The Abby Aldrich Rockefeller
Inaugural Lecture

Buddhist Thought and Imagery

MAX LOEHR

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BUDDHIST THOUGHT AND IMAGERY

BY

MAX LOEHR

ABBY ALDRICH ROCKEFELLER
PROFESSOR OF ORIENTAL ART

THIS lecture by Max Loehr was delivered in the William Hayes Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, on Friday evening, February 24, 1961, to mark the inauguration of the new Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Professorship of Oriental Art to which Mr. Loehr had been elected the previous spring. The endowment for this chair was presented to Harvard University by David Rockefeller as part of his contribution to the Program for Harvard College. The professorship honors Mr. Rockefeller's mother who was greatly interested in Oriental art, made an extensive collection of Oriental sculpture, painting, textiles, and ceramics, and created at her summer home in Seal Harbor, Maine, a Chinese garden of unusual beauty. For several years Mrs. Rockefeller was a member of the Overseers' Committee to Visit the Department of Fine Arts and the Fogg Museum, and she left to Harvard University her collection of Persian miniatures. In establishing this chair, Mr. David Rockefeller emphasized his personal belief in the current need for Americans better to understand the culture of Oriental nations, and he expressed the opinion that Harvard with its Oriental collections of manuscripts, books, and art objects in proximity to those of the Harvard-Yenching Institute and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts made the University a place especially suited to the study of Oriental art.

Before coming to Harvard, Professor Loehr had been since 1951 Professor of Far Eastern Art and Archaeology at the University of Michigan. A native of Chemnitz, Germany, he received his doctoral degree from the University of Munich in 1936, went to China in 1940, where he served as Director of the Sino-German Institute in Peking and then was an associate professor at Tsinghua University. Early in 1949 Mr. Loehr returned to Germany and served as Curator of Oriental Art at the Museum für Völkerkunde in Munich. He is the author of numerous articles on Chinese art and archaeology and of *Chinese Bronze Age Weapons* (1956). He gives courses at Harvard in various fields of Far Eastern Art.

DESPITE the seeming presumptuousness of my title, I use it to suggest the range of Buddhist icons and also, with both the ideas and icons in mind, the relationship between the religious system and the art that grew in its orbit.

We naturally might tend to believe that religious images have their raison d'être in religious ideas, and that we cannot understand the image without first grasping its doctrinal content. But suppose that the image is not a mere symbol of doctrine but a work of art possessing an inner dimension of its own, unconditioned by its assigned meaning and function, then we should not understand it either unless we recognize its artistic merits. Although this is not the main issue, we may provisionally note this double aspect of every image as a general condition. Let me quote at this point a pertinent remark by Sir George Sansom, a friend of the late Professor Langdon Warner — a remark which incidentally refers to Buddhist art, Zen painting, to be precise:

> Current metaphysical ideas may direct an artist's activities this way rather than that; but it is the blessing and the salvation of art that it is not pinioned by philosophy. The artist is impelled not by theory but a desire to create, and those who propagate the belief that Oriental art is forever alien and incomprehensible are doing a disservice to truth.[1]

While feeling free of guilt on the last count, I cannot fully share the expressed optimism regarding the artist's freedom in the sphere of religious art, where theory and metaphysics cannot be discarded; and even in Zen painting, a late phenomenon in Buddhist art, where the borderline between the sacred and the profane is effaced, there obtain conventions of subject-matter and style to ensure intelligibility. Still, to hear another voice, that of Arnold Hauser in his debate with Panofsky on the role of philosophy in the formation of styles:

> The exponents of the history of ideas readily fall into the error of giving philosophical thought precedence over artistic forms just because the former gives clearest expression to their "ideas."[2]

He continues as follows:

> The philosophical ideas were no more for [the arts] than raw material — an alien and refractory mass awaiting form — as were the other contents of the artist's immediate experience.
>
> People are too inclined to forget that an idea expressed in the abstract conceptual forms of philosophy and one expressed in the concrete sensuous forms of art is never "the same" idea; . . . the two modes of expression are so utterly different as not to be related very easily.[3]

Hauser's position, which does justice to the double aspect of the images, theoretically frees us from having to interpret an image as a mysterious entity which perfectly embodies a given, known doctrine or concept, as if its expressive value and its theological significance must needs be identical. Instead of the quaint, nostalgic notion of an image as a unified whole we may place the notion of a natural complexity; the image and its religious meaning may be in harmony or they may not be. Sometimes, it seems to me, the two sides do not agree, or an image may actually express almost the contrary of its dogmatic content.

But we should go a step further in our enquiry and ask whether the art forms really depend on the doctrines at all; whether artistic greatness depends on the greatness of the ideas represented or hinted; and whether in art the doctrine is not perhaps perverted? But the most fundamental question concerning the relationship of Buddhist Thought and Imagery is this: Why is there Buddhist art at all?

With these questions established, I now propose to examine a number of Buddhist images or monuments to elicit some answers from them. They are selected *sine ira et studio*, rather to take us over a wide range of intellectual content than to present striking contrasts.

II

Our first surprise is the fact that from the time of the Nirvāṇa (544 B.C. in Theravāda reckoning; 486 B.C., or 218 years before Aśoka's coronation,[3a] according to the Ceylon Chronicles) down into the second century B.C. there are no traces of Buddhist art whatsoever. For three or four centuries, no sign of artistic inspiration. What may have been the reason for this aniconic phase?

To be sure, there was no tradition in India. Brahmanism knew no images of its pantheon, and in the Buddhist view this pantheon counted even less. The Buddha himself, teacher of gods and men, and without rival in the cosmic hierarchy of the spirit, was human. Or was the doctrine itself one of the reasons? I venture to think of it as a quasi-scientific system: a metaphysical re-orientation, conceiving the World as transient and in a continuous state of flux, governed by a law of moral retribution. Man, without a permanent Self or Soul, in a state of suffering into which he is reborn time after time, sees salvation in the escape from it all into the changeless and final Nirvāṇa. But his salvation, depending on his moral and intellectual worthiness, demanded great efforts, continued over many existences, and was hard to obtain. It is a doctrine set forth logically, in accordance with the Buddha's insight into the human condition. Should we expect this doctrine and philosophy and theory of the soul as unsubstantial and ever-changing to express itself in art forms?

