FROM LOCAL TO GLOBAL
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## Volume 3

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A Bizarre Story about Two Kings Identification of some Andhra Reliefs as Scenes from the Sutasoma-Saudāsa Narrative

Monika Zin

The Buddhist story about Sutasoma and the man-eater Saudāsa/Kalmāṣapāda is an adaptation of the age-old narrative also known in Brahmanical and Jaina sources. The narrative is one of the most intriguing in the literature of India and it has fascinated researchers for a very long time (Roth 1846, 124-25, Watanabe 1909). It is a gloomy tale of a curse to eat human flesh which only a sacrifice can lift.

The essence of the narrative is the issue of virtue and the supremacy of the Brahmans or of the kṣatriyas. It is set out as a conflict between descendants of the Vāsiṣṭhas and the Sudās (whose offspring is Saudāsa/Kalmāṣapāda), culminating in the story of the virtue of a Brahman for whom keeping his promise was more important than his life. In the Mahābhārata it is the Brahman Utaṇka who was held captive by the man-eater Kalmāṣapāda ("with flecked feet"); he was set free under a vow to return and he really did go back as promised, ready for certain death. In the Buddhist tradition it is not the Brahman but the king Sutasoma, aṣṭriya, who keeps his word and returns to the man-eater, apparently as a "real" Brahman.

The narrative was popular in Buddhism and it is to be found in several literary versions, the oldest being the gathās of the Pali Jātaka no. 537, the Mahāsutasomajātaka. The Jātaka with its later prose section, the Sanskrit versions in the Jātakamālā of the poet Ārya Śura.
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and the *Bhadrakalpāvadāna*\(^6\) constitute the main sources preserved in India (apart from these, there are few short allusions to this *Jātaka* in other texts).\(^7\) The narrative is also preserved in several Chinese works\(^8\) and in one Sanskrit manuscript found in Kizil\(^9\) on the northern Silk Road. This textual version is especially valuable because, as Schlingloff has shown,\(^10\) it is where the version of the story represented in the Ajanta paintings had survived. The story was known in Central Asia in Tocharian,\(^11\) Uyghur\(^12\) and Khotanese\(^13\) versions as well.

The narrative can be summarized as follows. One day, the Bodhisatva, king of Indraprastha named Sutasoma, was riding out of the city when he met a Brahman who wants to recite some wise verses for him. Sutasoma promises to give him a reward when he comes back. During his bathing excursion, however, Sutasoma is caught by a man-eater Saudāsa (called also Kalmāśapāda, Pali: *kammāsapāda*). When Saudāsa hears that the king is weeping not for his own sake but because he cannot pay the Brahman, he allows Sutasoma to go back to Indraprastha on condition that he vows to go back. Sutasoma promises to return and he keeps his word: he comes back, facing certain death. The man-eater is so impressed by the virtue of the king that he tells him he will grant him any wish he likes. Sutasoma does not ask for his own freedom but for the liberation of the princes whom Saudāsa keeps captive and he asks Saudāsa to stop eating human flesh. Realizing the righteousness of Sutasoma’s actions, Saudāsa is liberated from his urge to kill people.

The texts give additions to the main plot, the largest of which are about the karmic reasons for Saudāsa’s behaviour, long stories explaining why and how he became the man-eater. This part of the narrative is quite peculiar because the main character of the story is Sutasoma, the Buddha in a previous life; for the moral message of the *Jātaka* it is of no importance where the sanguinary character trait of the man-eater came from or what will happen to him later. That the Buddhist stories pay so much attention to Saudāsa testifies to the power of the ancient narrative with its old, unforgotten motifs, one of which is the inherited curse to eat human flesh which can only be lifted by a sacrifice.\(^14\) What is important here is that the story of the
man-eater is an integral part of the narrative, so we would expect to see it in its visual representations.

