

REVIEW ARTICLE

ON THE JĀTAKA RELIEFS AT CULA PATHON CETIYA

Buddhist Folk Tales Depicted at Chula Pathon Cedi

*Piriya Krairiksh, with Thai translation by M.C. Subhadradis Diskul
Bangkok, 1974 (published privately on the occasion of the author's father's
Fifth Cycle); 44 pp.*

The rediscovery in 1968 of the Cula Pathon Cetiya [Pāli: Cūla Padona Cetiya] near the town of Nakhon Pathom has brought to light a number of terracotta and stucco panels which once decorated the base of this *stūpa*. A detailed study of a number of these reliefs has recently been published by Piriya Krairiksh in his book entitled *Buddhist Folk Tales Depicted at Chula Pathon Cedi*. In spite of their mutilated and incomplete condition, Krairiksh has been able to identify many of the narrative panels, and has successfully demonstrated that some of the illustrated tales do not derive from the Pāli collection of the Jātaka stories, but from the Sanskrit sources. The religious inspiration behind the execution of these scenes, according to Krairiksh, was probably that of the Sarvāstivāda school of Buddhism, a Hīnayāna sect which used Sanskrit in its canonical writings.

Krairiksh's research, no doubt, has contributed a great deal to our still limited knowledge of the cultural history of Dvāravatī in central Thailand¹. It has generally been accepted that the principal religion of Dvāravatī was Theravāda Buddhism, the canonical language of which—as evident from inscriptions—was Pāli. Brahmanism, too, prevailed to a certain extent in the Dvāravatī region. Traces of the Sanskrit language occurred from time to time in Dvāravatī epigraphs, either as a result of contact with northern India or through relations with Cambodia farther to the east. Bodhisattva images, assumed to date from about the eighth to ninth centuries A.D., also form part of the material remains of the area, and their presence suggests influences of Mahāyāna Buddhism in a country predominantly Theravāda in tradition.

The study of the Cula Pathon, a *stūpa* dating from the Dvāravatī period, discloses many interesting features concerning the religion and culture of the time. Jean Boisselier, who took part in the excavation and restoration of this monument in 1968, assigns the reliefs around its base to two different periods of construction. According to him, the terracotta panels belong

¹ Note should be taken of the new nomenclature for historical classifications proposed by Dr. Piriya in his *Art Styles in Thailand*, published by the Fine Arts Department of the Royal Thai Government as the catalogue for the exhibition "A Selection from National Provincial Museums" held in August 1977. The term 'Mon' has been proposed for the 'Dvāravatī' period—Ed.

to the seventh to mid-eighth centuries A.D., and the stucco panels to a period extending from the end of the eighth to the ninth century. The latter group, he believes, reveals certain Mahāyāna influences, possibly from the Śrīvijaya kingdom in the south².

Rejecting Boisselier's dating of the reliefs as well as his hypothesis on the Mahāyāna impact at Cula Pathon, Krairiksh implies that the panels belong to one and the same period of construction, of about the fifth to seventh centuries³, or the sixth to seventh centuries A.D.⁴, and owe their inspiration to the Sarvāstivāda school of Hīnayāna Buddhism which prevailed in north India at that time. Krairiksh's theory rests on his contention that the majority of the tales illustrated at Cula Pathon were derived from Sarvāstivāda sources, and that the parallels to most of the scenes can be found in the art of Qizil, "a stronghold of the Hīnayāna Buddhism in Central Asia"⁵. To support his theory, Krairiksh refers to I-Tsing's testimony on the popularity of the Sarvāstivāda doctrine in the Malay archipelago and Campā in the seventh century. He also draws attention to N.-R. Ray's hypothesis on the prevalence of the Sarvāstivāda at Śrī Kṣetra in Burma, and to Coedès' reference to Sanskrit Hīnayāna Buddhism in Fu-nan⁶. His suggestions on the date and religious orientation of the reliefs at Cula Pathon are obviously based on the assumption that the Sarvāstivāda doctrine also prevailed in Dvāravatī in the course of the sixth to seventh centuries A.D.⁷

It is quite apparent from Krairiksh's research that, besides the Pāli Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā, some other collections of Buddhist birth-stories were also known at the time of the modelling of the reliefs at Cula Pathon. As some of the stories depicted have surviving parallels only in the Sanskrit literature of north India, we are able to assume that a wave of cultural influences from north India could have entered Dvāravatī. This cultural impact probably brought along to Dvāravatī a repertory or repertories of Buddhist birth-stories current in the northern part of India. Krairiksh ascribes these apparent influences from north India to the activities of the Sarvāstivāda school which, he believes, prospered in north India and southeast Asia in the sixth to seventh centuries. Krairiksh's theory, nevertheless, seems hard to accept for various reasons.

In spite of Krairiksh's detailed study, we should like to review these narrative panels once again. Because of the unfortunate circumstances in which they were discovered⁸, many of the reliefs are in such a fragmentary state that the reconstruction and identification of the illustrated scenes have become impossible. What confuses the issue all the more is that some of the reliefs were executed in terracotta (see figure 1, panels nos. 1-3, 5), and all but one of the rest in stucco. One panel (no. 4) contains figures made of both types of materials. Krairiksh, we have mentioned, rejects Boisselier's hypothesis that the terracotta group antedates the stucco group, and assigns all the panels to the same period⁹. Our own study of the terracotta reliefs

² J. Boisselier, "Récentes recherches à Nakhon Pathom", pp. 55-65.

³ Krairiksh, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 23.

⁵ *Ibid.* The term "Hīnayāna Buddhism" here presumably refers to the Sarvāstivāda school of Hīnayāna Buddhism, and not to the 17 other Hīnayāna Nikāyas.

⁶ Krairiksh, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 5-6.

and their position *in situ* (see reconstruction drawings of panels nos. 2 and 5, in figure 1)¹⁰. leads us to agree with Boisselier that they do not belong to the same period as the stucco reliefs. The composition and proportion of many terracotta figures do not conform to the average dimension of the stucco panels. Had they remained in their original and complete form, their heads would certainly have jutted out from the stucco frames (see figures in the frames of panels nos. 2 and 5, in figure 1). In other words, the hollow space designed to contain a stucco panel cannot have accommodated these terracotta figures. It is most likely that the terracotta reliefs antedated the building phase in which the base of Cula Pathon was refaced, repartitioned and ornamented with stucco panels. Terracotta and stucco figures found together within the same frame (for instance figures reconstructed as panel no. 4; see figures 1, 2) most probably do not form part of the same scene, but derive from two different layers of materials applied on the same base at different periods. The final reconstruction of panel no. 4 displays a seated person in stucco, and two smaller standing figures made of terracotta (figure 2). Krairiksh's argument that they belong together, and that the use of terracotta could have been abandoned during the execution of these scenes in favour of the simpler medium of stucco¹¹, certainly does not hold. Had it been so, the most important personage of this panel, viz. the man seated in the *mahārājājalāsana*, would not have been made of stucco while the two smaller and apparently less important characters were entirely sculpted in terracotta, the finer and more costly material.

Nevertheless, this does not necessarily imply that there must have been a great time difference in the execution of the two groups of reliefs. We quite agree with Krairiksh that there exists no clear distinction in style between the terracotta and stucco figures, and that there are no indications that the use of different media coincided with the sectarian change which took place at Cula Pathon¹². Modifications in plan and alterations of motifs seem to have been carried out repeatedly at Cula Pathon. A clear example of the abrupt change of themes at Cula Pathon is demonstrated by panel no. 37¹³, where a princely person on horse was covered and hidden by a *simha* figure.

