XIV

JATAKAS AT BHARAUT

By E. HULTZSCH

SINCE my publication of the Bharaut inscriptions in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 21, p. 225 ff., Professor von Oldenburg has subjected the Bharaut sculptures to a careful examination in a Russian article which Professor Lanman has made generally accessible by an English translation in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 18, p. 183 ff. Professor von Oldenburg succeeded in tracing in the Pāli Jātaka book three of the Bharaut bas-reliefs which had not previously been identified.¹ The references to four other jātakas² could not be given in my first list, because at the time when it was drawn up vol. 6 of the Jātaka book had not yet been published. The same volume enabled me to restore conjecturally one of the Bharaut inscriptions,³ while a repeated perusal of vol. 5 yielded explanations of two bas-reliefs which had remained unidentified.⁴

I. Mahābodhi-jātaka, No. 528

Cunningham's plate xxvii, No. 14

This sculpture, which is somewhat damaged, shows on one side an ascetic who is carrying an umbrella and sandals in his right hand and a staff on his left shoulder. The other side is occupied by a man and woman wearing

¹ Nos. 17, 20, and 23 of the list on p. 406 below.

² Nos. 1, 4, 5, and 21 of the new list.

³ See III below.

⁴ See I and II below.

rich ornaments. A big dog forms the centre of the group. In Cunningham's *Stūpa of Bharhut* this relief is connected with the Dasaratha-jātaka (No. 461 of Fausböll's edition), which, the author says, is "recognizable at the first glance" (p. 71). "We see Bharata standing in front of Rāma and Sītā" (p. 74). But if these three persons were really meant, Bharata ought to be dressed as prince and Rāma and Sītā as hermits, while the sculpture shows just the reverse of this arrangement. Besides, Rāma's brother Lakshmaṇa would be missing, and the dog in the centre of the group, "which apparently belongs to Rāma" (Cunningham, p. 74), would be unconnected with the story in hand. Professor von Oldenburg was therefore fully justified in stating: "I am not convinced of the correctness of this identification, and I regard the bas-relief as unexplained" (JAOS., vol. 18, p. 191).

It is the dog figured in the centre which led me on the right track. In the Mahābodhi-jātaka (No. 528) the hermit Bodhi, who visits the king of Benares, ingratiates himself with the king's favourite dog by sharing his food with the animal (Mr. Francis' translation, *Jātaka*, vol. 5, p. 116). As the ascetic gradually gains influence at court, he is slandered by five wicked ministers, who prevail on the king to assent to their plot of murdering him. On the night before the chief queen "asked him [the king], saying: 'How is it, Sire, that you do not say a word to me? Have I in any way offended you?' 'No, lady,' he said; 'but they tell me the mendicant Bodhi has become an enemy of ours. I have ordered five of my councillors to slay him to-morrow.' . . . At that moment the well-bred tawny hound, hearing the talk, thought: 'To-morrow by my own power I must save this man's life.' So early next morning the dog went down from the terrace, and coming to the big door he lay with his head on the threshold, watching the road by which the Great Being came. . . . Then the

Jatakas at Bharaut.

Mahabodhi-jataka,
No. 528.

Mahakapi-jataka,
No. 516.

Mahajanaka-jataka,
No. 539.

*Reproduced from Sir A. Cunningham's "Stupa of Bharhut"
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hound seeing him opened his mouth and showed his four big teeth . . . and he gave a loud bark. From his knowledge of the meaning of all sounds Bodhi understood the matter, and returned to the park and took everything that was necessary for his journey. But the king standing at his window, when he found he was not coming, thought: . . . ‘I will find out what he is about.’ And going to the park he found the Great Being coming out of his hut of leaves and with all his requisites at the end of his cloister walk, ready to start, and saluting him he stood on one side and uttered the first stanza :—

‘What mean these things, umbrella, shoes,
Skin-robe and staff in hand?
What of this cloak and bowl and hook?
I fain would understand
Why in hot haste thou wouldst depart
And to what far-off land.’

“On hearing this the Great Being . . . repeated two stanzas :—

‘These twelve long years I’ve dwelt, O king,
Within thy royal park;
And never once before to-day
This hound was known to bark.
To-day he shows his teeth so white,
Defiant now and proud,
And hearing what thou toldst the queen,
To warn me bays aloud.’”

