Some Textual Parallels for Gandhāran Art: Fasting Buddhas, Lalitavistara, and Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka, by Juhyung Rhi

The relationship between text and image is hardly as simple as unsophisticated explorers may presume. When conspicuous parallels are found between a text and a visual image, one may be naturally tempted to ascribe it to the text as being a source for the visual image. But the dependency of an image upon a textual account varies widely in its mode and extent according to diverse regional traditions or periods as well as individual circumstances. (Obviously it was more marked in the East Asian tradition than that of the Indian subcontinent in the early periods.) It is also equally possible that the relationship was in reverse with an image being an inspiration for a text or a text being a testimony to an image. Or a textual account and a visual image may have been derived from a common source; or they simply represented a shared idea with or without mutual awareness. Without explicit evidence, even in the most fortunate instances the relationship between the two is usually hard to establish beyond one that is simply inferred on the basis of relative precedence. Still, the issue fascinates us immensely.

As regards visual images from Gandhāra, a number of texts have attracted our attention. The Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha, the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya, and the Aṣṭasāhasrika-prajñāpāramitā, are a few of them, which I hope to be able to examine more carefully in relation to visual images on other occasions.¹ My primary concern in

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¹ The Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha has been noted as a possible source for the famous Mo-
this paper is the *Karunāpundarīka*-sūtra, a Mahāyāna text. The *Karunāpundarīka* exists in several versions that comprise some eight Sanskrit recensions and one Tibetan and two Chinese translations:

- **Karunāpundarīka**.²
- **Dasheng beifentuolijing** 大乘悲分陀利經, trans. anonymous, late 4th century, T158, 3:233c–289a.
- ’Phags pa sūni rje pad ma dkar po šes bya ba theg pa chen po’i mdo, trans. Jinamitra (from Kashmir), Surendrabodhi, Prajñāvarman et al., 9th century, Pe 780.

Of these, the two Chinese translations, which date from the late fourth to early fifth centuries, are the earliest extant recensions, while the Tibetan translation dates from the ninth century and the extant Sanskrit manuscripts, most of them datable to the 19th century, reflect the latest stage of its philological history.³ On this basis, as well as the observation that it presupposes the knowledge of such texts as the *Saddharmapundarīka*, the Larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, and the *Aksobhyavyūha*, the composition, or compilation, of this sutra has been generally attributed to a period not far from the translations in Chinese, perhaps during the third to fourth centuries.⁴ Chinese Buddhist catalogs record that already from the second century on various parts of the *Karunāpundarīka* existed as a number of smaller separate sutras in Chinese translations; thus they could have contributed

hamed-Nari stele in Lahore Museum by a number of scholars such as John Huntington (1980), Aramaki Noritoshi (1999) and Paul Harrison (2000). The *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* has been discussed by Gregory Schopen (2005, 108–153) for its reference to Bodhisattva images under the Jambu tree. The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* has been discussed by me on a few occasions (e.g., Rhi 2005, particularly 204–205).

² Yamada (1968).

³ Yamada (1968, II) 8–10, 21.

⁴ Supposedly two more translations of this sutra, *Xianyoujing* 閏遊經 (1 volume) by Dharmarakṣa and another *Beihuajing* (10 volumes) by Daogong 道龍 are listed in Chinese Buddhist catalogs. But the former is regarded as a different sutra in modern scholarship. See Busshō (1964) 9: 127; Yamada (1968, I) 18–20.
to the compilation of the larger sutra as its base materials, predating it by one or two centuries. But there is a question whether they were indeed earlier translations of separate parts or they were simply excursions of the larger sutra, which were attributed in later periods to the translators who lived earlier. In any case, overall this sutra seems to have enjoyed considerable attention in China between the fourth and seventh centuries and perhaps fairly wide circulation outside China as well in whatever form.

The sutra mainly tells a story of the brāhmaṇa Samudrareṇu, a previous incarnation of Śākyamuni Buddha, who led thousands of living beings to develop anuttarasamyaksambodhi and took a vow to attain enlightenment in the Sahā world, which had much more harsh and rugged conditions compared to paradises of supreme happiness such as Sukhāvatī. While examining this sutra in search of a parallel for the installation of a relic in Gandhāran Buddha images, I was struck by a number of passages that strongly recalled visual images from Gandhāra. The most prominent of them concerned the austerities (duṣkaracaryā) of the Buddha, which are lavishly extolled in a short biographical account of Śākyamuni Buddha presented in the vow by Samudrareṇu.

As is well known, the popularity of fasting Buddha images is one of the most distinctive features in Buddhist art of Gandhāra. The Buddha’s austerities were a common theme in narrative reliefs of the

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6 For a negative assessment, see Sanada (1957).
7 Previous works on this sutra, mostly by Japanese scholars, treated its limited aspects, particularly focusing on its relationship to the Sukhāvatīvyāha and the Amitābha cult. Several notable works are: Nishio (1931), Sanada (1955), Inagaki (1963), Ujitani (1969), Narimatsu (1975).
9 Strictly speaking, Gautama while practicing fasting is not yet a Buddha, and thus it would be more accurate to call his representation of this stage “the fasting Bodhisattva” rather than “the fasting Buddha.” But since the appellation “Buddha” has been commonly – and naturally – used for the pre-enlightenment period as well and the term “fasting Buddha” has also been customarily applied, I follow this convention in this paper avoiding unnecessary complication.
Buddha's life, and were also represented in a magnificent form in larger independent statues, whose foremost examples are preserved in museums in Lahore and Peshawar (Figures 1, 2). Nowhere outside Gandhāra did the theme enjoy such prominence. Up to the Gupta period in India proper, absolutely no example is known. In Chinese Central Asia we find several examples at such cave sites as Binglingsi, Dunhuang (Mogao caves) and Kizil datable as early as the fifth century, but they were evidently derived from the Gandhāran prototypes. An ivory carving from Kashmir dated to the eighth century in the Cleveland Museum of Art also appears to have a source in Gandhāra. Otherwise, during the seventh century, Xuanzang recorded the presence of a fasting Buddha image in a shrine at Bodhgaya, which is the first recorded example from the middle Gangetic valley. We know nothing about its origin and stylistic features except for the description “thin and withered away,” but I am tempted to suspect that some influence was felt from the Northwest at least in idea if not form. The image at Bodhgaya probably stimulated the creation of other examples in eastern India. A fasting Buddha appears in one of small scenes from the Buddha's life surrounding a bhūmisparśa Buddha in a stele possibly made in Burma under the Pāla influence. A similar scene is also found in a metal piece from Nepal. The famous image at the Ananda temple in Pagan may also have an origin at Bodhgaya. But this image is in the bhūmi-

10 For examples, see Foucher (1905) figs. 192c, 193, 200a; Ingholt and Lyons (1957) pl. 55. There are many other pieces in various collections that include those of questionable authenticity.

