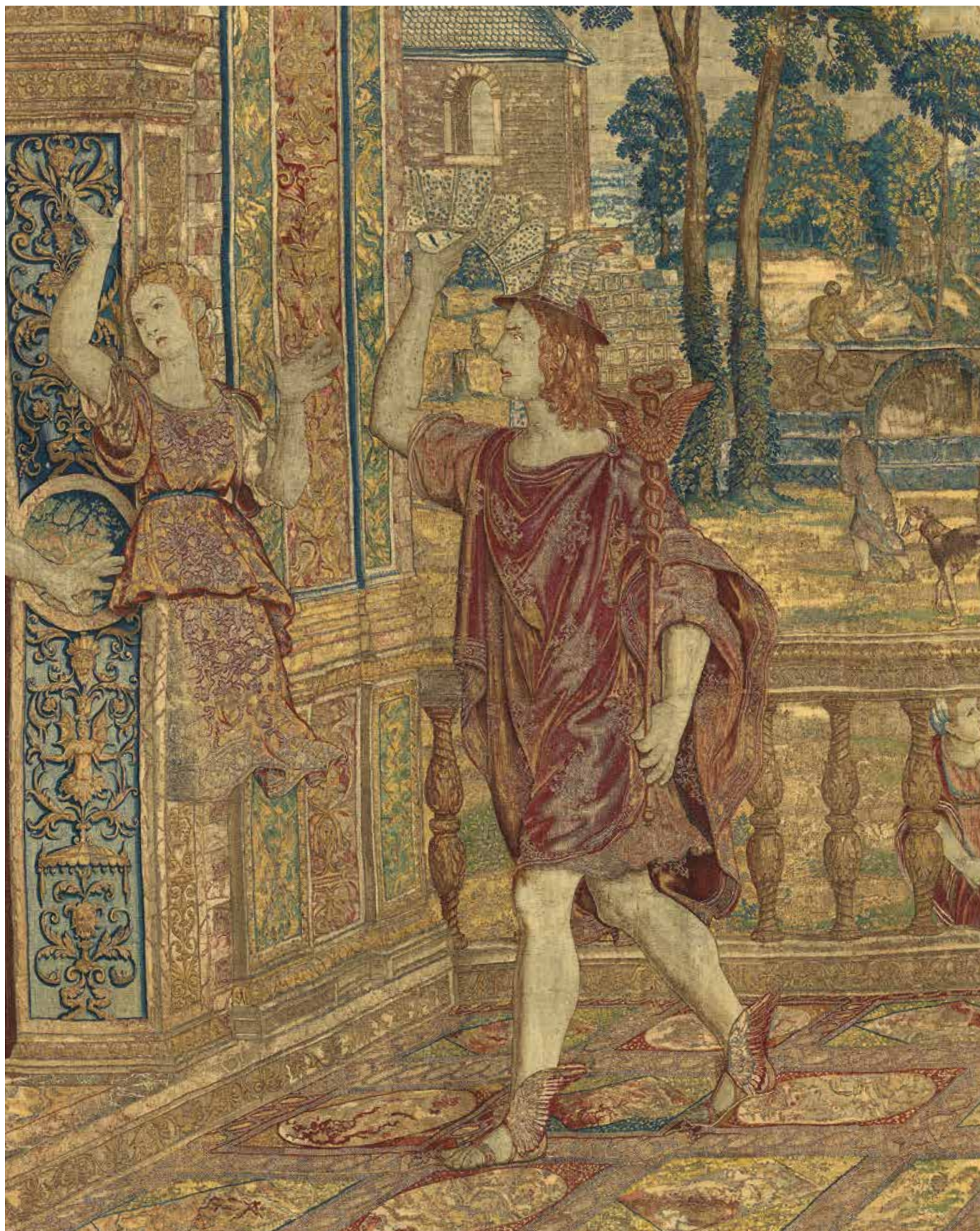


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The Metropolitan Museum of Art
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Charles Antoine Coypel (French, 1694–1752). *François de Jullienne and His Wife*, 1743. Pastel, 39 3/8 x 31 1/2 in. (100 x 80 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Mrs. Charles Wrightsman Gift, in honor of Annette de la Renta, 2011 (2011.84)

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Back cover illustration: Detail of El Greco, *A View of Toledo*, ca. 1599–1600. See fig. 1, p. 12.

Illustration on p. 2: Detail of *Mercury Changes Aglauros to Stone* from the *Story of Mercury and Herse*. Design, Italian, ca. 1540. Tapestry, Netherlandish, ca. 1570. See fig. 1, p. 148.

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MANUSCRIPT GUIDELINES FOR THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL

The *Metropolitan Museum Journal* is issued annually by The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Its purpose is to publish original research on works in the Museum's collection. Articles are contributed by members of the Museum staff and other art historians and specialists. Submissions should be emailed to: journalsubmissions@metmuseum.org.

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ABBREVIATIONS

MMA The Metropolitan Museum of Art
MMAB *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*
MMJ *Metropolitan Museum Journal*

Height precedes width and then depth in dimensions cited.

METROPOLITAN
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MIKI MORITA

The Kizil Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum

Among the many intriguing, less well-known holdings of The Metropolitan Museum of Art is a group of small mural painting fragments from the ruins of Buddhist cave complexes in the areas of Kucha, Khotan, and Turfan, in northwestern China. These sites, scattered in a deserted area in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, played essential roles in the transmission of Buddhism from India to East Asia. Among them, Kizil is noted for its size and its abundant, flamboyant murals, which provide rare visual information about the culture of the Kucha Kingdom, a renowned Buddhist center from the third through the seventh century. The Metropolitan Museum's collection of Kizil mural fragments consists of twelve pieces depicting various Buddhist figures in styles associated with particular caves or groups of caves. These and many other Kizil mural fragments now in collections in the United States were once part of a German collection

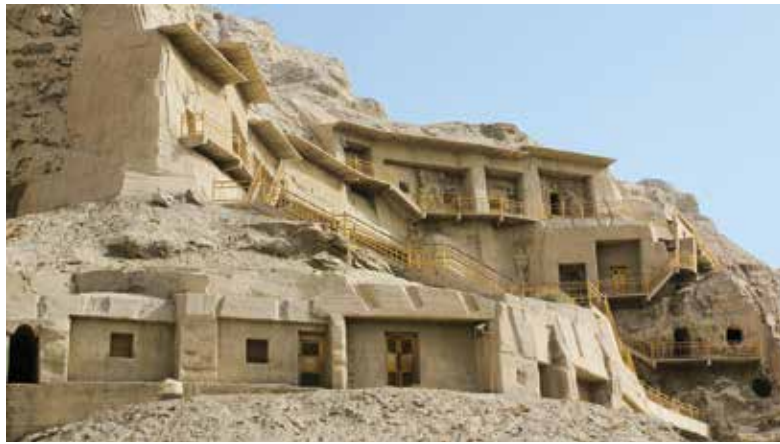


fig. 1 View of Kizil

that was amassed during expeditions to the site in the early twentieth century. Determining the original locations of the fragments is essential for ascertaining the function of the site and understanding the religious practices of the Kucha Kingdom. This essay attempts to identify the caves in which the Metropolitan Museum's Kizil mural fragments originated.

The Kizil caves served as Buddhist temples and as domiciles for monks (fig. 1). The complex comprises more than two hundred caves carved into the sandstone cliffs along the Muzart River, about forty-three miles west of present-day Kucha.¹ The earliest known direct reference to a kingdom called Kucha appears in *Han shu* (History of the Han), a history of the Western Han Dynasty (202 B.C.–A.D. 8) in China written in the first century A.D.² It is not certain when Buddhism was transmitted to Kucha, but we know from primary Chinese sources that Buddhist monks were active in the Kucha Kingdom in the middle of the fourth century, and that by the seventh century, Buddhism was the predominant religion there.³

Centuries later, the cave temples were abandoned, and their artistic contents fell into oblivion. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, a series of expeditions set out from Europe, Russia, and Japan to study Central Eurasia, a region then virtually unknown. In the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, these undertakings resulted in the discovery of many deserted cultural sites known only through local legends.⁴ Among these sites, the Kizil caves were investigated most thoroughly by German expedition teams.

