

ART. VIII.—*Dr. Serge D'Oldenburg "On the Buddhist Jātakas."* By H. WENZEL, Ph.D.

[Dr. Serge D'Oldenburg has been kind enough to send me a copy of his monograph on the Jātakas, written in Russian, from the Proceedings of the Oriental Section of the Imperial Russian Archæological Society. As it deals with a subject of very general interest, and adds considerably to our knowledge of the history of the Jātakas, it seemed advisable that the paper should be made accessible to Western scholars; and Dr. Wenzel has been kind enough, at my suggestion, to prepare the following translation of the greater portion of the paper.—Rh. D.]

I.

THE extensive literature of Buddhist legends may be divided into three groups: (1) the legends on the rebirths of the Buddha anterior to his last life in this world, these are the 'Jātakas' (proper); (2) legends of the Buddha in his last, historical, existence; (3) legends of the Buddhist disciples, these are the 'Avadānas,' which last name, however, is also applied to legends in general.

We confine our remarks chiefly to the Jātakas, which class occupies a specially prominent position in this literature, thanks to the manifold themes and 'motifs' touched upon therein. In them Buddha appears in the most various shapes, from god to beast; and, accordingly, the outward form varies between stories, moral tales, fairy tales, and fables.

The Jātaka, like most productions of Indian literature, has its fixed pattern, strictly preserved in the Buddhist (Pāli) canon, which in general distinguishes itself from the Sanskrit and Prākṛit books by its propensity to systematize. Therefore, before we pass on to a further examination of

the Jātakas, we give here the translation of the Khantivanṇanaj., which is, as far as we are aware, not yet translated.¹

The actual text of the Jātakas consists of the verses, according to the number of which the 550 of the Pāli canon are disposed, beginning with those having only one verse. These verses, together with the actual prose commentary (*vaṇṇanā* or *atthakathā*), form the so-called *atīta-vatthu* 'relation of the past,' and therewith is connected the *paccuppanna-vatthu* 'relation of the present,' i.e. the occasion on which Buddha tells the Jātaka. Finally follows the *samodhānam*, the identification of the persons in the *atīta-vatthu* with those in the *paccuppanna-vatthu*. Besides this, the verses have a grammatical and lexical commentary, in which only rarely remarks concerning the matter find place.

The verses, accordingly, must be regarded as the most essential, and also the oldest part of the Jātakas, which is proved, first by the archaical word-forms occurring in them, and then, by the great(er) similarity between the various recensions of the Jātakas in their metrical parts, while they widely diverge in the prose. And this is only what might have been expected. The original narrator strove to embody the chief facts of his tale in the simplest form, viz. verses; usually a dialogue, or monologue, was chosen: the painting of the situation, the transitions, had not yet acquired such importance, as this dialogue or monologue might serve for different personalities and situations. But if it was desirable to connect them with distinct events, hints to that purport were inserted into the verses, while it was left to the individual genius of each successive recitator to redact the connecting prose. How far already in the remote antiquity of India this literary type was

¹ I have omitted this translation of Jātaka, No. 225, as the Pāli is easily accessible, and as the form and scheme of the Pāli Jātakas is well-known here from the versions published by Prof. Rhys Davids and others.

developed, is shown by many Vedic hymns (*itihāsa*), which now often are the despair of the translators by the utter obscurity of their verses, seemingly jumbled together at hazard. Only in the latest redactions of the subjects of such hymns, which are far removed from the original type, the prose connection of the verses is sometimes preserved.¹

As a further development in the same direction must be considered the *argumentum*, i.e. a verse put at the head of the tale, which gives the substance of its contents; these *argumenta* are very generally in use in Indian literature, whether Brahmanical, Buddhist, or Jain.² As a final offshoot (of this development), we may regard the abridgment of a tale to a single proverbial phrase, as e.g. *ajākr̥pāniya* ‘unexpected’—properly, ‘as (in the tale of) the goat and the knife.’³

Besides this special collection of 550 Jātakas, the Pāli canon contains yet two other books of Jātakas—the *Cariyāpiṭaka*, of which we shall speak in more detail below, and the *Buddhavamsa*. Moreover, many other Jātakas occur separately, either in the collection of 50 Jātakas (*L. Feer*, *Les Jātakas*, Première partie, 417–422), or dispersed in the commentaries to the different books of the canon, most

¹ The first to call attention to these facts was, as far as we know, *E. Windisch*, see his *Ueb. d. Altirische sage des Táin Bó Cúalgne, der Raub der Rinder* (Verh. 33, Phil. Vers. Gera, 1878), Leipzig, 1879, 15–32; and, regarding India, p. 28, where the legends of Hariścandra, Śunahṣepa, Urvaṣī-Purūravas, are mentioned. Further investigations by *H. Oldenberg*, *Das altindische Akhyāna*, in ZDMG. 37, 54–86, and *Akhyāna-hymnen im R̥gveda* (ZDMG. 39, 52–90); *R. Pischel* and *K. Geldner*, *Vedische Studien*, i. ii. 1, Stuttgart, 1889–92; particularly Geldner’s monograph ‘Purūravas und Urvaṣī,’ pp. 243–295; cf. review by Oldenberg in GGA. 1889, 1 sq. and 1890, 405–427. See also the interesting remarks in the same province in *H. Zimmer’s* review of *Hist. littéraire de la France*, t. xxx. (GGA. 1890, 806–808, and *Th. Nöldecke*, *Persische Studien*, ii. 11, Wien, 1892 (Sitz.B.W.A.H.Ph. Cl. cxxvi).