(Francis, p. 119.)

The Bharaut sculpture no doubt represents Bodhi taking leave of the king. He is provided with the necessities for his projected journey, viz. an umbrella and sandals in his right hand and a skin over his left arm, in which he holds a staff with a bundle attached to its end. It is true that in the prose version of the Jātaka text neither

the queen nor the dog are stated to have been present at the king's last interview with the hermit. But the artist was quite justified in including both of them in the sculpture, which otherwise would have lacked individuality and defied identification. He may have inserted the queen in order to remind the spectator of the first scene of the Jātaka story, the nocturnal conversation of the king and queen, and the dog in order to recall its second scene, the barking of the king's favourite dog. This arrangement was quite unobjectionable, as both the queen and the dog might have accompanied the king on his visit to the ascetic, which forms the third and last scene of the story.

It is, however, just possible that the Bharaut sculptor followed a different version of the Mahābodhi-jātaka, which resembled No. 23 of Āryaśūra's Jātakamālā. Although here the queen is not mentioned at all, the dog is present at the king's visit to the hermit and is barking angrily at the latter (p. 144 of Professor Kern's edition). In this respect the last of the archaic verses quoted from the Pāli Jātaka on p. 401 above seems to agree rather with the Jātakamālā version than with the modern prose version of the Jātaka book.¹ Consequently I consider it not unlikely that in the original version of the story, which was known to the Bharaut artist, the dog was stated to have barked at the hermit on the occasion of his last interview with the king, as represented on the bas-relief.

II. Mahākapi-jātaka, No. 516

Cunningham's plate xxxiii, No. 5

According to Cunningham (p. 105) this sculpture, which is partly damaged, "represents a fight between a man and

¹ The words "to warn me" are not found in the Pāli original, but have been inserted by the translator owing to the exigencies of the metre.

monkeys." In reality it consists of three successive scenes from the Mahākapi-jātaka, No. 516. Another jāataka of the same name (No. 407) is known to be figured in another Bharaut sculpture (pl. xxxiii, No. 4). These jātakas are both included in Āryaśūra's Jātaka-mālā (Nos. 24 and 27 = Jātaka, Nos. 516 and 407 respectively).

In No. 516 we are informed that a Brahmin had lost his way in looking for his stray oxen. "He roamed about for seven days fasting, but seeing a *tinduka* tree he climbed up it to eat the fruit. Slipping off the tree he fell sixty cubits into a hell-like abyss, where he passed ten days. At that time the Bodhisatta was living in the shape of a monkey, and while eating wild fruits he caught sight of the man, and after practising with a stone he hauled the fellow out. While the monkey was asleep, the man split his head open with a stone." (Mr. Francis' translation, vol. 5, p. 38.)

In the subsequent poetical version more details are given :—

" The monkey stepping on the height above
Carried a heavy stone, his strength to prove,
And when by practice he was perfect grown,
The mighty one his purpose thus made known.
' Climb thou, good Sir, upon my back and cast
Thy arms about my neck and hold me fast ;
Then will I with all speed deliver thee
From the stone walls of thy captivity.'

* * * * *

The monkey then—so brave and strong was he—
Exhausted by the effort though he be,
From rocky fastness soon uplifteth me.¹

* * * * *

¹ The speaker is the ungrateful Brahmin, who is relating his own story to the king of Benares.

While, as I watched, he took a moment's rest,
 An ugly thought was harboured in my breast.
 'Monkeys and such like deer are good to eat;
 What if I kill him and my hunger cheat?'

* * * * *

Taking a stone his skull I wellnigh broke."

(Op. cit., p. 40.)

The Bharaut sculpture shows first on the left side the monkey either looking down into the abyss or practising with a stone. In the middle scene he is carrying up the Brahmin on his back. In the last scene the ungrateful fellow is trying to kill the sleeping monkey by throwing a stone on his head.