Four German expeditions led by Albert Grünwedel (1856–1935) and Albert von Le Coq (1860–1930) explored Central Asia between 1902 and 1914.⁵ The teams documented the sites and sent home many examples of the paintings and statues they found there, thus endowing

Germany with the largest collection of Kizil art outside China. A majority of the mural fragments carried off by the German expeditions initially went to the Museum für Völkerkunde (Museum of Ethnology), Berlin. Then, in the 1920s, a portion of these works was sold off to finance the museum's publishing projects.⁶ Some of the Kizil fragments eventually made their way into private collections and museums in the United States, including the Smithsonian Institution and The Metropolitan Museum of Art.⁷

Most of the Metropolitan Museum's pieces were purchased in the 1940s and 1950s from dealers and private collectors. Although acquired from diverse sources, the Museum's fragments show evidence of having been removed from Kizil as a group. Inscriptions on the back of each piece identify which of the four expeditions removed the work, the general area on the Kizil site where it was found, and the location of the specific cave from which it was taken. Some of the fragments carry additional information, such as the number of the container in which they were placed. One bears a French customs stamp; another, the name of Le Coq (see fig. 17b).⁸ The inscriptions reveal that most of the Museum's fragments were removed from the caves during the fourth expedition, which was led by Le Coq from June 1913 to February 1914.

In 1928, Alan Priest, curator of Far Asian Art at the Metropolitan Museum, submitted a proposal to purchase ten seventh-century Buddhist paintings from Turfan, a site about 420 miles northeast of Kizil. The proposal, which was not acted upon, stated that the works were brought to the market by Le Coq through the Chinese art dealer Edgar Worch (1880–1972).⁹ While this information relates to fragments from Turfan, it resonates with the partial sale of the German collection in the 1920s and helps to explain the works' early dispersal abroad.¹⁰

DATING THE KIZIL MURAL PAINTINGS

Lack of historical documentation makes dating the wall paintings one of the most difficult challenges in studying the Kizil caves. Following are representative opinions concerning when the works were created. There is still no consensus on the matter.

Grünwedel's early division of the paintings into stylistic groups was adopted with modifications by Ernst Waldschmidt, who factored into his classifications paleographic studies of Brāhmī script and identifications of Kuchean royals' names from inscriptions and manuscripts discovered in the Kizil caves.¹¹ Waldschmidt

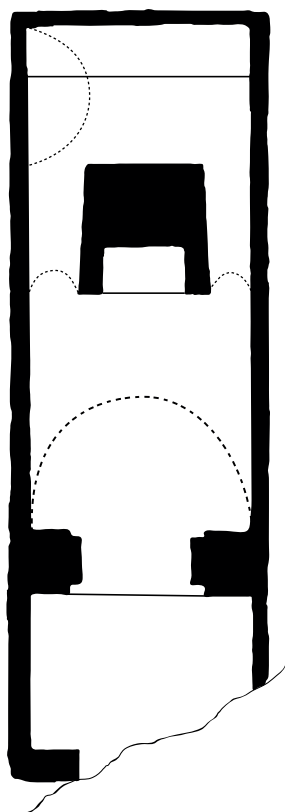


fig. 2 Interior Plan of Kizil Cave 224

proposed a three-stage stylistic evolution incorporating elements of Indian, Iranian, and Chinese art. The earliest style, which Waldschmidt called Indo-Iranian style I, flourished from about A.D. 500 to 550. Displaying characteristics of Gandharan art, it features warm colors, such as orange and yellow, and flexible handling of line and detail, resulting in natural-seeming depictions of the human figure. The second style, Indo-Iranian style II, from the seventh century, is regarded as the locally mature phase of the preceding style. The palette is predominantly cool. Blue, derived from lapis lazuli, and green appear frequently. Sharp chromatic contrasts are favored, as is a stiffer, more linear treatment of the human form. The third style is heavily influenced by Chinese painting, which is thought to have been transmitted to the area when the Tang dynasty (A.D. 618–907) extended its influence between the eighth and ninth centuries, during the late period of Kuchean Buddhist art.¹²

While much earlier dates, based on comparative materials from the Northern Liang (A.D. 397–439) and Northern Wei (A.D. 386–534) periods, were subsequently proposed, Waldschmidt's dating was generally accepted until new scientific, archaeological, and art-historical methodologies were adopted about 1980.¹³ A Beijing University project led by Su Bai from 1979 to 1981 classified the Kizil caves according to their interior plans and the styles and themes of their mural paintings, and it employed radiocarbon dating to estimate the caves' age.¹⁴ The caves examined in the Beijing study were classified into three approximate time periods: 310 ± 80 – 350 ± 60 , 395 ± 65 – 465 ± 65 to the early sixth century, and 545 ± 75 – 685 ± 65 and later.¹⁵ Since the completion of the Beijing study, radiocarbon dating has become a primary tool in the study of the Kizil caves and has been used by research teams from China, Japan, and Germany to examine more than one hundred Kizil samples.¹⁶ Nevertheless, there is still no consensus on the dating of the Kizil caves: the results of a radiocarbon test conducted in 2011 places the origins of one of the cave murals in the first century B.C., earlier than many scholars think plausible.¹⁷

In recent years, Giuseppe Vignato has studied a subset of the Kizil caves: those with core units that were added to in later periods. Vignato designated two main types of cave groups: one with a central pillar cave, the other without. He then divided the caves into four time periods, proposing A.D. 550 to 750 as the fourth and latest period and assigning to it about half of the caves.¹⁸ This late period witnessed the intense development of the cave groups containing central pillar caves.¹⁹

Hiyama Satomi notes that the stylistic features of Cave 224 are similar to those of Cave 205, a central pillar cave containing an inscription referring to a Kuchean noble who lived at the end of the sixth century.²⁰ In light of the findings outlined above, it is tempting to speculate that several of the Museum's pieces, which, as it will be shown, possibly originated in Cave 224 or in other caves with central pillars, were painted in the sixth or seventh century. However, this dating is provisional, subject to future archaeological and art-historical developments in the study of the Kucha Kingdom.²¹

THE STRUCTURE OF THE KIZIL CAVES

While the caves have lost most of their sculpture, about a third of them are decorated with murals.²² Among those that are not, some have lost their paintings to natural decay or vandalism, but many were never decorated in the first place. Some of the caves' principal uses can be inferred from their designs.²³ Monks' residences, which were not decorated, usually consisted of a main room with a fireplace and a window.²⁴ Some had an additional, small room carved out behind the back wall of the hallway.

Caves with a single square chamber also may have been used for communal religious activities such as lectures on Buddhist scriptures.²⁵ Some square caves were furnished with altars and decorated with statues and murals, the latter done mainly in the first pictorial style.²⁶

Central pillar caves (fig. 2), which have a large, square pillar in the middle of the main chamber, were used for liturgical purposes. Designed as spaces for prayer, their interiors share common iconography and pictorial programs. The front side of the pillar usually contained a large niche for a statue that would have functioned in dialogue with a mural to represent the Buddha preaching in Indra's cave, a common theme in Gandharan art also. The side walls were often covered with preaching scenes, and a large part of the ceiling displayed episodes from *jātaka* (tales of the Buddha's previous lives) and more scenes of the Buddha preaching, each individually framed within a border. The back wall, decorated with a scene of *nirvāṇa*, featured a painted or sculpted image of the recumbent Buddha.²⁷ The side corridors and entrance wall of the cave were also painted.²⁸ A variant of the central pillar cave, known as the "monumental image cave," was distinguished by the presence of a large statue of the Buddha standing in front of the central pillar. In some monumental image caves, the statue was probably carved directly into the wall of the cliff, with a wide area around

fig. 3 Monk Holding a Lotus.
China (Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region), Kizil, ca. 6th–7th century. Pigments on mud plaster, 32 × 14¼ in. (81.3 × 37.5 cm). Inscribed on reverse: *M. Ö. Q. / gr. Anlage / Figuren = Höhle / Stück 8. / Kiste 29. / Tür-wand.* The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1942 (42.49)

fig. 4 Monks and Stupas.
China (Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region), Kizil Cave 13, ca. 6th–7th century. Pigments on mud plaster, 78¼ × 79½ in. (200 × 201 cm). Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst (MIK III 8859a)

the statue's legs hollowed out to create the space at the back of the chamber.²⁹

All of the caves considered here as possible original locations for the Metropolitan Museum's Kizil paintings are of the central pillar type.³⁰ The caves' similar interior plans and their murals' shared figurative elements and thematic content allow for typological categorization and cross-referencing in identifying the paintings' themes.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE ORIGINAL LOCATIONS

In the following discussion, eight relatively well-preserved Kizil fragments (three of which are treated as a group) in the Metropolitan Museum's collection are introduced and their original locations proposed. In cases where there is sufficient evidence, the fragments' possible themes are investigated. It should be noted that some of the pieces have probably undergone partial restoration, resulting in minor alterations in their appearance. These modifications are not so significant as to affect the research presented here.³¹

Monk Holding a Lotus

The most complete fragment in the Metropolitan Museum's Kizil collection represents a standing monk holding a lotus flower (fig. 3). Seen against a light blue

backdrop, the figure has its head turned slightly to the left; the round face is rendered in three-quarter view, and light orange shading applied over the pale beige tone of the skin gives an impression of volume. The arms are bent and the left hand is clasped. The open right hand with palm facing outward delicately holds the stem of a lotus flower between thumb and index finger. The flowing brown robe both conceals and reveals the monk's elongated frame: the graceful folds of drapery falling across the torso and the gentle outward curve of the right hip indicate a contrapposto stance.

