INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM

Buddhism and Art in Gandhāra and Kucha

Buddhist Culture along the Silk Road: Gandhāra, Kucha, and Turfan

Section I

ガンダーラ・クチャの仏教と美術

シルクロードの仏教文化―ガンダーラ・クチャ・トルファン―

第 I 部

The Comprehensive Data Collection of Gandhāran Art and its Integrated Study

ガンダーラ美術の資料集成とその統合的研究

平成 20 年度～平成 24 年度　科学研究費補助金（基盤研究（A）20242003）

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The Comprehensive Data Collection of Gandhāran Art and its Integrated Study

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研究代表者　龍谷大学文学部教授　宮治　昭

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Buddhist Narrative Depictions in Āndhra, Gandhāra and Kucha – Similarities and Differences that Favour a Theory about a Lost "Gandhāran School of Paintings"

Monika ZIN
(Professor, Freie Universität Berlin)

"Gandhāra – Kucha – Turfan" this is the sequence that indicates the flow of artistic representations, among them representations of narratives, from India to China. As we know, other possibilities have also been proposed.[1] These may well result in new findings and conclusions. The title of this Symposium mirrors my own convictions, which are quite traditional in other respects too. I still see the "First Indo-Iranian Style" clearly before the "Second", even if there is the possibility of an overlap.

The transition from Gandhāra to Kucha is, however, not so easy to comprehend. To begin with, if we follow the traditional dating proposed by GRÜNWEDEL and WALDSCHMIDT[2] a gap of at least 100 years appears between the latest narrative Gandhāran reliefs and the earliest Kizil paintings. But even if we abandon the issue of dating, the situation will not resolve itself: differences between Gandhāran reliefs and Kizil paintings remain strikingly conspicuous. These differences relate to different aspects, starting with the varying shapes of mandorlas, and ending with the dissimilar choice of themes to be depicted.[3] The differences are difficult to explain. Affiliations to different schools should be taken into account, and they could explain for instance the widespread practice of illustrating animal *jātaka*s in Kucha which are hardly known in Gandhāra.

But there are also other aspects peculiar to the Kucha representations such as conventional architectural settings or the tradition of representing the protagonists of the stories unclothed, suggesting the adoption of ready-made Indian pictorial formulas rather than any doctrinal differences in the respective *vinaya*s.

[1] For an overview of the different theories cf. Satomi HIYAMA "Study on the first-style murals of Kucha: Analysis of some motifs related to the Hephthalite's period" in this volume, pp.125-141

[2] Cf. WALDSCHMIDT 1933, pp. 24-31.

[3] Analytical studies on Gandhāra's influences on Miran (for the latest research cf. for e.g. FILIGENZI 2006 or SANTORO 2008) do not provide answers with regard to the Northern Silk Road.

Kucha's dependence on Gandhāra is by no means self-evident. In any case it calls for further investigations where influences from the Indian subcontinent should be examined. We should, however, also consider differences that emerge as a result of divergent media – as with sculpture and painting. This aspect is immensely problematic since there are just a few examples of Indian paintings preserved today; yet the similarities between the paintings of Kucha and Ajantā are often remarkable, even in the choice of the themes.

Allow me to make an important remark at the outset: we talk about Gandhāra, Āndhra, Ajantā etc. because these centres survived the ravages of time and were re-discovered. It is quite improbable that these were the only centres of art at the time. We should rather take it for granted that many other centres of artistic production existed. In centres such as Pratiṣṭhana and Varānasī lived Buddhist communities who supported congregations of monks and nuns, who in turn dwelled in monasteries that were decorated with scenes from the *jātaka*s or from the life story of the Buddha. If we compare Gandhāra and Āndhra, dated to approximately the same time but two thousands kilometres apart, we should be aware that there must have existed many other centres between them. Since literally nothing in these sites has survived, we must assume that the artefacts were of perishable material: most probably they were paintings on wooden structures. Similarly, we may presume the same about Ajantā and Kucha: they are two schools of paintings, with two thousands kilometres between them, that survived the ages. The term "Āndhra" or "Ajantā" should not be taken literally but as "the Buddhist art of the subcontinent that survived in Āndhra" and "the Buddhist paintings of the subcontinent that survived in Ajantā".

In this paper I shall concentrate on modes of narrative depictions and on the narrative programmes of the Kucha murals. I shall for the most part be looking at the following issues: the narrative decorative programme in the monasteries in Kucha as compared to Gandhāra and other schools in India, and differences in the arrangement of scenes and in the modes of narrative depiction between Gandhāra and Āndhra and how the Kucha paintings compare on these aspects.

It appears to me that a comparison between these schools can be essayed and an attempt made to explain how iconography travelled from Gandhāra to Kucha only if we bear in mind the fact that we are comparing two different media: sculpture in the case of Gandhāra and paintings in the case of Kucha.

My thesis – which is difficult to defend because physical evidence is virtually non-existent – is that in the case of Gandhāra, paintings were well-established and formed the prototype for Central Asia. Gandhāran paintings may have reproduced paintings from the subcontinent and because they employ a different medium they may differ from the reliefs.

