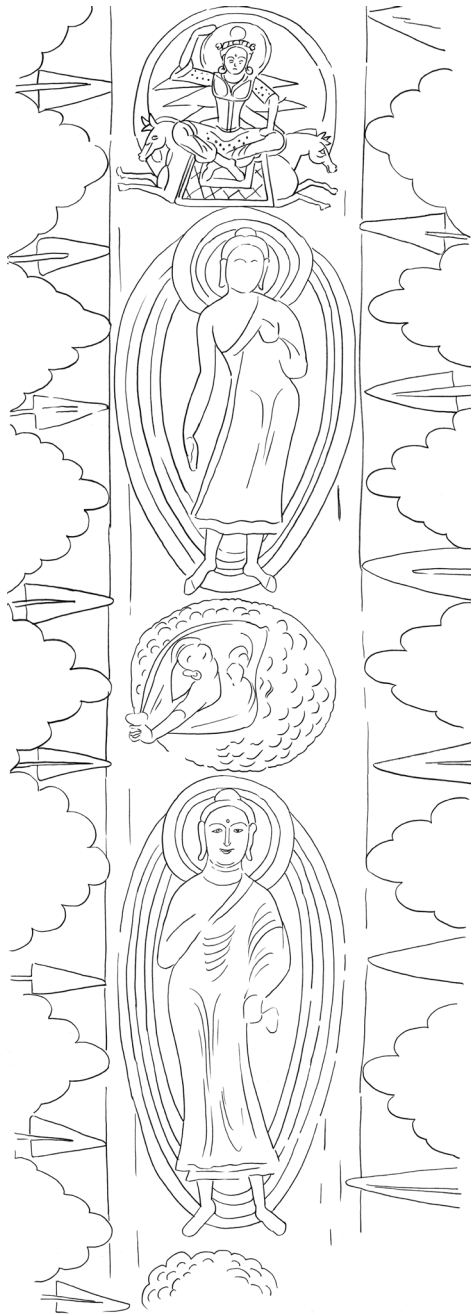


FIG. 23 Heaven with Flying Enlightened Beings. Kizil, Cave 17, main chamber, barrel-vault, median strip. Drawing by Monika Zin.

as a set of empty head nimbus and body nimbus. Further studies are necessary to clarify the meaning of the set of empty nimbi.

The donor portraits were painted on the rear wall of the antechamber of this cave, that is, the wall with the entrance towards the main chamber. At the time of Grünwedel's visit to the cave in 1906, there were three rows of portraits on each side of the entrance.¹⁰⁶ The uppermost row of each side was filled with portraits of the pair of monks, and the second and the third rows each had a portrait of the pair of donors, a man and a woman. The pairs on the right side were man and a woman wearing local costumes. Grünwedel wrote that the men on the left side wore ringed belts and long swords. The traces of the painting have almost disappeared, with only small parts remaining *in situ*, and the monk portraits on the first row on the left side and one of the monk portraits on the first row on the right side are not preserved.¹⁰⁷ He also added that there was a torso of a colourfully painted clay female donor figure that could have fallen from the balcony.¹⁰⁸

As described above, the illustrations of the Sumāgadhā narrative found in the Kizil Caves focus on the Buddha's response. It does not seem to have concerned the monks and nuns who possibly oversaw the decoration of the caves that the main event in the story is the conversion of the in-laws. The Buddha is travelling together with the monks, responding to Sumāgadhā's call via fragrance as a messenger.¹⁰⁹ Sumāgadhā sits atop the building, holding the incense

and An, *Shinkyō no hekiga*, vol. 1, pl. 55. Drawing by Monika Zin in Zin, *Gods, Deities and Demons*, 534.

¹⁰⁶ Grünwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten*, 173–74.

¹⁰⁷ Xinjiang Qiuci shiku yanjiusuo, *Kezi'er shiku neirong zonglu*, 250–51.

¹⁰⁸ Grünwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten*, 173, footnote 1.

¹⁰⁹ The role of fragrance as a messenger was mentioned directly by the Buddha in the early Chinese translations of Sumāgadhā stories. *Xumotinü jing*, T no. 128a, 2: 836c6: 此香是佛使之香 (This fragrance is the fragrance that is the messenger for the Buddha); *Zengyi aban jing*, T no. 125, 2: 662a7: 此香是佛使 (This fragrance is the messenger for the Buddha); *Xumotinü jing*, T no. 128b, 2: 839c18: 此香是佛使 (This fragrance is the messenger for the Buddha); *Foshuo*

burner, and the monks fly along with the Buddha. She offers flowers and incense. She pours water while kneeling in the direction of the Buddha in Jetavana. The Buddha instantly reacts to the offering of perfume and water and calls his attendant monks to fly with him in Sumāgadhā's favour.