Notwithstanding these problems concerning the building process of the Cula Pathon, Krairiksh has been able to identify many relief scenes, in both stucco and terracotta: the story of Maitrakanyaka (panel no. 5)¹⁴, Supārāga (panel no. 23)¹⁵, Kacchapa (panel no. 24)¹⁶, Mahākapi (panel no. 25)¹⁷, Śaddanta (panel no. 26)¹⁸, Śyāmaka (panels nos. 30, 31)¹⁹, Hasti (panels nos. 32, 33)²⁰, the Divine Horse²¹, Śibi²², and Cūladhammapāla²³. In most

¹⁰ See also *ibid.*, fig. 10, which shows terracotta figures of panel no. 5 still *in situ*.

¹¹ Krairiksh, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

¹³ *Ibid.*, figs. 7-9.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-10, fig. 10.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-12, fig. 12.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13, fig. 14.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14, fig. 16.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-16, fig. 20.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-18, figs. 25-27.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-20, figs. 31-32.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 20, fig. 36.

²² *Ibid.*, fig. 37.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 21, fig. 40.

cases we agree with Krairiksh on the matter of identification, but feel that some remarks and alternative suggestions should be added, as follows.

(a) Panel no. 23 (figure 3), which Krairiksh believes to represent the story of Supārāga or Suppāraka²⁴, could also illustrate some other sea stories, such as the Samuddavāṇija-Jātaka told in the Pāli Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā. In this existence the Mahāsattva was born as a master carpenter who navigated the ship containing his 500 followers and eventually saved them from peril²⁵. The Cula Pathon relief shows no detail which might decisively identify that situation. The composition of the panel is most similar to that of the Samuddavāṇija-Jātaka panel at the Miṅgalazedi, a Theravāda monument at Pagán (figure 4). The resemblance between these two reliefs (figures 3, 4) in any case is much more striking than that between the Cula Pathon panel and the Supārāga scene at the Barabudūr²⁶. This remarkable analogy, Krairiksh implies, could be merely a coincidence, as the artists of Dvāravatī and Pagán might have followed the same conventional 'formula' for all nautical scenes²⁷. Even so, there still is no valid reason to connect the Cula Pathon relief specifically with the story of Supārāga and not with many other seafaring legends. This scene could equally represent the Samuddavāṇija-Jātaka as well as the Supārāga-Jātaka proposed by Krairiksh.

(b) Panels nos. 30 and 31, identified by Krairiksh as scenes from the story of Śyāmaka²⁸, should be reexamined. M.C. Subhadradis Diskul, in his review of Krairiksh's book, hesitates to accept the author's identification of these two panels as scenes from the same legend, on the grounds of the obvious discrepancy in ornamentation of these two groups of persons. Prince Subhadradis points out that while none of the characters in panel no. 30 displays any jewelry, the figures in panel no. 31 wear earrings and necklaces²⁹. His observation leads us to reconsider Krairiksh's interpretation of these two scenes. While panel no. 31 probably represents the story of Śyāmaka, panel no. 30 (figure 5) may illustrate an episode from the Viśvantara-Jātaka, well-known from the Sanskrit Jātakamālā³⁰ and the Pāli Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā³¹. The three characters in panel no. 30 wear no ornaments, for all of them are ascetics. The central figure obviously represents Prince Viśvantara in the act of giving away his wife, whose hand he is holding, to Śakra disguised as a brahmin. Parallels to this scene can be found at Sāñcī³² as well as on the *simās* discovered in northeastern Thailand³³ and in Cambodia³⁴.

(c) The fragment of a man on a horse³⁵ suggested by Krairiksh as depicting the Sanskrit story of the "Divine Horse" who saved a number of merchants from the island of *rākṣasīs*³⁶, also finds a parallel at a Theravāda monument in Burma, the Nanda (figure 6). Many versions

²⁴ See our note 15.

²⁵ Jātaka no. 466. See *The Jātakas* ...vol. IV, pp. 98-104.

²⁶ See Krairiksh, *Buddhist Folk Tales*..., fig. 13.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 10, note 44.

²⁸ See our note 19.

²⁹ See M.C. Subhadradis Diskul, "Porāṇagatī-Vicāraṇa", p. 319.

³⁰ See *The Jātakamālā*..., pp. 71-93.

³¹ Jātaka no. 547. See *The Jātakas*..., vol. VI, pp. 246-305.

³² See J. Marshall and A. Foucher, pl. XXIX.

³³ See Krairiksh, "Semas..." fig. 22.

³⁴ See J. Boulbet and B. Dagens, photo 134.

³⁵ See Krairiksh, *Buddhist Folk Tales*..., fig. 36.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

of this legend of the Divine Horse are known in Sanskrit³⁷ and Pāli literature³⁸, the earliest visual representation of which apparently occurred at Bhārhut³⁹. Therefore, the story seems to have been popular among the Hīnayānists and Mahāyānists alike.

(d) The court scene (figure 7) reconstructed from fragments is suggested by Krairiksh as representing the Cūladhammapāla-Jātaka⁴⁰, the story of a cruel king who ordered his own infant son to be taken away from his mother to be killed. The details of our relief, however, suggest another plausible interpretation. The panel could depict the story of King Surūpa as told in the Avadānaśataka⁴¹. This charitable king offered his child, his queen and lastly himself to a bloodthirsty *yakṣa* who actually was Indra in disguise. After this test of Surūpa's virtue, the king of the gods restored to him all he had given away. In the Cula Pathon relief, the child is being presented by his royal father to the *yakṣa* who stands on the extreme right. The demoniacal character of the latter is indicated by his knitted eyebrows, an item also noted by Prince Subhadradis⁴². The queen stands in the middle of the scene, sad but resigned, submissive to her lord's command. To the left, servants carry a bowl or tray of food, to be offered to the horrid guest who refused to partake of anything but the flesh and blood of the baby prince. A representation of the story of Surūpa occurs in the wall painting at Qizil; the *yakṣa* is seen consuming the child in the presence of his horrified parents (figure 8). A series of reliefs at the Barabudur in central Java depicts this legend in a much less gruesome way (figure 9).

(e) Panel no. 70 which shows a man riding on a hybrid animal (figure 10), considered a mere decorative relief by Krairiksh⁴³, could depict the Śarabha-Jātaka related in the Jātakamālā⁴⁴ and the Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā⁴⁵. The Great Being was born as a Śarabha, a fabulous animal accredited with great strength equal to that of lions and elephants. The creature saved the life of the king of Vārānaśī who, in his determined effort to catch the animal, had fallen into a deep chasm. Seeing what had happened, the Śarabha climbed down, took the king on his back and carried him to safety. Being a mythical animal, the Śarabha is diversely portrayed in art. At Barabudur we see him as a calf-like creature with eight legs, four of which are turned upwards on his back⁴⁶. Hindu treatises, too, give us various fantastic descriptions of the Śarabha⁴⁷, but on the whole agree with one another that he is a curious, composite animal. A Śarabha image from south India (figure 11) depicts him with a leonine body and head such as our hybrid animal possesses in panel no. 70 at Cula Pathon (figure 10).

³⁷ See *The Divyāvadāna...*, p. 524; and *The Mahāvastu*, vol. III, pp. 70-93.

³⁸ Jātaka no. 196. See *The Jātakas*, pp. 89-91.

³⁹ See B. Barua, *Barhut*, pp. 104-105, pl. XXVI, uppermost scene, right.

⁴⁰ Krairiksh, *Buddhist Folk Tales...*, p. 21.

⁴¹ Avadāna no. 35. See *Avadānaśataka...*, pp. 187-192.

⁴² See Diskul, in *The Sculpture of Thailand*, cat. no. 18c, p. 52.