² Sometimes it happens that, while the tale itself is lost, the *argumentum* only remains; e.g. in the Jain collection *Samyaktvakaumudī* (*A. Weber*, S.B. Berl. Ak. 1889, pp. 741–743 sq.), the tale of the potter crushed by a falling wall is only preserved in one MS., while the two others give only the *argumentum*. This tale, in a somewhat different shape, is also found in the Pāli canon, in No. 432, *Padakusalamānavaj.*, of which below a translation will be given [omitted here.—H. W.], together with a comparison with the *Samyaktvakaumudī*.

³ To the abundant literature that has already accumulated about this little fable we may add the version in *Takkāriyaj.* (481). It is interesting to see that this fable, in a very similar form, occurs also in the *Makames* of Hariri, see *Fr. Rückert*, *Die Verwandlungen des Abu Seid von Serug*. Stuttgart, 1837, i. 9.

of which are not yet published.¹ From the Northern—Sanskrit, Prākṛit—documents, the following, as far as we know, contain Jātakas: *Mahāvastu*, *Avadānaśataka*, and the collections related to it (*Dvāviṃṣatyāvadāna*, *Ratnāvadānamālā*, *Kalpadrūmāvadānamālā*), *Divyāvadāna*, *Jātakamālā*, *Dsanglun* [Dhamamūkho], *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*, *Bhadrakalpāvadāna*, *Aṣokāvadānamālā*, *Avadānasārasamuccaya*, and separate Jātakas; cf. also *Lalitav.* ch. 13. The large *Jātakamālā*, with 565 tales, of which Hodgson speaks (*Essays on the Languages, etc., of Nepāl and Tibet*, London, 1874, p. 17 sq.), is at present unknown, though it is possible that it may be found even yet, so *e.g.* it is known that a collection of 101 tales exists, under the same title, in a Tibetan translation, including the *Jātakamālā* of *Sūra*.²

The extraordinary popularity which the Jātakas, as well as the legends of Buddha's earthly life, enjoyed is evidenced by the numerous representations on the stūpas and monasteries, beginning with the famous *Bharhut* stūpa. The history of these sculptures, doubtless, merits greater attention than has been as yet extended to it, and surely will help us not a little in the clearing up of the entangled questions about the chronology of the Buddhist literature.³ Thus we cannot as yet answer with any precision the question to what date the now existing Jātakas are to be referred. Only this seems certain to me, that they, in one shape or the other, belong to the oldest product of Buddhist literature.⁴ They must have proved an especially convenient

¹ See Rhys Davids' 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. lii., who discusses this question at length and gives instances.—H. W.

² Further details on this collection will be given by *A. O. Ivanovski*. Doubtless a closer examination of the Chinese and Tibetan literatures will supply us with translations of most, if not all, Jātakas and legends found in the Pāli canon; and we may also hope to find yet many Indian originals, when once Tibet becomes more accessible.

³ Prof. Rhys Davids has a comparative table in his 'Buddhist Birth Stories' showing the instances in which the Bharhut sculptures could be identified, when that work was published, with particular Jātakas. There remains a good number still unidentified. See also *Cunningham* and *Hultzsch* in the Bibliography at end of this article.—H. W.

⁴ [I would respectfully point out that it is quite certain that the Jātakas belong, not to the oldest period, but to the oldest period but one, of Buddhist literature. As I showed in the Introduction to my 'Buddhist Birth Stories,'

material for the explanation of the many unintelligible and doubtful cases of the due reward of good and bad actions—so important in every religious doctrine. We do not pretend, of course, that the very ‘relations of the present’ which we find now in the Jātakas give us real events in Buddha’s life, but only that the actual occasions for the appearance of the Jātaka stories often were analogous to these ‘relations.’ The great importance, within the history of Indian narrative literature, which has been ascribed to the Jātakas and the Buddhist legends in general, particularly since the publication of Benfey’s famous ‘Pañcatantra,’ is certainly justified. But this importance lies elsewhere than is commonly supposed. It was not Buddhism with its legends that produced such really artistical creations as the Pañcatantra and Hitopadeṣa, which are in fact the offshoot of the ancient *itihāsas* and *akhyānas*, products of free creative genius, not bound in the trammels of ecclesiastical dogmatics and utilitarian convictions. To Benfey only fragments of this monastical literature were accessible. And it is safe to say that, if he had known these Jātakas, Avadānas, the Peta Vatthu, Vimāna Vatthu, etc., which we have at our command now, he would have changed his opinion. But these Buddhist documents have one great advantage. They have preserved for us, though only in pale and tendentious reflection, the subjects and the spirit of the ancient products of the Indian genius, and thus make it possible for us to reconstruct a whole period in the development of Indian literature, which, without them, would be scarcely known to us.

there are a fair number of what are now included as Jātakas in the Jātaka Book, which appear, not as Jātakas, but simply as stories in the older books, such as the Nikāyas and the Vinaya. The stories in the Cariya Piṭaka are already Jātakas. It follows that the transition from stories to Jātakas took place in the intervening period; that is to say, that the stories first became Jātakas after the oldest period of Buddhist literature had closed. We can even go further and fix the date at approximately between 450 and 250 B.C., and probably nearer to the earlier of the two.—Rh. D.]

II.

Jātaka Mālā.