Let us start with a short outline of the narrative programmes of the Kucha murals, to ascertain their dependence on Gandhāra, Āndhra or Ajantā. The starting point of the investigation should be

the findings of my two recent papers: "Gandhāra & Āndhra: Varying Traditions of Narrative Representations. Some observations on the arrangement of scenes citing the example of the Bodhisatva crossing the river Nairañjanā"[4] and "Heavenly Relics – The Bodhisatva's Turban and Bowl in the Reliefs of Gandhāra and Āndhra (including Kanaganahalli)".[5] The conclusion of the papers was surprising: Gandhāra with its inclination towards the linear representation of the Buddha's life story stands opposed to Āndhra and Ajantā of the Vākaṭāka era.

Gandhāra's linear representation of series of chronologically arranged episodes was probably influenced by Roman art – the method of depicting history known from Trajan's Column. But the linear representation of historical events is not the best way of depicting religious scenes. The mere chronicle-like illustrations suppress associative thinking, which is essential for the spiritual understanding of the narratives. My thesis in both papers suggests that the reliefs of Āndhra not only illustrate the events but at the same time evoke associations and a deeper understanding of the life of the Buddha.

What about Kucha? Are the paintings arranged as in Gandhāra or Āndhra?

The strictly linear representations of the life of the Buddha (as known from Gandhāra – the scene of the Bodhisatva going to school, learning at school, engaging in sport, winning a contest, etc.) were not adopted in the paintings of Kucha. The life story of the Buddha in Kucha (as known from Cave 76 "Pfauen-Höhle"[6] or Cave 110 "Treppen-Höhle"[7] in Kizil) was represented in a series of chronologically ordered pictorial items of uniformally rectangular shape, similar to representations on the Sikri *stūpa*.[8] There is however a significant difference: the Sikri *stūpa* represents separate episodes, and that too not chronologically; these are not the sequential scenes of the life story. By contrast, the paintings in the "Pfauen-Höhle" or the "Treppen-Höhle" illustrate consecutive episodes from the life-story, possibly even from a particular text. The similarity with Gandhāra is therefore not as great as it appears while considering just the layout of the scenes. Did the Kizil painters take the "Sikri model" along with the Gandhāran iconography of selected episodes and adapt this to represent the coherent life-story of the Buddha? It appears highly improbable since differences in the representation of the scenes are at times far too great.

[4] To be published in the *Proceedings of the International Conference on the Archaeology of Buddhism in Asia, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, Delhi, 17th-19th February, 2012*, ed. B.R. Mani, Delhi.

[5] To be published in the *Festschrift for Doris Meth Srinivasan*, ed. G. J. R. Mevissen / A. Banerji / V. K. Gupta, New Delhi.

[6] Cf. GRÜNWEDEL 1920, Pls. 1-4, 10, p. II-4.

[7] Cf. e.g. NAKAGAWARA 1997; SANTORO 2003, ZIN 2005; DING 2006; SCHMIDT 2010 (all with references to earlier research).

[8] Lahore Museum, No. 8, published e.g. in KURITA 2003, Vol. 1, Figs. 14-15, 129, 202, 208, 328, 332, 348, 414, 479.

In cave 110 ("Treppen-Höhle") in Kizil, Vajrapāṇi is not represented at all.[9] This is a significant difference since in Gandhāran representations of the Buddha's life Vajrapāṇi is depicted almost everywhere, starting with the Great Departure.[10] This suggests that the pictorial source for Kizil was not Gandhāra.

The life story of the Buddha in consecutive scenes of uniformally rectangular arrangements was depicted in Āndhra as well.[11] Vajrapāṇi was never depicted here. In Āndhra, Vajrapāṇi appears in scenes relating to conversion: narratives involving Nanda, Rāhula or Apalāla (in the latter he is mentioned in the texts), i.e. in episodes which do not form part of the Buddha's life story but were popular and frequently represented.[12] This is exactly the case with the Kizil paintings, where – as opposed to the life-story – Vajrapāṇi always (or nearly always) appears in scenes showing encounters between the Buddha and various persons, often revolving around conversions.

Also in Kucha, the state of preservation of the caves can mislead one into drawing wrong conclusions; but even if one or two more depictions of the entire life-story of the Buddha had existed, it does not alter the overall conclusion that the depiction of the entire Buddha legend was not the main concern of the murals. Of greater importance were episodes represented in separate scenes reminiscent of the model known from the Sikri *stūpa,* for instance.

It appears that in Kucha the episodes were selected according to a pre-conceived programme, as Satomi HIYAMA's research on Cave 207 ("Maler-Höhle") shows.[13]

In the majority of the caves individual episodes are separately organized on the walls in rows of what we call "Predigt-Szenen" (sermon scenes); they also appear in drastically reduced versions in scenes in the rhomboidal pictures on the vaults.[14] The First Sermon and the episodes that result in conversions (including miracles) form part of this programme; other episodes from the Buddha's life do not appear – we never encounter birth scenes, for instance.