11 For these examples as well as one at Yungang, see Jin (2004) figs. 6-15.


14 While opinions regarding the regional origin of this piece are divided between eastern India and Burma, Robert Brown supports the latter. See Brown (1997) 25–27; Brown (1988) 114–115.


16 For this image, see Duroiselle (1917) 90–91 and fig. 45. Enthusiasm for Bodhgaya of Burmese Buddhists from Pagan is well known, as attested in the Mahabodhi Temple built in Pagan during the thirteenth century in imitation of the great shrine of Bodhgaya. Cf. Brown (1988) 101–124.
Sparśamudrā unlike all other extant examples, which invariably take the dhyanamudrā, and may well be defined as a reinterpretation of an image of enlightenment rather than a fasting image, although we do not know how the fasting Buddha at Bodhgayā would have looked.

The prominence of fasting Buddha images in Gandhāra has long puzzled me. It is not just the matter of regional prominence but the question of why the theme gained such conspicuousness despite the negative implication with which the austerities of the Buddha were imbued in his sacred biography. It is a common knowledge that, although he practiced extreme austerities including fasting for six years (or seven years in some traditions), the Buddha gave them up with a realization that they were not the right way that leads to enlightenment.17 The moment is described in the Mahāvastu in the following words:

ye kecid bhavantaḥ śramaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā ātmopakramikāṁ śāriropatā-pikāṁ duḥkhāṁ tīvṛāṁ kharāṁ kaṭukāṁ vedanā vedaẏayanti etāvatpāramite imaṁ pi na kenāpi sambhunanti / attāṁ bhikṣavaṁ adhvānam etarānīṁ pi bhikṣavaṁ prayutpanne ye kecid bhavanto śramaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā ātmopakramikāṁ śāriropatā-pikāṁ duḥkhāṁ tīvṛāṁ kharāṁ kaṭukāṁ vedanā vedaẏayanti etāvatpāramite imaṁ pi na kenāpi sambhunanti / na kho punar ahaṁ abhijānāmi imāye duṣkaracārikāye kaṁcid uttarimunusyadharmaṁ alaṁ āryaṁ jñānadarśanam viśeśdhigamaṁ sākṣātkaṁtum nāyaṁ mārgaṁ bodhaya / (Senart 1890, II, 130)

Those worthy recluses (śramaṇas) and brāhmaṇas who undergo unpleasant, bitter, cruel, and severe feelings which torment their souls and their bodies do so to gain perfection (pāramitā), but in no wise do they attain it. Those worthy recluses (śramaṇas) and brāhmaṇas who have in the past undergone, as well as those who now undergo, unpleasant, bitter, cruel and severe feelings which torment their souls and their bodies, have done so, and do so, to gain perfection, but in no wise have attained it. Neither I, also, with all this practice of austerities am aware of the state of “further man” (uttariya-manuṣya), which enables one to realize the distinct achievement of truly ārya knowledge and insight. This is not the way to enlightenment (bodhi).18

18 After Jones (1952, II, 125), with slight modifications including the insertion of parentheses. According to the account of this text, when Siddhārtha reached Mt. Gayāśirṣa, he
This kind of remark, although varied in expression, is not limited to the *Mahāvastu*, but also found in the majority of sources of the Buddha's life.\(^1\)

How could, then, the Buddha emaciated to the extreme through severe austerities be represented with such magnificence as in the famous fasting Buddha in Lahore? Was it simply meant to provide a lesson for a path not to be taken? I am strongly skeptical.\(^2\) One can sense immediately in this image that the austerities are glorified with utmost importance. In the extreme physical state almost reduced to a skeleton covered with withered skin, the Buddha still engages the viewer with a penetrating gaze; his body is upright without any sign of weariness; the veins are full of energy and tension. The Buddha is truly overcoming physical obstacles in a heroic manner. I have often been at a loss with how to explain the image properly in light of the course taken by the Buddha in his life; for, in our general understanding, it was not austerities but the renouncement or rejection of it that was highlighted in the sacred biography of the Buddha.\(^3\) My provisional answer has been that perhaps the Buddhists in Gandhāra may have wished to see a more concrete and vivid symbol for the highest level of practices the Buddha pursued, although it may not have concerned a direct cause to enlightenment, and they chose fast-

\(^1\) For particularly similar accounts found in the *Majjhima-nikāya* and *Lalitavistara*, see n. 30 and pp. 134–135 in this paper.

\(^2\) The scene carved on the pedestal of the Lahore Buddha shows six monks in the pose of veneration toward what appears to be a fire altar (Figure 1). Rather than simply a scene of fire worship, it more likely represents monks offering *pūja* to the fasting Buddha above with fire or incense burning in the altar. It is unthinkable that the fasting accompanied by such a scene was presented with a negative meaning.

\(^3\) Interestingly enough, previous works on the Buddha's life in Gandhāran art is almost silent on this problem. For example, see Foucher (1905) 379–382, cf. Foucher (1987) 137–139; Zwalf (1996): 169–171.
ing Buddha images as a most powerful visual reminder, more readily comprehensible than a simple image of samādhi.\textsuperscript{22}

II

The Buddha’s austerities are invariably referred to in diverse accounts of the Buddha’s life in extant textual sources, and those textual accounts exhibit fairly uniform features. However, as I examined them more carefully, an interesting pattern has emerged, which seems to provide a clue for understanding perceptions of the incident among early Buddhists. They are classifiable largely in the following three groups.\textsuperscript{23}