The *Jātaka Mālā*, 'The Garland of Jātakas,' the work of the Buddhist poet *Śūra*, is the only Sanscrit text known up to now, consisting entirely of Jātakas. Unfortunately the history of this book is very obscure. Prof. Kern, to whom we owe the excellent edition, does not speak with any certainty on this point, and we can only (from some remarks in the preface to his edition, and his essay on 'The Buddhist poet *Śūra*,' Festgruss an Otto v. Böhtlingk, Stuttgart, 1888, p. 50 f.) form some conception of his opinion. He places the work approximatively between 550-650 A.D.; and thinks that the tradition, found in *Tāranātha*, viz. that the author of the 34 tales of rebirths at first had had the intention to write 100 tales, not probable, though he concedes that there may be 'a residue of truth in the story' (Preface, vi). He thinks it not impossible that there existed a collection of 35 Jātakas in the *gāthā* dialect (*ibid.* vii), which latter conjecture seems necessary to him for the explanation of the presence, in one MS., of the *Kacchapa* Jātaka—but this Jātaka is taken from the *Mahāvastu* (ii. 244 sq.), and apparently only added by the scribe. Our materials for forming an opinion of the importance and position of the work are very meagre. All known MSS. are almost certainly derived from one, probably not very old, original.¹

The Chinese translation, with which we owe our acquaintance to *A. O. Ivanovski*, not only clears nothing up in the

¹ Preface, v.—Of the MSS. which Prof. Kern did not inspect, we may observe that that of the Petersburg University entirely coincides in its text with those used for the edition, and the same is the case with the MS. of the late Prof. J. P. Minayev (now in the Public Library, fol. 130, l. 7). The MS. of the Bengal Asiatic Society (*Rājendralal.*, 49-57) probably belongs to the same family of MSS.; the different beginning there seems to us to have got there erroneously from the immediately following *Bhōdisattvāvadāna-Kalpa-Latā*, where it really is in its place; there are not a few examples of a like negligence in this, otherwise most useful, catalogue.

history of our text, but makes the question still more obscure; nor does the Tibetan translation give any further data in this respect. There remains, then, only the tradition communicated by Tāranātha (Schiefner's translation, p. 92), who indeed wrote his 'History of Buddhism' only in 1608, but who had in his hands older sources. It is to the following effect: 'The teacher *Mātṛceṭa* is no other than the same *Durdarshakāla*, of whom we spoke above. He is known under different names, as *Śūra*, *Aṣvaghosha*, *Mātṛceṭa*, *Pitṛceṭa*, *Durdarsha*, *Dharmika*, *Subhūti*, and *Maticitra* Besides the rebirths of Buddha, mentioned in the Sūtras and other books, he proposed to put down in writing the ten times ten rebirths of Buddha, which up to his time circulated only orally, and which corresponded to the ten Pāramītas, but, when he had finished 34, he died. In some legends it is related, that, pondering on the Bodhisattva's gift of his own body to the tigress, he thought he could do the same, as it was not so very difficult. Once he, as in the tale, saw a tigress followed by her young, near starvation; at first he could not resolve on the self-sacrifice, but, calling forth a stronger faith in the Buddha, and writing, with his own blood, a prayer of 70 ślokas, he first gave the tigers his blood to drink, and, when their bodies had taken a little force, offered himself.'

We think it is quite clear that Tāranātha had our collection in view. The probability of the facts of this tradition is, in some manner, established (1) by its great verosimilitude, (2) by the fact that apparently the MSS. of the Jātaka Mālā have preserved a trace of it, for after each ten stories, that is after the 10th, 20th, and 30th, follows an *uddāna* or 'table of contents.' Prof. Kern says that 'the official number of Jātakas according to the Northern Buddhists' is 34 (Preface, p. vi; Buddhismus, transl. Jacobi, i. 327), but does not indicate the source whence he has taken this 'fact.' The epithet of Buddha: *catuṣṭriṃṣajjātakajña* ('Who knows the 34 Jātakas') occurring in Hemacandra (v. 233), to which he appeals, might have been formed just on the ground of this collection,

an opinion which seems to be supported by the commentary, which runs as follows¹:

catustrimsaṭaṃ jātakāni Vyāghrī prabhṛtīni jānāti catu° | yad
 Vyāḍiḥ
 jātakāni punar Vyāghrī Sibīḥ Śreṣṭhī Śaṣo Bisam
 Haṃso Viṣvantaṛaḥ Śakro Maitribala-Supāragau
 Aputro Brāhmaṇaḥ Kumbhaḥ Kulmāshapiṇḍa jātakam
 Avishahyaḥ (?) Śreṣṭhījātonmādayantī Mahākapiḥ
 Bodhir Brahma Mahābodhir Vānaraḥ Śarabho Ruruḥ
 Kshāntivādī ca Hastī ca Kuthaḥ (?) cotpacamādayaḥ (?).

The Pāli text *Cariyāpiṭaka*, somewhat akin to the *Jātaka Mālā*, and apparently belonging to the latest documents of the Southern canon, unfortunately gives us scarcely more light on this question, at least as long as the commentary is not published. In the printed text there are 35 *Jātakas*; but there is a circumstance, unfortunately not mentioned by the editor, that calls forth some doubt as to the real number, and also the composition of the *Jātakas* of this collection, viz. that in the introduction to the large *Jātaka*-collection, the *Nidānakathā*, there is found *as an excerpt from the Cariyāpiṭaka*,² a table of contents of 34 *Jātakas*, only half of the titles agreeing with those in the printed text, in which also we only partly find the verses quoted in the *Nidānakathā*.³ Below we shall give a comparative table of both texts. With the materials accessible at present we must renounce the hope of clearing-up this entangled question.⁴

Regarding the chronology of the *Jātaka Mālā* we may add to the indications of Prof. Kern, that it apparently could not have been written after the end of the seventh

¹ We had only the use of Böhtlingk and Rieu's edition, trying, in one instance perhaps even too holdly, to reconstruct the titles of the *Jātakas*.