The paintings in Kucha, especially in the "pillar caves" were executed at pre-assigned spots; as we know, the *parinirvāṇa* cycle was represented at the back; the main icon often alluded to the *indraśailaguhā* and faced the Bodhisatva in Tuṣita above the entrance door, and only rarely faced

[9] We have also no reason to believe that Vajrapāṇi was represented in cave 76 ("Pfauen-Höhle") but the material extant today is too fragmentary to provide any certainty.

[10] Cf. ZIN 2009 with references to previous research.

[11] Cf. e.g. scenes of the coping stone of the great railing of Amaravati in the British Museum, BM no. 23, illus. e.g. in KNOX 1992, No. 41, pp. 100-01.

[12] Cf. ZIN 2009, pp. 75f; cf. also ZIN 2006, pp. 12f.

[13] The pictorial programme of the cave forms the main topic of the dissertation of Satomi HIYAMA "The wall paintings of the „Painter's Cave" (Kizil Cave 207)" at the Freie Universität Berlin.

[14] The scenes are often called "avadānas" as opposed to the "jātakas", the first term denoting scenes from the life-time of the Buddha and the second, stories from His previous births. The term *avadāna* is not used in the proper sense: the collections of *avadāna*s incorporate stories like *Siṃhāvadana* or *Maitrakānyakāvadāna* and many others which are nothing but *jātaka*s. The scenes showing encounters of the Buddha with various persons are better labelled "Sermon Scenes" (corresponding with the German "Predigt-Szenen") since the encounters often culminate in teachings.

other scenes. It could not have been the intention of the artists to invoke the entire life story of the Buddha; only some episodes or story cycles were given special importance. The reasons for the choice of certain themes could be a matter for discussion, but what we encounter in the caves is undoubtedly a deliberate arrangement. This arrangement is, to my mind, different from that of Gandhāra, which is mostly a linear representation of Buddha's life, probably influenced by the West. The planned narrative programme, representing certain scenes in certain spots, connects Kucha much more with the non-linear representations of India.

Let us look briefly at the composition of the entire life story of the Buddha in Ajantā Cave XVI.[15] The painting retells episodes between the Bodhisatva in Tuṣita and the First Sermon, depicted in 31 episodes arranged in spatial (not chronological) order: episodes taking place in the palace, for instance, are grouped together.[16] What is surprising in the depiction of the life story of the Buddha in Ajantā Cave XVI is that two extremely important episodes, the *māravijaya* and the First Sermon, are not depicted. We have the proffering of the milk dish by the village girls (scene 30) – as the episode immediately preceding Enlightenment – and the encounter with the Ājivika Upaga (scene 31), i.e. the episode following Enlightenment and preceding the First Sermon. But where are the most crucial episodes? At the spot where they are expected to be: in the main icon of the *cella* and in the icon-like depiction in the antechamber.[17]

I am not trying to say that there existed a direct connection between Ajantā and Kizil, but that the arrangement of the paintings in both sites demonstrates the intended order of the spiritual path. In Ajantā too, we encounter *jātaka*s and life-scenes of the Buddha which have to be taken in before arriving at the *sanctum*. The *māravijaya* episode is not just an event in the Buddha's life story; it constitutes its climax, and the design of the cave is testimony to this. The decorative programme may vary, since, for example, in the Ajantā paintings of the Vākāṭaka time the *parinirvāṇa* was not represented at all, but the main idea of arranging the paintings according to their placement in a temple and highlighting the crucial episodes is the same.

Is this a way of thinking that is different from what we know in Gandhāra? Most likely yes, if we consider the discrepancy between the linear composition of equally important scenes in Gandhāra and scenes with the focus on the main event through which other episodes should be read as in Ajantā and Kizil. We must remember, however, that material we have encountered from

[15] Cf. SCHLINGLOFF 2000, No. 64, Vol. 1, pp. 295-373, with a full list of references to literary sources, publications of paintings, comparative pictorial material, previous research etc. following the description and analysis of each of the 31 scenes.

[16] Cf. SCHLINGLOFF 1981. As known from the recent research of Professor NAKAGAWARA (2011) on the representation of the *Viśvantarajātaka* in Cave 81 in Kizil, such an arrangement was known in Kizil as well.

[17] About the arrangement of the paintings in the Ajantā caves, cf. ZIN 2003, Vol. 1, pp. 462f.

Gandhāra are reliefs that were placed outside the monuments; interiors which might have been decorated with pre-conceived pictorial programmes are missing.[18]

Reliefs and paintings from the same period and region could be very dissimilar. Let us take as example two Ajantā depictions illustrating the Encounters of the Bodhisatva. The frieze on the façade of cave I depicts the future Buddha in the wagon encountering the old, the sick and the dead person in separate scenes.[19] The portrayal is different in the painting in cave XVI[20] even though the future Buddha also stands in the wagon here, which suggests the same literary tradition. Instead of consecutive scenes we have the conflated mode of representation here (WICKHOFF's "komplettierender Erzählstil")[21]. The Bodhisatva is represented only once, but it is not one scene in terms of the "sequence of the plot" but four – we see the old man, the sick man, the dead man and the monk – and we know that the Bodhisatva had only one encounter during each ride.