III. Mahājanaka-jātaka, No. 539

Cunningham's plate xlv, No. 2

This bas-relief shows three figures : (1) a sitting layman holding an arrow, (2) an ascetic addressing him, and (3) a queen standing behind the ascetic. An inscription at the top labels No. 2 as "King Janaka" and No. 3 as "Queen Sivala". This enabled Cunningham (p. 95) to connect the bas-relief with the Mahājanaka-jātaka (No. 539); but, as the text of this jātaka was not available to him, he could not furnish the correct explanation of the scene represented in the sculpture.

Towards the end of the Mahājanaka-jātaka we are told that king Mahājanaka left his kingdom to become an ascetic, and was followed by his queen Sivali against his own will. In their wanderings the king and queen reached the city of Thūṇa. "After they had entered, the Bodhisatta [Mahājanaka] went on his begging-round and reached the door of the house of a maker of arrows, while Sivali stood on one side. Now at that time the arrow-maker had heated an arrow in a pan of coals and had wetted it with some sour rice-gruel, and, closing one eye, was looking

with the other while he made the arrow straight. The Bodhisatta reflected: 'If this man is wise, he will be able to explain the incident,—I will ask him.' . . . Then the Great Being said to him:—

' One eye thou closest and dost gaze
With the other sideways,—is this right?
I pray, explain thy attitude;
Thinkest thou, it improves thy sight? '

He replied:—

' The wide horizon of both eyes
Serves only to distract the view;
But if you get a single line,
Your aim is fixed, your vision true.
It is the second that makes jars,
That which is single cannot jar;
Would'st thou be happy? be alone;
Only the lonely happy are.' "

(Cowell's translation, vol. 6, p. 36.)

This is the incident figured at Bharaut, and its identification enables me to restore the damaged label at the top of the sitting figure of the arrow-maker. The first letter of the inscription is an *u*, after which there are traces of the syllable *su*; see the plate in ZDMG., vol. 40, p. 60, No. 20. No doubt we have to read *usukāro*, "the arrow-maker." See Jātaka text, vol. 6, p. 66.¹

IV

I subjoin a revised list of those Bharaut inscriptions and sculptures which can be traced in the Pāli Jātaka book, adding a few supplementary remarks to Nos. 1, 4, 12, 18, and 19 of the list.

¹ The same restoration has been made independently by Professor Lüders; it is presupposed by his remark on the Bharaut inscription in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 10, Appendix, p. 68, No. 709.

SERIAL No.	CUNNINGHAM'S PLATES.	BHARAUT INSCRIPTIONS (<i>Ind. Ant.</i> , vol. 21).	NO. AND TITLE IN FAUSBÖLL'S JĀTAKA.
1	xviii	86. Vitura-Punakiya jatakam	545. Vidhurapaṇḍita-jātaka.
2	xxv, 1	37. Miga-jātakaṁ	482. Ruru-jātaka.
3	„ 2	32. Nāga-jātaka	267. Kakkata-jātaka.
4	„ 3	72. Yavamajhakiyaṁ jatakam	546. Mahāummagga-jātaka.
5	„ 4	155. M[u]ga[p]a[k]i[y]a[jā]ta[k]a	538. Mūgapakkha-jātaka.
6	xxvi, 5	109. Laṭuvā-jātaka	357. Laṭukika-jātaka.
7	„ 6	85. Chhadamtiya jatakam	514. Chhaddanta-jātaka.
8	„ 7	156. Isis[iṁgiya jā]ta[k]a	523. Alambusa-jātaka.
9	„ 8	157. Yam bram[h]ano avayesi jatakam	62. Aṇḍabhūta-jātaka.
10	xxvii, 9		206. Kuru' gamiga-jātaka.
11	„ 11	158. Hamsa-jātaka	32. Nachcha-jātaka.
12	„ 12	12. Kinara-jātakaṁ	Episode of No. 481, Takkāriya-jātaka (vol. 4, pp. 252-4).
13	„ 13		181. Asadisa-jātaka.
14	„ 14		528. Mahābodhi-jātaka.
15	xxxiii, 4		407. Mahākapi-jātaka.
16	„ 5		516. Mahākapi-jātaka.
17	xli, 1, 3		324. Chammasāṭaka-jātaka.
18	xlii, 1		518. Paṇḍara-jātaka.
19	xlili, 2	10. Isi-migo jataka	12. Nigrodhamiga-jātaka.
20	„ 8		372. Migapotaka-jātaka.
21	xliv, 2	20. U[su][kāro*], Janako rāja, Sivala devi	539. Mahājanaka-jātaka.
22	xlvi, 5		46, 268. Āramadūsaka-jātaka.
23	„ 7		42. Kapota-jātaka.
24	xlvi, 2	14. Uda-jataka	400. Dabbhapuppha-jātaka.
25	„ 8	15. Sechha-jataka	174. Dūbhiyamakkata-jātaka.
26	xlvi, 3	6. Sujato gaḥuto jataka	352. Sujāta-jātaka.
27	„ 5	7. Biḍala-jata[k]a, Kukuta-jataka	383. Kukkuṭa-jātaka.
28	xlvi, 2	3. Maghādeviya jataka	9. Makhādeva-jātaka.
29	„ 7	17. Bhisaharaniya jataka[m]	488. Bhisā-jātaka.