What about the Buddhist community? It had grown and was powerfully supported. There surely was a deep sense of attachment to the gone master, although such attachment was quite contrary to his teaching, and contrary to his last admonition: "Subject to decay are compound things: strive with earnestness."[4]

It was only in the last two centuries B.C. that the person of the Buddha, still unrepresented, was at last evoked by symbols such as the Tree of Enlightenment, the Wheel of the Doctrine, the Seat, and the Footprint. These symbols, suggesting the Buddha's presence, refer to his person or the main events of his career rather than to specific ideas of the doctrine.

At the same time, however, appear the earliest Jātaka reliefs with representations of the legendary previous existences of the Buddha, as in the medallions from Bhārhūt. In these pictorial reliefs there is no restriction to symbols; the Bodhisattva acts his part in any required guise, most often that of an animal. Though Vedāntic in the idea of metempsychosis, they are Buddhist in ethos, exemplifying unselfishness or heroic self-sacrifice for the good of others. The point of importance for the present is, that those medallions illustrate edifying and exhortatory legends which have little to do with metaphysics but in themselves are literary monuments of feeling and imagination.

Most important among the early symbolic forms was the Stūpa. Shaped like the tumulus over a princely burial, the Stūpa was not an originally Buddhist creation but was adopted for the cult of relics of the Buddha's cremated body. As a monument, therefore, it refers to the Buddha's person rather than the doctrine. The Sāñcī Tope or the Dharmarājikā at Taxila, dating back to the third century B.C., are early examples whose simplicity was to be followed by gradually more elaborate structures; the towering brick mountain of the main Stūpa of the ancient University of Nālandā, for instance, resulted from the construction, over many generations, of ever higher and larger shells enclosing the older and smaller structures that were never destroyed. In time the Stūpa became the Buddhist monument par excellence, whether in its Far Eastern versions of the Pagoda or in the magnificent golden pinnacles of the Phra Chedi in the temples of Bangkok.

III

By the time an image of the Buddha appeared, about the first century A.D., marking the end of the aniconic phase, Buddhism had changed into a religion. It is widely held that a foreign impulse or prototype led to the adoption of the Buddhist cult image. However that may be, the earliest Indian images are still quite artless creations which not only convey nothing of a specifically Buddhist flavor but, moreover, are virtually identical with the images of

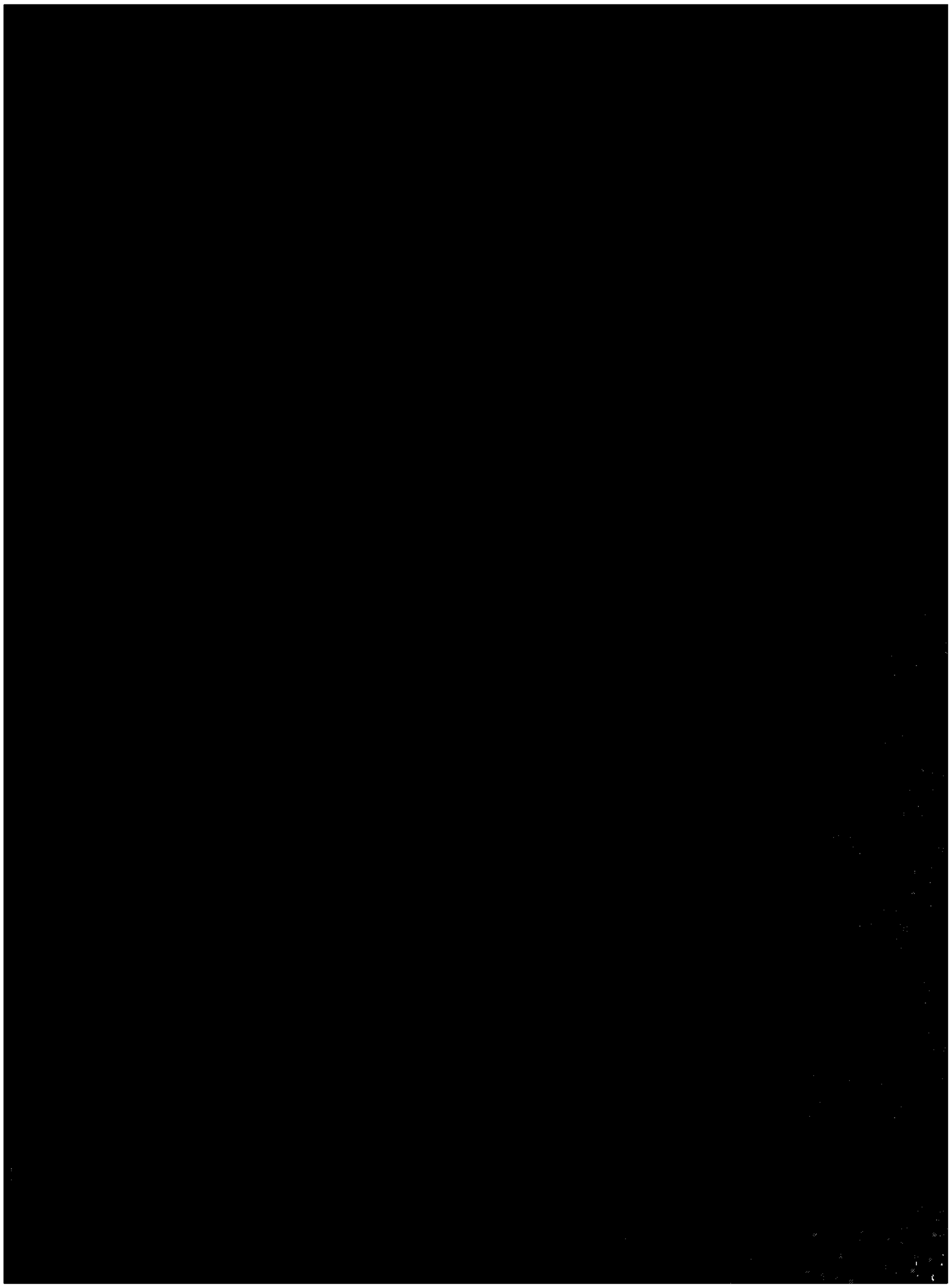

FIG. 1. Mahāvīra Nātaputta. Sandstone. Mathurā, Kushan Period. Mathurā, Curzon Museum of Archaeology. Photograph by Prof. Benjamin Rowland.