\textsuperscript{22} Rhi (2003) 62. Robert Brown has suggested that emaciated Buddhas from Gandhāra actually represented another period of long fasting after enlightenment prior to receiving food from two merchants. See Brown (1997) 106–111. However, one wonders whether – and for what reason – the Buddha’s fasting in the post-enlightenment period, which instantly appears quite insignificant compared to the fasting during austerities, would have been presented in such a glorified manner and with such magnitude. Although Brown cites in support of his argument a passage from the Nidānakathā that the Buddha fasted for seven weeks after enlightenment, the fasting period was merely seven days in texts datable early enough – and probably more relevant to Gandharan fasting image – such as the Taizi ruiyingbenqi jing (trans., early 3\textsuperscript{rd} century; T185, 3:479a) and the Puyaqing (the earlier Chinese translation [dated 308] of the Lalitavistara, T186, 3:526b; in this account the Buddha even eats right after enlightenment and eats again a week after, taking the food presented by the two merchants), and apparently only in later traditions including the account from the Nidānakathā (ed. Fausboll 1877, 77–80, cf. trans. Rhys Davids 1925, 200–205), it was expanded to seven weeks (e.g., Fangguang dazhuangyanjing [the later Chinese translation of the Lalitavistara, dated 683], T187, 3:601bc; the extant Sanskrit edition of the Lalitavistara, ed. Lefmann 1902, 379–381; Fobenxingjijing, T190, 3:801a; the extant Sanskrit edition of the Mahāvastu, ed. Senart 1890, II, 272–303, cf. trans. Jones 1952, II, 261–291). Given that the account of seven weeks’ fasting after enlightenment was most probably an elaboration that came at a late stage in the accounts of the Buddha’s life, it is hardly likely that Gandhāran Buddhists chose to represent the Buddha of the post-enlightenment period in such an emaciated form. Although a scene of two merchants offering food carved on the pedestal of the Peshawar fasting Buddha (Figure 2) is presented as another piece of evidence for Brown’s argument, the fact that the Buddha in the scene is in a non-emaciated form, as Brown admits, obviously undermines it. The offering of food to the Buddha could have been carved in contrast to the great fasting of the Buddha, but not in a direct narrative sequence.

\textsuperscript{23} Julius Dutoit produced in 1905 an admirable work on textual accounts of the duṣkara-caryā, making detailed comparisons between various versions. But his work
A

- Jātaka (Nidānakathā), Fausbøll (1877, I) 67–69.24
- Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya–samghabhedavastu, Gnoli (1977, I) 100–111.
- Buddhacarita, XII, Johnston (1984, I) 139–143.25
- Lalitavistara XVII, XVIII, Lefmann (1902) 243–264.27

27 The account in the Tibetan translation (Foucaux 1884: 210–228) is almost identical to the Sanskrit version.

B

• Majjhima-nikāya, XII (Mahāsihanādasutta), Trenckner (1888) 77–83; XXXVI (Mahāsaccakasutta), Trenckner (1888) 240–251.28


C


• Taizi ruiyingbenqi jing 太子瑞應本起經 (trans. Zhi Qian, early 3rd century), T185, 3:476c–477a.


The majority of them, classified in Group A, have a well-known standard format:

1) The Bodhisattva29 (Siddhiirtha) practices austerities.

2) He realizes that performing the austerities is not the right way.

3) It occurs to him that enlightenment should be achieved through a meditation such as the one he conducted under a Jambu tree when he was a prince.

4) He renounces the austerities and takes food for himself.

28 Cf. Horner (1954, I): 103–110, 295–305. Dutoit (1905, 1–15) also cites the Ariyaparīyesanasutta (26), the Bodhirājakumārasutta (85) and the Saṅgāravasutta (100) from the same text, but the accounts in these suttas, often repeating the words of the other two suttas above, are not much significant as narratives recounting the austerities.

29 In this paper, whenever it is used – unless otherwise specified – the “Bodhisattva” means exclusively Siddhārtha, or Śākyamuni before attaining enlightenment, as invariably so in the literary accounts of the Buddha’s life listed above.
5) Five fellow practitioners leave him.

6) He takes bath in the Nairanjanā River.

7) He eats food offered by a daughter (or daughters) of a village householder at Uruvilvā.

8) He advances to the Bodhi tree.

In all the sources of this group, the most notable feature for our concern is that the Bodhisattva gives up austenities and chooses to pursue an alternative path. In a number of small details, however, naturally there are variations attributable to transformations of the narrative in diverse regional, temporal or individual circumstances. Although I do not intend to dwell on this, in the Nidānakathā, for instance, the practice of austenities, which is depicted with lengthy details elsewhere, is considerably reduced, while the offering by Sujatā is elaborately magnified; overall I suspect that this text shows a relatively late form in the development of this narrative. In the Chinese Fobenxingjing, which also reveals signs of lateness, the Bodhisattva continually eats (!): before starting austenities, during austenities, after renouncing them, and before proceeding to the Bodhi tree.

In Group B, the Mahāsaccakasutta of the Majjhima-nikāya as well as its equivalent part in the Chinese Ekottara-āgama tells basically the same story as Group A. The austenities are abandoned by the Bodhisattva also in a negative spirit. But unlike Group A, there is no remark on the Bodhisattva receiving food from Sujatā or any girl equivalent to her, as he just proceeds to meditation after feeding himself; it is possible, however, that the Sujatā story may have been deemed an unnecessary detail in the context of this sutta. In the Mahāsīhanādasutta of the Majjhima-nikāya, the practices conducted by the Bodhisattva during austenities are lengthily described — but with little delineation of narrative details — followed by a remark about their futility, which is quite similar to the one cited above from the Mahāvastu.30

30 The relevant part in the Mahāsīhanādasutta of the Majjhima-nikāya reads: “santi kho pana sāriputta eke samanabrāhmaṇa evamvaṁino evamdiṭṭhino: āhārena suddhīti ... / taya pi kho aham sāriputta iringāya tāya paṭipadoya tāya dukkarakārikāya nājjhagamam uttarāṁ
What interests us more with regard to the Gandhāran images is Group C. In the Chinese Xiuxing benqijing (trans. second century) there is no negative remark at all on austerities. Through austerities, the Bodhisattva attains the third meditation (त्रियम ध्यानम्, trīyam dhāyānam), and then receives a bowl of rice milk from Sujātā; having regained power, he moves to the Bodhi tree and reaches the fourth meditation (चतुर्थम ध्यानम्, caturtham dhāyānam). There are absolutely no words that the Bodhisattva decides to receive the milk rice because the austerities are not the right way. The account in the Taizi ruiyingbenqijing (trans. third century) is more brief, but no negative perception of the austerities is found here as well.

This is more clearly exhibited in the Puyaojing, the earliest extant Chinese translation of the Lalitavistara by Dharmarakṣa from the beginning of the fourth century. The account of austerities starts at the end of the chapter titled “Three False Teachers (parapravādin)” after the description of diverse practices conducted by heretics.