⁴³ Krairiksh, *Buddhist Folk Tales...*, p. 7.

⁴⁴ See *The Jātakamālā...*, pp. 227-234.

⁴⁵ Jātaka no. 483. See *The Jātakas...*, vol. IV, pp. 166-174.

⁴⁶ See N.J. Krom, *Beschrijving...*, pl. XI, 91-93.

⁴⁷ For this see T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements...*, vol. II, part I, pp. 171-174.

Our attempt at identifying and reidentifying these scenes merely confirms Krairiksh's discovery that a number of the reliefs at Cula Pathon were not inspired by the Pāli Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā. His list, and our alternative interpretations of the scenes, show that there must have been some other sources. Krairiksh asserts that most of the stories depicted at our monument are preserved in the various Avadānamālās, which are the works of the Sarvāstivāda sect⁴⁸. The majority of these "Garlands of Avadānas", nevertheless, prove to be but paraphrases of an ancient collection such as the Avadānaśataka, an important Sanskrit work which forms part of the Chinese Tripiṭakas⁴⁹. The Avadānaśataka was translated into Chinese in the third century A.D., and could have been composed as early as 100 A.D.⁵⁰ This text has been classified as a work of the Sarvāstivādins, because it was written in Sanskrit, and its general character and style conform to the "primitive Buddhist spirit" which pre-dated Mahāyāna concepts⁵¹. The origin of the Avadāna stories is therefore very old, in any case much older than all the Avadānamālās of the Sarvāstivādins.

A second look at the list of tales depicted at the Cula Pathon reveals another interesting feature. These stories, in one form or another, are also preserved in many other ancient texts besides the Avadānamālās of the Sarvāstivādins. Eight out of the 12 legends so far identified by Krairiksh and ourselves find parallels in the Pāli Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā⁵², which probably assumed its final form in the fifth century A.D.⁵³ Quite a number of these stories, too, occur in the Jātakamālā of Ārya Śūra⁵⁴ written about 250 A.D.⁵⁵, and some in the Jātakastava⁵⁶, a text of an early but unspecified date⁵⁷. Certain tales are told in the Mahāvastu⁵⁸, a collection of tales from the Vinaya-Piṭaka of the Mahāsāṅghika Lokottaravādins. The nucleus of this work probably goes back before the beginning of the Christian era, though in its present form it suggests a date as late as the fourth century A.D.⁵⁹ Two stories⁶⁰, one of which⁶¹ seems to have been preserved nowhere else, occur in the Sūtrālaṅkāra, believed to have been written by Aśvaghōṣa or Kumāralaṭa around the first or second century A.D.⁶²

⁴⁸ Krairiksh, *Buddhist Folk Tales...*, esp. p. 1.

⁴⁹ See *Avadānaśataka...*, "Preface", pp. xvi-c.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. xv.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. xvi.

⁵² Maitrakanyaka (Mittavindaka), Pāli Jātaka, no. 439; the ship scene depicting Supāraka (Suppāraka), Pāli Jātaka, no. 463 or Samuddavāṇija, Pāli Jātaka, no. 466; Mahākapi (Mahākapi), Pāli Jātaka, no. 516; Śaḍḍanta (Chaddanta), Pāli Jātaka, no. 514; Śyāmaka (Sāma), Pāli Jātaka, no. 540; Śarabha (Sarabhamiga), Pāli Jātaka, no. 483; Divine Horse (Valāhassa), Pāli Jātaka, no. 196; Viśvantara (Vessantara), Pāli Jātaka, no. 547.

⁵³ See "The Jātakas...", "Preface", vol. I, pp. x-xi.

⁵⁴ Supāraka (?), Jātakamālā no. 14; Mahākapi, Jātakamālā, no. 24; Hasti, Jātakamālā no. 30; Śarabha, Jātakamālā, no. 25; Viśvantara, Jātakamālā no. 9. A version of the Maitrakanyaka tale, too, might have been written by Ārya Śūra; for this see *Jātaka-Mālā...*, "Introduction", p. ix.

⁵⁵ See *The Jātakamālā...*, "Introduction", pp. xxviii; and *Jātaka-Mālā...*, "Introduction", p. ix.

⁵⁶ Kacchapa; Mahākapi; Śaḍḍanta; Śyāmaka; Divine Horse.

⁵⁷ See *The Jātakastava...*, pp. 401-405.

⁵⁸ Śyāmaka; Divine Horse; Surūpa.

⁵⁹ See M. Winternitz, vol. II, p. 239.

⁶⁰ Śaḍḍanta; Śibi.

⁶¹ Śibi.

⁶² See L. Renou et J. Filliozat, p. 381.

From the above it appears that these stories have been known in India since a very early period. What is more important, they have been utilized by various Buddhist sects for their own edification. Doctrinal orientations of the literary sources mentioned above are definitely variant. The Avadānaśataka, and some other ancient Avadāna collections such as the Divyāvadāna and the Karmaśataka, were probably the works of the Sarvāstivāda school, which was one of the first offshoots of the ancient Sthaviravāda division of primitive Buddhism⁶³. The Pāli Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā belongs to the Theravāda Nikāya, the orthodox school which strived to maintain the original Sthaviravāda tradition of early Buddhism. Ārya Śūra's Jātakamālā, composed in the purest Sanskrit, begins with the invocation "Om namaḥ śrīsarvabuddha-bodhisattvebhyah" ("Om ! Adoration to all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas")⁶⁴, the usual invocation of Mahāyāna Sūtras⁶⁵. The flowery, elaborate style of this text, as well as its idealistic inclination, distinguishes it from the early works of the Sarvāstivādins which are generally recognized by "the complete absence of Mahāyāna concepts"⁶⁶, and by "the conformity of the spirit [that pervades them] with the Holy Writ of the so-called Southern Buddhist"⁶⁷. The date and doctrinal orientation of the Jātakastava, a Sanskrit text found at Khotān in central Asia, are still problematic. Central Asia, traversed by flourishing trade routes between China and India, seems to have been a meeting place of numerous religious sects⁶⁸, and Mahāyāna Buddhism also thrived at Khotān in the time of Fa-Hien⁶⁹ and Huan-Tsang⁷⁰. The Mahāvastu declares itself to be "the beginning of the Great Story of the Vinaya-Piṭaka according to the text of the Mahāsāṅghikas, the Lokottaravādins of Madhyadeśa"⁷¹. In this work we notice a clear tendency towards Mahāyānism⁷², e.g. the docetic personality of the Buddha (Lokottara), and the introduction of the Bodhisattvacaryās and Bodhisattvabhūmis⁷³. The non-Hīnayāna character of this work is so distinct that B.C. Law calls it a Mahāyāna textbook⁷⁴. The Sūtrālaṅkāra, translated into Chinese around 405 A.D., was either the work of the famous Aśvaghōṣa or his younger contemporary Kumāralaṭa. Neither of them could have belonged to the Sarvāstivāda Nikāya. Mahāyāna elements have been noticed

⁶³ For schismatic divisions of Buddhism, see J. Masuda, pp. 1-78; and A. Bareau, pp. 16-30.

⁶⁴ See *Jātaka-Mālā*..., p. 1; and *The Jātakamālā*..., p. 1.

⁶⁵ See, for instance, Renou et Filliozat, p. 367.

⁶⁶ See *Avadānaśataka*..., "Preface", p. xvi.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. xvi.

⁶⁸ Manuscript remains in central Asia include fragments of early and later Buddhist works, ranging from the ancient Vinaya-Piṭaka and the Āgamas to pure Mahāyāna Sūtras and Tāntric works, written divergently in Prākṛit, Sanskrit, Uigur, Tokharian, Khotanese, Kuchean, Sogdian and other central Asian dialects. For this see K. Saha, pp. 31-114.