Mahāvīra Nātaputta, founder of the rival Jain sect which still exists in India today. But for minor distinguishing marks, his image (Fig. 1) might well be taken to be the Buddha's. Should we surmise that the Buddhists copied the images of the Jains, who as believers in the existence of an indestructible soul substance, were considered heretics; or that, on the contrary, the Jains appropriated the Buddha image for their representation of the Jina? Neither alternative is appealing or likely, unless for reasons of competition and prestige. My belief is that for want of an established tradition of portraiture there was no problem here for either party, and no offense.

About two centuries later, in the fourth and fifth, nearly a thousand years after the lifetime of the Buddha, there finally appeared the profoundly spiritualized images of the Gupta period, such as that from Sārnāth (Fig. 2). It is a seated figure, similar to that of Mahāvīra in pose, but with both hands performing the gesture of expounding the doctrine (dharmacakra-mudrā) and the head marked by the uṣṇīṣa. It is the momentous, and touching, achievement of the creation of a specifically Buddhist image that we are facing here: neat and still and slightly abstract, pure and serene in form, ageless and gentle in expression. If there is power, it must be in the absence of inner struggle; if there is a message, it must be in the neutrality of the inward-turned face. Yet this image reveals nothing of the doctrine, except "peace." What it does reveal — besides much of devout feeling and reverence on the part of the makers — is the Hindu belief in mental and psychic powers, attainable through such efforts as are symbolized by the "unnatural," constrained posture, and leading to such a state of mind as is reflected in the appearance of perfect ease.

IV

Considerably earlier but at no safely ascertainable date, a new form of Buddhism had arisen. Its followers termed it the Mahāyāna or Great Vehicle, destined to bring salvation to all men. In contrast to the Small Vehicle of the primitive doctrine, the Mahāyāna stresses the transmundane aspect of the Buddha who becomes an

FIG. 2. Seated Buddha. Sandstone. Sārnāth, IV–V century A.D. Sārnāth Museum. After Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art.*

eternal and divine saviour, physician, and protector. The Bodhisattva, who comes to be regarded as the Buddha's emanation, vows to work heroically for suffering mankind and to become a Buddha himself in the end. The Bodhisattvas are hypostases of the supreme virtues, not mere allegories as the Virtues in Christian art; they assume some of the functions of the Hindu gods, and some are demiurges. The highest virtues they embody are these two: wisdom and compassion, prajñā and karuṇā. They are represented as youthful and beautiful beings in princely attire with crown and ornaments, showing both tenderness and prowess, as exemplified by an exquisite seventh-century Chinese marble torso which graced the collection of Abby Aldrich Rockefeller (Fig. 3).

Avalokiteśvara, attached to the cosmic Buddha of the Western Paradise, was preeminent among the Bodhisattvas and gradually was endowed with attributes of non-Buddhist origin. His eleven-headed form as seen in a mid-eighth-century Chinese relief in the Boston Museum (Fig. 4) may, as pointed out by Dr. Pott of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde at Leiden, represent a concentration of the energies of ten individual Bodhisattvas;[5] in any case it is a form dependent on the Hindu Trimūrti such as the three-headed Śiva's and ultimately may derive from pre-Vedic deities of scarcely more benign character than is suggested by their rare Western counterparts, Typhon or Hekate, or by the sombre manifestations of the Terrible Ones in later Buddhism itself.[6]

Another new trait of the Mahāyāna were the images of goddesses or Śaktis as consorts of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, again under Hinduist influence. But, in contrast to the strongly mythological character of the early Bodhisattvas a Śakti may, as in the case of Prajñāpāramitā, symbolize entirely abstract concepts. Prajñāpāramitā means "Perfection of Wisdom," or Intuition, or Gnosis, the mystical knowledge that transforms the knower. Lady Wisdom is the Buddhist counterpart of the Gnostic Ennoia or the Hagia Sophia in Christianity. But, the specifically Buddhist gnosis here hypostasized is the knowledge of Advaitya, Non-Duality, the metaphysical conception of the Absolute as expounded in a whole class of Sanskrit texts. In a statue kept in the Leiden Museum (Fig. 5),