² See Fausböll *Jātaka*, i. 45-47. In Morris' edition we must read, p. xiv. ii. 1=455; ii. 5=278; in ii. 9, 2 (p. 90), *sutadhammo* is not a proper name, and, in the same v. read *Alīnasattu*, p. xvi, *Jātakamālā* is the same book as *Bodhisatthavādāna*.

³ According to this, Rhys Davids' Birth St. p. 54, note 2, must be corrected. *Ibid.* p. 55 (written before the publication of the *Cariyāpiṭaka*), instead of *Snake king Śilavā* read *elephant king Śilavā*, and, further on, *elephant king Chaddanta*.

⁴ Cf. also Hardy, Manual of B. 101-103.

century, as it seems that the Chinese traveller I-tsing speaks of it.¹ He may have meant another work with the same title; only the circumstance that, as he says, the Jātaka Mālā was, in his time, not yet translated into Chinese, would argue that he saw Śūra's work, as in fact this was only translated much later.

We now give a detailed account of the Jātaka Mālā,² then comparative tables of the Jātaka Mālā and the Cariyapīṭaka, and an account of the contents, with excerpts from the text of the *Sutasoma* Jātaka according to the version in the *Bhadrakalpāvadāna* (ch. 34), which proves to be a slavish imitation of our text. For the *Bhadrakalpāvadāna* we make use of the MS. of the Paris Asiatic Society, to whom we express our thanks.

THE GARLAND OF JĀTAKAS.

1. VYĀGHRI. *The Tigress*.—Born in a Brahmin family, the Bodhisat becomes an hermit. Once he sees in the jungle an hungry tigress, who is just about to devour her fresh-born young ones. He sends off his disciple to collect food, while he himself, filled with compassion, throws himself down before the tigress, who at once joyfully begins to eat his body. The disciple, returning, finds the dead body of his master, and, weeping, goes to inform his companions, while the remains of the Bodhisat are strewed with a rain of garlands, jewels, and sandal-powder.

2. ŚIBI.³ *The king of the people of Śibi*.—The Bodhisat was king in the land of Śibi, distinguished by all virtues, and particularly that of charity. But, not content to give away his riches only, he conceived a desire to offer also his own body. From this, his desire, the earth trembled. *Indra* remarked this, and, on reflection, finding out the reason, goes in the shape of an old blind Brahmin to tempt

¹ *Ryauon Fujishima*, Deux chapitres extraits le memoires d'I-tsing, J.A. 8. xii, 424.

² In this excellently edited text we have found only four unimportant misprints: 42, 33 read *svastyayana*; 58, 7 r. *ṣoka*; 97, 8 r. *payoda*; 111, 24 r. *Śakras*. [Two more are on p. 21, 21, where we expect *jānānas ca rivatyayatām*.—E.L.]

³ [This Jātaka is apparently a combination of the Brahmanic tale relating to Śibi and of the Jain tale concerning the offering of one's eye (ZDMG. xlvi. 611).—E.L.]

the king, and begs of him one of his eyes. The king asks whether somebody had not instigated him. The Brahmin answers that *Indra* had instructed him. The king promises to give his two eyes. The ministers dissuade the king, particularly one of them. The king first gives one eye, which, by a miracle produced by *Indra*, adheres to the face of the Brahmin (*Indra*); then the king tears out his other eye, and gives it likewise to the Brahmin. After some time *Indra* appears again before the king, who is sitting on the bank of a pond in his park, and promises him the fulfilment of a wish, and, one after the other, the eyes of the king appear again; the earth trembles, the sea overflows, and other wonderful phenomena are seen. Then *Indra*, furthermore, adds to his present to the king the abilities to see one hundred leagues in every direction, and even what is hidden by mountains, and then disappears, but the king, rejoicing, turns to his people with a sermon, admonishing them to be liberal.

3.¹ KULMĀSHAPIṆḌĪ. *The giver of a dumpling of fruit-pap.*—The Bodhisat was king of Koṣala, pious and charitable. Once he remembered his foregoing rebirth, and pronounced two verses about what he had done then. Nobody understood them, and the queen asked him to explain them. The king explained that he formerly was a slave in the same city. Once he gave to four *śramaṇas*, who asked for alms, fruit-pap (*kulmāsha*) with pious thoughts; for this good action he had attained such a high position. The queen, again, urged by the king's questions, remembers her former rebirth: when she was a servant, she fed a hermit, for which action she now had become queen. The king, finally, speaks in praise of charity.

4. ŚREŚṬHĪ. *The Merchant.*—The Bodhisat was a rich and pious merchant. A pratyekabuddha once came to his house for alms. *Māra*, wishing to hinder the merchant's charity, made, between the pratyekabuddha and the threshold of the house, a deep, flaming abyss. The merchant sends his wife to give food to the Buddha, but she returns in

¹ [A Jain parallel to this story occurs in the commentaries on the *Āvasyak-niry.*—E.L.]

fright. Then he goes himself. *Māra*, from the sky, dissuades him. But the merchant, seeing that these are *Māra's* tricks, boldly steps into the fire, in the place of which, in consequence of his virtue, suddenly appear lotuses; he comes up to the Buddha and hands him the food. The Buddha flies up into the air, but *Māra* disappears confounded.