⁶⁹ See *A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*..., pp. 16-20.

⁷⁰ See T. Watters, vol. II, pp. 295-303.

⁷¹ For this translation of the introductory statement of the Mahāvastu, see E.J. Thomas, p. 280.

⁷² The Mahāsāṅghikas can be called Hīnayāna only in the sense that they branched off from the main body of primitive Buddhism and became an independent Nikāya before the rise of Mahāyānism. They in fact rejected the severe attitude maintained by the Sthaviravādins, and were later responsible for the Mahāyāna movement which became distinguished before the fourth century. For the philosophy of the Mahāsāṅghika Lokottaravādins, see Bareau, pp. 75-77.

⁷³ Cf. Bareau, p. 77; and N. Dutt, p. 272.

⁷⁴ See Law, *A study of the Mahāvastu*, "Introduction".

in the work of Aśvaghoṣa⁷⁵, and Kumāralaṭa was one of the leaders of the Dārṣṭāntika branch of the Sautrāntika school⁷⁶.

In view of the antiquity of these literary sources and their divergent doctrinal orientations, it is clear that we cannot consider the birth-stories depicted at Cula Pathon to be the exclusive property of the Sarvāstivādins. The origin of these tales, still preserved in a great quantity in the Sarvāstivāda and Theravāda literature, goes back to ancient times before the religion of the Buddha was divided into different sects. The fact that most of them are to be found in the works of the Sarvāstivādins and the Theravādins may be explained by the simple reason that the scriptures of these two Nikāyas are the most well-preserved of all, thanks to the devotional enthusiasm of the Chinese, the Tibetans and the Sinhalese⁷⁷.

From times immemorial, the Buddhists have assimilated an uncountable number of popular folktales and employed them to suit the purpose of glorifying the Buddha and propagating the Doctrine. The collections of birth-stories which have come down to us represent but incomplete versions of what was once known by the ancient Buddhists. Many of the Jātakas and Avadānas can be traced back to stories told in the Vinaya-Piṭaka, and in the early Nikāyas of the Sūtra-Piṭaka⁷⁸. The Mahāvastu, which calls itself an Avadāna, also contains stories collected from the Vinaya-Piṭaka of the Lokottaravādins⁷⁹. Tales told in connexion with the institution of rules and in the introductory part of the Sūtras, were extracted from the Canon and told again as Jātakas or Avadānas, singly or in collections. The Theravādins inserted the Jātakas in the Khuddaka Nikāya, the fifth and additional section of their Sutta-Piṭaka⁸⁰. Among the Sarvāstivādins of ancient India, the birth-stories formed part of a special type of unclassified scripture but were regarded all the same as containing the Buddhavacana⁸¹. In China and Tibet, these tales or collections of tales were incorporated into the Canon⁸².

These birth-stories preserved in the scriptures of various Buddhist sects, therefore, had one and the same origin in the vast repertory of tales, gathered and utilized by the Buddhists even before the time their Canon was given a definite form. The Vinaya-Piṭaka and the Sūtra-Piṭaka of the early Buddhist sects, especially the Sarvāstivāda and Theravāda, were substantially similar⁸³, since both had been based on the original Canon in the Prākṛit language, whether oral or written⁸⁴. The Theravādins converted these Piṭakas into Pāli, and the Sarvāstivādins into Sanskrit. The Theravādins compiled their collection of birth-stories, which is now known

⁷⁵ See Renou and Filliozat, p. 205.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 381. For the doctrine and origin of the Dārṣṭāntika sect, see Bareau, pp. 160-161.

⁷⁷ Cf. Bareau, pp. 8, 131, 207-208.

⁷⁸ See T.W. Rhys Davids, pp. 194-196; Thomas, pp. 278-280; Dutt, pp. 241-243; *Avadānaśataka...*, "Preface", p. ix; and *The Divyāvadāna...*, "Preface" p. viii.

⁷⁹ See Thomas, pp. 280-281.

⁸⁰ For the components of the Pāli Tipiṭakas, see Bareau, pp. 210-211; and Thomas, pp. 266-275.

⁸¹ See Bareau, pp. 135-136; and Thomas, p. 279.

⁸² See *Avadānaśataka...*, "Preface", p. x.

⁸³ See Thomas, pp. 266-274; and Dutt, pp. 146-151.

⁸⁴ Rhys Davids, pp. 172-173; and Thomas, p. 264.

to us as the Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā; the Sarvāstivādins, and most probably the Mahāsāṅghikas, too produced the Avadāna literature. The actual difference between the "Jātakas" and "Avadānas" lies in the fact that the Jātakas are stories of the previous births of the Buddha Śākyamuni while the Avadānas relate the glorious past lives of the Buddha as well as of other beings. Any Jātaka, therefore, can be called an Avadāna, but not every Avadāna a Jātaka. The concept of the Jātakas, moreover, is obviously older than that of the Avadānas, as the Jātakas confine themselves only to the nucleus figure of the historical founder of Buddhism. The Avadānas follow the same outline, but show a clear tendency towards the worship of many Bodhisattvas which, in the course of time, developed into the polytheistic doctrine of the Bodhisattvayāna.

After this short survey on the origin of Buddhist birth-stories, we may come back to the subject under review: the reliefs at Cula Pathon. From the identification of each and every scene, it is clear that all the stories depicted here deserve the designation of "Jātakas", since they only depict the past deeds of the Buddha and not of any other beings. The fact that most of them are preserved in the Avadāna literature, by no means deprives these tales of their Jātaka nature. But it would even be more precise to call them "Jātakas", because they are not just Buddhist folktales but tales of the previous lives of the Buddha Śākyamuni.

The comparison made by Krairiksh of the Jātaka representations at Cula Pathon with the narrative scenes at Qizil in central Asia is quite interesting. On the face of it, to find similar motifs in the arts of two countries separated from one another by the whole subcontinent is beyond expectation. There could be no question of one school of art influencing another, and Krairiksh considers the Sarvāstivādins to be responsible for the occurrence of the same themes in these two regions⁸⁵. We have shown in the preceding paragraph that even if these stories were popular among the Sarvāstivādins, they are far from being the exclusive property of this particular sect. The two schools of Buddhist art at Qizil and Dvāravatī simply obtained their inspiration from the same ancient tradition—that of primitive Buddhism prior to its sectarian schism. The artists of these two schools made use of the rich and inexhaustible repertory of tales, which is a common heritage for Buddhists of all sects and periods. There seems to be no reason to connect the Cula Pathon reliefs with the paintings at Qizil, either in doctrinal orientation or in time. Jātaka stories in general are non-sectarian and timeless motifs in Buddhist art, and each and every tale depicted at Cula Pathon displays such characteristics.

Literary evidence quoted above will suffice to show that the Jātakas in question have been known in ancient India by various Buddhist sects long before the sixth to seventh centuries A.D., to which period Krairiksh assigns these reliefs. Originally they belonged to the enormous collection of tales widely known among the ancient Buddhists, the complete version of which is now lost or never did exist in book form. After the schism in Buddhism, each sect made use of this common heritage for its own edificatory purposes. Quite a number of collections of birth-stories must have existed in the old days, though only a few have come down to us. By the sixth to seventh centuries, the proposed date of the Cula Pathon reliefs, these tales were obviously used as visual parables by all Buddhist sects in the Indian subcontinent. In the early fifth century the pilgrim Fa-Hien saw representations of 500 Jātakas in Ceylon⁸⁶. At Ajaṇṭā,

⁸⁵ Krairiksh, *Buddhist Folk Tales*..., pp. 22-23.