According to an inscription on the reverse, *Monk Holding a Lotus* was taken from the *Tür-wand* (door wall) of the *Figuren Höhle* (Figures Cave), also known in the early German nomenclature as the *Höhle der Statuen* (Cave of the Statues) and in current scholarship as Cave 77.³² Yet Grünwedel makes no mention of this figure in his description of Cave 77.³³ Moreover, comparison of the fragment with the surviving murals in Cave 77 makes it clear that the monk on a blue background does not correspond to the images remaining in situ, where brown and other warm colors predominate.

However, a perfect match for the Metropolitan Museum's monk is seen in the image of standing



fig. 5 *Attendant*. China (Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region), Kizil, ca. 6th–7th century. Pigments on mud plaster, 9% × 5% in. (25.1 × 13.7 cm). Inscribed on back: *IV. Reise Qieszil gr. Anl. / Blaue Höhle / g. no. 3*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1951 (51.94.3)

fig. 6 Archival photograph of a section of the painted ceiling in Kizil Cave 38, showing *Attendant* of *fig. 5* in situ. China (Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region). Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst (MIK B 1834)

fig. 7 Later view of the ceiling seen in *fig. 6*, showing patches where mural fragments have been removed. The original positions of *figs. 5* and *8* are outlined in red. China (Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region)



monks on a mural fragment titled *Monks and Stupas* (*fig. 4*), now in Berlin. The Berlin piece was formerly thought to have originated in Cave 7 (also known as the *Höhle mit dem Frescofussboden* [Cave with the Frescoed Floor]).³⁴ Among the shared elements of the two works are their light blue backdrops and floral motifs, the figures' height, the angle of the faces, the clasped left hands and contrapposto poses, long-sleeved brown undergarments, robes patterned with U-shaped folds, and the bright green delineation of the compositions' bottom edges.³⁵

There can be no doubt that *Monk Holding a Lotus* was once part of the procession of monks on the Berlin fragment. It is now known that the assignment of *Monks and Stupas* to Cave 7 was a mistake: photographs from the German expedition show this frag-

ment in situ in Cave 13.³⁶ Therefore it is likely that *Monk Holding a Lotus*, too, is from Cave 13.³⁷

Monk Holding a Lotus and *Monks and Stupas* probably depict donor figures in procession. Murals showing similar processions of monks survive in several Kizil caves, where they are painted on the walls flanking the central pillars.³⁸

Attendant (*fig. 5*) is a small fragment depicting a standing male figure from behind. The head is turned to show the face in left profile, the hair is knotted on top of the head, and a large circular earring is worn in the left ear. The contours of the upper body are defined by gently curving black lines, whereas the legs are stiff, as



fig. 8 Warrior. China (Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region), Kizil, ca. 6th–7th century. Pigments on mud plaster, $9\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. (23.5 × 13.7 cm). Inscribed on reverse: IV Reise Qieszil. Gr. Anl. / Blaue Höhle / g. No. 2. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1951 (51.94.1)

indicated by their nearly straight lines. The figure wears a long green scarf and a sarong-like garment that wraps around the waist and is gathered between the legs. The left hand holds a long-necked flask, and the right holds a string attached to a cluster of spherical objects. The attendant gazes toward a figure whose presence is suggested by the edges of a white mandorla and a throne. At the lower right, a dark blue shape partly overlaps the cluster of spherical objects below the attendant's right hand. Green and blue, colors associated with the second style of Kizil mural paintings, predominate.

Penciled notations on the back of the work indicate that it is from the *Blaue Höhle* (Blue Cave), also called *Höhle mit dem Musikerchor* (Cave with the Choir), today referred to as Cave 38. A photograph from the German expeditions showing the arched ceiling of Cave 38 (fig. 6) enables us to trace the original location of *Attendant* to what is now a small rectangular section of the ceiling's mud wall (fig. 7). The image reveals that the dark shape partly covering the spherical objects in the fragment perfectly corresponds to the upper left side of the lozenge-shaped border seen immediately below the attendant in the mural. What is more, Grünwedel's detailed description of Cave 38 mentions the presence, near a Buddha looking to his

left, of a standing male figure seen from the back. This figure is said to be wearing a loincloth and holding a bottle in his left hand.³⁹ These archival records leave no doubt that *Attendant* was originally located on the ceiling of Cave 38.

The figure in this fragment most likely represents a character in the Buddha's sermon scenes, which were frequently depicted on the ceilings of the Kizil caves.⁴⁰ Each scene, framed by a lozenge-shaped border, had a seated Buddha figure at the center and smaller figures alongside, and each scene was associated with a particular tale. The rich variety of the narratives makes it difficult to determine which stories are represented in these small segments. So far, the Metropolitan's *Attendant* has not been identified with specific tale. Painted images of a partially clothed figure with a topknot and bottle are present in other Kizil caves also; the figure is often associated with non-Buddhist mendicants, especially with Brahmanical ascetics.⁴¹

The round objects trailing from the attendant's right hand are possibly flowers.⁴² Attendant figures in Kizil cave paintings are often represented offering flowers to Buddha. For example, on the outer wall of a corridor in Cave 163, the attendant of a large standing Buddha holds a similar "bouquet."⁴³ That attendant, too, is scantily clad, his torso covered only by a tightly tied sash and a narrow scarf that hangs loosely from his shoulders. In his proper right hand, raised to revere the Buddha, he holds multiple circular objects attached to straight, stem-like lines like the ones seen in *Attendant*. Although his other hand is empty, the main elements of his pose—face in profile and back to the viewer—resemble those of the Metropolitan Museum's *Attendant*. These figures possibly represent the same character, but additional comparative materials are needed to identify the narrative with which he is associated.⁴⁴

Warrior

The mustached *Warrior* (fig. 8) holds a small black banner trimmed with white triangles and attached to a pole. Horizontally striped armor covers the figure's torso, arms, and legs, and the curved, trapezoidal helmet is topped with a semicircular black ornament. The warrior sits cross-legged on a chair and turns diagonally to the left, toward a figure suggested by the edge of a large mandorla. A cone-shaped form similar to the ones in the border surrounding *Attendant*'s scene (see fig. 6) is present on the lower right.

The inscription *Blaue Höhle* (Blue Cave), penciled on the reverse, is the same as that found on the back



fig. 9 Two Bodhisattvas. China (Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region), Kizil, ca. 6th–7th century. Pigments on mud plaster, 16% × 9% in. (41.6 × 24.8 cm). Inscribed on reverse: *IV. Reise. Qieszil / gr. Anlg. / 3 Höhle in d [?].* The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1951 (51.94.5)

fig. 10 Archival photograph of preaching scene in Cave 175, with tops of parasols outlined in red. China (Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region), Kizil. Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst (MIK B 544)

fig. 11 Preaching scene from Cave 178, with tops of parasols outlined in red. China (Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region), Kizil. Pigments on mud plaster, 28% × 36% in. (72 × 92 cm). Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst (detail of MIK III 8725 a,b)



of *Attendant*, indicating that *Warrior*, too, is from Cave 38.⁴⁵ The painting's predominantly green and blue colors match the color scheme of that cave, and it is clear from the figure's position between the large mandorla and the conical form on the lower right that the fragment was taken from a lozenge-shaped segment on the ceiling. The rectangular patch of mud immediately to the left of the spot once occupied by *Attendant* is most likely the original location of this fragment, since *Warrior*'s bright green background and the beige conical form slot perfectly into this position. The white and blue concentric arcs on the warrior's proper right complete the mandorla of the Buddha figure still found in this lozenge-shape segment on the south side of the ceiling in Cave 38. Grünwedel's record supports the argument that this was indeed the *Warrior*'s original location. It describes the figure in this particular rhomboid as "Buddha, meditating and seated, left, an armored knight."⁴⁶

Like *Attendant*, *Warrior* is associated with one of the tales of the preaching Buddha. While unidentified, the narrative was probably referenced repeatedly in the ceiling paintings of Kizil, as a similar armored figure with a flag is found in Cave 192 and elsewhere on the site.⁴⁷

Two Bodhisattvas

A fragment with beautiful contrasts of bright blue, white, and orange (fig. 9) shows two bodhisattvas facing diagonally to the right, their arms raised above their shoulders and their hands closed in a grip. A horizontal bar decorated with zigzag patterns is seen above the hands of each figure, and on the right, a shorter length of the same type of bar is depicted above a segment of a large halo. The upper and lower edges of the bars are lined with dotted bands, and below the bars are areas of solid white. Beneath her blue and white halo, the upper bodhisattva wears a headdress decorated with a triangular ornament at the center and blue and white ribbons attached at the sides; the headdress of the lower figure is adorned with three disks outlined in blue.