Remarks on the above list

No. 1. In accordance with the label at Bharaut, this jātaka is elsewhere quoted as Punṇaka-jātaka; see Dr. Andersen's *Index*, p. 87. The footnote in the translation, vol. 6, p. 128, has to be modified accordingly.

No. 4. The name given to this jāataka at Bharaut is derived from the village-name Yavamajjhaka; see Fausböll's Jātaka, vol. 7, Preface, p. xv, and Professor Oldenberg, ZDMG., vol. 52, p. 643.

No. 12. I still uphold my identification of this bas-relief, on which the king is represented sitting on his throne, with an episode of the Takkāriya-jātaka. The Chanda-kinnara-jātaka (No. 485) and the Bhallāṭiya-jātaka (No. 504) do not fit because in both of them the scene is laid in the Himālaya.

No. 18. I am not sure whether my present identification of this bas-relief with the Paṇḍara-jātaka is correct. Dr. Rouse (translation, vol. 2, p. 197, n. 1) suggests the Maṇikaṇṭha-jātaka (No. 253).

No. 19. Professor von Oldenburg (p. 191) sees in this bas-relief a scene from the Migapotaka-jātaka (No. 372). But the man with the axe cannot be a hermit because he wears a turban, and the deer is placing its fore-feet on a block which recalls the *dharmagandhikā* of the Pāli text of the Nigrodhamiga-jātaka; cf. Jātaka, translation, vol. 5, p. 159, n. 1, and Vinaya Texts, pt. 3, p. 213, n. 4. The man with the axe is evidently the king's cook (*bhattachāraka*).

V

It is a well-known fact that in the earliest period of Buddhist art, viz., at Bharaut, Bōdh-Gayā, and Sāñchi, the founder of the religion was never represented in human form, but the spectator was made aware of his presence by various symbols. The Buddha type with which we are familiar was created later on by the Greek artists of the Gandhāra school, who took the bold step of shaping the likeness of Śākyamuni in imitation of the Hellenic Apollon. In the third period of Indian Buddhist iconography, as at Amarāvati and Ajanṭā, this type was adopted by Hindū artists, and it continues to exist with certain modifications in Tibet, China, Japan,

and Further India. To take an example, Buddha's descent from heaven at Sankisā is represented at Bharaut (Cunningham's plate xvii, middle) by a flight of steps with a footprint at the top and another at the bottom, and with the *bōdhi*-tree on one side, while on the sculptures of the Gandhāra period Buddha himself is figured descending the flight of steps; see M. Foucher's *Bas-reliefs du Gandhāra*, figs. 264, 265. The Bharaut inscriptions Nos. 60 and 77 read: "The Nāga king Airāvata is worshipping the Blessed one," and "Ajātaśatru is worshipping the Blessed one". On the corresponding bas-reliefs (Cunningham's pl. xiv, No. 3, and pl. xvi, No. 3), we do not find Buddha figured at all, but the Nāga Airāvata and king Ajātaśatru are paying worship to his empty throne.