Having outlined the imagery contained within the five examples, it is clear the appearance of the carrier of kitchen tools in the beginning of the procession can be seen in three of the five: Kizil Caves 178 (Figs. 2–3), 205 (Figs. 4–5), 224 (Fig. 6). It is this similarity that may suggest the paintings from the Kizil caves are closest to the three texts mentioned above—the first and second *Xumotinü jing* and *Zengyi aban jing*—than to any other texts. Still, the differences in paintings, Cave 205 presenting Sumāgadhā with an incense burner and the Cave 178 without, may also show that the different versions of the texts were circulated in the Kizil Caves, although we cannot conclude which cave was painted earlier between those two.

Fragrance

While also acknowledging that the format of the mid-air procession of monks fitted that long and narrow painting surface, I would suggest that, as the highest place in the cave, the location suggests the paintings should catch the viewer's attention. A group of monks flying in the air to the Sumāgadhā upon the top of the building would have been shown to the viewers who entered the cave. The viewers would have reminded themselves of this story, in which a cloud of fragrance was delivered to the Buddha. In the process they could have also imagined the smell of burning incense or other aromatics. The necessity to recognise that religious artworks were once something experienced in full engagement of the senses was excellently elaborated by Yannis Hamilakis. He wrote, 'But these images were meant to be experienced with the whole body, not just through

Sanmojie jing, T no. 129, 2: 844b29: 香來至此請佛 (The fragrance came here, calling the Buddha).

tactile vision: images and icons were touched and kissed. They came alive in ceremonies where sermons and singing were prominent'.¹¹⁰ The paintings in Hamilakis' writings, Byzantine icons, 'were decorated with aromatic flowers and were infused with incense'.¹¹¹ Hamilakis' description inspires his readers to approach the artefacts in a different way, though I should be careful not to propose that the effects of the Byzantine ritual's engaging of icons and the Buddhist ritual happening in ancient Kuchean caves are simply the same. Nevertheless, Hamilakis and other sensorial archaeologists encourage us to perceive that there are more to the artefacts than what meets the eye; that the perception by the other senses should also be taken into consideration when we discuss the things and traces made by people.¹¹² As Cuffel, Di Giacinto, and Krech mentioned, 'Human rituals prompt sensorial experiences in order to shape these interactions [interactions between human and spiritual realms], even as they become the foundation of symbolic communication within the religious imagination'.¹¹³ What is left today of Kucha's caves are faded wall paintings often covered with soot and oil stains, and it is not easy to remind ourselves that the painted caves once were frequented by monks, nuns, and laypersons standing in midst of dimly lit oil lamps with their offerings of flowers and incense burners. If the flower and incense burners held by the donors in the portraits somehow reflected reality, it is likely the fragrances would have pervaded the monastery and painted caves. The use of incense in Buddhist monasteries is observed from different times

¹¹⁰ Hamilakis, *Archaeology and the Senses*, 77.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² For the detailed argument on the understanding of the human perception through multiple senses, as an alternative to the traditional Western five senses that regarded the visual sense as more refined than the other senses, see Hamilakis, *Archaeology and the Senses*, 24–89. For the overview on the current state of studies and introductions to the important concepts of the sensory archaeology, see Skeates and Day, 'Sensory Archaeology', 1–17.

¹¹³ Cuffel, Di Giacinto, and Krech, 'Senses, Religion, and Religious Encounter', paragraph 1.

and regions. For example, incense seems to have been used at various occasions in monasteries in the region surrounding India and the Malay Archipelago, as observed in Yijing's 義淨 (635–713) travelogue *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuān* 南海寄歸內法傳 [A Record of the Inner Law Sent Home from the South Seas].¹¹⁴ Incense was burned to make a wish, before serving food to the monks when the donors invited them to their house, before singing a hymn, after a meal, to mourn the dead, at a confession ceremony, at an ordination ceremony, as an offering to a Buddha image at individual monastic quarters, when bathing the Buddha image in general, and during chanting ceremonies.¹¹⁵ Yijing also mentions that his teacher

¹¹⁴ *T no. 2125. Full English translation in Li, trans., Buddhist Monastic Traditions.*

¹¹⁵ Li, trans., *Buddhist Monastic Traditions*, 37.