The penciled inscription on the back of the fragment is partly illegible. The decipherable portion reads: *IV. Reise. Qieszil gr. Anlg. 3 Höhle in d[. . .]* (4th trip, Kizil, largest segment, 3rd cave in the [. . .]). This information suggests that the piece possibly came from a cave with the word *third* in its title or from one that was designated as the third cave in a certain section of Kizil. While the word “third” occurs in the German titles of two Kizil caves (*Drittletzte Höhle* for Cave 184, and *Dritte Höhle von vorn* for Cave 188), the paintings on the walls of those caves do not share the *Two Bodhisattvas*’s most salient features: strong contrasts of bright blue and white, the three distinctive disks on the headdress of the lower figure, and the figures’ round, stylized faces. However, an archival photograph of the preaching scene from Cave 175 (fig. 10) as well as the remnants of that mural in situ show a marked resemblance to the Metropolitan Museum’s fragment, as do the painted figures in Cave 178 (fig. 11).⁴⁸ Moreover, as the following section will make clear, the same patterns that appear on the “bars” in *Two Bodhisattvas* also decorate the “bars” represented in the murals of Caves 175 and 178. These two caves are considered part of a group of caves that share geographic proximity as well as stylistic and architectural similarities.⁴⁹ Judging from the close formal and stylistic relationship of the murals in Caves 175 and 178 to the Metropolitan Museum’s fragment, either of these two caves, or one of several others nearby, could be the original location of *Two Bodhisattvas*.⁵⁰

The pose of the figures in *Two Bodhisattvas* recurs in several other Kizil cave paintings, where it is held by parasol bearers. Such is the case in the murals found in Caves 175 and 178, where bars decorated with zigzag patterns are seen between two seated Buddha figures. Directly in front of and at the left end of each bar, a figure holds both hands at shoulder height, like the



figures in the Metropolitan Museum’s fragment. In the murals in Caves 175 and 178, it is possible to discern that each bar is surmounted by a low, dome-shaped top (see figs. 10, 11). These tops reveal that the “bars” are in fact parasol rims, and that the white areas below them are the parasols’ undersides. In light of this, there can be little doubt that the Metropolitan Museum’s bodhisattvas, whose gestures and overhead “bars” are nearly identical to those of the comparison figures, also hold parasols, albeit with poles merely hinted at by the positions of the figures’ hands.

It is probable that the Metropolitan’s parasol bearers illustrate a different narrative from the one referenced by their counterparts in Caves 175 and 178. The murals in those two locations show beneath each parasol a pair of seated figures with elaborate headdresses and halos. In addition, the mural in Cave 175 features a three-headed male figure standing behind the Buddha on the left, who also has a prostrate monk at his feet. These remarkable figures have been identified with a protagonist in the story of the conversion of King Bimbisāra of Magadha during the lifetime of the Buddha.⁵¹ Based on the similarity of the crowned, seated figures in Caves 175 and 178, it is likely that the parasol bearers in these scenes are the attendants of high-ranking individuals such as the king.

Unlike the parasol bearers portrayed in Caves 175 and 178, both figures in *Two Bodhisattvas* have halos and wear headdresses. The absence of additional figures beneath their parasols indicates that the parasols do not

fig. 12 Mural depicting the Buddha surrounded by parasol bearers. China (Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region), Kizil, Cave 189.

function to shelter high-ranking individuals. Part of a third parasol is visible on the right, directly above the segment of a very large halo designating the presence of a figure of great importance—undoubtedly a Buddha. The lack of aristocratic figures and the implied presence of a central figure, now missing, surrounded by attendants suggest that this fragment was once part of a mural depicting the offering of parasols to the Buddha.

A related composition is found in the remnants of a mural surviving in situ in Cave 189 (fig. 12). The scene features a large standing Buddha surrounded by haloed attendants holding parasols. Although the theme has not yet been identified conclusively, certain scholars believe that it alludes to the twin miracles performed by the Buddha when he overwhelmed the non-Buddhist heretics in Śrāvastī.⁵² In Cave 189, the miracles are represented in depictions of the Buddha levitating as flames burst from his shoulders and water gushes under his feet. More recently, the mural has been interpreted as representing the Buddha crossing the Ganges River to save victims of epidemics in the state of Vaiśālī.⁵³ The story tells of the sky filling with thousands of parasols offered to the Buddha by King Bimbisāra, the people of Vaiśālī, *nāgas* (snake deities), and other spirits and deities. Although the central figure

in *Two Bodhisattvas* is missing, the compositional similarity of this fragment to the wall painting in Cave 189 suggests that the two works might share as their theme one of these narratives from the life of Śākyamuni Buddha.

Seated Bodhisattva

Seated Bodhisattva (fig. 13) is a fragment depicting a Buddhist figure seated with crossed legs. The figure's face, portrayed in three-quarter view to left, is tilted slightly upward. The hair is tied in a topknot. Encircling the head is a band decorated with grid patterns and knots on each side. At its center, a large triangular ornament is embellished near the top by a spherical element, perhaps a flower. The ornaments on the head-dress match the figure's earrings and choker. The features of the face, with its arched eyebrows and piercing gaze, are accented with reddish brown lines that follow the dark contours but do not convey a sense of three-dimensionality. The figure's dark brown robe is draped over one shoulder, leaving the other exposed. The border of what is possibly an undergarment appears as a bright green diagonal across the figure's upper torso; reddish brown necklaces and bracelets adorn the chest and wrists. The halo, composed of concentric circles of dark blue and brown, identifies the figure as a bodhisattva.

The style of *Seated Bodhisattva* and the inscription on its reverse closely match those of at least six other fragments in collections in the United States, Germany, and Japan.⁵⁴ Common to all of the images are their color schemes, the figures' piercing gaze and arched eyebrows,

fig. 13 *Seated Bodhisattva*. China (Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region), Kizil, ca. 6th–7th century. Pigments on mud plaster, 19½ × 11½ in. (49.2 × 29.2 cm). Inscribed on reverse: *M.Ö.Q. gr. Anlag. / II Schlucht. II Höhle / in d. Ecke gefunden*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, From the Collection of A. W. Bahr, Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1947 (47.18.27)

fig. 14 Fragment of a mural painting. China (Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region), Kizil, ca. 6th–7th century. Pigments on mud plaster, 9½ × 9 in. (24.1 × 22.9 cm). The University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Purchase from A. W. Bahr, 1924 (C413A)



fig. 15 *Bodhisattva* in Cave 176.
China (Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region)



the rendering of the hair with thick, bold lines, and the design of the figures' accessories (fig. 14). The inscriptions on all of these fragments read in part: *gr. Anlag[e], II Schlucht, II Höhle in d. Ecke gefunden* (largest section, second gorge, second cave, found in the corner).⁵⁵ A label attached to the fragment in the Museum für Asiatische Kunst (Museum of Asian Art) in Berlin identifies the cave mentioned in the inscription as Cave 179.⁵⁶ For this reason, the fragments in this group are generally considered to have originated in Cave 179.⁵⁷

Fortunately, Cave 179 still retains some of its original mural paintings.⁵⁸ A comparison of these in situ murals

with the group of related fragments reveals a general correspondence of stylistic features but disparities in the details. For example, the necklaces worn by several large figures in Cave 179 are decorated with small white dots, which clearly differ from the squarish elements adorning the chokers and headdresses depicted on the fragments. More closely akin to the fragments in both its general characteristics and its details is the figure of a standing bodhisattva (fig. 15) in Cave 176, located near Cave 179. Not only does the figure's facial expression recall the Metropolitan's *Seated Bodhisattva*, but so do his earrings, rimmed with curved, petal-like forms. The sinuous trailing end of the hair tie and the spherical ornament attached to it are like those seen in *Seated Bodhisattva*, and the design of the standing bodhisattva's choker matches the design of the chokers worn by all of the figures in this group. Such similarities necessitate a reconsideration of the fragments' assignment to Cave 179, and they suggest Cave 176 as another possibility for the fragments' place of origin.⁵⁹

The iconography of *Seated Bodhisattva* is so general that it is impossible at this time to link the image to a specific narrative. Judging from the small size and the generic quality of all of the figures in this group of fragments, they probably represent attendants of larger, more significant figures.