Such comparisons between reliefs and paintings only serve to illustrate how mistaken our understanding of Ajantā would be if the paintings had not survived. Is our understanding of Gandhāra, Mathura or Amaravati not mistaken? Without doubt, it is.

Was there perhaps anything like a Gandhāra School of Paintings?

To the best of my knowledge, the colossal number of Gandhāran sculptures and reliefs filling museums and private collections the world over and published in innumerable albums are countered by just one little book on painting by Nasim KHAN.[22] The book presents no more than three paintings: two are small fragments excavated by FACCENNA in Butkara,[23] apparently from approximately the 2nd c., the third is a painting from the 5th c. on the rock of the natural shelter at Patvano Gatai, showing the Buddha between two Bodhisatvas.

To the examples given by KHAN, several others can be added. First of all there are traces of paint which still can be seen on many sculptures.[24] The later Gandhāra sculptures, executed in stucco,[25] being lavishly painted are in tune with the findings of latest research on the art of the

[18] A doctoral thesis by Muhammad HAMEED is in progress at the Freie Universität, Berlin. The thesis is on portable shrines from Gandhāra. The narrative programmes depicted on them illustrate a non-linear arrangement of scenes. These tiny objects may well reflect arrangements in interiors that have long since been lost.

[19] Ajantā I, façade, frieze over the left chapel, illus. e.g. in BURGESS 1883, Pl. 20 (drawing); SCHLINGLOFF 2000, Vol. 2, p. 67 (drawing).

[20] Ajantā I, right-side wall, cf. SCHLINGLOFF 2000, No. 64(21), cf. Vol. 1, pp. 352-55, *ibid.*, containing references to published images of the painting and to previous research.

[21] Cf. WICKHOFF 1912.

[22] KHAN, M. Nasim, 2000, *Buddhist Paintings in Gandhāra*, Peshawar: Department of Archaeology.

[23] FACCENNA 1981, *Butkara* Part 5.1: *Text*, pp. 712-18, Figs. 338 and 339; *Plates*, Pls. 103a, I, L.

[24] Cf. e.g. KURITA 2003, Vol. 2, Figs. 192-197, or KHAN /LONE 2004, p. 65. Cf. also (PASSMORE / AMBERS / HIGGITT et al. 2012) for the latest research on the ivory carvings that were probably executed in Āndhra but found in Afghanistan. These carvings were used as decoration on furniture and, interestingly, they were also painted in strong colours.

[25] Cf. e.g. KURITA 2003, Vol. 2, Figs. 305-319 or *Gandhāra – das buddhistische Erbe Pakistans* 2008, Fig. 333.

ancient world: likewise, Mediterranean sculptures were bright with colour[26] as were sculptures from the Far East.[27]

Of importance are the ornamental paintings excavated by FACCENNA in Butkara which, among others, were discovered on successive layers of plaster covering the great *stūpa,* pointing to a continuation in practice.[28] The convention of decorating *stūpa*s with paintings is recorded in the *vinaya*s,[29] not unlike the decoration of monasteries,[30] and we have no reason to presume that such instructions were not followed – in Gandhāra or elsewhere.

A large number of paintings are known from Greater Gandhāra, from what is today Afghanistan, or from the northern part of ancient Bactria in today's Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. Prime examples of paintings are to be found in Bamiyan and Fundukistan, with earlier sites like Khalachayan, Termez, Dalverzin Tape or later sites like Basawal near Jalalabad or Chehel Burj and Mushtaq Cave or Tapa Sardar being noteworthy.[31] Representations of Hindu gods from Bactria (?) are well-known, as are the uniformly framed scenes (57 cm high), housed today in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. There were, however, only a few narrative paintings that have survived, like the depiction of the conversion of Aṅgulimāla in Hadda.[32]

It thus appears that a larger number of paintings survived in Gandhāra than in other schools of sculpture in India. We also have very good reason to believe that Gandhāran paintings went far beyond the traces that have survived. Commenting on the piece of painting from Butkara (cf. fn 23), TADDEI wrote:[33] "… the plaster fragment in question was the only one from that zone of the excavation which preserved traces of painting. The other fragments (hundreds!) from the same wall (which obviously was extensively painted, as in so many other Gandhāran sites) were found

[26] *Gods in Color – the polychromy of ancient sculpture*, 2007.

[27] BLÄNSDORF 2008.

[28] FACCENNA 1981, *Butkara* Part 5.1: Text, pp. 703-12 (with further references to ornamental paintings e.g. in Hadda), Fig. 337; Plates, Pls. 59-60, 70, 89, 101, 152, F-H, M.

[29] BAREAU 1960-62, p. 233.