⁸⁶ See *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*..., p. 106.

among the rich evidence of Mahāyāna worship, we find illustrations of many tales which also occurred at Cula Pathon. The Jātakamālā of Ārya Śūra, written as early as in the third century, formed the main source of the fifth-to-seventh-centuries paintings at Ajanṭā, together with a number of stories known as the Mahānipāta-Jātakas, the favourite and timeless subjects of Theravāda artists⁸⁷. An even closer parallel to the series of Jātakas at Cula Pathon is provided by the reliefs at the Barabudur. On the wall of the balustrade of the first gallery, we find representations of the complete set of tales told in the Jātakamālā. The rest of the identifiable birth-stories are legends known from the Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā and the Avadānas, and all but one or two of the Cula Pathon Jātakas have their counterparts among the Barabudur reliefs⁸⁸. This central Javanese monument, however, dates from around the eighth to early ninth centuries A.D., and its religious inspiration was purely Mahāyāna of the Yogācāra type⁸⁹. The timeless and non-sectarian nature of Jātakas as art motifs seems to be most clear from these examples.

It would therefore be imprudent to connect the Cula Pathon reliefs with the Sarvāstivādins. The role of this Buddhist sect in southeast Asia, at the present stage of our knowledge, is still difficult to determine. In the seventh century I-Tsing mentioned that there were a few followers of the Sārvāstivāda-Nikāya in Campā, while the Buddhists of that country generally belonged to the Sammitīya-Nikāya⁹⁰, another Hīnayāna Buddhist sect whose popularity in India at that time apparently exceeded that of the Sarvāstivādins⁹¹. According to I-Tsing the islands of the archipelago universally adopted the (Mūla)sarvāstivāda doctrine, though some followed the Sammitīya-Nikāya, and a few followers of the Mahāsāṅghika and Sthaviravāda were also found there⁹². Ray, in his study of Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma, suggests the existence of the Sarvāstivāda-Nikāya at Śrī Ksetra, on the basis of the evident cultural relation between Burma and Magadha in the seventh century A.D., and Magadha at this time is referred to by I-Tsing as a stronghold of the Sarvāstivādins⁹³. The role of the Sarvāstivādins in the Indian subcontinent is well known to us from epigraphical and literary records. They were extremely powerful in north India in the early centuries A.D.⁹⁴, and Kaniṣka the great Kuṣāṇa ruler is credited with having patronized their doctrine and widely propagating it in Gandhāra and Kāśmīr⁹⁵. The accounts of the Chinese pilgrims also testify to the popularity of the Sarvāstivāda doctrine in north and northwest India as late as in the seventh century A.D.⁹⁶

However, archeological finds from the areas conventionally known as Hīnayāna Sarvāstivāda territories amazingly give us quite a different picture from what we might have deduced from literary records. To begin with, Bodhisattva images—a definitely non-Hīnayāna element

⁸⁷ See a concise description of the birth-stories at Ajanṭā, in D. Mitra, *Ajanṭa*, Archaeological Survey of India, 4th ed., New Delhi, 1964.

⁸⁸ See Krom, *Beschrijving*..., pp. 213-480.

⁸⁹ These facts have also been noted by Diskul, "Porāṇagatī-Vicāraṇa", p. 318.

⁹⁰ See *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*..., p. 12.

⁹¹ See tabulated data in Dutt, pp. 307-308.

⁹² See *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*..., p. 10.

⁹³ See N.-R. Ray, pp. 19-30.

⁹⁴ See Dutt, pp. 141-144; and Bareau, pp. 131-132.

⁹⁵ See, for instance, J.M. Rosenfield, pp. 29-36; Huan-Tsang's account in Watters, vol. I, pp. 270-271.

Mahāyāna settlements before Huan-Tsang's time, and in any case there were Mahāyāna monks in Gandhāra in the seventh century A.D. The same may be said about Kaśmīr, which was conventionally known to have been a great centre of the Sarvāstivādins and a headquarters of eminent Sarvāstivāda teachers through the ages. Huan-Tsang's record, it is true, tells us of the predominance of this doctrine in Kaśmīr, but it also mentions that Buddhism of both Vehicles prospered there side by side¹⁰⁵. Moreover, we know from other sources that Kaśmīr at that time came under the supremacy of the Hindu kings of the Karkoṭa dynasty¹⁰⁶. This country, therefore, was actually far from being an exclusive field of activity for the Sarvāstivādins, and this fact tallies well with archeological finds from Kaśmīr which consist of numerous images of Hindu and Mahāyāna deities. The region of Magadha, often referred to as another stronghold of the Sarvāstivādins, also seems to have been a great centre of all Buddhist sects alike, probably due to its close connection with the life of the Master. The records of pilgrims in the fifth to seventh centuries A.D. agree with one another that Buddhist sects of the two Vehicles prospered side by side in Madhyadeśa and northeast India¹⁰⁷, both of which were important regions in the history of cultural contact between ancient India and southeast Asia. Religious inspirations issuing from these pan-Buddhist centres, therefore, could not have been exclusively Sarvāstivāda.

In certain cases, it is fairly clear that the personal, sectarian inclination of the author of each account induced him to neglect mentioning the other existing creeds. I-Tsing in his reference to Campā gives us an impression of the prominence of the Buddhist Sammitīya doctrine¹⁰⁸, and says nothing of Śaivism which obviously was the state religion of Campā at that time. His mention of "a few" followers of Mahāyāna Buddhism in the archipelago¹⁰⁹ too could have been an understatement of the actual fact, or an inaccurate survey of the extent of the Mahāyāna impact there. I-Tsing, we also notice, makes no reference whatsoever to the Hindu religions in the archipelago, though a Vaiṣṇava kingdom probably existed in west Java¹¹⁰, and a Śaiva dynasty could have been ruling central Java at that time¹¹¹. The pilgrim, naturally, was primarily concerned with Buddhist religion and practices; it was not his intention to report on the entire religious circumstance in these countries. So we should bear this in mind and refrain from drawing a hasty conclusion from such recorded testimonies.

(b) If the prominence of the Sarvāstivādins in the Buddhist world was not exaggerated in literary records, the presence of Mahāyāna elements in their territories could be explained in another way. The Sarvāstivādins, as it should be correctly understood, were not "Hīnayānists" in the most usual sense of the word. The term "Hīnayāna", as used in various conventional tables to qualify all the 18 schools including the Sarvāstivāda, Mahāsāṅghika and Sthavira-

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 279-283.

¹⁰⁶ See H.C. Ray, pp. 145-147.

¹⁰⁷ For Fa-Hien, see *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms...*, pp. 62, 78-79, 98-99; for Huan-Tsang, see Watters, vol. II, pp. 86-177; for I-Tsing, see *A Record of the Buddhist Religion...*, pp. 8-9.