These preliminary statements were necessary for supporting my present view that the well-known Bharaut inscription No. 46, *bhagavato Sakamunino bodho*, on Cunningham's pl. xxx, No. 3, cannot be translated, as was done by me before, by "the *bōdha* (tree) of the blessed Śākyamuni". It is true that the substantive *bōdhi* is employed in Buddhist literature not only in the sense of "supreme knowledge", but as a designation of the *pīpal*-tree under which supreme knowledge was attained by Gautama; see the *Nidānakathā* in *Jātaka*, vol. i, p. 71, l. 22, and p. 78, ll. 2 and 10; *Buddhacharita*, xiii, 32; *Mahāvastu*, ed. Senart, vol. iii, Index. The Bharaut inscriptions themselves supply an unmistakable instance of this use of the word *bōdhi* in No. 24, where the *śāla*, i.e. the tree *Vatica robusta*, is called the *bōdhi* of the mythical Buddha Viśvabhū. On the other hand, the cognate word *bōdha* means only "wisdom, supreme knowledge"; see *Nidānakathā*, p. 67, l. 5 from bottom; *Buddhacharita*, xii, 98, 112, and xiii, 1, 67; *Mahāvastu*, vol. iii, Index. Consequently the Bharaut inscription No. 46 must be translated by "the

attainment of supreme knowledge by the blessed Śākya-muni". On the corresponding bas-relief the chief actor, Buddha himself, is of course missing, and we see nothing but his empty throne under the *bōdhi*-tree, surrounded by divine and human worshippers.¹ In the Gandhāra sculptures the throne is occupied by Buddha, seated and touching the earth with his right hand (*bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā*). He is generally surrounded by Māra's army; see M. Foucher's *Bas-reliefs du Gandhāra*, figs. 201–4. The later Buddhist art of India adds the daughters of Māra; see the Ajaṇṭā bas-relief, a sketch of which is given on plate li of *Cave Temples of India*, and on plate xxxix (p. 176) of Mr. V. A. Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*.

It will not be considered out of place if I draw attention to a bas-relief of the earliest period which represents the same scene. Plate xxviii of Mr. Rea's *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities* figures a marble slab from Ghaṇṭa-śālā, now at Rāmanagaram, which, in the editor's opinion, "represents the worship of the sacred *bōdhi* tree" (p. 37). A comparison with the Ajaṇṭā bas-relief referred to in the preceding paragraph will show that we have here in reality a representation of Buddha's temptation by Māra, his army, and his daughters. At Ajaṇṭā Māra is figured four times. At the left bottom he is standing with bow and arrow and directing the dance of his daughters. At the right bottom both he and his three daughters are represented squatting, evidently disappointed at their failure. At the top on the left Māra is figured seated, with an attendant behind him, on his elephant Girimekhala,²

¹ Two male figures standing in the background express their astonishment by waving their shawls (this action is called *chelukkhepa* in Pāli; see Professor Grünwedel's *Buddh. Kunst in Indien*, p. 37) and grasping the tip of their tongues. This gesture seems to correspond to the present Indian habit of covering the mouth with the palm of the hand. I have seen this practised by all classes.

² See the *Nidānakathā* in *Jātaka*, vol. i, pp. 72, 73, 74.

wielding the thunderbolt in one of his four arms, and supported in his attack by his demon followers, while on the right he and his army are turning to flight. On the Ghaṇṭaśālā bas-relief Māra's three daughters appear on the right of Buddha's throne; the second of them has lost the head, and of the third only the right foot with its anklet is preserved. On the other side Māra is seen squatting and raising his right hand, perhaps for instructing his daughters. At the top on the left he appears seated, with an attendant behind him, on his elephant Girimēkhala and surrounded by his attacking army; his head and his four arms are apparently damaged in the original sculpture. On the right we see his army in retreat; the figure on the shoulder of the elephant must be intended for Māra, as at Ajaṇṭā, but has been changed by the draughtsman into a comical dog-like figure which faces the back instead of the front of the elephant. So far the Ajaṇṭā and Ghaṇṭaśālā sculptures are in tolerably close agreement. The chief difference between both consists in this, that the former shows under the *bōdhi*-tree a sitting figure of Buddha with the *bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā*, while in the second he is represented only by symbols, viz. the throne with two pillows in the shape of lotus-flowers. The Ghaṇṭaśālā slab is of some interest, because, as far as I know, no other early bas-relief of this type has been discovered. A good photograph of it would perhaps show some more details which are indistinct or distorted in the drawing.