[30] *Vinayakṣudraka* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin preserved in the Tibetan (ed. Vol. 44, p. 97.3) and Chinese translation (T 1451, T 1451, ed. Vol. 24, ch. 17, p. 283b2-10); cf. SOPER 1950, p. 149. Transl. from Tib. In: ROCKHILL 1884, p. 48. Fn.2: "… On the outside door you must have figured a yaksha holding a club in his hand; in the vestibule you must have represented a great miracle, the five divisions (of beings) of the circle of transmigration; in the courtyard, the series of births (jātakas); on the door of the Buddha's special apartment (lit. hall of perfumes, *Gandhakūṭi* (...)) a yaksha holding a wreath in his hand; in the house of the attendants (or of honour, *rim-gro*), bhikshus and sthaviras arranging the dharma; on the kitchen must be represented a yaksha holding food in his hand; on the door of the storehouse, a yaksha with an iron hook in his hand; on the waterhouse (well house?), nāgas with variously ornamented vases in their hands; on the wash-house (...), foul spirits or the different hells; on the medicine-house, the tathāgatha tending the sick; on the privy, all that is dreadful in a cemetery; on the door of the lodging-house (? text effected), a skeleton, bones and skull." Cf. ZIN 2003, p. 247; for the detailed *vinaya* instructions on how to paint the *saṃsāracakra* at the entrance to the monastery cf. ZIN / SCHLINGLOFF 2007.

[31] The recent article by Ciro LO MURZIO (2008) on the murals of Fayez Tepe (Termez) carries many references; to these the following may be added without any claim to an exhaustive listing: TADDEI 1968; LITVINSKIY / ZEYMAL 1971; MIZUNO (ed.) 1971; KRUGLIKOVA 1972; SILVI ANTONINI / TADDEI 1979; CHAKRABARTI 1989; IRISAWA 2007; MIYAJI 2007.

[32] Vihāra B, 56, cf. BARTHOUX 1933, p. 163, Fig. 142.

[33] TADDEI 1985, p. 225 (in TADDEI 2003, Vol. 2, pp. 633-39.

devoid of any traces of colour. (…) Our fragment was preserved because it was lucky enough to fall in such a position as not to be subject to damage by water." As for the interiors let me quote from MARSHALL's description of *stūpa* III in the Mohra Moradu monastery in Taxila:[34] "The interior of the cells occupied by the monks were covered, like the rest of the monastery, with a coating of plaster, but were probably destitute of any decoration. In the verandas, on the other hand, the wall appears to have been relieved with colours…". Marshall also provides a description of a secular building, the Royal Palace at Sirkap[35] "….the surface of walls was covered with lime or mud plaster and finished off with a colour-wash".

To this we may add what MARSHALL did not know: fragments from a painted interior in the Taxila region, in Jinan Wali Dheri, were only recently discovered.[36] The paintings from the 5th c. apparently depicted a narrative subject; one of the bigger pieces (33,4 x 53 cm) depicts heads of at least four women interacting with each other. The nimbate teaching Buddha has a round nimbus encircling his body, not unlike the Buddha of Patvano Gatai depicted in the book by Nasim KHAN (cf. fn. 22).

Why it is so important to demonstrate that there existed an active school of paintings in Gandhāra? Because of their possible influence on the paintings in Kizil.

As stated at the outset we could often encounter a situation that is contrary to the one expected: there are many depictions in Kizil which do not correspond with Gandhāra at all. The dissimilarities relate to different aspects, starting with Kizil mandorlas around the body of the Buddha and extending to variations in the choice of subjects for representation, like the animal *jātaka*s (Mahākapi, Vānara, Hastin, Ṛkṣa, various Nāga stories etc.) which are non-existent in Gandhāra but represented in Ajantā and extremely popular in Kizil.

Notwithstanding the similarities with Ajantā or dissimilarities with Gandhāra, many scholars tend to date Kizil quite early, immediate following the Gandhāra reliefs, i.e. early 4th c. To me the traditional dating by WALDSCHMIDT, which starts with ca. 500 CE, still looks convincing. My response to this rather important discussion is to provide evidence of the Gandhāra School of Painting in which a further development of the iconography may have taken place, to possibly fill the gap between the Gandhāran reliefs and Kizil.

As shown – hopefully convincingly – below, we can take it for granted that Gandhāra was painted. The question is, however, whether Gandhāra paintings displayed an iconography that differed from that of the reliefs, and also whether in this medium a development of iconography could have taken place that could explain the manifold discrepancies between the Gandhāra reliefs and Kizil.

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[34] MARSHALL 1960, p. 159
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 67.
[36] KHAN / MAHMOOD-UL-HASAN 2004 and 2008; one of the fragments is depicted in: KHAN / LONE 2004, p. 24.

Recently I came across an example that could provide us the key to the answer: the iconography of one story, represented in three paintings. The paintings come from Chinese Dunhunag, Kizil-Gaha in the Kucha region, and Hadda in Greater Gandhāra.

Fig. 1 shows the famous representation of the story of King Śibi who sacrificed his own flesh to save a dove.[37] This well-known depiction comes from Dunhuang, Cave 254.[38] It is the most complex depiction in Central Asia.