¹⁰⁸ See *A Record of the Buddhist Religion...*, p. 12.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

¹¹⁰ Cf. A.J. Bernet Kempers, p. 13.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

¹¹² For the classifications of early Buddhist sects, see Bareau, pp. 15-34.

vāda¹¹², has the special meaning of "primitive Buddhism", viz. Buddhism before the rise of Mahāyānism¹¹³. Only in this sense can the Sarvāstivādins and the Mahāsāṅghikas be called Hīnayānists. It would be wrong to consider the Sarvāstivādins and the Mahāsāṅghikas orthodox, since these two schools separated themselves from the original Hīnayāna trunk because they disapproved of the disciplinal severity demanded by the other members of the community, i.e. the Sthaviravādins¹¹⁴. It has been accepted by scholars that the germs of Mahāyāna Buddhism are to be found in the doctrines of the Sarvāstivādins and the Mahāsāṅghikas¹¹⁵, so we should not be surprised to notice Mahāyāna elements in the concepts and practices of these two Hīnayāna sects¹¹⁶. The Sarvāstivādins, in particular, disapproved of the great emphasis prescribed on the Vinaya by the Council of Elders, and they branched off to form a separate Nikāya concentrating on the eminence of the Abhidhamma¹¹⁷. They certainly did not observe strict rules and regulations like the orthodox Theravādins, considering these a matter of less importance. Upon the rise of Mahāyānism, which probably occurred before the fourth century A.D., the Sarvāstivādins could have assimilated certain Mahāyāna rituals and customs, and if not they must at least have studied the Mahāyāna system along with their own¹¹⁸. A good example of the liberal practices of the Sarvāstivādins in the seventh century can be found in I-Tsing's record. The pilgrim, being himself a Sarvāstivādin, received instruction from various distinguished teachers who possessed an abstruse insight into the doctrines of the Mahāyāna Mādhyamikas and Yogācāras¹¹⁹.

It has been pointed out so many times that the distinction between Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna Buddhism was not as obvious as that between two biological species. Even I-Tsing's oft-quoted rule, that the worship of a Bodhisattva and the reading of a Mahāyāna Sūtra are characteristics of the Mahāyānists, fails to operate in many instances. According to the pilgrim's own statement made during his journeys, it cannot be determined which of the schools should be grouped with the Mahāyāna and which with the Hīnayāna¹²⁰. He also seems to imply that one and the same school adhered to the Hīnayāna in one place and to the Mahāyāna in another place¹²¹. Huan-Tsang, who must have been fully aware of the doctrinal distinction between the two divisions, could not make up his mind as to the classification of certain Buddhist schools, and ended up by calling them the Mahāyānists of the Sthavira Schools¹²². From the records of these two pilgrims we also learn that eminent Buddhist monks in India and elsewhere, no matter to which sect they belonged, studied the Sūtras of the other schools and were thoroughly versed in the doctrines of the other systems¹²³. A great number of Sūtras were recited, discussed and revered by the Mahāyānists and Hīnayānists alike¹²⁴. The Bud-

¹¹³ Cf. Dutt, pp. 235-248.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Bareau, pp. 31-34.

¹¹⁵ See Bareau, pp. 303-304; Thomas, pp. 166-176, and 283-285; also Dutt, pp. 260-268.

¹¹⁶ See our note 72.

¹¹⁷ See Bareau, p. 131; cf. Thomas, pp. 157-158.

¹¹⁸ See *A Record of the Buddhist Religion...*, "General introduction", p. xxii.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 184-185.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, see also "General introduction", pp. xxii-xxiii.

¹²² See Watters, vol. II, p. 136.

¹²³ See *A Record of the Buddhist Religion...*, pp. 184-185; and Shaman Hwui Li, pp. 6-10.

¹²⁴ *A Record of the Buddhist Religion...*, pp. 152-166.

dhists of the archipelago, too, chanted the works of Aśvaghoṣa and Nāgārjuna¹²⁵. If they were predominantly Sarvāstivādins, as I-Tsing tells us, we may assume that the adherents of this sect must have been most liberal in their conduct, rituals and thought.

The unconventional attitude of the Sarvāstivādins makes it difficult for us to recognize their activities beyond the field of written documents. While the absence of the Bodhisattva cult and the use of Pāli assert the presence of the Theravādins, there seems to be nothing by way of archeological remains to prove the existence of the Sarvāstivādins. The use of Sanskrit and the introduction of Sanskrit Buddhist literature into southeast Asia, at most, indicate a wave of cultural influences from the northern regions of India, where a great number of Buddhist sects prospered side by side since the early centuries of the Christian era.

For the reasons cited above, we seriously doubt Krairiksh's theory on the prevalence of the Sarvāstivādins in the kingdom of Dvāravatī. The Jātakas depicted at the Cula Pathon and preserved, as many of them are, in the Sarvāstivāda literature, have been a common heritage of all Buddhist sects from times immemorial. A great quantity of birth-stories were in circulation all over the Indian subcontinent before the fifth century A.D. Undoubtedly, there were many collections of these tales in existence, and more than one of them found their way into Dvāravatī. The collections known in Dvāravatī at the time of the construction of Cula Pathon were also in circulation in various regions of the Indian subcontinent in the course of the fifth to seventh centuries A.D., and in central Java around the eighth to ninth centuries.

The Jātaka stories which form the main theme of the decoration of Cula Pathon, therefore, have no bearing either on the date or the sectarian inclination of the monument. The only fact to be deduced from them is the confirmation of the impact of northern Indian influences, direct or indirect, which subsequently followed the earlier contact of Dvāravatī with some Buddhist centres in the south. Krairiksh considers the Sarvāstivādins responsible for these influences and attributes the Cula Pathon reliefs to the sixth to seventh centuries A.D. which, he believes, represents the flourishing period of the Sarvāstivāda doctrine in southeast Asia. Another reason for this dating seems to be Krairiksh's conviction that the reliefs must precede the eighth century, which presumably marks the first occurrence of Mahāyāna elements in the art of Dvāravatī¹²⁶.

Besides the fact that there is no material indication of Sarvāstivādin inspiration at Cula Pathon, the date ascribed to these reliefs by Krairiksh also seems too early. Stylistically, the panels indicate a mature period of Dvāravatī art, the phase after imported Indian elements had been absorbed and successfully integrated into the esthetic norm of the locality. Clumsiness and uncertainty resulting from the imitation of unfamiliar art forms, such as we usually find in the formative stage of various art styles, are no longer noticeable at Cula Pathon. The figures, simple but very much alive with individual charm and spontaneity, appear to have been sculpted by competent craftsmen who were familiar with and had a full understanding of their subjects.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 158-166.

¹²⁶ Krairiksh, *Buddhist Folk Tales...*, pp. 21, 23.

We believe that these reliefs should be dated from the latter part of the seventh century to the eighth century A.D., the mature period of Dvāravatī art in central Thailand. The northern Indian influences noticeable in them are apparently those of the Mahāyāna type of Buddhism, which made their appearance in southeast Asia as early as in the seventh century, and became very distinctive in the course of the eighth century. Although no obvious traces of Mahāyāna worship exist at Cula Pathon, images of Bodhisattvas already had appeared at the monuments of Kū Bua which date approximately from the same period¹²⁷. Some bronze figures of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, too, testify to his veneration in central Thailand¹²⁸. Nevertheless, the occurrence of Bodhisattva images in Dvāravatī does not necessarily imply that Mahāyāna Buddhism had become the prominent religion of the kingdom in the late seventh to eighth centuries. On the contrary, Mahāyāna influences appear to have been but an intervening element in the long-standing Theravāda tradition of Dvāravatī. We have good reason to believe that the imported cult of Bodhisattvas did not find much response in Dvāravatī and Bodhisattva images, in most cases, were not made for independent worship but to serve as subsidiary figures or attendants of the Buddha Śākyamuni. Their position in the Dvāravatī system of worship was, on the whole, not unlike that of the Hindu gods Brahmā and Indra in the early Buddhist pantheon.

The use of Sanskrit in Dvāravatī inscriptions of the seventh century could have been stimulated by the contact of Dvāravatī with north India. But there seems to be another plausible explanation for the use of Sanskrit along with Pāli in this kingdom. Prince Subhadradiś has drawn our attention to the fact that the Sanskrit and Pāli inscriptions of Dvāravatī appear to be contemporaneous, and the two languages could have been used for different aims: secular and religious¹²⁹. All Sanskrit inscriptions from the Dvāravatī region either bear royal epithets¹³⁰ or record meritorious deeds performed by important persons¹³¹. The most lengthy of all turns out to be non-Buddhistic, commemorating the foundation of a Śiva *liṅga* by a certain King Śrī Haṣavarman¹³². The Pāli epigraphs, as a rule, contain extracts from the Tipiṭakas of the Theravādins.