5. AVISHAHYAŚREṢṬHI. *The Merchant Avishahya* (‘Unconquerable’).—The Bodhisat was a rich merchant called Avishahya, and distinguished himself by boundless generosity. *Indra* wished to try him, and little by little made all his wealth disappear, leaving him at last only a sickle and a string. Avishahya begins to seek his livelihood by collecting grass and selling it, continuing at the same time to help the needy. Then *Indra* appears to him and tempts him, but Avishahya does not succumb, and shows the necessity to give away all. *Indra*, satisfied, overwhelms him with praises, and promises that in future his wealth will not decrease.

6. ŚAŚA. *The Hare*.—The Bodhisat was a hare in the forest; with him together dwelt an otter, a jackal, and a monkey. They lived in friendship, and the hare taught the other three the law. Once the hare observed from the moon that on the following day would be full moon, and, consequently, the feast of *poshadha*, and that they must prepare food for possible guests. The hare began to ponder what he was to do, because all other animals may gather something, but he not; he decided to offer himself. From this his resolve the whole nature is agitated; *Indra* remarks it, and goes to try the hare; he shows himself in the shape of a hungry Brahmin, and asks for hospitality. The otter brings seven fishes, forgotten by the fisher; the jackal, a lizard and a vessel with milk, forgotten by somebody; the monkey, mango-fruits; the hare gives himself. *Indra* says that he, of course, could not kill him; then the hare throws himself into the fire. *Indra* reverts to his proper shape, praises the hare, and embellishes with his likeness the moon, thence called *śaśāṅka*. The three other animals

are reborn in the world of the gods and reunited with their friend.

7. AGASTYA. *The hermit Agastya.*—The Bodhisat was born in a rich Brahmin family, and distinguished himself by his generosity. He became a hermit, and the fame of his virtue attracted many people, so that he went away and settled down in *Kārādvīpa*. *Indra* decides to try him. He gradually makes disappear from the forest, where *Agastya* lives, all fruits and eatable roots. *Agastya* then begins to eat the leaves. *Indra* burns up leaves and grass; he eats the fresh leaves lying on the ground. *Indra* appears to him in the shape of a begging Brahmin, and asks him to what purpose he had undertaken this penance. The hermit declares that he wishes to be freed from the wheel of births. *Indra*, seeing that the hermit does not covet his (*Indra's*) own seat, promises to give him whatever he may wish.¹ In the subsequent conversation the hermit gives *Indra* a whole series of moral rules.

8. MAITRĪBALA. *The force of pity.*—The Bodhisat was a king, *Maitrābala*, righteous, pious, and charitable. Once there entered into his kingdom five *yakshas* (*ojohāra* 'taking away one's force'), expelled by their lord for some transgression. But, notwithstanding all their efforts, they were not able to rob even one inhabitant of his force, thanks to the king's virtues. Once they met in the forest a shepherd, sitting under a tree, and singing merrily. On their wondering how it was that he had no fear in such a lonesome place, he answers that he has nothing to fear, because there is in the land a guard for all men—the king *Maitrābala*, and counsels them to go and see the king. They go and ask the king for food, but reject that which is brought them, remarking that they eat only human flesh. The king, notwithstanding the dissuasion of his ministers, gives them his body; the physicians open his veins, and the *yakshas* drink his blood; he cuts off his flesh, and they eat it. Finally, astonished at the endurance of the king, they ask

¹ Necessarily we observe here the similitude of this conversation with that of *Yama* and *Nācīketas* in the first *vallī* of the *Kāṭhākopaniṣat*.

him what for he does all that. He answers that his aim is to free the world out of the wheel of births. They beg him to pardon them: he says that as they had only helped them in his purpose he had nothing to pardon, and takes a promise of them not to destroy in future living beings. The *yakshas* disappear. The whole world rejoices, *Indra* appears, and, with magic medicaments, heals the king.

9. VISVANTARA. *Prince Viṣvantara*.—The *Śibi* (v. above) had a king with name *Samjaya*. The Bodhisat was born, as his son, under the name of *Viṣvantara*, a prince resplendent with every talent and virtue. He distinguished himself by an extraordinary charity, and on feast days he used to ride about on a white elephant to inspect the places where, according to his orders, the poor were fed. The neighbouring king much wished to have this white elephant, and sent his Brahmins to beg it of the prince. He at once gave it. The inhabitants, irritated at this generosity towards a foreigner, demanded the punishment of the prince. The king was compelled to consent to his expulsion. The prince and his wife *Madri*, with their children, willingly go into exile. *Viṣvantara* tries to persuade his wife to remain behind, but gives way to her entreaties (to go with him). All their wealth they distribute before their departure. A throng of people accompanies them, whom the prince, only with some pains, persuades to return. On the way some Brahmins ask him for the horses of his waggon; he willingly gives them. Suddenly four *yakshas* appear and drag the waggon. Further on, another Brahmin asks the prince for the waggon itself. He gives away that also. *Viṣvantara* leads by the hand his son *Jālin*, and *Madri* her daughter *Kṛshṇājīnā*. They settle down near Mount *Vaṅka*, in a hut constructed, on *Indra's* orders, by *Viṣvakarman*. Once, when *Madri* had gone out to gather fruits, a Brahmin came, sent by his wife, to ask for a servant. He begs *Viṣvantara* to give him his children as servants. *Viṣvantara* asks him to await the return of their mother, that she might take leave of them, but the Brahmin does not consent. Then *Viṣvantara*, remarking that such little