號曰莫訶哥羅，即大黑神也。古代相承云是大天之部屬，性愛三寶、護持五眾，使無損耗、求者稱情。但至食時，厨家每薦香火，所有飲食隨列於前。Cooks burn incense when serving foods to Mahākāla. *T no. 2125, 54: 209b23–27.*

施主乃然燈散花，一心虔敬，用摩香泥以塗僧足，燒香普馥元不別行，鼓樂絃歌隨情供養，方始如前准次飲食。Donor burning incense to celebrate monks who visit his house upon invitation. *T no. 2125, 54: 210b8–10.*

金銅尊像瑩飾皎然，塗以香泥置淨盤內，咸持香水虔誠沐浴，拭以香氎捧入堂中，盛設香燈方為稱讚。Donor burning incense to celebrate the visit of the gold or bronze Buddha image. *T no. 2125, 54: 210c16–18.*

眾僧亦既食了、盥漱又畢，乃掃除餘食令地清淨，布以花燈燒香散馥，持所施物列在眾前。Donor burning incense after the monks have finished their meal. *T no. 2125, 54: 211a23–25.*

理應為其亡者淨飾一房，或可隨時權施蓋幔，讀經念佛具設香花，冀使亡魂託生善處。Offering incense while mourning the dead. *T no. 2125, 54: 216b29–c1.*

必須於十四日夜請一經師昇高座誦佛經，于時俗士雲奔、法徒霧集，燃燈續明、香花供養。Burning incense to prepare for the confession. *T no. 2125, 54: 217b22–24.*

法式既闕、年歲又滿，欲受具戒，師乃觀其志意，能奉持者即可為辦六物并為請餘九人，或入小壇、或居大界、或自然界，俱得秉法。然壇場之內，或用眾家褥席、或可人人自將坐物，略辦香花不在營費。Incense offering during the ordination ceremony. *T no. 2125, 54: 219b23–2.*

又復僧房之內有安尊像，或於窓上、或故作龕。食坐之時，像前以布幔遮障。朝

Huizhi 慧智 (active during the seventh century) burned incense on one occasion while circumambulating the Buddha image.¹¹⁶ Cathy Cantwell has demonstrated that different incenses were used for different purposes in the rituals in the modern Tibetan Tantric ‘Major Practice Session’, where bdellium (Ch. *anxixiang* 安食香, Skt. *gulgulu*) is burned to ward off evil spirits and remove hindrances and to prepare the audience for the main practice.¹¹⁷ She also noted that aromatic incense was also used during the practice as an offering for the deities.¹¹⁸

A few extant texts mention the use of perfume in the Buddhist monasteries of Kucha. The first of these, as mentioned earlier, was found on the front wall in the main chamber of Kizil Cave 205, the same cave with one of the Sumāgadhā illustrations on the median strip, mentioning the gift of musk. It is possible, if we can take that inscription at face value, that incense and perfumes were used in the monastery too; not only as a donation, but as a fund to support building projects. The musk was used as a medicine against snake

朝洗沐每薦香花，午午虔恭隨滄奉獻。Monks offering the incense to the Buddha image in their quarters. *T* no. 2125, 54: 221b12–14.

詳夫修敬之本無越三尊，契想之因寧過四諦。然而諦理幽邃事隔塵心，灌洗聖儀實為通濟。大師雖滅形像尚存，翹心如在理應遵敬。或可香花每設，能生清淨之心；或可灌沐恒，為足蕩昏沈之業。以斯標念，無表之益自收；勸獎餘人，有作之功兼利。冀希福者，宜存意焉。Offering incense to the Buddha image. *T* no. 2125, 54: 226b11–17.

然此寺法，差一能唱導師，每至晡西巡行禮讚，淨人童子持雜香花引前而去，院院悉過、殿殿皆禮。Incense offering during the chanting ceremony. *T* no. 2125, 54: 227a27–b1.

¹¹⁶ Li, trans., *Buddhist Monastic Traditions*, 175. 及至年滿進具，還以禪師為和上。既受戒已，忽於清夜行道之際，燒香垂涕而申誨曰：「大聖久已涅槃、法教訛替，人多樂受，少有持者。汝但堅心重禁、莫犯初篇，餘有罪愆設令犯者，吾當代汝入地獄受之。燒指燒身不應為也。Huizhi lamenting the misinterpretation of the Buddha’s teaching while burning incense and circumambulating the Buddha. *T* no. 2125, 54: 233a18–24.