Prince Subhadradiś' suggestion obviously provides a solution to the problem which has long puzzled art historians and archeologists. The use of Sanskrit in Dvāravatī was not necessarily inspired by any direct contact with north India, the homeland of this hieratic language, but could have resulted from centuries of cultural and political relations with the empire of Fu-nan. Sanskrit, we know, was introduced into southeast Asia as early as the third century A.D.¹³³, and has been used in the official documents of rulers of most of the Indianized states of southeast Asia from the very beginning of their history¹³⁴. It was, and still is, the holy and ritualistic language imbued with the divine flavour appropriate to the

¹²⁷ See for instance Diskul, in *The Sculpture of Thailand*, cat. nos. 2 and 3.

¹²⁸ See for instance C. Chongkol and H. Woodward Jr., cat. no. 28.

¹²⁹ Diskul, "Porāṇagatī-Vicāraṇa", p. 316.

¹³⁰ See J.J. Boeles, pp. 99-103.

¹³¹ See Coedès, *Recueil...*, ins. no. XVI, pp. 4-5, pl. 1.

¹³² See Coedès, "Nouvelles...", pp. 129-131.

¹³³ See J. Filliozat.

¹³⁴ For Indonesia see Chhabra, pp. 65-98; for Campā see Boisselier, *La statuaire du Champa...*, pp. 18-20; for Cambodia see our note 133.

pomp and sanctity of kingship. In all probability, Sanskrit was used as the royal and official language in central Thailand before the foundation of the Dvāravatī kingdom, which presumably took place upon the disintegration of Fu-nan.

The inclination of Dvāravatī to the Theravāda faith did not prevent its kings from retaining the use of Sanskrit, the sacred language of all Indianized kingdoms of southeast Asia. It is quite natural that the Buddhist kings of Dvāravatī continued to issue their regal and official documents in Sanskrit. Votive inscriptions were written either in Sanskrit or in the native Mon, depending on the social status of the donors. Only purely religious epigraphs had to be inscribed in Pāli, since they cited passages from the Canon of the Therāvadins. Conservative Buddhists have maintained through the ages that the purity of the "Words of the Elders" could only be preserved through the recitation and transmission of their doctrine in **untranslated** Pāli. This practice is still followed at present by the Theravāda community of Thailand.

The influx of Mahāyāna Buddhism, which swept over the kingdoms of southeast Asia in the course of the seventh to thirteenth centuries A.D., did not leave lasting impressions on such regions with a strong Theravāda tradition as Burmā and Dvāravatī. Bodhisattva images, the conventional signs of Mahāyāna worship, appeared in the art of Dvāravatī sporadically and only for a certain period. Their status, in any case, was apparently inferior to that of the Buddha. The veneration of Śākyamuni and of his Four Noble Truths, which permeated the spiritual life of the Dvāravatī kingdom from the very beginning, remained predominant till the end of its history.

Nandana Chutiwongs

Inst. v. Z.-Aziatische Archeologie
Universiteit van Amsterdam

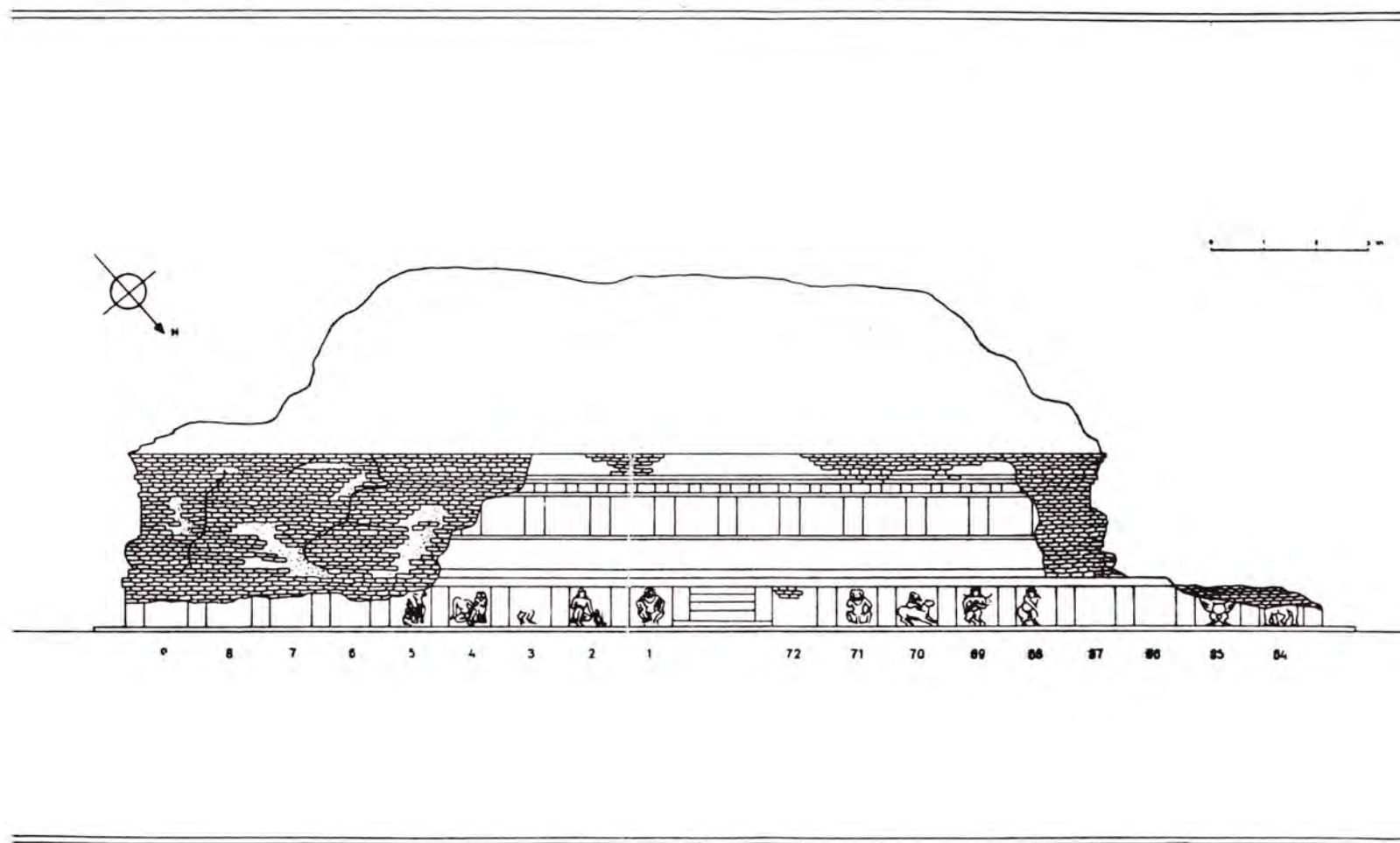


Figure 1. Cula Pathon Cetiya, northeast side, with terracotta and stucco reliefs on base. After Krairiksh, *Buddhist Folk Tales...*, fig. 1.



Figure 2. Cula Pathon Cetiya, relief no. 4, terracotta and stucco. Photo by author, neg. P4-68.



Figure 3. Cula Pathon Cetiya, relief no. 23. Photo by author, neg. P4-56.



Figure 4. Miṅgalazedi, Samuddavāṇija-Jātaka. After Duroiselle, pl. LVI, 39.