Whereas the Pali Jātaka explains Saudāsa’s behaviour as being the consequence of his previous life as a people-killing yakṣa, other versions tell us that he was son of a lioness. The stories explain how Sudāsa, king of Varanasi and later Saudāsa’s father, had found himself alone in the woods where he had sexual intercourse with a lioness: depending on the version, he was either forced to do it or did it of his own free will. The son who was borne to the lioness came, or was brought, to come to Varanasi; again, depending on the version, he came as a 12 year-old boy, or he was brought to the king by merchants or by the lioness herself. At any rate Sudāsa accepts the child and Saudāsa becomes the king of Varanasi after his father’s death. From his mother he has inherited an extremely strong liking for meat dishes. The tragedy of his life begins to unfold when one day the piece of meat which was to have been prepared for his meal is stolen and the cook replaces it with a piece flesh from the body of a dead person. The king likes the meat so much that the cook is ordered to kill people for him – children, convicts, and finally just people of the city. The cook is caught and the king has to admit to the court that the cook was killing citizens on his behalf. What happens next again depends on the version. Whereas the Pali Jātaka and the Bhadrakalpavādāna say that the king is banished (the Jātaka adds that he takes the cook with him), other versions say that the king is attacked by the citizens and escapes to the wilderness. Some texts add that the man-eating demons help him (Jātakamālā of Ārya Śura) or that he utters the “spell of truth” and gains wings (T 164, T 202) so he can fly and escape. In any case he becomes a banished man-eating exile or a man-eating demon.

The story has, though, many variants which allow us to recognize the literary source in each of its visual depictions, for example, when Saudāsa is portrayed with wings in Kucha on the Northern Silk Road (Fig. 1)\textsuperscript{15} (cf. below). The paintings in Kucha include many images from this story.\textsuperscript{16}

The images of the narrative in India illustrate different literary traditions. The oldest representations are known from Mathura,\textsuperscript{17}
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Kanaganahalli (cf. below, Figs. 2-3), Chandavaram (cf. below, Fig. 16) and the most extensive is a painting in Ajanta XVII (cf. below, Fig. 5), but there are also depictions in Ajanta XVI,18 Aurangabad III,19 Kanheri,20 Borobudur21 and Pagan (cf. below, Fig. 4).

This paper will concentrate on representations of the story in Andhra (from Nagarjunakonda and Gummadidurru) which have not been recognized hitherto but which can now be identified, by comparing them with the paintings in Ajanta, as illustrating the narrative of Sutasoma and Saudāsa. For the rest of the pictorial tradition and the analysis of the reliance of the depictions on specific literary traditions the book by Dieter Schlingloff Ajanta – Handbook of the Paintings I, nos. 56-57, should be consulted.22 As for representations in Andhra, Schlingloff (1987, 102) presumed that the beginning of the narrative, showing king Sudāsa’s encounter with the lioness, was represented in one relief from Chandavaram (cf. below).23

First of all, the oldest representation in Andhra must be consulted: Kanaganahalli. There are two huge (nearly three meters high) dome slabs in Kanaganahalli inscribed jātakam sudasomiyam, containing four panels representing the story. The upper panel of the first slab (Fig. 2)24 shows king Sutasoma leaving the city on the elephant, and the Brahman who wants to tell him the wise verses. The lower panel depicts two scenes: Sutasoma is standing in the park in front of a beautiful pond, not seeing that there is a person hidden between the lotus leaves and flowers: the man-eater with pointed ears is lurking there. Immediately next to this, in the same panel, the second scene can be observed: the demon is carrying the king on his shoulders, piggyback-style. The second Kanaganahalli slab (Fig. 3)25 is more difficult to explain and it would probably not be possible to associate it with the narrative without the inscription.26 In the lower panel there are six men standing around the tree, all turbaned persons of rank. It might be the group of the kṣatriyas, i.e. princes, described in the story. The Jātaka verses tell of the terrible suffering of more-than-hundreds of kṣatriyas (paro-satam khattiyā) while they were held by the man-eater, during which they were “strung up upon this tree”.27 The suffering is not depicted but the tree has no
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explanation if we do not connect it with the torment of the captive princes. The tree should perhaps be explained by reference to the pictorial tradition, but unfortunately the only comparison we have is with a much later representation from Pagan (Fig. 4) in which the princes really are shown hanging on the tree.

In Kanaganahalli, at least four of the men display the so called abhaya-mudrā, "no-fear", perhaps indicating that from them their captor does not need to expect revenge? Or perhaps showing that their hands are no longer wounded?

The upper panel represents six male persons of rank sitting in a circle. Four of them sit on the ground, one on a stool without a back rest, and one on a higher, throne-like, chair. This is surely the man of highest rank instructing the others, and, in the context of the story, Sutasoma. The king on the stool must, though, be Saudāsa who turned back into a human being.