Cave 224 fragments

Three Celestial Attendants (fig. 16), *Three Bodhisattvas* (figs. 17a,b), and *Buddha with Two Disciples* (fig. 18) are a stylistically related set of mural fragments in the Metropolitan Museum's collection. Each image contains three figures and is beautifully colored bright blue and green. Although their inscriptions differ, these

fig. 16 *Three Celestial Attendants*. China (Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region), Kizil, ca. 6th–7th century. Pigments on mud plaster, 8 3/4 × 15 3/4 in. (22.2 × 40 cm). Inscribed on back: *M [?] Q. [or A.?] / gr. Höhle Vorhalle / loin gr. [...] / [...] 71. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1951 (51.94.4)*



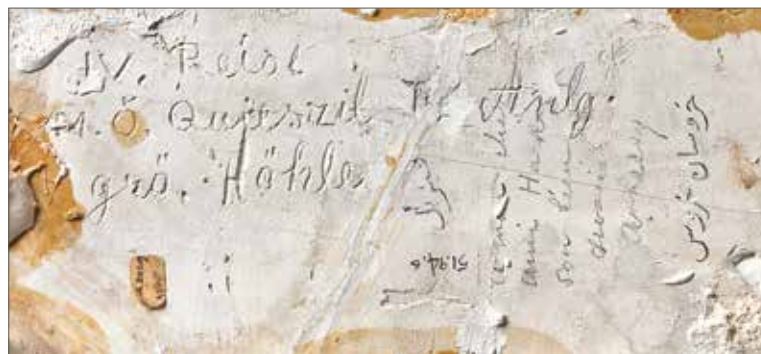


fig. 17a Three Bodhisattvas. China (Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region), Kizil, 6th–7th century. Pigments on mud plaster, $9\frac{1}{2} \times 15\frac{1}{2}$ in. (24.1 × 39.1 cm). Inscribed on reverse (see fig. 17b). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1951 (51.94.6)

fig. 17b Inscription on reverse of fragment shown in fig. 17a: IV. Reise / M. Ö. Quitszil [III?] Anlg. / grö. Höhle. At right, sideways, in pencil: A mon cher ami Hack [?] son bien [?] devoué [?] A. LeCoq and undeciphered words in Arabic script transliterated as Khurusaan Khurus füzibal [fūzi'l]

fig. 18 Buddha with Two Disciples. China (Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region), Kizil, 6th–7th century. Pigments on mud plaster, $9\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ in. (23.2 × 26.7 cm). Inscribed on back: II Hohle, II Anl. Kyzil. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1951 (51.94.7)



three fragments possibly originated in the same cave and therefore will be discussed together.

The heads depicted in *Three Celestial Attendants* have similar features: the faces are oval, with long, narrow noses, half-open eyes squared off at the inner corners, and small mouths with full lower lips. While all are presented in three-quarter view, the heads differ in color, hairstyle, and ornamentation. The figure on the right has gray skin with darker gradations and white highlighting; its blue headband is decorated with white dots and a large brown disk, also dotted with white. The other two figures gently tilt their heads and look away from one another. The head at the center is dark beige with light brown shading and white highlights. It wears white-dotted headbands of brown and blue and, attached to its headdress, a white flower and spherical ornaments of green and dark brown. The figure on the left looks diagonally to the left. Its skin is light beige with orange shading and white highlighting. Above its wavy hairline are white-dotted headbands of brown and blue surmounted by blue spherical ornaments decorated with small, four-pointed stars in reddish brown and possibly beige, and by a white flower with a green center.

The heads' halos are composed of concentric rings of white, green, blue, and dark brown. The spaces between the halos were originally filled with floral motifs, two of which are still visible below the composition's upper border. The flowers' gray, curled petals surround a reddish brown center ringed with white, and from each bloom three filaments rise, supporting anthers. A solid white border edged with blue runs along the top of the fragment.

The figures on the left and at the center of *Three Bodhisattvas* closely resemble their counterparts in *Three Celestial Attendants*. The figure on the right, seen in profile, looks to its proper left. Its face is painted in the same manner as the other two in the composition, and its headdress consists of dotted bands adorned with a white flower of the type worn by the figure on the left in *Three Celestial Attendants*. The background of this fragment was originally decorated with floral motifs, as can be inferred from a single anther visible between the halos of the figures at left and center; as in *Three Celestial Attendants*, the white border at the top is edged with blue.

Buddha with Two Disciples features three male figures without halos. The skin of the central figure is painted white with orange shading; the face, turned toward the left, is shown in three-quarter view. The index finger of the right hand, raised to the chest, points to the figure itself. The folded fingers of the heavily damaged left hand can just be seen beside the

right hand. The figure wears a bright green robe and appears to converse with the bearded, blue-robed figure on its proper right. Their conversation is closely attended by the figure shown in profile on the right. The skin of this figure is painted gray-beige, with tattoo-like markings visible under the eye and on the cheek. A pair of hands placed together in front of the figure belongs to a different figure, now missing. The bearded figure has rounded eyes, thick eyebrows, and prominently exposed collarbones, features that set him apart from his companions. The background is bright blue, and a green belt with white dots hangs down from above.

These three fragments are thought to have originated in Cave 224 by reason of an inscription on the reverse of *Three Bodhisattvas* (fig. 17b) and also owing to the fragments' stylistic similarity to mural paintings still found in that cave. The inscription reads in part [III?] *Anlg. grö. Höhle* ([third] district largest cave). While the *III* preceding *Anlg.* is abraded, Aki Ueno notes that the inscription refers to the "3rd district," a crucial piece of information that would link the fragment to Cave 224.⁶⁰ Other Kizil mural fragments in collections outside Germany bear the same inscription, and, thanks to Grünwedel's detailed records, the original locations of some of these pieces have been more or less pinpointed in Cave 224.⁶¹ However, *Three Bodhisattvas*'s probable spot of origin has not yet been found.⁶²

The inscriptions on *Three Celestial Attendants* and *Buddha with Two Disciples* differ from one another as well as from those on *Three Bodhisattvas* and the fragments that are known to come from Cave 224.⁶³ However, because of their stylistic proximity to those fragments, *Three Celestial Attendants* and *Buddha with Two Disciples*, too, may have originated in Cave 224.⁶⁴ As to their locations within the cave, it is possible that *Three Celestial Attendants* occupied a position on the east wall of the main chamber, where in situ murals contain floral motifs like those seen in the background of this piece.⁶⁵ Comparison of the many fragments thought to be from Cave 224 with paintings that survive in the cave itself will lead to more conclusive knowledge of the works' origins.

The figures portrayed on the Metropolitan Museum's set of three related fragments lack distinguishing characteristics such as multiple heads or prostrate poses that would help to link them to specific Buddhist narratives.⁶⁶ *Three Celestial Attendants* and *Three Bodhisattvas* probably represent generic attendant figures of the kind found between the principal figures in many of the Kizil caves' sermon scenes. If *Buddha with Two Disciples* is indeed



fig. 19 *Head of Buddhist Image*. China (Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region), Kizil, ca. 6th–7th century(?). Pigments on mud plaster, 6 × 6 in. (15.2 × 17.1 cm). Inscribed on reverse: *IV. Reise Qieszil / gr. Anlg. 3te Höhle / rechte Sete i. d. K1 Schlucht / g. No. 33 / (Kiste 74)*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1944 (44.77.1)



fig. 20 *Head of a Buddha*. China (Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region), Kizil, ca. 6th–7th century(?). Pigments on mud plaster, 4 1/4 × 4 1/4 in. (12.1 × 12.1 cm). Inscribed on reverse: *Kiste 74 / IV. Reise / Qieszil. gr. Anlg. / 2 letzte Höhle in d. K1. / Schlucht / g. No. 16*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1944 (44.77.2)

from Cave 224, it was probably located near the center of the cave's preaching scenes, and its three figures most likely represent attendants rather than the characters suggested in the title. Not only do none of the figures display the main identifying features of the Buddha, such as *uṣṇīṣa* (protuberance on the top of the head) and *ūrṇā* (curl between the eyebrows)—but in Cave 224, the Buddha is depicted as a seated figure with a large green, white, and blue mandorla.⁶⁷

Although the Kizil paintings in the Metropolitan Museum's collection are fragmentary and do not contain major figures, careful examination has enabled us to identify their possible caves of origin. The identification of even minor fragments such as these advances the project of reconstructing the murals of the Kizil caves. This preliminary study of the Museum's fragments also aspires to contribute to the larger objective of improving understanding of the Buddhist culture of Kucha and its surrounding regions.