Figure 5. Cula Pathon Cetiya, relief panel no. 30. Photo by author, neg. P4-65.



Figure 6. Nanda, Valāhassa-Jātaka. After Duroiselle, pl. LIV, 24.



Figure 7. Cula Pathon Cetiya, panel showing court scene. Photo by author, neg. P4-59.



Figure 8. Qizil, Surūpa-Jātaka. After Grünwedel, fig. 248, B8.



Figure 9. Barabudur, Surūpa-Jātaka. After Krom, *Beschrijving van Barabudur*, pl. XX, 176, series I.(B).a.



Figure 10. Cula Pathon Cetiya, relief panel no. 70. Photo by author, neg. P4-62.



Figure 11. South India, Śiva Śarabhamūrti. After Rao, vol. I, part I, pl. E.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Avadānaśataka*, *A Century of Edifying Tales Belonging to the Hinayāna*, edited by J.S. Speyer, Indo-Iranian Reprints, III, The Hague, 1958.
- A. BAREAU, "Les sectes bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule", Publications de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, vol. XXXVIII, Saigon, 1955.
- B. BARUA, *Barhut*, 3 vols., Indian Research Institute Publications, Fine Art Series, Nos. I-III, Calcutta, 1934-1937.
- A.J. BERNET KEMPERS, *Ancient Indonesian Art*, Amsterdam, 1959.
- J.J. BOELES, "The King of Śrī Dvāravatī and his regalia", *Journal of the Siam Society*, vol. LII part 1, April 1964, pp. 99-114.
- J. BOISSELIER, "Récents recherches à Nakhon Pathom", *Journal of the Siam Society*, vol. LVIII, part 2, July 1970, pp. 55-65.
- , —, *La statuaire du Champa, Recherches sur les cultes et l'iconographie*, Publications de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, vol. LIV, Paris, 1963.
- J. BOULBET et B. DAGENS, "Les sites archéologiques de la région du Bham̐ Gülen (Phnom Kulen)", *Arts Asiatiques*, numéro spécial, tome XXVII, 1973.
- B.C. CHHABRA, *Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture During Pallava Rule (as Evidenced by Inscriptions)*, New Delhi, 1965.
- CHIRA CHONGKOL and H. WOODWARD Jr., *Guide to the U-Thong National Museum, Suphanburi*, Fine Arts Department, Bangkok, 1966.
- G. COEDÈS, *Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam*, "Deuxième partie: Inscriptions de Dvāravatī, de Çrīvijaya et de Lavo", 2^e éd. rev. et mise à jour, Bangkok, 1961.
- , —, "Nouvelles données épigraphiques sur l'histoire de l'Indochine centrale", *Journal Asiatique*, tome CCXLVI, fasc. 2, 1958, pp. 129-131.
- M.C. SUBHADRADIS DISKUL, "Porāṇagatī-Vicāraṇa" (in Thai), *Archaeology*, Journal of the Faculty of Archaeology, Silpakorn University, Bangkok, vol. 5 no. 3 (August 1974), pp. 315-320.
- , —, and others, *The Sculpture of Thailand*, catalogue of an exhibition shown in the Asia House Gallery in the fall of 1972, New York, 1972.
- The Divyāvadāna, A Collection of Early Buddhist Legends*, edited by E.B. Cowell and R.A. Neil, repr. ed., Amsterdam, 1970.
- P. DUPONT, *La statuaire préangkorienne*, Artibus Asiae Supplementum XV, Ascona, 1955.
- C. DUROISSELLE, "Pictorial representations of Jātakas in Burma", *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1912-13, pp. 87-119.
- N. DUTT, *Buddhist Sects in India*, Calcutta, 1970.
- J. FILLIOZAT, "L'inscription dite <<de Vo'-cāṇh>>", *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, tome LV, 1969, pp. 107-124.

- The Gātakamālā or Garland of Birth-Stories by Ārya Śūra*, translated by J.S. Speyer, 1st Indian ed., Delhi, 1971.
- A. GRÜNWEDEL, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkistan*, Königlich Preussische Turfan-expeditionen, Berlin, 1912.
- The Jātakas or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, translated from the Pāli by various hands under the editorship of E.B. Cowell, 6 vols., repr. ed., London, 1969.
- The Jātakastava or "Praise of the Buddha's Former Births"*, Indo-Scythian (Khotanese) text with English translation, grammatical notes, and glossaries by M.J. Dresden, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, NS, vol. 45, part 5, Philadelphia, 1955.
- Jātaka-Mālā by Ārya Śūra*, ed. by P.L. Vaidya, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts No. 21, published by the Mithila Institute, Darbhanga, 1959.
- PIRIYA KRAIRIKSH, *Buddhist Folk Tales Depicted at Chula Pathon Cedi*, with translation in Thai by M.C. Subhadradis Diskul, Bangkok, 1974.
- , — "Semas with scenes from the Mahānipāta-Jātakas in the National Museum at Khon Kaen", in *Art and Archeology in Thailand*, publ. Fine Arts Department in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the National Museum, Bangkok, September 1974.
- N.J. KROM, *Beschrijving van Barabudur*, Deel I, Archaeologische Beschrijving, Archaeologisch Onderzoek in Nederlandsch-Indië, III, 's-Gravenhage, 1920.
- , — *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 2e herz. druk, 's-Gravenhage, 1931.
- B.C. LAW, *A Study of the Mahāvastu*, Calcutta and Simla, 1930.
- SHAMAN HWUI LI, *The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*, 2nd ed., Delhi, 1973.
- The Mahāvastu*, translated from the Buddhist Sanskrit by J.J. Jones, Sacred Books of the Buddhists, vol. XIX, London, 1956.
- R.C. MAJUMDAR, *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*, vol. I, *Champa*, Greater India Society Publication No. 1, The Punjab Oriental (Sanskrit) Series, No. XVI, Lahore, 1927.
- J. MARSHALL and A. FOUCHER, *The Monuments of Sāñchi*, London, n.d.
- J. MASUDA, "Origin and doctrines of early Indian Buddhist schools, a translation of the Hsüan-Chwang version of Vasumitra treatise", *Asia Major*, vol. II, Lipsiae, 1925.
- T.A. GOPINATHA RAO, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, 2 vols., 2nd ed., New York, 1968.
- H.C. RAY, *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, Calcutta, 1957.
- N.-R. RAY, *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma*, Amsterdam, 1936.
- A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms, Being an Account by the Chinese Monk Fā-Hien of his Travels in India and Ceylon (A.D. 399-414) in Search of the Buddhist Books of Discipline*, translated and annotated with a Korean recension of the Chinese text, by J. Legge, repr. ed., New York, 1965.
- A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago (A.D. 671-695) by I-Tsing*, translated by J. Takakusu, Oxford, 1896.
- L. RENOU et J. FILLIOZAT, *L'Inde classique*, Manuel des études indiennes, tome II, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, vol. III, Hanoi, 1953.

- T.W. RHYS DAVIDS, *Buddhist India*, repr. ed., Delhi, 1971.
- J.M. ROSENFELD, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, California, 1967.
- K. SAHA, *Buddhism and Buddhist Literature in Central Asia*, Calcutta, 1970.
- E.J. THOMAS, *The History of Buddhist Thought*, The History of Civilization, repr. ed., London, 1967.
- H.G. QUARITCH WALES, "Archeological researches on ancient Indian colonization in Malaya", *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XVIII, part I, February 1940.
- T. WATTERS, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India (A.D. 629-645)*, 2 vols., 1st Indian ed., Delhi, 1961.
- M. WINTERNITZ, *A History of Indian Literature*, 3 vols., Calcutta, 1933.