The elements of the representation - the kidnapping from the lotus pond, the figure being carrying upon shoulders - will re-appear in 5th century painting in Ajanta XVII (Fig. 5) (scenes nos. 22-23) in so similar a way that we can suppose the continuation of the pictorial tradition. As we shall see, other representations of the narrative in Andhra also display parallels with the Ajanta paintings, offering one of many pieces of evidence for similarities between the two artistic schools, which probably resulted from their affiliations with related Buddhist traditions.

In Ajanta XVII most of the composition - about three quarters - represents the first part of the narrative, dealing not with Sutasoma but with Saudāsa. The illustration of the narrative begins with Sudāsa's hunting ride (1-2), and his encounter with the lioness (3-4). The most prominent scene of the entire composition is the portrait of the lioness walking through the street of Varanasi with the infant Saudāsa, upon her back (5). The child is shown then lying on the lap of his father while the lioness looks back on him for the last time (6). A couple of scenes are devoted to the childhood of the young Saudāsa (7). After the abhiṣeka (9) his career as a king begins; one scene shows him in dialogue with the cook (13). Several scenes portray the
cook as the main protagonist: he is shown in the kitchen (10), while cutting flesh from the impaled person (11), and while being caught by the citizens and brought to the king's trial court (14-16). The last scene of the Saudāsa narrative, in the lower right corner of the painting, shows him in a violent battle against the citizens (17). Here ends the depiction of Saudāsa's life-story and the narrative begins again a little way from the left-hand end of the wall in the part of the painting (19-29) in which Saudāsa is the man-eater: it is the jātaka story proper, which tells of Sutasoma, the Bodhisattva.

Representations of people eating a meal are seldom in Old Indian art; taking food is depicted only if it is an essential part to the narrative. In Gandhara we encounter the Buddha and the monks having a meal in the narrative of conversion of Śrīgupta, in which an essential role is played by the invitation to the meal by Śrīgupta, the supporter of the Jaina monks, and in which the food was magically created by the Buddha. The reliefs representing the story show tiny tables, one for each person, on which small serving dishes are standing (Fig. 6). In Andhra, we do not have reliefs showing the Buddha in front of a table, although we do find such a scene with a king, several times. We see the scene with a person taking a meal on the stūpa representation on a drum-slab from Nagarjunakonda (Fig. 7). The man is shown from the front, sitting on the throne with legs apart; in front of him stands a tiny table with a tablet or plate upon it containing food. The person dining is a king, as indicated by his opulent turban, his ornaments and his cloth tied with a large knot, as well as by the two câmara bearers behind him. We are indoors, in the city, indicated by the wall and gate at the side. The gesture indicates that the king is talking; the person being addressed is a large-bellied male of low rank, without turban, whose hands are folded in a gesture of adoration or pleading. There are also jars on the other side of the throne, apparently part of the narrative: the person must be the cook. That the scene might represent the narrative of Saudāsa is confirmed by what we see on the other side of the âyaka columns (Fig. 8). The king is shown here running with raised arms, clad and ornamented in exactly the same way as in the previous picture. He is frightening, as indicated by the person with an umbrella, regarding him with horror.
The people at the sides hold a crooked knife and a club, ready to defend themselves against him. The king against whom citizens are fighting and the king at table correspond with scenes 13 and 17 in Ajanta XVII.

Exactly the same two scenes are repeated on another drum-slab in Nagarjunakonda (Fig. 9). The only differences are that here, in the dining scene, the cook is squatting on the floor and two other persons are represented: a hunchbacked servant and a minister, who is perhaps trying to persuade the king to give up his cannibalistic behaviour. In the fighting scene the even more aggressive conduct of the king is demonstrated by his stamping on the back of a falling man. It is striking that in the second scene the king is no longer shown wearing a turban: did the sculptor wish to show that he is turning into a forest dweller?

On one drum-slab from Gummadidurru (Fig. 10) both scenes, in the same order, are placed on one side of the stūpa. On one further drum-slab from Nagarjunakonda (Fig. 11), the contents of two scenes are combined: the king is sitting in front of the table on which are a plate and eight small bowls; his right hand is raised, ready to attack, while the men around him hold weapons.

The relief with the king at table which is both the best elaborated and the best preserved belongs to the āyaka frieze from Nagarjunakonda (Fig. 12). Here, in addition to the king, the cook, the minister and two cāmara bearers, who were represented on the drum-slabs, we also encounter here seven ladies of the king’s entourage. The leg of the table, on which stand a plate and four small bowls, has a sophisticated form: it might be that the tablecloth is decoratively knotted. The king raises his index finger in order to make himself heard and the cook and the minister hold up their hands in supplication, in vain.