*manussadhāmṃa alamariyaṇāṇadassanavisesaṃ, taṃ kissa hetu: imissā yeva ariyāya paññāya anadhigamā yā ’yam ariyā paññā adhitgatā ariyā niyānīkā niyātī takkarassa sammā dukkhaḥkhyāya l’* (Trenckner 1888, 80–81) (There are, Śāriputta, some recluses and brahmans who speak thus and are of this view: “Purity is through food.” ... But I, Śāriputta, even by this procedure [=extreme fasting], by this course, by this mortification [dūkkharakārikā], did not reach states of further-men or the excellent knowledge and insight befitting the ariyans. What was the cause of this? It was that by these there is no reaching the ariyan intuitive wisdom which, when reached, is ariyan, leading onwards, and which leads onwards the doer of it to the complete destruction of anguish. — trans. Horner 1954, I, 107–108, with slight modifications and the insertion of brackets). A similar remark is also found in the Mahāsaccakasutta of the Majjhima-nikāya: “na kho panāhāṃ imāya katukāya dukkhakārikāya adhipacchāmi uttarāṃ manussadhāmṃa alamariyaṇāṇadassanavisesaṃ, siyā hu kho añño maggo bodhīyāti” (Trenckner 1888, 246) (But I, by this severe austerity, do not reach states of further-men, the excellent knowledge and vision befitting the ariyans. Could there by another way to awakening? — trans. Horner 1954, I, 301). The account in the corresponding part in the Chinese Ekottara-āgama is slightly different further from the two: “At the time I thought, ‘This is not the foundation for attaining enlightenment. Thus, there must be a different path ... O monks, although I had, of old, thus practiced austerities, I was not able to grasp the foundations of the four things. What are the four? That is, I was not able to attain the āryan precepts, the āryan wisdom, the āryan liberation, and the āryan samādhi’” (爾時 我復作是念 非我成道之本 故當更有餘道 ... 比丘 吾昔苦行乃至於斯 然不獲四法之本 云何 爲四 所謂賢聖戒律難遙難知 賢聖智慧難遙難知 賢聖解脫難遙難知 賢聖三昧難遙難知 — T125, 2:671b).
Now I will show the pure conduct (brahmacarya) to convert those who follow false teachings. As I disclose the true act and have them remove defilements, they will not follow the false teachings and will convert to the teaching of the Buddha. (今我寧可示現清行 以用攝取外學之輩 順正真業使捨迷惑 所當應行 欲界色界不從彼敎來入佛道 – T186, 3:510c–511a)\(^{31}\)

The Bodhisattva’s austerities are presented as if an expedient to deliver heretics who devote themselves to harsh or bizarre asceticism; and it is a great expedient. The next chapter “Austerities” starts with the following words of the Buddha:

At the time, the Bodhisattva reflected, “For six years, the great industrious austerities will be performed. Why are they called ‘industrious austerities’? It is because they are hard to reach and impossible to obtain. Among living beings, devas and humans are not capable of achieving this task; only a Bodhisattva of the ultimate ekajātipratibuddha (bound [to be enlightened] in the next life) can achieve it. Thus it is called ‘hard to achieve.’” (於時菩薩作是思惟 六年之中 示大勤苦精進之行 以何等名勤苦行 是事難及人所不逮 是故名曰勤苦行矣 衆生之中 若天世人不能修行 成辦此業 唯有究竟一 生補處菩薩乃能行之故曰難辦 – T186, 3:511a)\(^{32}\)

Thus he conducts various difficult austerities, and anyone who sees his practice greatly admires it. By performing austerities for six years, he is said to have taught innumerable devas and humans to stand in the three vehicles. After completing austerities, he reaches a high level of miraculous power and wisdom. But he worries:

Even though I have attained supernatural faculty, sacred knowledge and the power of wisdom – if I now advance to the Buddha tree [Bodhi Tree] with his emaciated body, later people in remote areas will falsely accuse me...

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\(^{31}\) Translations are mine unless otherwise specified. Cf. Lefmann (1902) 240; T187, 3:581a. Converting heretics by performing austerities is referred to a few more times in the account of austerities in the Puyaojing as well as the later versions of the Lalitavistara. Interestingly enough, such remarks are seldom found in any other texts including the Mahāvastu and Pāli canonical sources. A very rare incidence closest to those of the Lalitavistara is in a gāthā in the Fobenxingjing: “Having reached the Nairāñjana River, the Bodhisattva took a seat at a shore with a pure mind. Since those who seek the way do not follow the right path, I desire to practice austerities to teach them (菩薩既至尼連河 以清淨心岸邊坐 爲諸求道不眞故 欲行大苦化彼耶 – T190, 3:766b).

\(^{32}\) Cf. Lefmann (1902) 240; T187, 3:580b.
saying, “He achieved enlightenment by starving himself.” I would rather eat tender food and regain strength in the body. Afterwards I would proceed to
under the tree and attain the enlightenment of the Buddha. (雖有神通聖明慧力 今吾以是羸瘦之體 往詣佛樹 將無後世邊地諸國有識者乎 謂餓得道 吾身 寧可服柔軟食 平復其體使有勢力 然後乃往至其樹下成佛道 — T186, 3:511b) 33

Then he simply chooses to take food offered by a daughter of a householder. Again one sees here absolutely no sign of negative perception to the austerities, while taking food is depicted as an act of expediency, as the austerities themselves are.

This is more intriguing when we compare it with the later Chinese translation of the Lalitavistara (Fangguang dazhuangyanjing), the Tibetan translation, and the extant Sanskrit edition, where the accounts of a more standard form as we saw in Group A appear. Like the Puyaojing, these three later versions also have a separate chapter titled “Duśkaracaryā.” Although the accounts of the austerities in this chapter are much more elaborate here, its outline is not much different. 34 As in the Puyaojing, the prose part in each version ends with the remark that, with the successful accomplishment of austerities, the Bodhisattva had innumerable living beings mature in the three vehicles. But in the following chapter “Nairaṇjanā,” the spirit suddenly changes: the Bodhisattva rather abruptly thinks of the futility of austerities.

ye kecic chramanā brāhmaṇā vā attānāgatapratyutpannesv adhvasvātmopakramikāṃ sāriropatāpikāṃ duḥkhāṃ tvrām kharāṃ kaṭukāmamanaṃpāṃ vedanāṃ vedayanti etat paramaṃ te duḥkham anubhavanti / ... anayāpi khalu mayā caryayānayāpi pratipadā na kaścid uttari manusyaḍharmādalam āryajñānadarśanaṇaviśeṣaḥ sāksātkṛto nāyaṃ mārga bodher nāyaṃ mārga

33 A similar remark is found in the Guogu xianzai yinguojing (T189, 3:639b): “Heretics will say that my starvation [or fasting] was the cause of parinirvāṇa. Although I have the power of Nārāyaṇa in every joint, I will not achieve the reward of enlightenment with this. After receiving and eating food, I will attain enlightenment.” But this is preceded by the following words (ibid, 639a): “Although having practiced austerities for six full years, I was not able to attain liberation, and thus knew that austerities were not the way.”