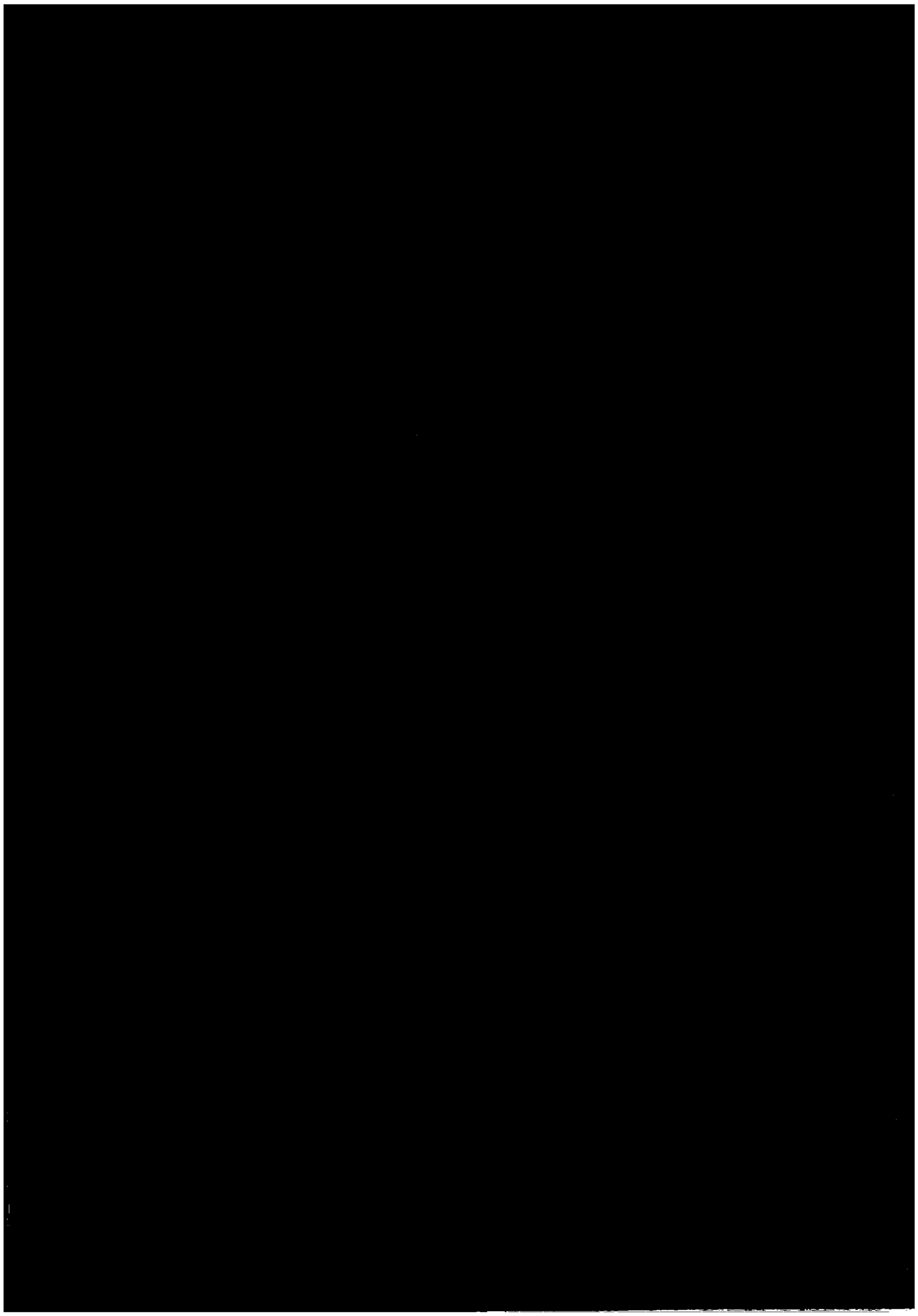

FIG. 3. Torso of a Bodhisattva. Marble. China, Late VII century. Formerly in the collection of Abby Aldrich Rockefeller.

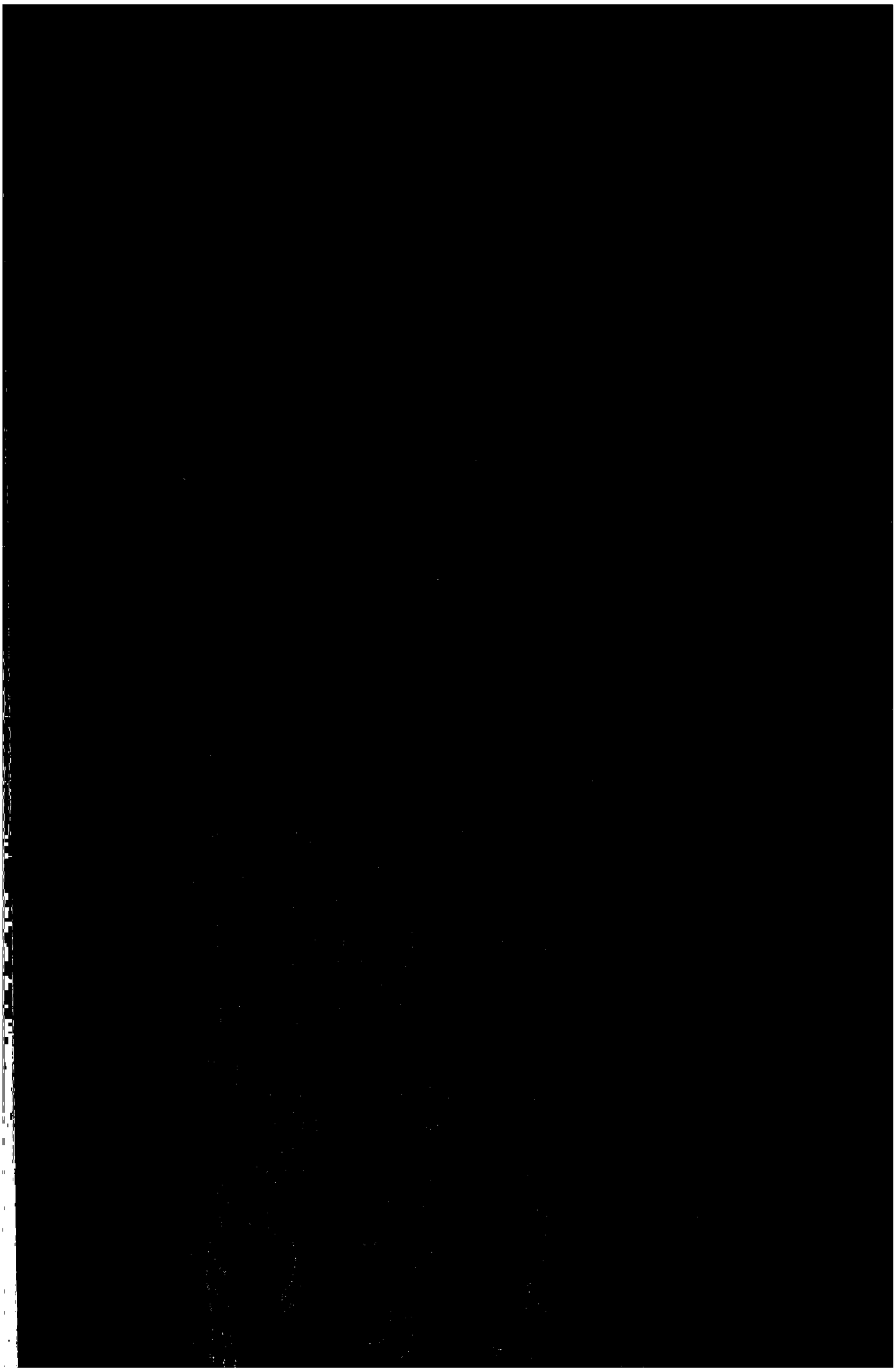

FIG. 4. Eleven-Headed Kuan-yin. Limestone. China, Mid-VIII century. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts.