There is, however, no representation on the āyaka frieze relief of the king raving upon the street. The next section on the left, separated only by the usual conventional couple as the scene-divider, shows a different picture (Fig. 13). The main person here is also a king, surrounded by no less than sixteen ladies. He is sitting on a seat with
no legs and there is a roof in the left corner but no supporting columns. Waves in the lower part show that we are at the swimming pond; the king is seated upon a cushion on the bank, under a sun shade. In his hand is a garland similar to the one held by the lady at whom he is looking. This lady and two others are standing in the water, the fourth one is swimming using a goose, apparently an artificial one, as a buoyancy aid. On the right-hand side, next to the lady wringing out her hair, stands a woman holding a ball; it is obviously a bathing party.

The scene has been explained as "Siddhartha in a pleasure garden"41 but this is problematical. We know that the entire, perfectly designed, frieze showing the Buddha in the central register (meaning he is in the act of preaching, surrounded by worshipers) and three scenes at each side of him (apparently meant as the content of his sermon), does not represent any other scene from the Buddha’s life story. The register with the “bath scene” has a corresponding version in the Ajanta (Fig. 5, scene no. 21). Here also the king is seated under the sunshade42 above the pond in which ladies play. The swimming woman has here a buoyancy aid in the form of a tiny makara.

It is possible that one relief from Gummadidurru (?) (Fig. 14),43 unfortunately severely damaged, represents exactly the same scene; the context of the relief – what was around it – is, however, lost. On one drum-slab from Nagarjunakonda (Fig. 15),44 the king at the swimming pond is represented again.45

There is no ultimate proof that the bath scenes illustrate the narrative of Sutasoma and Saudāsa, since there is no demon in the pond. For the scenes with the king at the table there are, however, no objections to taking them to be representations of Saudāsa. Many depictions of the aggressive man on the street are also shown in Andhra in other contexts; our Fig. 11, showing that the dining king is aggressive and is watched over by armed men, offers evidence that in this context they belong to our narrative. The locations of other representations of the aggressive man, along with the dining scene, and the similarity of all of them to the representation in Ajanta make their association with the narrative of Sutasoma and Saudāsa highly probable.
But we still have one more representation from Andhra, the relief which can be shown here only by an old photograph (Fig. 16). It is unfortunate that no better documentation can be given, as this relief might well tell us more about the literary tradition of the story. What can be taken for granted is that the uppermost panel on the slab does not belong to the Dhanapāla narrative depicted below. The right-hand side of the panel shows a man (the person is not wearing ankle-bracelets typical of women) seated on the throne, holding an infant, and on the left-hand side the lioness is lying on the ground with her head to the left, apparently just about to leave the human world.

As previously repeatedly stated (Zin 2004 and 2012) the literary basis of the Andhra reliefs is not the Pali tradition but versions of the stories which are today preserved in “northern” Buddhism, often only in Chinese translations. The literary tradition of the Andhra Buddhism is lost, which explains why so many reliefs cannot be identified. In the case of the representations of Saudāsa (the ‘dining scenes’) and most probably also of Sutasoma (the ‘bath scenes’) the explanation of the reliefs seems to be conclusive, but can we also ascertain their literary version?

Except for the early Kanaganahalli (probably from the beginning of the Common Era) all other reliefs can be dated to ca. 150-320 CE. The earliest is the slab from Chandavaram; our piece seems, however, to be later than other slabs from the site.

The pictorial representations of the narratives in Andhra appear to be connected with the Buddhist school of the Aparamahāvīnāśaillas (Zin forthcoming), whose scriptures are lost.

Our reliefs (Figs. 7-15) from Nagarjunakonda and Gummadiurru show very similar iconography. Nagarjunakonda and Gummadiurru are some 120 km apart, but the distance was easy to travel on the Krishna river and its tributary the Munneru. The same version of the story was depicted, in which Saudāsa plays an important role, in both Nagarjunakonda and Gummadiurru.