ADDENDUM: FOUR SMALL FRAGMENTS WITH FACES

In addition to the works discussed above, the Metropolitan Museum's collection of Kizil paintings includes

four smaller mural fragments, all depicting single heads. Owing to the limited number of stylistic and iconographic features present in these fragments, it is not yet possible to trace their original locations on the Kizil site. However, many fragments with similar subjects and styles exist in collections in the United States and abroad. These widely scattered fragments remain to be studied as a group. This research, when carried out, may lead to the identification of these works' caves of origin. Following are descriptions of the Museum's four fragments.

Head of Buddhist Image (fig. 19) shows a haloed figure in profile wearing a headdress with circular ornaments in blue and white. The inscription on the back reads in part: *gr. Anlg. 3te Höhle / rechte Sete i. d. K1 Schlucht* (largest segment, 3rd cave, right side in the small gorge).⁶⁸

Head of a Buddha (fig. 20) features a round face in three-quarter view with details delineated in dark red, in the manner of figure 19. The remnants of a head ornament indicate that this is probably not a Buddha figure. According to the inscription, the fragment was found in *gr. Anlg. 2 letzte Höhle in d. K1. Schlucht* (largest segment, 2nd-to-last cave in the small gorge).⁶⁹



Head of Bodhisattva (fig. 21) presents an oval face in three-quarter view. The skin is dark gray, and on the headdress is a circular ornament that was once painted blue. An inscription on the back gives the fragment's origins as *Gr. Anlg. 2te letzte Höhle in d. kl. Schlucht, 1[1?]. Seite* (Largest segment, 2nd-to-last cave in the small gorge, left side).⁷⁰

Buddha (fig. 22) includes part of the arms and chest of a round-faced figure. The inscription on the reverse reads in part: *gr. Anlg. 4te Höhle link. Seite in d. Kl Schlucht* (largest segment, 4th cave on the left in the small gorge).⁷¹

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fig. 21 *Head of Bodhisattva*. China (Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region), Kizil, ca. 6th–7th century(?). Pigments on mud plaster, 5½ × 5¼ in. (13 × 13.3 cm). Inscribed on reverse: *Privat [. . .] / IV. Reise, Qieszil gr. Anlg./ 2te letzte Höhle in d. Kl. Schlucht, 1 [1?]. Seite / g. No. 23*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, From the Collection of A. W. Bahr, Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1947 (47.18.61)

fig. 22 *Buddha*. China (Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region), Kizil, ca. 6th–7th century(?). Pigments on mud plaster, 12¾ × 9¾ in. (32.4 × 23.8 cm). Inscribed on reverse: *IV. Reise. Qieszil / gr. Anlg. 4te Höhle link. Seite / in d. Kl. Schlucht / g. no. 38 / Kiste 74*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1951 (51.94.2)

NOTES

- 1 In most of the caves, the walls' soft surfaces were cemented with mud plaster mixed with straw. After being pressed and buffed, they were then covered with calcareous material that served as the base for painting. Pigments were mixed with glues for stabilization. For an overview of the scientific studies of Kizil mural paintings, see Taniguchi 2010.
- 2 The Kucha Kingdom is mentioned many times in *Han shu*. A compilation of these and other primary-source references to the Kucha Kingdom is found in Xinjiang Weiwu'er zizhiqu wenwu guanli weiyuanhui and Baicheng xian Kezi'er qianfodong wenwu baoguan suo 1983–85.
- 3 Kumārajīva (A.D. 344–413), a renowned Buddhist monk and translator of Buddhist texts, was a member of a Kuchean noble family and was active as a translator in China in the early fifth century. According to his biography in Sengyou's *Chu sanzang jiji*, Kucha was home to more than ten thousand Buddhist monks during his time. For this account, see *Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō* 55, no. 2145: 100a–102a. The dominance of Buddhism in Kucha was attested in Xuanzang, *Da Tang xiyu ji (Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō* 51, no. 2087, 870a–870c). According to Hyecho (A.D. 704–787), a Buddhist monk in Korea's Silla Kingdom, Buddhist monks of Han Chinese ethnicity in Kucha practiced Mahāyāna Buddhism (*Wang ocheonchukguk jeon; Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō* 51, no. 2089, 979a). Furthermore, Xuanzang and Hyecho both report that Kuchean monks practiced “lesser vehicle Buddhism” (*Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō* 51, no. 2087, 870a; and 51, no. 2089, 979a). Analysis of manuscripts written in Sanskrit and Tocharian B, the language used in the Kucha region suggests that Kuchean monks were followers of the school of the Sarvāstivādins (Ogihara 2013, pp. 95–99, 111). For further information on Buddhism and Buddhist manuscripts in Kucha and Central Asia, see Sander 1991; Hartmann 1999; Ogihara 2013, and other works by these authors.
- 4 For the German expeditions, see Härtel and Yaldiz 1982, pp. 24–46. Japanese expeditions were organized by Ōtani Kōzui (1878–1948), the twenty-second abbot of the Nishi Honganji branch of Jōdo Shinshū Buddhism; see Dainobu 2002 and Galambos and Kitsudō 2012. For an overview of European and American expeditions to the region, see Hopkirk 1984.
- 5 Grünwedel was a scholar of Central Asian archaeology, Indology, Tibetology, and Buddhist studies. See Dreyer 2012 for more on Grünwedel. Le Coq started his career in his forties as a volunteer researcher at the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin and served as the director of the museum's department of Indian art from 1923 to 1925 (Dreyer, Sander, and Weis 2002, p. 7). The two men's writings remain essential references in the art history of northwestern China. See Dreyer 2012. Theodor Bartus, the technician of the Museum für Völkerkunde, was the only one to participate in all four expeditions (Härtel and Yaldiz 1982, p. 34). See also Van Tongerloo, Knüppel, and Gabsch 2012.
- 6 Ueno 1978, p. 113; Zhao 2009, p. 93.
- 7 The Smithsonian Institution possesses the largest collection of the Kizil paintings in the United States. Other U.S. institutions with noteworthy holdings of Kizil paintings include the Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Mass.; the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Mo.; the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; the Detroit Institute of Arts; and the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
- 8 A French customs stamp is attached to the reverse of MMA 51.94.1. Le Coq's name appears on the back of MMA 51.94.6 (see fig. 17b) in a penciled notation that reads, in part, *A mon cher ami Hack* [?] *son bien* [?] *dévoué* [?] *A. Lecoq*. Aki Ueno (1980a, pp. 59–61, and n. 13) reconstructs this inscription as “*A mon cher ami Hackin son bien dévoué A. Le Coq*” and believes that this fragment was a gift from Le Coq to Joseph Hackin (1886–1941), a renowned French archaeologist. Next to Le Coq's notation are two inscriptions in Arabic script, which can be read as “*Khurusaan Khurus*” and “*fiizi'l*” or “*fiizibal*.”
- 9 Recommendation for purchase, April 11, 1928, Purchases – Recommended but not purchased – Paintings (Far East) – A–Z, Office of the Secretary Records, MMA Archives. The present writer has discovered similar information concerning the provenance of Kizil fragments in the archives of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. There, a notation on the accession card for C412, a mural fragment from Turfan, states that the museum's Central Asian mural fragments were purchased from A.W. Bahr in 1924 and, further, that Bahr obtained the fragments from Worch, who “got them from Le Coq.”
- 10 Although these fragments were recorded as originating in Turfan, they may have included Kizil mural fragments. It was recently affirmed that a fragment numbered C411 in the museum of the University of Pennsylvania originated in Kizil Cave 38. The same fragment is identified as “Fresco from Turfan” on a card of earlier date, which also bears a notation questioning whether the piece might be from Kizil rather than from Turfan.
- 11 Le Coq and Waldschmidt 1922–33, vol. 3 (1924), pp. 22–23; Waldschmidt 1933, pp. 24–31. Inscriptions on the murals associated with each stylistic group were identified with archaic or later “Turkistani Brahmi” scripts, based on the paleographic study of Heinrich Lüders. Waldschmidt further mentions that the manuscripts discovered in Caves 66 and 67 contain the names of six Kuchean kings, two of them identified with kings from the seventh century mentioned in Chinese primary sources. Also according to Waldschmidt, a name inscribed on a wall of Cave 205 is that of a wife of another Kuchean king of the sixth and the early seventh centuries. For an explanation of cave numbering, see note 20 below.
- 12 The consecutive chronological ordering of the first two styles has been questioned. The challenges involved in dating the Kizil caves are discussed in Howard 1991; Ma 1998; Zhao 2002; and Hiyama 2013, pp. 143–46.
- 13 Earlier dates were proposed by Alexander Soper and Benjamin Rowland in 1958 and 1974, respectively. Soper's analysis of the assimilation of cave structure, artistic style, and certain motifs found in Dunhuang murals from the Northern Liang period (A.D. 397–439) presupposes the existence of prototypes in the Kucha region at an earlier date. Rowland, probably based on Soper's analysis, places the Kizil paintings of both the first and second styles in the late fourth to early sixth century; see Soper 1958, pp. 145–64; Howard 1991, p. 68. The views held by several others on the Kizil chronology present little challenge to Waldschmidt's dating; Howard 1991, pp. 68–69.
- 14 Su 1989, pp. 19–20.
- 15 Ibid., p. 20. Nakano Teruo (1992) disputes the Beijing study's chronology, proposing the mid-sixth century as the height of the second style and the seventh to the eighth century for the third style. His view is based on a study comparing the second style of the Kizil murals with the Dunhuang murals of the Northern Wei (A.D. 386–534) and Northern Zhou (A.D. 557–81) periods.
- 16 Zhao 2002, p. 151; Nakagawara et al. 2012; Yaldiz 2010.