children would only be ill servants, counsels him to go to their grandfather, the king of the *Śibi*, who would give him a ransom for them. Again, the Brahmin does not consent. Then *Viṣvantara* hands him the children, and, according to custom, pours water over his hands. The children ask to wait for their mother, but the Brahmin drives them off. The little girl weeps; the boy thinks with emotion on the grief of his mother. *Viṣvantara* sees all this, but remains firm. *Madri* returns, and, not seeing her children, is disquieted. On her questions *Viṣvantara* gives no answer, so that she falls down despairing. *Viṣvantara* brings her round again, and tells her how he had given the children to a Brahmin. She entirely approves him. The earth trembles from the effect of such high virtue. *Indra*, in order to finish the trial, goes to *Viṣvantara* in the shape of a Brahmin, and asks him for his wife. *Viṣvantara* gives her away with her full consent, and, in token of the delivery, pours water on the hands of *Indra*. *Indra* praises *Viṣvantara*, and, returning to his proper shape, gives back *Madri*, prophesies that also his children and kingdom will be returned to him, and disappears. The children are ransomed by the grandfather, and the people, hearing of the wonderful virtue of *Viṣvantara*, calls him back.

10. YAJÑA. *The sacrifice*.—The Bodhisat was a king. Once in his country there was a drought. The king, ascribing it to his own or his people's sins, turns to his councillors and Brahmins for advice what to do in this affliction. They counsel him to bring a sacrifice of a hundred living beings. The tenderhearted king becomes thoughtful, and considers how he shall proceed. Finally, he calls the Brahmins, and declares that he proposes to bring a sacrifice of 1000 men. The Brahmins are content, but afraid lest the people revolt. The king answers, he should manage it thus, that the people would remain quiet. He announced to the people that he would bring a sacrifice of 1000 men, but that he only would take such as should behave badly and sin. Every day it was proclaimed in the kingdom that well-behaved people would not be molested,

but all evildoers would be seized for the royal sacrifice. At the same time the king erected everywhere refuges for the poor. All now lived well, fearing the sacrifice; and in this manner the king brought the ‘sacrifice of the law;’ the earth again began to bear fruit, and abundance returned. Seeing this, the councillors praised the king.

11. ŚAKRA. *Indra*.—The Bodhisat was *Indra*. Once the *Asuras* invaded the gods; in the battle the gods’ army fled, also *Indra*. On his flight he remarks that in the forest, from the movement of his car, the birds’ nests fall down; from pity towards the birds he bids *Mātali*, his coachman, to return. The latter points out the persecuting enemy. *Indra* prefers to perish by the hand of the foe rather than destroy the birds, and they return. The enemies are confounded by his return, and victory remains with *Indra* and the army of the gods.

12. BRĀHMANA. *The Brahmin*.—The Bodhisat was born in a Brahmin family. On attaining the proper age he began to learn. The master, in order to try the virtue of his disciples, begins to complain of his oppressing poverty. The disciples eagerly collect alms to assist him. But he says that this would not suffice, and, on the question of the disciples, what to do? he tells them to steal, as a proper method of acquiring means. All the disciples willingly accept his instructions, except the Bodhisat, who stands silent, his face bowed down in shame. The master turns to him, to learn the reason of his disapprobation. The Bodhisat pronounces a long speech about its not being right to sin. The master congratulates him on his virtue.

13. UNMĀDAYANTĪ. *The belle Unmādayantī* (‘The Mad-denying’).—The Bodhisat was a king of the *Śibi*. To a prominent inhabitant of his capital, *Kiritavatsa*, a daughter of extraordinary beauty was born. The father informed the king, proposing to give her to him as his wife. The king sent expert Brahmins, who, on seeing the beauty of *Unmādayantī*, were struck with admiration. Fearing lest the king, when he saw her, might neglect his royal duties, they declared to him that the girl had bad signs, and he abstained

from taking her. Then the father gave her to a minister, *Abhipārāga*. Once, when the king passed the house of *Abhipārāga*, *Unmādayanti*, desiring to see the king, ascended the roof. The king saw her, and was amazed at her beauty. He inquired of his coachman who this was, and he told him; then the king, thinking it a sin to look at another's wife, went away. From this time he began to grow thin and wan. Seeing his grief, *Abhipārāga*, on learning the reason, presented himself before the king, and told him that at the time of sacrifice, suddenly, from somewhere, a *yaksha* had appeared, and told him that the king loved *Unmādayanti*; therefore he now offered her to him, if it really was so. The king declares he will not commit an unlawful action, and declines. *Abhipārāga* long tries to persuade him, but the king remains firm. *Abhipārāga* praises his constancy.

14. SUPĀRAGA. *The pilot Supārāga* ('Well crossing over').—The Bodhisat was a pilot, with name *Supārāga*, in the city *Supārāga*. Once there arrived from *Bharukaccha* certain merchants, who asked *Supārāga* to come with them. At first he excused himself on account of his blindness and age, but finally consented. They went a long way, till finally a storm carried them very far, where in the sea there appeared strange fishes, resembling men, with mouths like knives. The terrified merchants asked what that was. *Supārāga* tells them that these are fish, and that this sea is called *Khuramālin*. Further on they, in similar manner, pass the seas *Udadhimālin*, *Agnimālin*, *Kuṣamālin*, *Nalamālin*, and, finally, arrive in the sea *Vaḍabāmukha*, where, as *Supārāga* informs the merchants, destruction threatens them. *Supārāga* saves them, by conjuring the ship to return, on the force of his never having deprived of life a living being. The ship obeys. On their return journey the merchants, on the advice of *Supārāga*, collect jewels in the mentioned seas; and then, in one night, the ship returns to *Bharukaccha*.