¹¹⁷ Cantwell, ‘Engaging the Senses’, 95.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 96.

venom and worms, while it was also used as an ingredient for incense. Edward Schafer wrote about the list of Tang basic drugs containing diverse items such as ‘musk from a wide belt stretching from Yünnan through Szechwan and the Tibetan foothills into north China, Mongolia, and Manchuria’.¹¹⁹ Olivia Milburn discussed that the foreign aromatics were already to some extent known in Chinese Central States possibly even before the Western Han.¹²⁰ James McHugh wrote about an Indian handbook for poets written in 900 that connected musk with the eastern regions of India, such as the ‘countries of Aṅga, Kosala, Magadha, Prāgjyotiṣa, Tāmraliptika, Nepāla, and so forth’.¹²¹ This connection may be a result of musk being imported from the regions east of the Himalaya Mountains. It is worth noting that the musk from Tibet was regarded as the most superior by Muslim experts in the eighth and ninth centuries, as evidenced by Anja King’s translation of a Muslim fragrance expert’s discussion, in which they stated that Tibetan musk has the best quality.¹²² She also introduced an ancient Chinese account that writes that musk produced in the modern-day Gansu, Qinghai, and Ningxia provinces, all located near Tarim Basin, was of a high quality.¹²³ Similar accounts about musk and its origins are found in the writings of later authors from the Muslim world from the tenth century onwards.¹²⁴ It is likely that some of those musk pods from neighbouring regions were also transported to Kucha.

Now, a fragment of the record found in Duldur Akur, telling us of the monks buying fragrances, was translated by Ching Chao-jung

¹¹⁹ Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*, 180.

¹²⁰ Milburn, ‘Aromas, Scents, and Spices’, 463.

¹²¹ McHugh, *Sandalwood and Carrion*, 172–73.

¹²² Translation of the accounts by Muslim authors are given in King, ‘Islamicate Knowledge of Musk’, 157–92.

¹²³ King, ‘History of Musk’, 88. For the translation of ancient Chinese texts on musk and its use and reception in ancient sinicised world, see *ibid.*, 86–93. It is interesting that the ancient Chinese regarded musk as driving off evil spirits and bodily worms.

¹²⁴ Newid, *Aromata in der iranischen Kultur*, 64–72.

慶昭蓉 in Chinese.¹²⁵ According to her, there were fragrances in the forms of incense, liquid, and powder circulating in Kucha and the world, indicating these items were called in Tocharian as *tuñe* (Ch. *xiang* 香, perfume, fragrance).¹²⁶ Peter Romaskiewicz discussed that burning incense was originally regarded as a foreign custom that was not instantly received by the Chinese of the Central Plains during the late second and early third centuries, and they preferred other forms of fragrance over burning incense.¹²⁷ His statement is noteworthy in this discussion about Kuchean Buddhist monasteries because Kucha was also a part of the contact zone between foreign and Chinese throughout history. The fragrances could have been used for rituals in monasteries. The action of burning incense was an act of honouring and revering the Buddha, and not for the use of the monks and nuns themselves. There were also records of bdellium among the texts found in Kucha, which is meaningful in light of the fact that Kucha produced benzoin, but bdellium is designated by a different Tocharian word, *kurkal*.¹²⁸

Finally, if we consider the actual materials required for the use of the fragrances in Kucha, some vessels identified as incense burners have been found in the region.¹²⁹ There was an incense burner with

¹²⁵ Ching, 'Cong *tuñe*', 46–47; *idem*, *Tubuoluoyu shisu wenxian*, 200–01.

¹²⁶ Ching, 'Cong *tuñe*', 47–48, 50–52; *idem*, *Tubuoluoyu shisu wenxian*, 201–02.

¹²⁷ Romaskiewicz, 'Sacred Smells and Strange Scents', 293–307. He also discusses that the Indian evidence showing the worship of Buddha through incense before the fifth century is also scarce, and after the fifth century such findings are numerous. Romaskiewicz, 'Sacred Smells and Strange Scents', 285–93. Although I am also curious about its possible reasons, I will not discuss about it in this article so as to not to lose my focus on Kucha.