The Pali version of the narrative can be excluded as a possible literary basis for the representations, not only for the above
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mentioned reasons but also because of the internal evidence of the reliefs. In Pali Saudāsa is banished (in the prose of the Jātaka he even takes the cook with him) and there is no evidence for the fight with the citizens. The Chandavaram relief (Fig. 16) confirms this interpretation because the lioness is not mentioned in Pali. The fact that the lioness brings the child to Sudāsa limits the number of currently known possible versions to two: T202 and the manuscript found in Kizil (cf. fn. 9). T202 can be safety excluded (Schlingloff 1987, 108) as this version does not include the episode with the dog who steals the piece of meat which was supposed to be prepared for Saudāsa’s meal, as depicted in the Ajanta painting, scene 10 (and also in Aurangabad), and in T202 Saudāsa acquires wings.

As for the Kanaganahalli reliefs, it seems again that they do not depict the Pali version as the kidnapper in the first panel clearly has the characteristics of the demon, like his hair all standing up and more so – pointed ears, which does not correspond with the Jātaka talking about the king in banishment. This observation is of importance because of the quite early dating of the reliefs. Similarities between the pictorial representations (Saudāsa carrying Sutasoma on his shoulders piggyback-style like in Ajanta, scenes 22-23) suggest that the literary version used in Kanaganahalli could already be the same as the one in Ajanta, i.e. the version which survived in the Sanskrit manuscript in Kizil. Given that only the stones have survived from Andhra Buddhism, every definable connection between the pictorial evidence and the literary tradition is always important. In the case of the odd story of Sutasoma and Saudāsa the reliefs offer evidence for their relationship with Buddhist schools whose scriptures survived on the Silk Road but who must also have flourished in Andhra.

What Fig. 1 demonstrates, as one of several visually similar representations from the Kucha area, is that the stories of Saudāsa and Sutasoma were different there: Saudāsa has wings. What the pictures show is the most dramatic – although not the most important – moment of the story, the kidnapping of the king from the bathing excursion. The wings of Saudāsa belong to the stories in the vernacular languages. Among the Chinese versions that include this
element of the story are T 164, which is a separate poetic version of the story from the 8th century, and T 202 (cf. fn. 50), the collection of stories best known under its Tibetan title Dzaṅgs blun žes bya ba'i mdo, The Wise and the Foolish, which, according to the present state of knowledge (Mair 1993, 5ff), is a translation from the Khotanese and had no Sanskrit equivalent.

Moreover the Uyghur version, which was close to the version in Tocharian B (cf. fn. 11), i.e. the language of the Kucha area, also tells of Saudāsa "In the wilderness he sprouts great wings because he swallows birds together with their plumage."\textsuperscript{52}

It is interesting that the Sanskrit version, manuscripts of which were found in Kucha and which had in fact been illustrated in India, was not used to illustrate a Jātaka in Kucha itself. As far as research is currently able to tell us, this was normal practice in the representations of the Buddha's life story and of the so-called sermon scenes which illustrate narratives from the canonical Vinaya and Sūtra texts transmitted in Sanskrit. The narrative tradition of the Jātakas was apparently different and was conducted in the vernacular language. Further research will demonstrate whether a similar conclusion can be also be reached about other Jātakas.\textsuperscript{53}

\begin{center}
\textbf{Notes}
\end{center}

1. For literary and pictorial sources of the narrative and numerous references to previous research, cf. Schlingloff 1987, 93-112 (Engl. translation from Schlingloff 1975 in German) and Schlingloff 2000/2013 no. 57; references given in following foot notes are taken from Schlingloff's books.


3. The narrative has much in common with the story of the conversion of Aṅgulimāla and not only because the man-eater Saudāsa is explained in the Jātaka as Aṅgulimāla in his previous life. The crucial verses of the Aṅgulimāla conversion (Theragāthā, 866-867, ed. 80-81, transl. 82) are also to be found in the Mahāsutasomajātaka (Jātaka, ed. V, 475; transl. 259) and they seem to belong there originally. The question of who is the
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'real' Brahman also plays the crucial role in the Āṅgulimāla story; Āṅgulimāla was of Brahmanic lineage but a "real" Brahman only because he was the monk – cf. Zin 2006, 110-11.

5. Ārya Śura's Jātakamālā, no. 31, ed. 217-32; transl. 221-44.
7. Cariyāpiṭaka III, 100-01; transl. 124-25; Nidānakathā, ed. 46; transl. 60; Rāṣṭrapālapariprccchā ed. 22; Laṅkāvatāra, ch. 8, 250-51.