34 The account of the visit to Udraka Rāmaputra (Rudraka Rāmaputra in the Sanskrit Lalitavistara) and the witnessing of diverse practices by heretics, which is told in a separate chapter preceding the chapter “Duśkaracaryā” in the Puyaojing, appear at the beginning of “Duśkaracaryā” in the three later versions. Otherwise the accounts are quite similar.
Those śramaṇas and brāhmaṇas who undergo unpleasant, bitter, poignant, cruel, severe and unfavorable feelings which torment their souls and bodies in the past, present or future to gain perfection experience suffering ... By this practice, and by this path, by me, the dharma of “further men,” which enables one to realize the distinctive achievement of truly āryan knowledge and insight, can never be attained. This is not the way to enlightenment. Nor is it the way leading to the cessation of future birth, old age and death. Probably there is a way other than this to enlightenment leading to the cessation of the origin of future birth, old age and death.

Following this, the Bodhisattva considers taking a different path such as the first meditation he conducted as a prince under a Jambu tree, and receives food from a daughter of a householder. One may have noticed that the remark above is almost identical – except for the last two sentences – to the words cited above from the Mahāvastu and similar to those from the Majjhima-nikāya and the Ekottarāgama. Quite possibly, it was borrowed from earlier textual accounts and incorporated in the account of the Lalitavistara of this stage unless the earlier translator Dharmaraksā unjustifiably abridged the original in the translation of the Puyaojing. Overall, it appears that the account of the austerities in the Lalitavistara was transformed in later versions, or, much less likely, that Dharmarakṣa’s translation reflects an unorthodox regional tradition. In any case, what we have seen clearly suggests the presence of a separate tradition where the Bodhisattva’s austerities were never perceived in
a negative spirit, which obviously parallels the glorified representations of the austerities from Gandhāra.\textsuperscript{38}

\textsuperscript{38} We may note here a fourth group of textual accounts treating the austerities of the Buddha. These accounts mainly concern the cause for the austerities, i.e., for what wrongdoing in previous lives the Buddha had to endure such horrible ordeals for six years prior to enlightenment. A number of texts deliver such stories, e.g., the Pālī Apadāna, the Xingqijing 興起行經 (trans. Kang Mengxiang, late 2\textsuperscript{nd} century; T197, 4:172c–174a), the Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya-bhaisajyavastu (Yijing’s Chinese translation, Genbenshuoyi-qieyouyu pinaye yaoshi 根本說一切有部毘奈耶藥事, T1448, 24:96b; Tibetan and Sanskrit versions in Honfinger, 1990, 35–45, cf. 102–115), the Wubaidizi zishuobenqi jing 五百弟子自說本起經 (trans. Dharmarakṣa, late 3\textsuperscript{rd}–early 4\textsuperscript{th} century; T199, 4:202a; the austerities are not referred to explicitly, but an incident told in other texts such as the Xingqijing as having led to the ordeals is briefly mentioned), and the Liudujijing 六度集經 (trans. Kang Senghui, 2\textsuperscript{nd} half of the 3\textsuperscript{rd} century; T152, 3:30ab). Many of these accounts are known as part of the Anavatapta
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tāhā, of which manuscript fragments in Gandhāri also exist (Salomon 1999, 30–33; Salomon 2003, 79, 82). For these texts and the problem of asceticism, see: Hara (1997) 249–260 (including the translation of the account in the Liudujijing), cf. Bechert (1961) 204–247. Naturally these accounts tend to perceive the Buddha’s austerities in a negative sense. In the Puyaojing one can see that such conception was known to those who reworked the text, for it tells in the verse, “For deriding the tonsured for not having the truth, [the Bodhisattva] had to practice for innumerable kalpas and paying off for the sin for six years” (髡頭何有道 行無失數劫 六年畢其罪 – T186, 3:511c). This is clearly an allusion to the incident referred to in the Anavatapta
dg
tāhā where Jotipāla (Skt. Jyotipāla, the Bodhisattva in a pervious life) disparaged Kāśyapa Buddha with the words, “How is enlightenment (possible) for a shaveling, for enlightenment is the most difficult thing to be obtained (kuto nu bodhi munḍassā bodhi pra-
rama-dullabha)” (from the Pālī Apadāna translated in Hara 1997: 251). But the Puyaojing does not fully comply with the conception; it says earlier in the prose, “In order to elucidate the reward of merit, [the Bodhisattva] showed the purification of the body, mouth and mind. Eating a seed of sesame or rice each day for six years, he practiced and achieved the industrious austerities hard to attain, which was not liable to destiny” (為分別說功德之報 現身口心當行清淨 日服一麻一米 六年之中 修立難及勤苦之行 宿命不償 – T186, 3:511a). Although the last clause is syntactically awkward, it seems clear contextually that the Puyaojing tries to interpret austerities in a more positive sense. Intriguingly, such words are not instantly found in later versions of this text. But in the part of the verse in the Sanskrit Lalitavistara that approximately corresponds to the passage cited above from the Puyaojing, two ślokas read, “nihatāḥ parapravādā dhyānīkṛta tirthikā mativihīnāḥ / karmakriyā ca darśita yā proktā kāśyape vācā // krakuchandakasya bodhi bodhiriha mudurlabhā bahubhi kalpaśa / janatāyā ityathām dhyāyatāyāsphānakam dhyānam //” (Lef-
mann 1902, 260). The line “karmakriyā ca darśita yā proktā kāśyape vācā,” which seems puzzling at first sight, can be understood only in light of the Jotipāla incident. I wonder whether there was possibly a corruption in this part generated by the lack of proper understanding of the meaning. Similarly, the equivalent part in the Fangguang dazhuangyan jing, “亦以迦葉等 不信有菩 提 如是大菩 提 無量劫難得,” is not readily comprehensible.
Now we come back to the Karunāpuṇḍarīka, the text of our primary concern, where the positive spirit for the austerities as we saw in the Puyaojing continues in an even more prominent form. In a lengthy vow proclaimed by the brāhmaṇa Samudraṇeṣu, the life of his later and final reincarnation as Śākyamuni is briefly delineated starting with the descent from the Tuṣita heaven. It proceeds with standard episodes such as the birth, taking seven steps, going to school, austerities and enlightenment up to parinirvāṇa. Out of these passages, approximately one fourth is allotted to the account of austerities, obviously a disproportionately large space. It begins with the depiction of the Bodhisattva seated under the Bodhi tree with grass spread on the vajrāsana. Thus, his austerities are performed on the vajrāsana, not some other places near the Nairāṇjanā River or Uruvilvā as in most other textual sources.