¹²⁸ Ching, 'Cong *tuñe*', 43–45; in this reference Ching introduces the Chinese *Sarvāstivāda* text and *Jin guangming zuisheng wang jing* 金光明最勝王經 (Skt. *Suvarṇa-prabhāsottama-sūtra*; T no. 665), regarding the use of fragrances in the monastery. Ching, *Tubuoluoyu shisu wenxian*, 199–206, in this reference, Ching introduces the Chinese *Sarvāstivāda* and *Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya* texts regarding the use of fragrances in the monastery.

¹²⁹ I thank Professor Li Ling 李翎 at Sichuan University for bringing this

long handles in Berlin Museum before the Second World War (no. IB 7669)¹³⁰ shaped like the one held by Sumāghadhā in the example found in Kizil Cave 205, found by Albert von Le Coq and German expedition at Tumshuq, east of Maralbashi.¹³¹ There were also some cup-shaped clay incense burners found in the Kucha region that were in Berlin Museum before the second World War, many of them now lost.¹³² There is one additional candidate for an incense burner: an object with a flat bottom found in Yotkan by the British expedition now kept in the British Museum which could have been a pot-shaped incense burner.¹³³ This vessel looks different from the incense burner with a long handle. Further studies on the incense burner materials found in Xinjiang Autonomous Region are necessary to know more about its local use.

Turning back to the Duldur Akur Monastery, it is interesting

problem to my attention during her discussion on my article at the ‘Thus Have I Heard: Patterns and Logics in Buddhist Narrative Literature’, hosted online by the Research Centre for Buddhist Texts and Art at Peking University, November 25–27, 2022.

¹³⁰ Le Coq, ‘Alt buddhistische Räuchergefäße aus Ostturkistan’, 88–89. See also Dreyer, Sander, and Weis, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: Dokumentation der Verluste*, 294.

¹³¹ Ulf Jäger discussed about the incense burners with long handles found in Central Asia, and proposed that its origin may be found in East Iran and Gandhara. See Jäger, ‘Incense Burners with Long Handles’, 131–34, 140–41.

¹³² The two such examples, IB 7138 and IB 9000 were discussed in Le Coq, ‘Alt buddhistische Räuchergefäße aus Ostturkistan’, 87–88. See Dreyer, Sander, and Weis, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: Dokumentation der Verluste*, 282, 287. According to the same catalogue, there were more objects made of clay, ceramic, and glass that were either incense burners (nos. IB 7329, IB 7661, IB 7662, IB 7804, IB 8998) or their accessories (nos. IB 7135, IB 7136, IB 7137), lost at war. *Ibid.*, 281–84, 287.

¹³³ Incense burner. Clay; h. 7.95 cm. Yotkan, Khotan, Xinjiang Autonomous Region, China. The British Museum, London (no. MAS.134), Stein number: Yo.00178. The material was recorded in Stein, *Serindia*, vol. 1, 119; *ibid.* vol. 4, pl. IV.

that there was a chamber that may have contained a Buddha image in the Duldur Akur West Monastery, possibly playing the role of a perfumed chamber (Skt. *gandhakuṭī*).¹³⁴ As mentioned above, fragrance is also related to the concept of this ‘perfumed chamber’. The Buddha resided in the perfumed chamber while his body emitted a fragrant scent. The Buddha himself and the stūpa were also venerated with scents, and anything that might emit a bad odour was prohibited from approaching the stūpa. John Strong discussed that fragrance was integral to the Buddha’s presence, which filled the ‘perfumed chamber’.¹³⁵ Gregory Schopen also wrote that the fragrance of the Buddha seems to have been deemed equal to the Buddha himself, demonstrating how fragrance served as an essential part of the veneration of the Buddha and discussing the vinaya rules about using perfumes for stūpas.¹³⁶ Moreover, there would have been at least one perfumed chamber in all monastery complexes, according to the *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya*, as discussed by Schopen.¹³⁷ Regarding the praxis in Kucha, Giuseppe Vignato and Satomi Hiyama described how Kizil Cave 76 could be the best example that tells us how Kucheans built a place reserved for Buddha.¹³⁸ The large main Buddha statue was the central focal point of the main chamber, surrounded by heavenly musicians painted on the cornice of the four walls of the chamber, playing music in the Buddha’s honour.¹³⁹ There were also paintings of donors, a layman and three monks on the left side, and three monks on the right side, with the layman holding a flower basket kneeling before the Buddha. These were painted on the front wall of the cave and are no longer preserved but were extant at the time of Grünwedel’s visit to the cave in 1906.¹⁴⁰ The layman would have been a king based on

¹³⁴ Vignato and Hiyama, *Traces of the Sarvāstivādins*, 112.