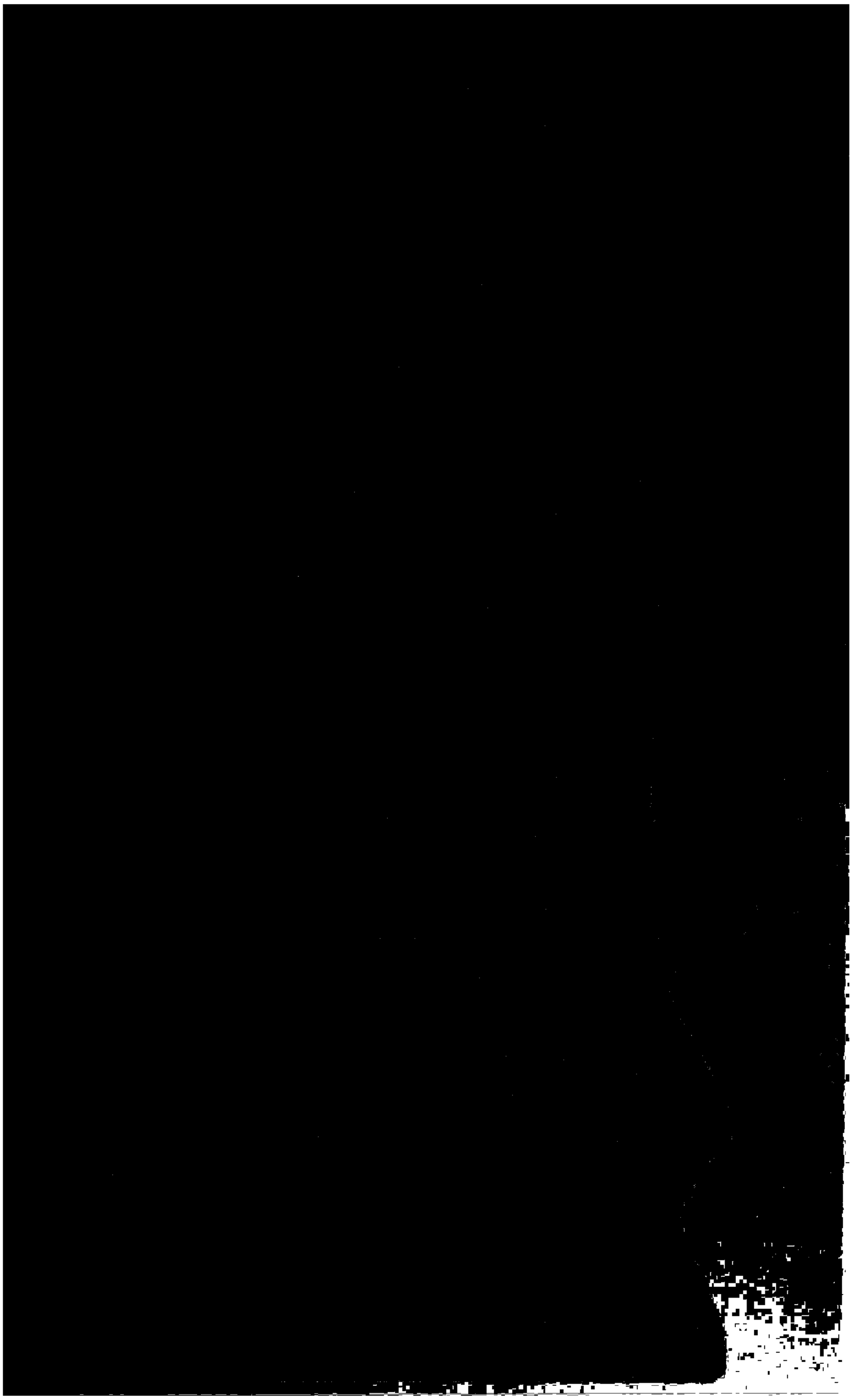

FIG. 5. Prajñāpāramitā.. Stone. Java, about A.D. 1220. Leiden, Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde. Courtesy of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde.

Prajñāpāramitā is represented; but the countenance is that of a Javanese queen, Dedes, about A.D. 1220, who poses as the Śakti, and the style is a reflection of the Sārnāth Buddha which was mentioned before.

As in the case of the Bodhisattvas, the Śaktis were also represented in the superhuman or dehumanized form. In a Japanese drawing, Prajñāpāramitā is rendered with six arms and a vertical third eye in the forehead: a śivaitic feature, symbolizing the faculty of intuition, or direct perception, or transcendent intelligence.

It was with the appearance of the Prajñāpāramitā texts that a division of exoteric and esoteric doctrines came about. May I quote two short passages from the Aṣṭasāhasrikā, a Prajñāpāramitā text in 8,000 verses, considered as the earliest; the first explaining that

> It is by producing the conviction that all things are void, signless and undetermined that you must search for the Perfection of Wisdom,[7]

and the second — in E. J. Thomas' translation, as the first — referring to the new concept of the Eternal Buddha:

> A Tathāgata is not to be seen through his material body; Tathagātas are essential bodies (dharmakāya). . . .
> So through not knowing the real nature of things those who imagine that Tathāgatas come and go are ignorant and common people. . . .[8]

What the Prajñāpāramitā scriptures, which enjoyed an immense sanctity, presented in a groping and verbose manner was systematized by one of India's greatest thinkers, Nāgārjuna, the "Kant of Buddhism," who in a logical manner demonstrated the absurdity of all beliefs concerning the Absolute. In his system, Saṁsāra and Nirvāṇa, yes and no become identical. It was not a new point of view in metaphysical speculation but, as expressed by T. R. V. Murti, a shattering critique of all points of view.[9] The critical awareness taught by Nāgārjuna implies the state of being free, or empty, of views altogether, and this is the meaning of the Mahāyāna term, Emptiness, or Śūnyatā, allegorized in the Bodhisattvas of the Void and the emblem of the Thunderbolt (Vajra).