The style of the picture is Chinese but the narrative is represented in the Indian manner, showing four consecutive scenes in one pictorial composition. The dove and the bird of prey are first shown flying in from the upper right. In the second instance, we have the hawk sitting on the ground and the dove resting in the palm of the king, while the king's flesh is being cut off to be traded for the life of the dove. In the third instance, the dove is shown on the scales.

Fig. 2 Only recently, in a new Chinese publication,[39] I recognised the possible pictorial model for the Dunhuang painting in one – unfortunately only partially preserved (if we are lucky, only partially published) – painting from Kizilgaha. It is definitely not this picture that was copied in Dunhuang; rather, it was the replica of a lost prototype.

In Kizilgaha too, the king sits in the centre of an architectural setting. Birds are seen flying in from the upper right. The accompanying man wears a tunica-like garment. He is holding a pair of scales here. It appears to me that in the Kizilgaha depiction, the king was shown again while ascending the scales. This is known not only in Kizil,[40] but also in Ajantā[41] and even in Amaravati,[42] and shows that the painter in Kizilgaha (or rather his predecessor) must have been familiar with such a pictorial model.

The king's gesture from the painting in Kizilgaha is also known in Kizil,[43] I will not attempt to establish the chronological sequence of the representations in the Kucha region, but all the pictures definitely follow one pictorial form. I may however draw your attention to the fact that

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[37] For literary versions and pictorial representations of the story with references to previous research cf. SCHLINGLOFF 2000, Nos. 46-47, Vol. 1, pp. 222-30; for drawings of several comparable depictions see *ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 43-45.

[38] **Fig. 1**: Dunhuang, cave 254; the painting forms part of material most often published from Dunhuang; it was for eg. illustrated in: *Mogao Grottoes of Dunhuang* 1980-82, Vol. 1, Fig. 32; DUAN Wenjie (ed.) 1989, Vol. 1, pp. 240-41; hier after *Mogao Grottoes of Dunhuang*.

[39] **Fig. 2**: Kizilgaha, cave 13, illus.: *Zhongguo Xinjiang Bihua: Qiuci.* [*Mural Paintings in Xinjiang of China: Kucha*], 2008, Fig. 327.

[40] Kizil, cave 38 ("Musikerhöhle"), vault, illus.: GRÜNWEDEL 1912, Fig. 130 (drawing); Kizil, cave 178 ("Höhle in der Schlucht"), vault, illus. in GRÜNWEDEL 1920, Fig. 45 (drawing); illus. also in SCHLINGLOFF 2000, Vol. 2, p. 45[2], [4] (drawing).

[41] Ajantā 1, cf. SCHLINGLOFF 2000, No. 46, Vol. 1, pp. 222-23; *ibid.*, pp. 224-25, with references to publications, literary sources of the story and pictorial comparisons.

[42] Mackenzie drawing, British Library, folio 41 (parts of drum frieze, part A); SCHLINGLOFF 2000, Vol. 2, p. 43[4] (drawing).

[43] Kizil, cave 114 ("Gebetsmühlen-Höhle"), vault, illus. in *Kizil Grottoes* 1983-85, Vol. 2, Fig. 133; Kizil, cave 17 ("Bodhisattvagewölbe-Höhle"), vault, illus. *ibid.*, Vol. 1, Fig. 67; cf. SCHLINGLOFF 2000, Vol. 2, p. 45[3], [1] (drawing).

nowhere has the entire composition been repeated. Perhaps it was not just one but several prototypes that existed, or the prototype was so complex that the Central Asian painter could not adopt it.

Where was the iconography of the Śibi narrative invented?

Perhaps in Āndhra. However, in the South, the story is not known in this version at all. In the South it is not the hawk that claims the dove as his legitimate game but the hunter with his net.[44]

Āndhra, Ajantā, Mathura and even the rock engraving in the Kyber Pass repeat the southern model of the crucial scene: the king cuts off his flesh on his own.[45] Only the depictions in Gandhāra,[46] where a male person is seen cutting flesh off the king's leg, can serve as the prototype for representations in Central Asia.

In Dunhuang the physician who is cutting off the king's flesh looks like a devil. In Kizil too he could be red-haired, with a red moustache,[47] denoting his demonic character. This is not Indian and, as far as I know, there is no equivalent for this in the texts. Rather, this peculiarity should be explained by pointing to a visual tradition: representations in Kizil of persons injuring the king – as in the story of Maitribala,[48] and, most importantly, the story of King Śibi giving his own eyes to a Brahmin. In this case, the person plucking out the king's eye may be represented with demonic features.[49] The story is known in the murals of Ajantā[50] but not in Gandhāra or anywhere else in India. In Ajantā[51] the old Brahmin is seen coming in from the left, while the king plucks out his eye himself to give it to the Brahmin. The Kucha paintings show a different version where the king's eye is being plucked out by another person.