¹³⁵ Strong, “‘Gandhakuṭī’”, 390–406

¹³⁶ Schopen, ‘The Fragrance of the Buddha’, 20–26.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 23–24.

¹³⁸ Vignato and Hiyama, *Traces of the Sarvāstivādins*, 25–26, 237–39.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 25–26.

¹⁴⁰ Grünwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten*, 91; *idem*, *Alt-Kutscha*, II 4 (II,2).

Grünwedel's comments that the cartouche next to him said 'rāja' (king).¹⁴¹

If we consider that images of the Buddha, such as a painting or sculpture residing in the *gandhakūṭī* or stūpa, would have replaced the physical Buddha and were thus expected to be venerated in the same manner as the Buddha himself, then a constant supply of perfume in the monastery would have been critical. This is especially noteworthy if one imagines how the everyday world would have been drenched in stench without the widespread use of modern essential hygiene items such as soap and toothpaste.¹⁴² Fragrance's role could have been also important to counteract the terrible smell caused by the dead bodies, considering monastery's closeness with burial grounds as discussed by Robert DeCaroli.¹⁴³ Fragrance could have functioned as a transparent wall that delineated the realm of the Buddha. David Howes discussed how smells played a key role in signifying the immediate transition from one state to the other.¹⁴⁴ Through the offering of flowers and incense, the chamber is filled with fragrances. Fragrance would have transformed the painted chamber full of inanimate objects into a sacred, animate space with the Buddha present.

We should remember that the image of Sumāgadhā was located on the median strip, one of the most visible spots inside the cave.

¹⁴¹ Grünwedel, *Alt-Kutscha*, II 4 (II,2). It is unique that the layman, the king, was in front of the monks in this cave, whereas the monks or nuns are usually in front of the donors in other examples based on my observation.

¹⁴² For example, the bad odour from garbage, leakage in the sewer system, and human excrement that permeated the Roman cities was described in detail by Ann Olga Koloski-Ostrow, in Koloski-Ostrow, 'Roman Urban Smells', 90–109. It seems, however, the Romans would not have been as sensitive as modern people to the stench, being exposed to it every moment, as discussed by Morley, 'Urban Smells', 110–19. We could imagine that Kucheans' situation with the stench would not be extremely different from that of the Romans lacking modern soap and detergents.

¹⁴³ DeCaroli, *Haunting the Buddha*, 43–45, 55–58.

¹⁴⁴ Howes, 'Olfaction and Transition', 399–401.

Given this key location, along with our knowledge that fragrances were regularly consumed in Buddhist monasteries, it seems likely that the donation of fragrances such as incense by laypeople could have greatly helped the monastics meet the demand for fragrances in the monastery. The illustration of Sumāgadhā's perfume offering bringing miracles would remind lay visitors of the efficacy of fragrance donation and thus encourage them to offer more fragrances to the monastery. Paolo Santangelo discussed the usage of the Chinese word *xiang* 香 (perfume, fragrance), albeit in the context of different time and place, and argued that burning incense was 'a symptom of the flourishing of a religious place (香火極盛) and is expressed by its financial fortune and fame'.¹⁴⁵

Remaining Question

There is a remaining question regarding the selection of Sumāgadhā story over other narratives related to levitation and fragrance. In fact, there is another story that shows Buddha and enlightened monks travelling mid-air to answer the call via fragrance offering, like the story of the monk Pūrṇa calling the Buddha to the city of Sūrpāraka, as described in *Pūrṇāvadāna* in the *Divyāvadāna*.¹⁴⁶ Both stories of Sumāgadhā and Pūrṇa share the common feature of a person calling for the Buddha from the top of a building and sending fragrance as a messenger to the Buddha residing far away. John Strong has discussed the story of Pūrṇa, especially regarding the flower pavilion, in connection to the Buddha's quarter, the perfumed chamber filled with a fragrance.¹⁴⁷ Admittedly, the buildings are of different sorts—with Pūrṇa on the top of a pavilion being made of the special cow's head sandalwood and Sumāgadhā climbing to the top of the pavilion at her in-laws' home—yet the strong presence of perfume in both narratives is striking. The reason behind the Kizil monks' or nuns' choice to

¹⁴⁵ Santangelo, 'Olfaction and Other Senses', Paragraph 25.