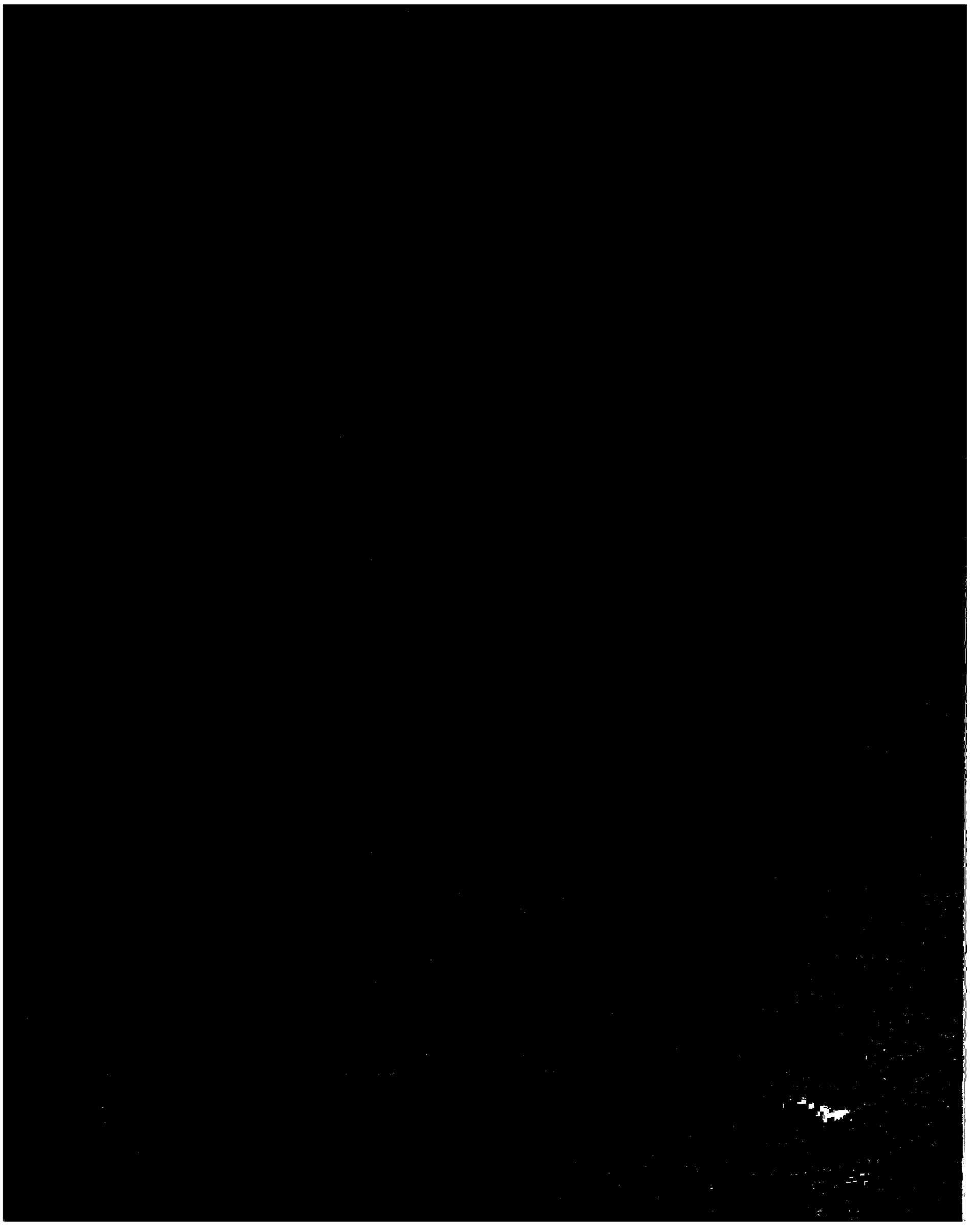

FIG. 6. Nāgārjuna at the Iron Pagoda. Color on silk. Japan, XII century. Osaka, Fujita Museum. After *Tōyō Bijutsu Taikan*, Vol. I.

V

NĀGĀRJUNA became the half-mythical patriarch of the Sect of the True Word (Mantrayāna) in which we observe a turn toward the occult. The secret doctrine was revealed to Nāgārjuna by Vajrasattva, the Diamond-Being, in South India. A Japanese twelfth-century painting in the Fujita Museum, Osaka, depicts the patriarch standing in front of the Iron Pagoda where the revelation occurred (Fig. 6).

A particular type of pagoda, the Tahōtō,[10] "Pagoda of Many Treasures," is the Japanese perpetuation of the structure shown in the painting. The treasures it houses are the Five Jinas, a mystical configuration of the five cosmic Buddhas with Vairocana, Japanese Dainichi, "Great Sun," in the center (Fig. 7). In this sublime quincunx Vairocana presides; with crown and ornaments he resembles a Bodhisattva, but in fact represents the concept of the Buddha's "essential body," Dharmakāya, mentioned in the Aṣṭasāhasrikā. In this quinary group, rightly termed by Bhattacharyya "the cornerstone of the Mahāyāna Buddhist pantheon,"[11] we have, for once, a true symbolic representation of buddhological theory and transcendent truth.

Single figures of the royally attired Dainichi are none too rarely encountered in Japan. A famous and very dignified statue at Chusonji, a temple at Hiraizumi in Iwate, presents the Lord of the Universe and All-Illuminator seated in the adamantine pose (vajrāsana) and performing his distinct mudrā: the right hand clasps the index of the left, which latter stands for the spirit or the indestructible Vajra, while the five fingers of the right hand symbolize the elements of the material world, namely, Earth, Water, Fire, Air, and Space. Thus, this one image in itself fully symbolizes the concept of the cosmic Buddha as *ens realissimum*.

When mentioning the True Word (Chinese Chen-yen; Japanese Shingon) a little earlier, I was thinking of a specific observance, namely, the substitution of letters, hence sounds, for the images. These letters have the magic power to conjure presences, and they are invoked with caution and reverence. We may still experience

FIG. 7. Pentad of Buddhas in the Kongō-Sammai-in. Japan, XIII century. Kii Province, Kōyasan. Photograph from the collection of the late Professor Langdon Warner.

something of the feelings inspired by such letters when we remember the mystery of our Alpha and Omega or think of the intricate letter magic of the Cabala, especially the awesome Tetragrammaton. The "true words" of the Shingon Sect were seed letters (bīja), written in a style derived from the Gupta alphabet; and from these seeds of single or compound letters which are artificially formed and therefore free of mundane or vulgar connotations, the deities arise. In the present example, five such syllables are arranged in a circle or mandara (Fig. 8) corresponding precisely to the quincunx of Buddhas just seen: VAM, HRĪH, HŪM, AH, TRAH are the bīja of Vairocana, Amitābha, Akṣobhya, Amoghasiddhi, and Ratnasambhava, residing in the center, West, East, North, and South.