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[44] See SCHLINGLOFF for all comparative material from Āndhra under the story of King Śibi (2000, Nos. 46-47). Another narrative about the king who offers his flesh to the hunter in lieu of the dove, which is depicted in Ajantā as well, has been labelled "Sarvaṃdada" by Schlingloff. The preserved literary tradition of this narrative is of far more recent origin than the depiction, the earliest being the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* 55, from the 11th c.; cf. SCHLINGLOFF *ibid.*, No. 48, Vol. 1, pp. 231-32 for publications on the Ajantā paintings and their literary sources. In the painting in Ajantā, the king is also mounting the scales.

[45] References to depictions in SCHLINGLOFF 2000, Vol. 1, pp. 224-25; for drawings of several of them see *ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 43-45; one exception among the representations is a medallion from Amaravati (Chennai Government Museum, No. 263 (part of a medallion on a cross-bar), showing a man cutting flesh from the upper arm of the king Sarvaṃdada); cf. SCHLINGLOFF *ibid.*, p. 43[4] (drawing).

[46] The best example is in the British Museum collection, No. 1912, 12-21.1, illus., e.g. in ZWALF 1996, Fig. 136 and in KURITA 2003, Vol. 2, Fig. 847; cf. SCHLINGLOFF 2000, Vol. 2, p. 44[13] (drawing).

[47] Kizil, cave 17 ("Bodhisattvagewölbe-Höhle"), vault, illus.: in *Kizil Grottoes* 1983-85, Vol. 1, Fig. 67.

[48] The narrative is also represented in Ajantā I, II and XVI, cf. SCHLINGLOFF 2000, Nos. 50-52, Vol. 1, pp. 238-43, with references to literary sources, publication of the paintings and comparative material from Kucha; for two drawings see *ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 46. The narrative is not represented anywhere else.

[49] In cave 17 (illus. in *Kizil Grottoes*, Vol. 1, Fig. 60) he is shown with red hair of the demon, in cave 38 (*ibid.* Fig. 123) he seems to have the face of a lion.

[50] The narrative is also represented in Ajantā XVII, cf. SCHLINGLOFF 2000, No. 49, Vol. 1, pp. 233-37, with references to literary sources, publication of the paintings and comparative material from Kucha; for drawings of five pictures see *ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 46. The narrative is not represented anywhere else.

[51] SCHLINGLOFF 2000, No. 49(2), Vol. 1, p. 234; there are even two Brahmins figuring in the scene, probably indicating two scenes from the story: demand for one eye and then for the other.

What is certainly Indian in the Dunhuang painting of the Śibi story is the arrangement of the narrative in the conflated mode ("komplettierender Erzählstil" cf. fn. 21), with the episodes used to show the development of the story. It appears that the Brahmin who demands the king's eyes is also there;[52] we see him appearing from the right. It may appear illogical to us – but if several episodes which took place, not simultaneously, but one after the other can be represented in one pictorial composition, two stories about the same king may be represented alongside each other too!

It is pertinent to ask ourselves if such representations may have been invented by Central Asian painters on the basis of Indian models illustrating different stories. To me it seems highly improbable. In general, Kucha paintings tend towards simplicity; they rather suggest a narrative than recount it. In Kizil, in depictions in which iconography was invented there and not taken over from India, we do not encounter such multilayered narratives. The progression of the action is reduced; it may show the cause and the effect of the action, but nothing more. E.g. Elapatra[53] is shown committing a sin during the life-time of the Buddha Kāśyapa (he was a monk who destroyed a leaf of an *eraka* plant). And then, born as a Nāga with the *eraka* tree on his head, he is shown meeting the Buddha Śākyamuni. More complex, conflated representations, like the narrative of Aṅgulimāla[54] or of Dīpaṅkara and Sumati[55] always have Indian prototypes.[56] Also, the complicated depiction of the Śibi narrative seems to have been taken over from an Indian prototype.

But there is one very important issue that emerges here. It is not only that such a prototype does not exist among known Gandhāran reliefs, but also that – looking at the depictions from the religious point of view – we have nothing similar in Gandhāra: we encounter many prototypes for such complex depictions among Gandhāran reliefs but they all illustrate episodes from the life of the Buddha not the *jātaka*s. What we see in Kizilgaha and Dunhuang is a *jātaka* represented by the complicated Indian mode of conflated narration ("komplettierender Erzählstil" cf. fn. 21) with the Bodhisatva placed in the centre. This mode of depiction is not known in Gandhāran reliefs. Neither for this *jātaka* nor for any other.

[52] Both narratives are represented one next to the other in the painting in Dunhuang, cave 275, illus. e.g. in *Mogao Grottoes of Dunhuang* 1980-82, Vol. 1, Fig. 12.

[53] Cf. Kizil, cave 206 ("Fußwaschungs-Höhle"), illus. in GRÜNWEDEL 1920, Pl. 28-29.1; cf. ZIN 2010, Fig. 15.