¹⁴⁶ Rotman, trans., *Divine Stories*, 71–117.

¹⁴⁷ Strong, "Gandhakuṭī", 396–98.

illustrate Sumāgadhā's story instead of the story of the eminent monk Pūrṇa is still unclear. In fact, there is a cave in Kizil, Cave 149A, that depicts Pūrṇa's story on the walls of the main chamber.¹⁴⁸ According to Schlingloff, the story of Pūrṇa inviting the Buddha from the sandalwood pavilion seems to have been painted on the third register, the lowest register among three registers in total, and covers the left sidewall, rear wall, and right sidewall of Cave 149A, beginning from the left sidewall and ending at the right sidewall.¹⁴⁹ Interestingly, there is a drawing by Grünwedel that likely shows Pūrṇa seated on the sandalwood pavilion calling the Buddha (**Fig. 24**):¹⁵⁰ he wrote that 'the house was painted white, the window frames, door frames and the balcony (?) are bright red'.¹⁵¹ It shows that the story of Pūrṇa was likely known in Kizil when the Sumāgadhā narrative was illustrated on the median strip of the main chamber of some caves. This is because Cave 149A seems to have been carved earlier than the caves with Sumāgadhā illustrations. Cave 149A was a square cave, whose ceiling was already destroyed at the time of Grünwedel's visit in 1906.¹⁵² The

¹⁴⁸ Grünwedel seems to have thought that the wall paintings in Kizil, Cave 149A depicted the stories of Śroṇakoṭīkarṇa and Maitrakanyaka, narratives also related with merchants and maritime commerce, and used his copy of the paintings from Cave 149A as illustrations for those narratives, see Grünwedel, *Alt-Kutscha*, II 38 (II, 33, fig. 36), II 42 (II, 34, fig. 37), II 44 (II, 34, fig. 38). Dieter Schlingloff correctly identified the paintings from Cave 149A as illustrations of Pūrṇa story. One of the painted scenes, for example, contains the four brothers talking with the father as in Pūrṇa story, whereas in Maitrakanyaka's story there is only one son with the father. See Schlingloff, 'Die Pūrṇa-Erzählung', 186–95; *idem*, 'Traditions of Indian Narrative Painting', 164; Vignato and Hiyama, *Traces of the Sarvāstivādins*, 191–93.

¹⁴⁹ Schlingloff, 'Die Pūrṇa-Erzählung', 194–95.

¹⁵⁰ Kizil, Cave 149A, main chamber, left sidewall, third register, number unknown to the author, *in situ*. Drawing by Grünwedel in Grünwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten*, 128, fig. 285; Zhao et al., eds., *Kezi'er shiku bibua fuyuan*, vol. 1, 358.

¹⁵¹ Grünwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten*, 129.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 124. Giuseppe Vignato and Satomi Hiyama wrote that based on



FIG. 24 *Pūrṇa on the Sandalwood Pavilion*. Kizil, Cave 149A, main chamber, left sidewall, third register, number unknown to the author, *in situ*. From Grünwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten*, 128, fig. 285.

caves with a square plan are usually regarded as earlier than the central pillar caves. The paintings in Cave 149A are also painted in the first Indo-Iranian Style, while the Sumāgadhā illustrations described above are painted in the second Indo-Iranian Style. Although under debate, scholars mostly agree that the first Indo-Iranian Style paintings seem to be earlier than the second Indo-Iranian Style paintings regarding their time of execution.

I suppose that one of the possible reasons could be that the person who financed the painting was female, based on the singular *parinirvāṇa* scene with nuns (Fig. 25) in the rear area of Kizil Cave 205¹⁵³ (which also contains an illustration of the Sumāgadhā

their observation; the Cave 149A seems to have had a dome ceiling. Vignato and Hiyama, *Traces of the Sarvāstivādins*, 48–49, fig. 39 (the layout of the cave).