This small mandara is but a simplified version of one division in a large and extremely complicated one, known as the Vajradhātu or Diamond World, which together with a similarly involved one, the Garbhadhātu or Matrix World, forms a pair. This pair of mandaras symbolizes the two aspects of the cosmos, Spirit and Matter. The former, with the seed syllable VAM in a dominant position, denotes the active unfolding of the deity, and in the small mandara (Fig. 8) we witness its first phase, the four emanations from the primordial Buddha Vairocana; the latter represents the static aspect of the Matrix World, with an eight-petaled lotus in the central square occupied by the letter A. The letter A is the root of all things become, and may so be meditated on, as done by the Japanese gentleman who ponders the significance of the letter, which, emitting rays, appears over his chest in a painting of the Kamakura period, now in the Fujita Museum (Fig. 9). This rare picture is an apt illustration to an eleventh-century correspondence, translated by Arthur Waley in the *Mélanges Linossier*, between a Shingon priest and his parishioners; one of them inquired,

Which is the more efficacious, a *mandala* with figures or one with only the Sanskrit "root-letters" symbolizing the deities? His late lordship of Uji sent for Ninkai Sōjō and made him do a Sanskrit-letter *mandala*, to which he attached great importance.

The priest's answer was:

FIG. 8. Mandara with Sanskrit Letters in Siddham Script. Japan. After Taishō Issaikyō Zuzō-hen, Vol. I.

It is out of the Sanskrit root-syllables that all the various figure-*mandalas* grow. If you get the Sanskrit syllables right, the efficiency of all the various figure-paintings is included. Moreover, nowadays painters often make mistakes about the colors and mudrās. Far safer to go to a Shingon priest and get him to write out the root-syllables.[12]

With all this we seem to be in danger of getting lost in the maze of magic practices and secrets of the esoteric sects, not quite understood even by the Buddhist laypeople of the Fujiwara period. Moreover, the images are gone, and we must ask ourselves whether we still have to do with art history here.

Fortunately, the Boston Museum can supply us with another pertinent example, a mandara of the letter A all by itself, poised on a white over a red lotus flower, with a Vajra forming a stem which is supported by a blue lotus. The far-reaching meaning of all this has been elucidated by Coomaraswamy.[13] Certainly, this is a specimen of religious art, a highly elaborate and refined symbolism. To the designer, however, the elegance of the Sanskrit letter was, no doubt, the true concern, and we may wonder whether it was not perhaps that deep concern with form rather than the dogmatic content which saved the symbolic drawing from slipping to the level of a mere diagram? And, recalling Waley's remark, so full of insight, made in the pages preceding his translation of *The Pillow-Book of Sei Shōnagon*, to wit, "it would scarcely be an exaggeration to say that the real religion of Heian was the cult of calligraphy,"[14] we may less hesitantly affirm the belief that the artistic value of the small mandara sprang from another source than its recondite cosmological symbolism.

VI

Some of the Far Eastern learned Buddhists must have felt that there were simplier and more direct ways toward the Absolute. The most direct way was that of the Ch'an or Zen Sect. Nāgārjuna's dialectic criticism was in their inheritance, as was the "gnostic" idea of Advaitya. But, so was Chinese Taoism, which revolted against

FIG. 9. Meditation on the Letter A. Scroll Painting. Japan, XIII century. Osaka, Fujita Museum. After Fujita Bijutsukan shozō-hin zuroku, Bijutsu-hen, Osaka, 1954.

the bookishness of Buddhism. Thus the Ch'an monks turned away from the texts, and one of them, Liang K'ai, a painter of the Southern Sung period, with obvious delight depicted the Sixth Chinese patriarch, Hui-neng (638–712), as he tears up a sūtra. No texts, no images, and no worship here. Even so, Non-Duality was taken very seriously: all is one, you have to find the Absolute here and now, and you have to find it in yourself. The Buddha is the same as the trees and the rock in the garden, and even the broom has its place in the universe and is a bit of True Reality. So we are assured by a short Zen poem in Langdon Warner's book, *The Enduring Art of Japan*, from which I quote:

Broom said to Buddha
We saints can never sleep.

Buddha said to broom
We little folk must sweep.

Old brocaded Abbot
Smiled as he knelt to broom.

Buddha leaned in cupboard
While Abbot swept the room.[15]

Zen anti-conceptualism did away with Mahāyāna imagery, replacing it by unassuming ink sketches of anecdotal content or of small things that grow and exist with us. In calligraphy, the individual hand rather than a classical canon counts. The characters of the admonitory phrase, "No concepts!", for instance, written by a Japanese Zen master, exhibit a studied coarseness and convey something of an inner tension, lively vigour, and self-reliance. Even the word "Buddha" may be written in a strikingly un-beautiful manner, paradoxically resembling a broom. Yet, the old problem of Non-being and Nothingness, which had occupied even the Buddha's first teacher, still seems to have troubled the minds of later Zen men, if the striking and mysterious sign formed by the Chinese character *wu*, "nothing" (Fig. 10), as written — with sensitive but considerable distortion — by Hakuin (eighteenth century) is valid testimony. It may not truly testify to trouble in a mind trained to