10. Schlingloff 1975; for the English version see Schlingloff 1987, ch. 9, 93-112.

11. For the manuscript fragment in Tocharian B with the Kalmāśapāda narrative (PK AS 13B from Pelliot collection) found most probably in the area of Kucha, cf. Wilkens / Pinault / Peyrot 2014, 8-16; the Tocharian version corresponds closely with the Uyghur version of the narrative in the Daśakarmapathavadānamālā; Wilkens / Pinault / Peyrot 2014, 3-8.


14. Is this perhaps the reason why the king who sacrifices his life for the man-eater's salvation is called soma? and sutā = sacrifice of soma?

15. Fig. 1: Kizil, cave 38 (Musikerhöhle [Musicians' Cave]), barrel vault, illus. in Grünwedel 1912, 69, fig. 140 (drawing), fig. 144: Le Coq / Waldschmidt 1928, 49, fig. 143 (drawing); Schlingloff 2000/2013, II: 50[1] (drawing); Mural āintings in Xinjiang of China 2009, I: 120.
16. Cf. Waldschmidt in Le Coq / Waldschmidt 1928, 49 (with drawings by Grünewedel); e.g. in Kizil Grottoes 1983-85, e.g. I, figs. 60, 63, 118, II, fig. 143.

17. The representation is not certain; a man is depicted carrying two much smaller men suspended on either end of a pole being carried across his shoulders, Mathura Government Museum, no. 14.431, illus. in Joshi 1966, pl. 15; Sharma 1995, fig. 166.

18. Cf. Schlingloff 2000/2013, no. 56, illus. in Yazdani 1930-55, III, pl. 46b (drawing); Schlingloff, ibid, 253 (drawing).

19. Aurangabad III, Burgess 1878, pl. 48.2 (drawing); Berkson 1986, 78; Schlingloff 2000/2013, II: 48 (drawing).

20. Kanheri, from the stūpa at the cemetery site, Mumbai, Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalya, nos. 64-65, illus.in Kramrisch 1955, fig. 36 (mistakenly understood as a scene from Buddha’s life); Moti Chandra 1974, figs. 71-72; Weiner 1977, fig. 71; Schlingloff 2000/2013, II: 49[2] (drawing).


23. Two identifications of Andhra reliefs as the narrative of Sutasoma cannot, unfortunately, be accepted. One explanation, given by Parimoo (1995, 133-35), concerns the relief on a coping stone from Amaravati kept today in British Museum (no. 18, illus. in Fergusson 1868, pl. 64.1 (incomplete); Barrett 1954, no. 44, pl. 43 (detail, procession); Knox 1992, no. 37, 96-97; Parimoo 1995, figs. 3-4). The left-hand side of the relief represents a royal procession accompanied by musicians. Parimoo takes the dancer depicted with raised arm to be the Brahman, trying in animated fashion to Sutasoma’s attention so as to recite some verses for him. The identification of the relief as a jātaka does not elucidate the stūpa in the central part of the composition or the many monks depicted on its right side.

Subrahmanyam in his book about the Jātakas in South Indian art (2005, 171, pl. 64a) states that the “monoscenic episode of the jātaka is identified on two dome panels at Amaravati now
displayed in the British museum" with reference to Knox 1992. The reference is not quite correct because Knox (1992, 136; it is BM no. 72, Knox no. 70) writes only "possibly a scene from the Sutasoma jātaka". As a matter of fact it can be taken for granted that Knox's supposed identification is not correct even when the explanation of the scene is not clarified. The tiny panel represents a different topic being a miniature replica of two Amaravati reliefs on the coping stones, one of which is in the depot of the Archaeological Site Museum in Amaravati (no. 433, illus. in Parimoo 1995, fig. 12; Zin 2004, fig. 12 (drawing); Gupta 2008, fig. 14(I)), another in Chennai Government Museum (no. 58, not on display and today in very bad state of preservation, illus. in Burgess 1887, pl. 42.2 (drawing); Bachhofer 1929, pl. 127.2; Sivaramamurti 1942, pl. 46.2; Stern / Bénisti 1961, pl. 24b; Sivaramamurti 1979, fig. 17, Ray 1983, fig. 68; Nagar 1993, C.P. 33; Parimoo 1995, fig. 11; Misra 2000, pl. 14-Vi, Sugimoto 2001, fig. fig. 12; Zin 2004, fig. 11 (drawing)); the reliefs have been explained by Parimoo (1995, 149-51) as illustrations of the Losakajātaka.