[54] Kizil, cave 83 ("Schatz-Höhle"), Berlin, Museum of Asian Art, No. III 8444, illus. In GRÜNWEDEL 1920, Pls. 36-37; Fig. 73; *Kizil Grottoes* 1983-85, Vol. 3, Fig. 195; cf. ZIN 2006, pp. 117 and 122.

[55] Kizil, cave 69, illus. in *Kizil Grottoes* 1983-85, Vol. 2, Fig. 3.

[56] For Indian representations cf. ZIN 2006, ch. 6 (Aṅgulimāla), and SCHLINGLOFF 2000, No. 72 (Dīpaṅkara).

Fig. 3 But there is one painting that has survived, in a sad state of preservation and poorly executed – but nevertheless a Gandhāran painting from Hadda, about 50 cm high, which forms part of the Ryukoku Museum collection in Kyoto today.[57]

The artist reproduced the prototype in a simple, even primitive way, perhaps even without understanding the story, since he apparently failed to depict the knife.

But despite all this, the painting provides us with an important piece of evidence for the existence in Gandhāran depictions of the *Śibijātaka,* with the king in the centre and the scenes arranged like those known from Central Asia. The king has a nimbus around his head; both birds are flying in from the top right side; the person cutting off the king's flesh and the person with the scales are depicted below. The king was apparently holding the dove. Unfortunately, in the present state of preservation, it is not possible to identify if the male person by the king's leg had a demonic face. It seems, however, that we even have the Brahmin here – who in another variant of the King Śibi story demands the king's eyes. Not all, but very many elements of the depictions in Kizilgaha and Dunhuang are to be found in the Gandhāran painting.

The painting – stylistically Bamiyan or Ajantā-like, 5th c.[58] – is a forceful reminder that when talking about the possible prototypes for Kizil, we must always recall the lost tradition of Gandhāran paintings, which might have been quite unlike all that we know about the reliefs.

To recapitulate: Gandhāran paintings, even if practically unknown today, must have been widespread, possibly since early times, as fragments from Butkara demonstrate. We must keep in mind this missing link in the development, first and foremost while studying the later period in which the masterly painted-stucco sculptures were executed.

Paintings may have played a vital role in Gandhāra during the period in which we do not have narrative reliefs: Gandhāran iconography may have developed in the murals. The medium of painting allows for the emergence of representations such as of the Jātaka-Bodhisatvas depicted with a nimbus. These are absent in Gandhāra sculpture[59] but abundant in Kizil paintings. It is revealing that King Śibi is shown nimbate in Gandhāran painting.

The Gandhāran School of Paintings could explain the gap in dating between Gandhāran reliefs and Kucha paintings as well as differences in depictions.

[57] **Fig. 3**: Kyoto, Ryukoku Museum, illus. in: KURITA 2003, Vol. 2, Fig. 868 (incomplete); *Shakuson to Shinran II*, 2011, Fig. 71.2; here after *Shakuson to Shinran II*, 2011.

[58] Cf. first of all a long eye of the king recalling a developed Gupta style.

[59] Exceptions to this are a few reliefs of Viśvantara, for e.g. in the British Museum, No. OA 1913.11-8.21, illus. ZWALF 1996, Fig. 139; KURITA 2003, Vol. 2, Fig. 846.

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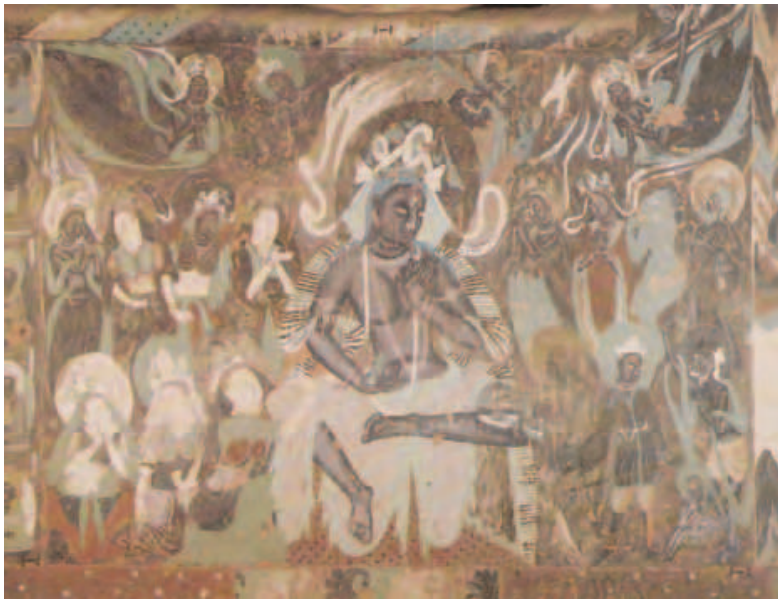

Fig.1 Dunhuang, cave 254, after *Mogao Grottoes of Dunhuang*.

Fig.2 Kizilgaha, cave 13, after *Zhongguo Xinjiang Bihua: Qiuci*, Fig. 327.

Fig.3 Kyoto, Ryukoku Museum, after *Shakuson to Shinran II*, 2011.