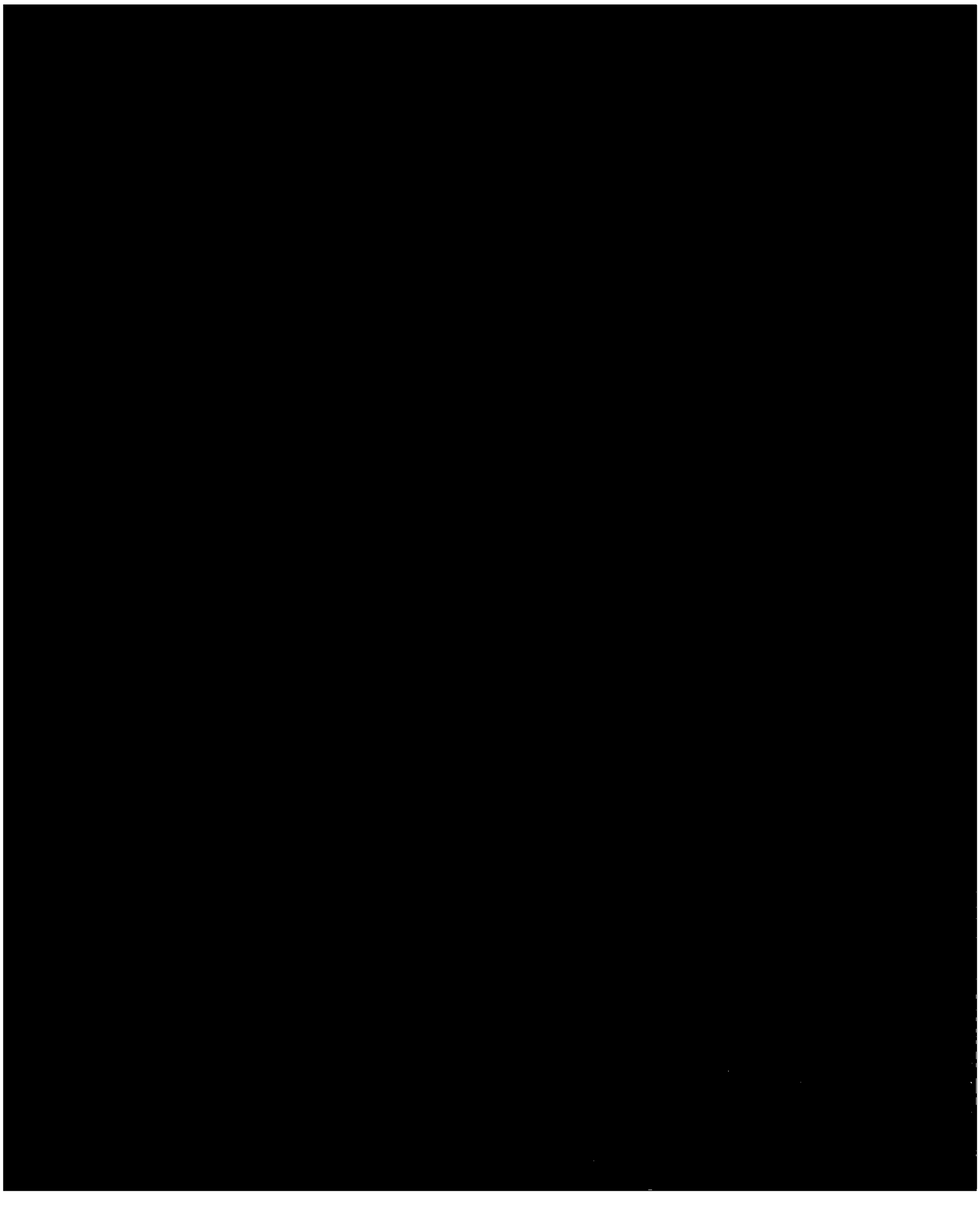

FIG. 10. The Character *Wu* (Jap. *Mu*). Calligraphy by Hakuin. Japan, Mid-XVIII century. After S. Hisamatsu, *Zen to Bijutsu* (Kyoto, Bokubi-sha, 1958), with kind permission of the publisher and Dr. Hisamatsu.

scepticism regarding theories and only indicate a concern with tradition and learning, but there it stands: a word hinting at a concept but itself strangely divested of reality in so far as it is transformed into an apparition-like, seemingly unstable abstract image. Only a Far-Easterner could invent this image which seems a perfect graphic simile of one of the most famous passages of all Buddhist texts positing the emptiness and transience of this world, viz., the conclusion of the Diamond Sūtra, which follows in E. Conze's translation:

> As stars, a fault of vision, as a lamp,
> A mock show, dew drops, or a bubble,
> A dream, a lightning flash, or cloud,
> So should one view what is conditioned.[16]

NOTES

1. G. B. Sansom, *Japan. A Short Cultural History*. London, 1931, p. 384.
2. Arnold Hauser, *The Philosophy of Art History*. New York, 1959, p. 260.
3. *Ibidem*, p. 261.

3a. The year of Aśoka's coronation was that of the first year of his reign, 268 B.C., according to P. H. L. Eggermont, *The Chronology of the Reign of Aśoka Moriya. A comparison of the data of the Aśoka inscriptions and the data of the tradition*. Leiden, 1956.

4. E. J. Thomas, *The Life of the Buddha*. London, 1927, p. 153.
5. P. H. Pott, *Introduction to the Tibetan Collection of the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden*. Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, No. 8 en 9. Leiden, 1951, p. 33 f.
6. Willibald Kirfel, *Die dreiköpfige Gottheit*, Bonn, 1948, discussing the traces of *triciput* images in India, Iran, pagan and Christian Europe, takes the legends of the slaying of a three-headed demon by Aryan gods as evidence for the pre-Aryan origin of the Trimūrti.
7. E. J. Ṭhomas, *The Perfection of Wisdom. The Career of the Pre-destined Buddhas*. The Wisdom of the East Series. London, 1952, p. 35.
8. *Ibidem*, p. 41. — A complete translation of one version of the text in 8,000 verses into German was made by Max Walleser, *Prajñāpāramitā, Die Vollkommenheit der Erkenntnis*. Quellen der Religions-Geschichte, Bd. 6. Göttingen and Leipzig, 1914. A general introduction and historical appraisal is found in T. Matsumoto, *Die Prajñāpāramitā-Literatur*. Bonner Orientalistische Studien, Heft 1. Stuttgart, 1932. The view of these authors that the text of 8,000 lines is oldest agrees with the fact that this text was the earliest known in China (tr. A.D. 179; B. Nanjio, No. 5). But the text of 25,000 lines was obtainable to a Chinese pilgrim at Khotan soon after A.D. 260, and Chih Tun (314–366) already referred to the text of 100,000 lines, considering it the basic text. Cf. E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, Leiden, 1959, p. 61; Notes, p. 339, n. 182.
9. T. R. V. Murti, *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism. A Study of the Mādhyamika System. London* (Allen and Unwin), 1955. Nāgār-