15. MATSYA. *The Fish*.—The Bodhisat was king of the fishes, and lived in a lake; once, for a long time, no rain

fell, and the lake began to dry up. The birds collected round the lake to eat fishes. Seeing this, the Bodhisat prayed for rain, relying on the circumstance that he never had killed living beings. An abundant rain fell. *Indra* appeared and congratulated the fish king.

16. VARTAKĀPOTAKA.¹ *The young quail*.—The Bodhisat was a young quail, and lived in a nest in the forest; when his parents brought living food he did not eat, but only berries and grass. Therefore he was small and weak-winged, while his brothers grew up strong. Once a violent fire broke out in the forest. The frightened quails all flew off, and only the little one remained, who, from weakness, could not fly. He turned to the fire, pointing out his helpless condition, and begged it to stop. The fire did so.

17. KUMBHA. *The Pot*.—The Bodhisat was *Indra*. Once he saw that king *Sarvamitra*, with his subjects, was given to drunkenness: he resolves to save him. He appears to him in the shape of a god, in the air, holding in his hand a pot of wine, crying, “Who wants to buy this pot?” The king, amazed, asks him who he is. *Indra* answers that he will learn it later on; and on the question, what sort of pot that is, he says that in this pot is that on which the direst consequences will follow, whereon he accurately describes the consequences of drunkenness. This sermon so strongly impresses the king that he resolves to give up drunkenness, and wants to reward the preacher generously. *Indra* shows himself in his real shape and disappears. King and people give up drunkenness.

18. APUTRA. *The Sonless Man*.—The Bodhisat is born in a rich family. On the death of his parents he distributes all his wealth, and makes himself a hermit. Once a friend of his father visits him, and praises the condition of a family man. In answer, the young man pronounces a long speech in praise of hermitage.

¹ It is extremely interesting that the verses quoted on p. 98, 20 as coming from the *āryasthāvīriyakāyā*, are found, in fact, nearly identical in the *Khuddakanikāya* of the Pāli canon, Dhammap. 244, 245—

sujīvitam, etc. sujīvam, etc.

19. BISA. *The Lotus-stalk.*—The Bodhisat was born in a Brahmin family; he had six younger brothers and a sister. When his parents died, he declared to his brothers that he meant to take orders; after his departure his brothers and sister declare that they will follow his example. All go to the forest; with them a friend, a servant, and a maid. They dispose themselves each in a separate hut; each fifth day they assemble, and the Bodhisat preaches the law to them. The maid prepares their food from lotus-stalks, setting before each an equal portion on lotus-leaves; and announces the time by striking one piece of wood on another, when, one after the other, they come to fetch their portions. In order to test the Bodhisat's virtue, *Indra* steals his part. The Bodhisat quietly returns to his hut, thinking that someone had taken his food, and says nothing to the brothers. So the five days pass. When they all assemble to hear the law, they see that the Bodhisat has grown thinner, and ask him whence. The Bodhisat tells them; then all, to clear themselves of suspicion, swear that it was not them who took the lotus-stalks. This oath consists of wishing to him who had stolen the food all worldly enjoyments. A *yaksha*, an elephant, and a monkey hear them, and also swear. *Indra* appears, and asks them as to their strange oaths. The Bodhisat explains to him the vanity and injuriousness of the worldly enjoyments. *Indra* confesses to the theft, and, on the severe stricture on this head, answers with excuses and disappears. Identification of the person in the Jātaka.

20. CRESHTHI. *The Merchant.*—The Bodhisat was born in a merchant family, and became merchant to the king. Once, when he was with the king, his mother-in-law comes to visit her daughter, in order to learn how she lives. On her questions about her daughter's husband, she answers that it would be difficult to find even a hermit so virtuous as her husband. The mother was a little deaf; hearing the word 'hermit,' she thought that her son-in-law had become a hermit, and, commiserating her daughter, she began to vociferate; the daughter, provoked at this, repeated what

she had said before; the people (a mob) gathered. Returning home, the merchant sees this crowd, and hears complaints. He asks what it is, they answer him that the master of this house has become a hermit, and that now his relations lament his departure. He at once returns to the king to ask him for leave to take orders. The king, on learning that he had taken this resolve from the words of the multitude, dissuades him. But he is inflexible, notwithstanding all entreaties of his relations and friends, and becomes a hermit.

21. CUḌḌABODHI.—The Bodhisat is born in a Brahmin family. He becomes a hermit, his wife follows his example, and accompanies him, notwithstanding his dissuasions. They live in the forest; once the king comes there with his suite to ‘make jolly.’ He sees the female hermit, and, struck with her beauty, wants to steal her. He commands to carry her to his court. The hermit keeps entirely quiet; the king is struck. The Bodhisat makes a sermon on anger. The king returns him his wife, and himself becomes his servant.