svayaṃ cāham tṛṇasamstaraṇam grhniyām bodhivṛksamūlavajrāsane praṇāpayeyam niśīdeyaṃ paryāṅkam ābadhvā tṛjukena kāyena; tathārūpam aham ṛṣphānakaṃ dhyānām dhyāyeyam, āśvāsaṃprasvāṣa vyuṣpaṣameyam; ekāvāraṃ divisena dhyānād vyuttīṣṭheyam, vyutthāya cāham ardhatilakaphalam āhāram āhareyam, ardhaṃ pratigrāhakasyāṇuprayacceyam | tāvac ciraṃ

The phrase “Kāśyapa and others” apparently indicates that the translator understood Kāśyapa as “Uruvilvā Kāśyapa and his followers” and probably did not grasp its meaning properly. But understood in light of the Jotipāla incident, the original meaning becomes clear: “For not having believed that Kāśyapa [Buddha] has bodhi, [the Bodhisattva] had difficulty in attaining such great bodhi.” A similar problem is also revealed in the Tibetan translation (cf. Foucaux 1884: 224, n. 38, 39). I suspect that the memory of the Jotipāla incident may have faded by the time the Sanskrit Lalitavistara and the originals of the Fangguang dazhuangyan jing and the Tibetan translation were reworked on, while the incident was fairly well known at the time of the original of the Puyaojing, which had to defend its position of eulogizing the austerities against perhaps a more common conception.

39 Yamada (1968, II) 242–245; T158, 3:267b–268a; T157, 3:207c–208b; P. Cu 260a2–261a8. As far as this part is concerned, there is little difference between various versions in Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan. Considering the relative lateness of extant Sanskrit recensions, this is quite remarkable. Of the two Chinese translations, compared with Sanskrit and Tibetan versions, the account in the Dasheng beifentuolijing (T158) seems closer to the original, while that of the Beihua jing (T157) reflects slight embellishment. I am grateful to Dr. Kim Seongcheol for assisting me to check the Tibetan translation.
I would grab a bundle of grass for myself, spread it on the vajräsana under the Bodhi tree and sit crosslegged with the body upright. I would practice the āsphānaka meditation and stop the inhaling and exhaling of breath. I would awake from the meditation once a day; having awoke, I would eat a half grain of sesame and give away another half. I would practice austerities in this form until all devas up to the Akanistha heaven and those in the Sahā buddhafiel would approach, paying homage to me and would be witnesses to my austerities.

The Bodhisattva practices the āsphānaka-dhyāna (breath-holding meditation) and then restricts food to minimum, a half grain of ses-ame a day; this is part of the standard phrase in the description of austereties found in virtually any textual account of the Buddha’s life. As he performs these austerities, all the living beings up to the Akanistha heaven who hear of his practice will come to his place and offer puja; they will witness the superiority of the austerities performed by the Bodhisattva. This is all that directly concerns the depiction of the austereties in this account of the Buddha’s life, the rest being focused on the benefits to be gained by witnessing the austereties.

Then, o the honorable one, for those who have planted a seed in the vehicle of śravakas, I would calm their afflictions in mind, and they would...
Figure 2. Fasting Buddha, Gandhāra, from Takht-i-Bahi, h. 83 cm, Peshawar Museum. (Ingholt and Lyons, Gandhāran Art in Pakistan, 1957, pl. 53)
be converted to me in the last existence. For those who follow the vehicle of pratyeka-buddhas, may it be the same as said above. Likewise, may nāgas, yakṣas, āsuras, garuḍas, kinnaras, mahoragas, pretas, piśācas, kumbhāṇḍas, rṣis with five-fold supernatural knowledge approach to pay homage to me; may all of them be witnesses to my austerities. May those who follow the vehicle of śrāvakas do the same as said above.\footnote{While the Sanskrit version and the Chinese Dasheng beifentuo lijing refer to śrāvakayāna and pratyekabuddhayāna only, the Beihuajing speaks of mahāyāna as well. I am tempted to suspect that this is an interpolation by the Chinese translators, although it needs further corroborations.}

Non-humans (āmānuṣa) will teach heretics who practice austerities, telling that their austerities will never surpass the Bodhisattva’s, which they ought to witness and venerate for themselves.\footnote{The words here directed to heretics recall similar references to heretics in various versions of the Lalitavistara. See n. 31 above.} The account continues:

\begin{verbatim}
tevac cīram cahām evamrupām duṣkaracaryām careyam ekaparyānkena yāvad bahusattvakofinayafatasahasrāni duṣkaracaryāyām sākṣībhūta (Yamada: sāksi\textsuperscript{o}) bhaveyūḥ āscaryapraptaś ca, teṣām ca santāne 'prameyāsāṃ-khyeyāṇāṃ mokṣabījām praropayeyam / tathārupām ahaṃ duṣkaracaryām careyam yathā na pūrvam kenacit sattvasaṃkhātyātena anyatīrthikena vā śrāvakayānikena vā pratyekabuddhayānikena vā anuttaramahāyānikena vā evam duṣkaracaryācīrnapūrvah syāt; na ca punah paścāt kaścit sattvasaṃ-
\end{verbatim}

May they [=heretics], having abandoned their austerities and seen mine, plant a seed for the vehicle of śrāvakas as said above. May human kings, officials, city dwellers, householders, mendicants or family businessmen approach to pay homage to my austerities as was said for those who follow the vehicle of śrāvakas.