24. Fig. 2: Kanaganahalli, no. 53, illustrated in Aramaki / Dayalan / Nakanishi 2011, 88; Poonacha 2011, pl. 77, description pp. 256-57; inscription: Poonacha 2011, 477, no. 243; Nakanishi / von Hinüber 2014, 89, III.1,11, pl. 30.

25. Fig. 3: Kanaganahalli, no. 52, illustrated in Aramaki / Dayalan / Nakanishi 2011, 87; Poonacha 2011, pl. 78, description: 257-58; inscription: Poonacha 2011, 477, no. 243; Nakanishi / von Hinüber 2014, 88, III.1, 10, pl. 30.

26. Schlingloff (2013, 265) even supposes that the inscription concerns the Cullasutasomajātaka (no. 525), i.e. a completely different story.

27. The English translation of the gāthā (V: 275) is "strung up upon the tree and weeping sore"; the preserved manuscripts which were used for the edition of the Jātaka do not, however, talk about the tree (tala) but about the hands (tāla) of the suffering princes (the German translation (V: 544) gives "durchbohrt die Hände, Tränen in den Augen" [hands gored, tears in the eyes]). The English translation gives the meaning of the verse according to the prose of the jātaka which states (ed. 473; transl. 258):
"Next he drilled holes in the palms of their hands and hung them up by a cord on the banyan tree, and the wind striking them as they just touched the ground with the tips of their toes...."

28. Fig. 4: Glazed tile from Mangalaceti in Pagan, Berlin, Asian Art Museum, no. II 417, illus. in Grünwedel 1897, 56 (drawing); Schlingloff 1987, fig. 6 (drawing); © National Museums Berlin, Prussian Cultural Foundation, Asian Art Museum, Art Collection South-, Southeast- and Central Asian Art. Photo: Jürgen Liepe.

29. The verses state that the men were set free after they swore not to take revenge on their kidnapper:

Mahāsutasomajātaka, ed. V, 503; transl. 275: "Strung up upon this tree and weeping sore / This ogre that has wronged us we abhor, / Yet will we all a solemn promise give / To harm him not, if only we may live".

30. Fig. 5: Ajanta XVII, left rear wall, cf. Schlingloff 2000/2013, I: 258 (drawing), illus. in Yazdani 1930-55, IV, pls. 30-37; Takata 2000, pls. C17-17a-g, for further references cf. Schlingloff ibid : 260.

31. The upper left corner of the painting in Ajanta XVII (in Schlingloff 2000/2013, no. 57(29) in which a scene played out in the mountainous wilderness, the abode of Saudāsa, was certainly represented, is today almost completely destroyed. What can be seen is a part of a male person sitting on the ground and facing the left (damaged) part of the painting. It cannot be ruled out that a scene similar to Kanaganahalli was shown there, with men sitting around and listening to the teaching of Sutasoma.

32. For the literary and pictorial tradition of the story cf. Zin 2006, no. 7.

33. Fig. 6: Gandhara, relief from Jamalgarhi, Kolkata, Indian Museum, no. G 173 (A23291), illus. e.g. in Foucher 1905-55, I, fig. 262; Kurita 2003, I, fig. 380; Zin 2006, 135, 9 (drawing).

34. Fig. 7: Nagarjunakonda, drum-slab with depiction of a stūpa, right side, National Museum, New Delhi, no. 50.25, illus. in Rosen Stone 1994, fig. 146; Roy 1994, pl. 152; Dhavalikar 2004, pl. 34; Miyaji 2010, pl. II-65.

35. Fig. 8: ibid. left side, illus. ibid.
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36. Fig. 9: Nagarjunakonda, drum-slab with depiction of a stūpa, Archaeological Site Museum, no. 602 (depot).

37. Fig. 10: Gummadiduru, drum-slab with depiction of a stūpa, present repository unknown, illus. in Kuraishi 1930 in AR of ASI 1926-27, pl. 36 d.

38. Fig. 11: Nagarjunakonda, drum-slab with depiction of a stūpa, Archaeological Site Museum, no. 588 (reserved collection), illus. in Ray 1983, fig. 56; the panel on another side of the āyaka columns represents a different narrative in which Indra plays a role.

39. Fig. 12: Nagarjunakonda, āyaka frieze, 6th register, National Museum, New Delhi, no. 50.18, illus. in Longhurst 1938, pl. 27b; Rosen Stone 1994, fig. 203, 205; Rama 1995, pl. 10; Dehejia 1997, f. 159; Sugimoto 2003, fig. 1.