- 17 Nakagawara et al. 2012, pp. 130–33.
- 18 Vignato 2008, p. 36. Vignato further divides the two cave group types into subtypes based on their combination of architectural elements, such as the different kinds and numbers of chambers they contain, their elevation on the cliff sides, and the presence of suspended balconies. The site of the Kizil caves is divided into seven districts, each of which has a concentration of caves and cave groups with similar structures. Vignato (2006b, pp. 410–11) suggests that the structural differences seen in the two cave types might relate to the types of Buddhism practiced in each. For the criteria applied in the caves' categorization, see pp. 365–69.
- 19 According to Vignato, the most reliable dates of specific caves are A.D. 625–47 for Cave 69 and the end of the sixth century for Cave 205. These dates are based on cave inscriptions believed to refer to Kuchean royals (Vignato 2006b, pp. 405–6). The cave groups are not necessarily tied to a single period. As modifications and additions were made to the core units in each group, the development of some of the cave groups would have extended through several periods.
- 20 Hiyaama 2013, p. 152. For the inscription in Cave 205, see note 11 above and Waldschmidt 1933, pp. 28–29. The cave numbers used in this essay follow the numbering system currently in standard use. Initially, German scholars named caves after distinguishing artistic features, such as “Cave with the Choir,” now commonly known as Cave 38.
- 21 A number of recent studies contest the view that the Kizil mural styles arose in neat chronological fashion. Klimburg and Ma propose that the second style predated and lasted longer than the first; see Klimburg 1974, p. 325; Ma 1998, p. 91; and Hiyaama 2013, p. 144. Vignato's holistic analysis (2006b, pp. 409–10) of the Kizil site, the cave structures, and the content and style of the paintings indicates that these two styles coexisted from the second phase of his periodization.
- 22 Vignato 2006b, pp. 359–60n1.
- 23 For the various designs of Kizil caves, see Su 1989.
- 24 *Ibid.*, p. 12.
- 25 Vignato 2005, pp. 122–23; Su 1989, p. 15.
- 26 Su 1989, p. 15; Vignato 2006b, p. 409.
- 27 Li 2002, pp. 133–48; Vignato 2006b, p. 409.
- 28 The themes used in the decoration of side corridors vary and may include stupas, donor figures, and scenes from the life of the Buddha. The lunettes on the entrance walls often contain depictions of the preaching scene of Maitreya in Tushita heaven. Li 2002, p. 141.
- 29 Su 1989, p. 17.
- 30 Cave 188, mentioned for its descriptive German name below in the present essay, is the only cave cited here that does not have a central pillar. The ceiling and walls of Cave 188 are painted.
- 31 See Kijima and Satō 2012, pls. 1–3, for an example of the original and restored states of a Kizil fragment documented using infrared photography and ultraviolet-induced visible fluorescence photography. On color changes caused by the deterioration of the murals over time, see Nakagawara 2010, p. 29.
- 32 The complete inscription reads: *M. Ö. Q., Gr. Anlage / Figuren Höhle / Stück 8 / Kiste 29 / Tür-wand*.
- 33 Grünwedel 1912, pp. 91–95.
- 34 Le Coq and Waldschmidt 1922–33, vol. 6 (1928), pp. 72–73, pl. 9.
- 35 In an email of October 2013, Monika Zin and Satomi Hiyaama informed the writer that they and other scholars, including Giuseppe Vignato, believe that monastic figures wearing undergarments with sleeves represent females. A mural in Ajanta cave XVII features two groups of monastic figures: the males' right shoulders are bare, while the figures with female characteristics wear long-sleeved undergarments that cover the shoulders. A similar observation on the gender of monastic figures in Cave 114 is made in Nakagawara 1999, p. 96.
- 36 Zhao 2004, pp. 57, 59; Zhao 2009, pp. 94, 96.
- 37 An image reproduced in Zhao 2009, p. 94, shows a fragment formerly in the collection of the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin (IB 9177) but lost during World War II. This fragment, like *Monks and Stupas* (MIK III 8859), depicts a procession of monks with lotus flowers and most likely originated in the same cave as MIK III 8859. Although similar, the two compositions exhibit obvious differences: in MIK III 8859, the procession moves to the left and the usual number of lotus flowers between the monks is four, whereas in IB 9177, the procession moves to the right and the number of lotus flowers separating the monks is greater than four. The monk at the far right on MIK III 8859 turns to the right, unlike the other monks represented, and on that figure's proper left side there are more than four lotus flowers. According to Nakagawara Ikuko, lines of donor figures depicted on the walls of side corridors in central pillar caves are generally portrayed as moving in one direction; see Nakagawara 1999, pp. 92, 102–3. The fragment with an anomalous figure on the far right was probably mistakenly reconstructed as part of MIK III 8859. As the direction of the figure and the number of flowers beside it suggest, the fragment was almost certainly originally part of IB 9177. Judging from the current condition and size of the inner walls of Cave 13, it is possible that the MMA's *Monk Holding a Lotus* is part of MIK III 8859.
- 38 Other paintings depicting monks in procession are found in Caves 114, 175, and 184. According to Nakagawara, monks' processions were represented briefly during the early developmental phase of donor figures in the second style of Kizil mural painting. Monks' processions in this early phase in Kizil caves might have served as an intermediary phase to the later depictions on these walls of lay donor figures processing in flamboyant attire in the sacred and liturgical space; see Nakagawara 1999, pp. 97, 106. Nakagawara (p. 97) further argues that the monks in procession in Caves 114 and 13 (listed as Cave 7 by Nakagawara based on Le Coq's publication) represent types rather than specific individuals, while she considers that the monks depicted in Caves 175 and 184 are eminent monks in Buddhist history and narratives. See Nakagawara 1999 for more on the study of Kizil donor figures.
- 39 Grünwedel 1912, pp. 72–73 (description of ceiling segment 21).
- 40 Some Kizil cave scholars call these scenes *avadāna* (noble deeds) tales. *Jātaka*, the other sources of popular themes in Kizil ceiling paintings, contain accounts of the Buddha's previous lives. On the well-preserved ceilings of Cave 38, scenes from *jātaka* tales alternate with images derived from the sermon scenes.
- 41 Grünwedel (1912, p. 72) suggests that the figure represents a “brāhmaṇa.” Many Gandharan Buddhist reliefs contain figures of ascetics with knotted hair and holding a bottle. For example, in sculptural representations, Maitreya bodhisattva holds a bottle in one hand when portrayed in a manner associated with Brahmanical ascetics (Miyaji 1992, pp. 282–90). In Kizil Cave 80, a large mural depicting the Buddha vanquishing six non-Buddhist masters features two figures in the front row and one in the second row holding black bottles in their left hands and raising their right hands in reverence to the Buddha, at center. See Zhao 1995.
- 42 Fewer spherical objects are apparent in fig. 6, which shows *Attendant* in situ, than in fig. 5, indicating that fewer were initially depicted than are now visible on the fragment. The somewhat abstract ensemble of these objects is shaped like a bouquet.