¹⁵³ Kizil, Cave 205, rear corridor, inner wall. Fragment taken by the third



FIG. 25 Nuns at Cremation. Kizil, Cave 205, rear corridor, inner wall. Formerly in Berlin Collection (no. IB 8439), lost at war. Illustrated in Grünwedel, *Alt-Kutscha*, 44–45.

narrative); the caves that were visited by women, such as Kizil Cave 222, where the sidewall of the main chamber bears an inscription recording five women visiting the cave;¹⁵⁴ and in Kizil Cave 225,

German Expedition to the Berlin Collection, lost at war (no. IB 8439). Illustrated in Grünwedel, *Alt-Kutscha*, Tafel 44–45; Zhao et al. eds., *Haiwai Kezi'er shiku bibua*, 118–19; *idem*, *Kezi'er shiku bibua fuyuan*, vol. 2, 615. Partially illustrated in the historical photograph kept in the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin (nos. A 392; B 95a; B 234). *Mural Paintings in Xinjiang of China: Kucha*, 88–89; *Mural Paintings in Xinjiang of China*, vol. 2, 136–37, pl. 124. Partially illustrated in a drawing by Monika Zin, in Zin, *Representations of the Parinirvāṇa*, 92–94, Drawing 36. Zhao Li's reconstruction in Zhao et al., eds., *Kezi'er shiku bibua fuyuan*, vol. 2, 616.

¹⁵⁴ Inscription Kz-222-ZS-L-05, in Zhao and Rong, eds., *Qiuci shiku tiji*, report volume, 176–77.

where on the middle register of the outer wall of the corridor to the main chamber there is a record of a woman's name, *Laraṣka*,¹⁵⁵ near Cave 224 (Fig. 6) where the *Sumāgadhā* narrative is represented. Nevertheless, this remains speculation, as the connection between *Sumāgadhā* illustration and the female donors cannot be fully ascertained at the current state of research. There are numerous questions to answer regarding the identity and roles of the donors in construction and renovation of the individual cave or cave groups.

Conclusion

The illustration of *Sumāgadhā*'s perfume offering and the following miracle was painted at least four times in the Kizil Caves, with a high probability that it was also illustrated in a fifth example, Kizil Cave 193 (Fig. 7). These examples seem to be closest to the literary sources translated in the third and fourth centuries in Chinese. I have argued that their location on median strips could relate to monastic promotion of fragrance offerings, enabling and encouraging this everyday ritual in which fragrant materials such as flowers and incense were used to venerate the Buddha. This may be supported by the fact that fragrance was visualised as a messenger between the person in need and the Buddha. The Buddha responded to the call for help sent via fragrance. The importance of the fragrance and its efficacy was highlighted through the composition of the scene that positions *Sumāgadhā* facing the procession of the enlightened monks and the Buddha travelling towards her. We know that the role of fragrance was especially important inside Buddhist monasteries, where, traditionally, there was a perfumed chamber reserved for the Buddha. This legacy was continued through the presence of a perfumed chamber containing a painted or sculpted image of the Buddha, with the fragrance functioning as a mark of the Buddha that differentiated the monastery from the outside stench.

¹⁵⁵ Inscription Kz-225-YD-W-24, in Zhao and Rong, eds., *Qiuci shiku tiji*, report volume, 190.

By having analysed the specific illustrations of the story of Sumāgadhā in the Kizil Caves, the article provided a glimpse into the cave's contemporary material culture and showed that fragrance may have played a vital role in Buddhist monasteries. Fragrance was a medium that directly connected a layperson with the Buddha and marked the boundary of the Buddha's chamber. Therefore, monks and nuns at Kucha chose the story of Sumāgadhā to be illustrated on the highest point of the cave to promote the practice of fragrance offering.¹⁵⁶

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Abbreviations

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| <i>Kizil Grottoes 1983–1985</i> | <i>Chūgoku sekkutsu: Kijiru sekkutsu</i> . See Secondary Sources, Shinkyō Uiguru jichiku bunbutsu kanri iinkai, and Haijō ken Kijiru senbutsudō bunbutsu hokanjo, eds. |
| <i>Kizil Grottoes 1989–1997</i> | <i>Zhongguo shiku: Kezi'er shiku</i> . See Secondary Sources, by Xinjiang Weiwu'er zizhi qu wenwu guanli weiyuanhui, and Baicheng xian Kezi'er qianfodong wenwu baoguansuo, eds. |
| <i>Mural Paintings in Xinjiang of China: Kucha</i> | <i>Zhongguo Xinjiang bihua: Qiuci</i> . See Secondary Sources, Xinjiang Qiuci shiku yanjiusuo, ed. |

¹⁵⁶ The author would like to express her heartfelt gratitude to the anonymous reviewer(s) who offered her a highly detailed discussion of her article that enriched the discussion and opened a new horizon for her academic research.

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