40. Fig. 13: Nagarjunakonda, āyaka frieze, 7th register, National Museum, New Delhi, no. 50.18, illus. in Longhurst 1938, pl. 36a; Sivaramamurti 1975, pl. 87; Auboyer / Nou 1982, pl. 20; Rosen Stone 1994, fig. 203; Roy 1994, pl. 199; The Way of the Buddha 1995: 49, fig. 43; Rama 1995, pl. 8; Dehejia 1997, fig. 159; Sugimoto 2003, fig. 1.

41. Longhurst 1938, 39 and further repeated e.g. in The Way of the Buddha 1995, 49.

42. Schlingloff (2000/2013, I: 259, no. 57(27)) explains the sunshade as belonging to the Sutasoma’s palace represented in the painting further below (“In the garden pavilion, the court-ladies are trying without success to make the king stay”); the comparison with the Nagarjunakonda relief makes the explanation of the sunshade as part of the bathing party more convincing.

43. Fig. 14: Gummadidurru (?), Amaravati, Archaeological Site Museum, no. 176 (depot), illus. in Gupta 2008, fig. 54 (LIV), the mahācāitya at Amaravati is given as the place where it was found. The relief displays stylistic similarities with friezes from Gummadidurru kept in the Amaravati Museum (nos. 29(892) or 260), the number “176” is also given in the Museum to another relief, certainly from Amaravati.
44. Fig. 15: Nagarjunakonda, drum-slab with depiction of a stūpa, Archaeological Site Museum, no. 60 (reserved collection), illus. in Longhurst 1938, pl. 11b; Rao 1956, pl. 7; Rao 1984, pl. 364; Rosen Stone 1994, fig. 145.

45. On another side of the stūpa dome there is a picture which might perhaps also belong to our narrative; it shows the king with his right arm raised, seated on the throne under which lies a sword. Such a pictorial element appears many times in the Nagarjunakonda reliefs (and on the āyaka frieze from which our Figs. 10 and 11 come); a working hypothesis might be that the feature implies the judgement of the king.

46. Fig. 16: Chandavaram, repository of the relief is unknown, illus. in Indian Archaeology, The Review 1973-74, pl. 13 A; in Rao 1984, pl. 337, only the second register is illustrated.

47. Some of the reliefs from Chandavaram are on display in in Amarāvati, in museum commonly called the Dalai Lama Museum, nos. 14-16, and in the Archaeological Museum in Hyderabad, nos. 6646-6651; most of the reliefs are kept in the Chandavaram village.

48. The narrative reliefs excavated at Nagarjunakonda were found in monasteries in which the donation inscriptions mention the “Aparamahāvīnaśailiyas” or which were similar in plan, i.e. sites 2, 3, 6, and 9. The narrative reliefs were not found in monasteries dedicated to other schools (Mahāvihāravāsins, Thāravāḍa-Vibhajyavādins, Mahīśāsaks, Bahusrutīyas are also named in the inscriptions), whose monasteries display different plans of stūpa and cloister buildings. Interestingly, statues of the Buddha were found at the monastery of the Theravādins. cf. Zin (forthcoming).

49. T 202, Xianyu jing (ed. IV: 425-27), the Chinese counterpart of the Tibetan Dzaṅgs blun žes bya ba'i mdo, known as “The Wise and the Foolish” (German transl. 300-26), is too late to be the basis for our reliefs. The collection originated on the Silk Road; the individual stories might of course be older.

50. There are representations in Kanaganahalli whose literary basis in Pali are unknown, like the visit of the new-born Bodhisattva to the sanctuary of the yakṣa Śākyavarthana: Kanaganahalli, no. 7, illustrated in Aramaki / Dayalan / Nakanishi 2011, 66; Poonacha
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51. Some representations in old Ajanta paintings in cave IX and X (1st c. BCE) represent the variants of the stories known later in versions of the “northern” Buddhism, of the (Mūla-) Sarvāstivāda School (cf. Zin 1998 and 2000).

52. Wilkens / Pinault / Peyrot 2014, 2.

53. At the Freie Universität Berlin a promising dissertation project is in progress, Wen-ling Chang “Feststellung der literarischen Vorlagen der jātaka Darstellungen in Höhle 17 in Kizil” [Assessment of the literary sources of the jātaka representations in the cave 17 at Kizil] which will certainly bring answers to many questions.

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Figures

Fig. 1

Fig. 4

Fig. 2

Fig. 3