- 43 Xinjiang Qiuci shiku yanjiu suo 2008, pl. 59; Lesbre 2001, p. 335.
- 44 Some of the figures shown offering flowers to the Buddha in Kizil murals are identified as the bodhisattva Megha (one of Śākyamuni Buddha's previous incarnations) from the narrative of Dīpaṃkara Buddha, one of the Buddhas from the past. The number of flowers associated with Dīpaṃkara Buddha is either five or seven, as can be seen on a mural in Cave 34 of the Kumtura caves, which include Kuchean Buddhist caves and are located near the Kizil site (Xinjiang Qiuci shiku yanjiu suo 2008, pl. 209).
- 45 The complete inscription reads: *IV Reise Qieszil. Gr. Anl. / Blaue Höhle / g. No. 2*. Numbers preceded by *g* or *G* are found on other fragments also. They were possibly written later, when the works were inventoried; Ueno 1980a, p. 49.
- 46 Grünwedel 1912, p. 72 (description of ceiling segment 20).
- 47 Figures wearing the same type of armor as the MMA's *Warrior* featured prominently in *The Division of the Buddha's Relics by Eight Kings*, from Kizil Cave 224. (Formerly in the Berlin collection [IB 8438], that mural is now lost.)
- 48 The location of this painting is often given erroneously as Cave 181. See Zhao 2004, pp. 57, 59, and Zhao 2009, pp. 93, 96.
- 49 Vignato 2006b, pp. 380–81, table 1.
- 50 Based on Vignato's classification of Kizil caves and his division of the Kizil site into seven districts, *Two Bodhisattvas* could have originated in Caves 175 or 178, or in a cave belonging to their group, or in a cave belonging to a different group but located in the same district. See Vignato 2006b, pp. 380–82; Ueno 1980a, pp. 50–51.
- 51 See Waldschmidt 1930 (1967) and Mori 2001. The narrative tells of events that occurred after the conversion of the Kāśyapa brothers, renowned brahmins who revered fire. When the Buddha and Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa, one of the three brothers and a disciple of the Buddha, were greeted by King Bimbisāra and his ministers in Magadha, Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa performed miracles, one of which involved creating shadow clones of himself: These clones are represented by the three-headed figure. It is also said that Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa prostrated himself before the Buddha to show his devotion. Another interpretation identifies the three heads with the three Kāśyapa brothers. They were converted by the Buddha, who performed miraculous deeds for them, including the subjugation of the fire dragon. The figure's multiple heads are thought to represent the three brothers. See Ding, Ma, and Xiong 1989, p. 193.
- 52 Ding, Ma, and Xiong 1989, p. 194.
- 53 Zin 2013, p. 13. This painting is one of a pair that covers the interior door wall in Cave 189. The second painting in the pair also features a standing Buddha figure; its theme is identified by Zin (pp. 5–9) as the Buddha descending from Trāyastriṃśa, the Heaven of Indra, where he taught dharma to Māyā, his deceased mother. Another composition showing the Buddha figure standing on crisscrossing snakes, as in fig. 12, features two figures holding parasols; it is part of a mural in Kumtura Cave 23, to the left of the entrance. Compositions and iconographic features comparable to those in the paintings in Kizil Cave 189 and Kumtura Cave 23 have been identified in two mural fragments from Kizil Cave 184 that are now in the collection of the Museum of Asian Art, Berlin (MIK III 525 and III 526); *ibid.*, pp. 9–11. Zin believes there must have been a reason why depictions of the Buddha descending from Trāyastriṃśa and standing on crisscrossing snakes were commonly paired in Kizil caves; pp. 11, 13. Although the door walls of Caves 175 and 178, both of which are considered candidates for the original location of fig. 9 (MMA 51.94.5), are mostly lost, further analysis of the pictorial programs of these caves might help to identify the theme of the MMA fragment. The reproductions in Zin of formerly unpublished murals from Cave 184 show clear stylistic differences between those paintings and MMA 51.94.5, and therefore decrease the probability that Cave 184 was the original location of that piece (*ibid.*, fig. 1). I am grateful to Monika Zin for sharing this important information and for allowing me to see her article before it was published.
- 54 The related fragments are in the Fogg Museum (1926.2), the Museum of Asian Art, Berlin (MIK III 8485; also IB 8483 and IB 8484, both now lost), the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (C413A), and a private collection, Japan.
- 55 The inscriptions from all of the related fragments except for those in the MMA, the University of Pennsylvania museum, and the two lost pieces from Berlin's Museum für Asiatische Kunst are cited in Ueno 1978, pp. 114–16. The slightly damaged inscription on the piece in the collection of the University of Pennsylvania museum was recently recorded by the present writer.
- 56 *Ibid.*, p. 115.
- 57 German scholars named Cave 179 *Japaner Höhle* (Japanese Cave) because it had been examined by Japanese expeditions organized by Ōtani Kōzui prior to the arrival of the German teams. Unlike the inscriptions on other fragments, which begin with the identification of the expedition (e.g., *IV Reise*), all notations on the fragments in this group begin with the identification of the site and end with *in d. Ecke gefunden* (found in the corner). Ueno (*ibid.*, pp. 114–16) explains this anomaly by suggesting that Le Coq may have found these fragments already separated from the wall and lying in a corner of the cave, where they probably had been left by Ōtani's team.
- 58 Zhongguo bishu quanji bianjiweiyuanhui 1995, vol. 2, pls. 152–57.
- 59 According to Vignato, Caves 176 and 179 share physical proximity and architectural elements, and they belong to the same cave group. Cave 179 is one of the early caves in the group; Cave 176 evinces later development; see Vignato 2006b, pp. 380–81, 391, table 1.
- 60 Ueno (1980a, n. 13) states that the inscription indicates that this fragment was taken from "the largest cave of the third district." According to Ueno's study (1980a), the inscriptions on stylistically similar fragments in U.S. collections show a *III* before *Anlage*. The present writer has confirmed this on fragments in the Smithsonian's Freer and Sackler Galleries and considers the abraded character in the inscription of MMA 51.94.6 to be *III*.
- 61 For example, the origins of two mural fragments now housed in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (Long-term loan from the Smithsonian American Art Museum; gift of John Gellatly; LTS 1985.1.325.4, and .5), have been traced respectively to the upper and lower parts of the west wall of the main room of Cave 224, thanks to Ueno's identification of figures depicted on the fragment with descriptions and drawings published in Grünwedel 1912, pp. 174–77, figs. 405, 407. See Ueno 1980a, pp. 54–56.
- 62 Based on her comparison of *Three Bodhisattvas* with Grünwedel's description of the murals in Cave 224, Ueno (1980a, pp. 59–60) believes that the fragment was originally located on the east wall, in the section directly above the seated Buddha on the far left of the upper half of the wall.
- 63 The legible portion of the inscription on *Three Celestial Attendants* reads: *M* [?] *Q* [or *A*?] *gr. Höhle Vorhalle* [loin?] [gr?] [. . .] ([Kizil Thousand Caves (?)] large [or larger/largest] cave, entrance hall). The MMA's database gives the inscription on *Buddha with Two Disciples* as *II Höhle, II Anl. Kyzil*. (2nd cave, 2nd district), which may correspond to Cave 218. However, Grünwedel (1912, p. 145) reported that this cave was badly damaged and its paintings destroyed. An archaeological report

published in 2000 mentions no paintings remaining in Cave 218 (Xinjiang Qiuci shiku yanjiu suo and Xinjiang Weiwu'er Zizhiq wenhuating shiku yanjiusuo 2000, p. 243). A stylistically related fragment in the the Smithsonian's Freer and Sackler Galleries (Long-term loan from the Smithsonian American Art Museum; gift of John Gellatly; LTS 1985.1.325.1) bears the inscription *Il Anlage gr [. . .] chhohle [. . .] [Stupa?] Wand*, suggesting that *Buddha with Two Disciples* and the Smithsonian fragment might have originated in a cave in the second district. Further cross-over research is anticipated.

64 *Buddha with Two Disciples* may be associated with a different district on the Kizil site. See the note 63 above.

65 Xinjiang Weiwu'er zizhiq wenwu guanli weiyuanhui, Baicheng xian Kezi'er qianfodong wenwu baoguansuo, and Beijing daxue kaoguxi 1989–97, vol. 3, pl. 137.

66 See note 51 above.

67 Xinjiang Weiwu'er zizhiq wenwu guanli weiyuanhui and Baicheng xian Kezi'er qianfodong wenwu baoguansuo 1983–85, vol. 3, pls. 136–40.

68 Also inscribed: *g. no. 33* and *Kiste 74*. Ueno (1980a, pp. 50–51) links this fragment to Cave 188.

69 Additional notations: *G. no. 16* and *Kiste 74*. Ueno (ibid.) links this fragment to Cave 176.

70 Additional notation: *g. no. 23*. Ueno (ibid.) links this fragment to Cave 176.

71 Additional notations: *g. no. 38* and *Kiste 74*. Ueno (ibid.) links this fragment to Cave 177.

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