A woman who witnesses the Bodhisattva’s austerities will be reborn as a man; an animal which does the same will never be reborn as such. The account of the austerities ends with the following words:

\begin{verbatim}
tevac cīram cahām evamrupām duṣkaracaryām careyam ekaparyānkena yāvad bahusattvakofinayafatasahasrāni duṣkaracaryāyām sākṣībhūta (Yamada: sāksi\textsuperscript{o}) bhaveyūḥ āscaryapraptaś ca, teṣām ca santāne 'prameyāsāṃ-khyeyāṇāṃ mokṣabījām praropayeyam / tathārupām ahaṃ duṣkaracaryām careyam yathā na pūrvam kenacit sattvasaṃkhātyātena anyatīrthikena vā śrāvakayānikena vā pratyekabuddhayānikena vā anuttaramahāyānikena vā evam duṣkaracaryācīrnapūrvah syāt; na ca punah paścāt kaścit sattvasaṃ-
\end{verbatim}
kyātaś caret anyatīrthikā vā⁴⁴ evamrūpāṃ duṣkaraćārikāṃ saktāṃś carantu yathāham careyaṃ / (Yamada 1968, II, 244–245)

For so long I practice austerities in this form once seated crosslegged, until innumerable hundred-thousand living beings witness my extraordinary austerities and may they plant immeasurable seeds of liberation. Such austerities as I would conduct never have been practiced before by any living beings, be they heretics, those who follow the vehicle of śrāvakas, those who follow the vehicle of pratyekabuddhas, or those who follow the supreme Mahāyāna; again such austerities as I have conducted would never be practiced afterwards by any living beings or heretics.

This is followed by the accounts that the Bodhisattva will destroy Māra and his army before he attains enlightenment and how he will deliver living beings in the Saha world afterwards by means of diverse expedients until parinirvāṇa.

In the passages from the Karunāpuṇḍarīka discussed above, we do not find the slightest indication of negative perception toward the austerities of the Buddha (=Bodhisattva). Instead, they are exalted as one of the major acts performed by the Buddha to deliver living beings and almost as the greatest of them.⁴⁵ We may recall here the words referred to above as being addressed to heretics to witness the Buddha’s austerities, which end with the following advice:

sā duṣkaraćaryā maharddhikā sā mahāphalā mahāvistārā, na cireṇāsau anuttaraṃ samyaksambodhiṃ abhisambhotsyate / sa cēn na śraddhadhvam gacchata svayam paśyata / (Yamada 1968, II, 243)

This austerity, conducive to great supernatural power and great reward, before long will achieve anuttarasamyaksambodhi. If you do not believe, go and see for yourself.

⁴⁴ After anyatīrthikā vā, the words “śrāvakayāṇikena vā pratyekabuddhayāṇikena vā anuttaramahāyāṇikena vā” may have been lost in the transmission of the Sanskrit version.

⁴⁵ At the end of the account of the Buddha’s life in this text (Yamada 1968, II, 249), the austerities are enumerated as one of the major events the Buddha shows for living beings who suffer in the Saha world: (1) the birth (samituśitaḥhavanāvataranam mātṛ garbhe jātum upadāryayam), (2) the child play and various skill contest (kumārakriḍāsilpa-karmasthāna), (3) the austerities (duṣkaraćaryā), (4) the defeat of Māra (māradharsaṇa), (5) the enlightenment (bodhyasambudhyana), (6) the first sermon (dharmacakravartana), (7) the whole duty of the Buddha (sakalabuddhakārya), (8) the death (parinirvāṇa).
Surprisingly, the reward of practicing austerities is even related to attaining *anuttarasamayaksambodhi*, the supreme enlightenment. Austerities are not a wrong path to be abandoned in the quest of enlightenment but one of its direct causes. Obviously, this remark corresponds in spirit to the following words from the *Puyaojing*, which the Bodhisattva resolutely proclaims when he first takes a seat under the Bodhi tree:

Even if my body is parched to destruction with flesh being utterly decayed and bones dried up, I shall never rise without attaining the enlightenment of the Buddha. Having practiced austerities with perseverance for innumerable billions of *kalpas*, now I have achieved this; there will be no turning back.

(使吾身壞肌骨枯腐其身碎盡 不成佛道終不起也 從無央數億劫載劫勤為苦行今乃得之 終不迴還)

Here again, the austerities are clearly referred to as an important premise to enlightenment.

If visual monuments can be of any relevance as a reference, the only tradition we could recall where the austerities were elevated with such magnitude is nothing but that of Gandhāra. And Gandhāran fasting images are best understood in light of such accounts as those from the *Puyaojing* or the *Karunāpuṇḍarīka*. They represent the unequalled austerities performed by the Buddha, which easily eclipsed any such practice by heretics, and thus were a most eloquent symbol of the Buddha’s superiority over all those following heresy even in their privileged methods. At the same time, they were images of the austerities *par excellence* the Buddha endured through his

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46 Cf. T186, 3:515b, cf. 515a for a similar remark. Interestingly enough, the later versions of the *Lalitavistara* including the Sanskrit and Tibetan editions give a slightly different account in the corresponding passages. For instance, the passage in the *Fangguang dazhuangyanjing* reads, “If I do not achieve *anuttarasamayaksambodhi*, I shall never rise from this seat even though my body may be destroyed” (T187, 3:588a). There are no further words about superb austerities he practiced, which were the cause of his current state toward enlightenment. This is even more intriguing when we find no remark at all on austerities in the corresponding passages in most other texts of the Buddha’s life belonging to my Group A (see pp. 132–133 above): e.g., “If I do not attain enlightenment, I shall never rise from this seat” (*Guoqi xianzai yinguojing*, T189, 3:639c); “I am seated on this seat. If I do not remove all the *āravas* and if I do not achieve liberation, I shall never rise from this seat” (*Fobenxingjijing*, T190, 3:778b).
numerous incarnations, which were perceived even close to an indispensable part of practice toward enlightenment.\footnote{Minoru Hara (1997: 250) says, “The successive occurrence of asceticism and enlightenment in his biography naturally puts these two events into contrast. The contrast seems to become more and more striking, as the second, that is his final enlightenment, becomes invested with greater importance. As a result, the asceticism which precedes the enlightenment, the most auspicious event in his life, is destined to be treated negatively and regarded even as inauspicious.” The Fuyaojing and the Karunāpūndarīka presumably represent the tradition that precedes this development.}

In the account of austerities in the Karunāpūndarīka we note another interesting aspect: living beings achieve diverse benefits from seeing the austerities of the Buddha.

- \(\text{yāvad akaniṣṭhabhavana\text{-}paryantena sarve devā ye sahe bhuddha\text{-}kṣetra paryā-pannas ta upasamākṛmeyur mama ca pūjāṃ kurvānāḥ, sarve me sākṣīnaḥ syur duṣkaracaryāyām}\) (Yamada 1968, II, 242)
- \(\text{te ca tāṃ duṣkaracaryāṃ uṣṭrīya mama duṣkaracaryāṃ drṛṣtvā yesāṃ śrāva-kayānasantābhijānakaṃ pratiṣṭhitam syāt, yāvad yathā pūrvoktaṃ}\) (Yamada 1968, II, 243)
- \(\text{yas ca mātrgrāmo mama darśanāyopasaṃrānet, sa tasya paścimako mātr-grāmapratīlābhāo baved iti, ye śrāvakāyānīka yathā pūrvoktaṃ}\) (Yamada 1968, II, 244)
- \(\text{ye mṛgapakśino duṣkaram caramānaṃ niśāṇam paśyeyus sa teśam paści- makas tiryagyonipratīlābhoh bhaved iti}\) (Yamada 1968, II, 244)
- \(\text{baha\text{-}us\text{-}tva\text{-}koti\text{-}nayuta\text{-}tasahasahasrāṇi duṣkaracaryāyām sākṣībhūtā}\) (Yamada: sākṣī°) \(\text{bhavyeyuh āścaryaprāptaś ca …}\) (Yamada 1968, II, 244)

The viewing\footnote{Strictly speaking, delicate semantic distinctions may exist between the words used here for “viewing” — \(\text{paś}\) (to see, observe, behold), \(\text{drś}\) (to see, observe, regard) and \(\text{sakṣīn}\) (seeing with eyes, observing, witnessing) — particularly between \(\text{sakṣīn}\) and the others. However, in the passage cited above, pragmatically they seem to have been used in an interchangeable way. The two Chinese translations use \(\text{jiàn 見}\) or \(\text{guān 觀}\) for \(\text{paś}\) and \(\text{drś}\), and \(\text{zhèng 證}\) or \(\text{zhèngmíng 證明}\) for \(\text{sakṣīn}\). But here as well, in actual usage one finds little difference between these words.} of the Buddha practicing austerities is highlighted as an immensely beneficial act. In another place in the same account of the Buddha’s life, seeing the first bath of the Buddha is referred to in the same manner:
Those who see me being bathed would gain such quality in the three vehicles in the same way as said above.

Although these are all we find among quite a limited number of episodes presented in this account of the Buddha’s life in terms of the benefit of seeing the act of the Buddha, the importance with which such viewing is accorded is remarkable enough. Seeing the actual events or auspicious signs that appear on such occasions may have been meant on the surface; but it could well have alluded to the “seeing” or *darśana* of visual images or illustrations. This instantly reminds us of numerous narrative reliefs representing the Buddha’s life carved on stupas in Gandhāran monasteries. Of two fasting Buddha images in Lahore (h. 83.8 cm, from Sikri) and Peshawar (h. 82.6 cm, from Takht-i-Bahi), the Lahore image is fortunately known to have been found in one of the chapels standing aligned in the eastern side of the main stupa in the same manner as ordinary cult statues.49 Although we cannot be sure that the chapel was its very first place of installation – as numerous changes would have taken place in the monastery in the period following its dedication – the image must have been the object of *darśana* (ritual viewing) for ardent visitors in a similar architectural context. As regards the Peshawar image, which was discovered in the 1907-08 excavation season at the famous monastery at Takht-i-Bahi, little is known about its original context. But it was quite possibly installed in one of the chapels surrounding the court of many stupas in the middle (between the court of the main stupa and the monastic quarter) on which much of the excavation work was conducted in the season.50 The image must have been venerated in a similar way as the Lahore Buddha.51

50 Spooner (1911) 131-148.
51 A fasting Buddha image (h. 47 cm without the head) was discovered in situ at Shotorak against the southern face of the plinth of stupa F1, close to its stairway, but this does not seem likely its original placement. See Meunié (1942) 12 and pl. III: fig. 7, XVI: fig. 53.
As we have explored so far, reading the passages recounting the austerities in the *Karunāpundarīka* and their emphasis on the merit of seeing the image of austerities, one has the impression that the author actually saw visual images of the Buddha conducting austerities—such as the Lahore Buddha—venerated for such purpose, or at least had the knowledge of them. Since it is not clear that the date of the original *Karunāpundarīka* or its relevant part in an equivalent text is at least contemporary with Gandhāran fasting Buddhas, I am reluctant to say that the images were made in pursuance of this textual account. But considering definite parallelism between the account in *Karunāpundarīka* and Gandhāran images, I cautiously suspect at least that the textual account was inspired by such magnificent images as the Lahore Buddha, if the text was created later than the images during the third and fourth centuries; or if a smaller sutra that supposedly corresponds to the relevant part of the *Karunāpundarīka* indeed existed earlier by the second century, an account similarly extolling the austerities could already have been there as a contemporaneous textual parallel for visual images.

In the *Karunāpundarīka*, one finds a number of other motifs that could be parallels for visual image of Gandhāra. Another prominent one is the theme of *Indraśailaguhā*, which seems rather abruptly referred to in a lengthy note at the end of the text and strongly recalls

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52 Among smaller sutras listed as separate parts of the *Karunāpundarīka* in Chinese Buddhist catalogs, the *Dabeibiqiu benyuanjing* 大悲比丘本願經, supposedly translated by Faju and Fali during the late third century, seems to correspond to the part of our interest from the larger sutra, i.e., the *Karunāpundarīka*. If the earlier presence of this sutra is acceptable, its original could have been contemporary with or even earlier than Gandhāran fasting Buddhas, whose dates are equally problematic as any images from this region but are attributable provisionally to the second century. But a question has been raised regarding the reliability of this tradition because the smaller sutras appear as such in Chinese Buddhist catalogs only at a relatively late date from the seventh century. Sanada (1957) 1–23. For the records in Chinese Buddhist catalogs, see *Zhongjing mulu* 行經目錄 by Fa-jing 法經 (dated 594), T2146, 55:124a–b; *Zhongjing mulu* of the reign Renshou 仁壽 (602), T2147, 55:162c–163a; *Zhongjing mulu* by Jingtai 靜泰 (664), T2148, 55:197b–c; *Dazhou kanding zhongjing mulu* 大周刊定行經目錄 (695), T2153, 55:391b–c. The *Dabeibiqiu benyuanjing* is also listed as Faju’s translation, but without the reference to the *Karunāpundarīka*, in *Lidai sanbaoji* (597), T2034, 49:54b. Although there are grounds for questioning, it may be too hasty to reach a definite conclusion.
several magnificent Gandhāran steles representing the theme. I hope that these problems could be treated in a sequel to this paper.

References


53 Yamada (1968, II) 345–347; T158, 3:286a–b; T157, 3:230c–231a. For Gandhāran representations of Indrasālīgātha, see Ingholt and Lyons, pls. 130, 131.
SOME TEXTUAL PARALLELS FOR GANDHÄRAN ART