22. HĀMSA. *The Swan*.—The Bodhisat was the king of a drove of swans, with name *Dhṛtarāshtra*. He had a general called *Sumukha*; they lived on the banks of a lake. At this time *Brahmadatta* was king at *Benares*. Hearing of these swans, he vehemently wished to see them, and advised with his councillors how to allure these swans. The ministers counsel him to construct somewhere in the forest a beautiful pond, and to proclaim every day that the birds near this pond shall be undisturbed. The king accordingly has the pond dug not far from the city. Once, a pair of swans from the lake secretly flew thither, and the pond pleased them so much that they came before their leader to call him also there. *Sumukha* dissuades it, but *Dhṛtarāshtra*, nevertheless, flies to the pond with his drove. The attendants notified the king; he sends a huntsman to catch some of the swans. He cleverly disposes his springs, and the leader is caught. In order to save the others, he cries; the swans fly away, only *Sumukha* remains, who will not

leave his master, notwithstanding all *Dhṛtarāshṭra's* entreaties. The huntsman steps up, and, in astonishment, asks *Sumukha* why he does not fly away. He answers that he could not forsake his king in misery, and tries to persuade the hunter to release them both; and when the hunter tells him to fly away, he begs him to take himself instead of *Dhṛtarāshṭra* (and release the latter). The hunter is persuaded, and releases *Dhṛtarāshṭra*. Then *Sumukha* proposes to him to bring them both before the king, unfettered. The king rejoices on seeing the swans, and asks the huntsman how so he could bring them unfettered. He tells him all. The king generously rewards the hunter; and puts *Dhṛtarāshṭra* (as king) on a golden, and *Sumukha* (as minister) on a bamboo, seat. After a long conversation with the swans the king dismisses them. After some time *Dhṛtarāshṭra* again appears before the king, and, honoured by him, preaches to him the law.

23. MAHĀBODHI. *The hermit Mahābodhi*.—The Bodhisat was a hermit, with name *Mahābodhi*, and famous for his virtue and knowledge. Once, on his wanderings, he came into the territory of a certain king, and settled in the royal park. The king received him with honour, and he constantly converses with him on the law. The king's ministers began to envy the hermit, and inspired the king with suspicion against him, saying, that probably he was the spy of some enemy. The king lends an ear to these suggestions, and begins to treat the hermit coldly; this latter remarks it, but at first gives it not much thought; only when he finds that the people about the king treated him worse than usual, he resolves to go away. The king seeks to persuade him to remain. While they speak together, the favourite dog of the king, barking, attacks the hermit. He calls the king's attention to this, and tells him that the best evidence of the changed feelings of the king was this dog, formerly fawning, but now barking at him. The king continues his entreaty, but the hermit persists in his purpose, and even will not give the promise to return. The hermit becomes absorbed into meditation,

and soon attains the four contemplations and the five knowledges; then he remembers the king, and sees in his mind that the king is in the hands of his five ministers, who confess to the five false doctrines—(1) *ahetuvāda* (‘causelessness’), all depends on the proper nature of a being or a thing; (2) *iṣvarakāraṇa* (‘God, the cause’), the world is created by a divinity; (3) *pūrvakarmakṛta* (‘what was done in former births’), everything depends on that what has been done in former rebirths; (4) *ucchedavāda* (‘the doctrine of annihilation’); (5) *kshatṛavidyā* (‘the knowledge of government’), for the king there is no lawlessness. The Bodhisat resolves to save the king. He creates by magic a large monkey, in whose hide he clothes himself, and comes before the king. After the salutations, the king asks by whom the monkey-skin was given to him. He answers that he himself has killed the monkey and taken his skin. The ministers malignantly exclaim at this fearful sin of the hermit—the murder of a living being. The Bodhisat, on his part, shows to each one of them that from the standpoint of their different doctrines there was no sin in it. Then he explains that he had not killed the monkey, but that it was only a magic trick, turns the king and his followers towards the right path, and then, flying up in the air, withdraws.

24. MAHĀKAPI. *The Great Monkey*.—The Bodhisat was a great monkey, living at the Himālaya. Once a man, going in search of a lost cow, lost his way in the neighbourhood. As he was hungry he tried to pluck the fruit from a tree, standing on the verge of a declivity, and fell into a deep ravine. Unable to disengage himself, he began to cry and weep. On his cries the monkey came up and drew him out. Then, tired from his exertion, the monkey lay down and slept. The man, with the purpose to use his flesh for food, resolved to kill him, and threw at him a stone; but this failed to kill. The monkey, awaking and seeing that the man had tried to kill him, only reproved him, and then led him on his way. This man afterwards fell ill of a disgusting malady, so that the people drove him away.

Once in a forest a king, in hunting, met him, and asked who he was. He told him that he was a man punished for treason against his friend.

25. *ṢARABHA. The animal Ṣarabha.*—The Bodhisat was a *ṣarabha* (kind of stag), and lived in the forest. Once a king, in hunting, came to the same forest. Seeing him, the king gave chase, but, on his way, fell into a cleft that his horse would not jump. The *ṣarabha*, not hearing the sound of the hoofs behind him, turned round, saw the king in the cleft, carried him out of it, and showed him the way home. The king invites the *ṣarabha* to settle down in his city, but the *ṣarabha* declines, and begs the king to abstain from the murder of living beings.

26. *RURU. The deer Ruru.*—The Bodhisat was a *Ruru*-deer. Once he heard the cries of a man, borne along by the river. He drew him out. The man profusely thanks him. The *ruru* asks him to promise to tell nobody who had saved him, that the people, attracted by his beauty, might not come to hunt him. At this time the queen of this country always had dreams that, afterwards, were realized. Once she saw in her dream a golden deer preaching the law to her, and asked the king to find this deer. They call together all huntsmen, promising them a large reward for the capture of this deer, but no one can find him. Then the man who had been saved by the deer promises to point him out. The king marches with his army and they surround the deer. This latter asked the king who had led him. The king pointed to the man; the deer reproves him for his ingratitude, but so that only he understands the meaning of his words. The king asks for explanation, and, guessing the truth, wants to kill the man; the deer intercedes for him; then, together with the king, the deer goes to his court and teaches the law. The king ceases to kill animals.

27. *MAHĀKAPI. The Great Monkey.*—The Bodhisat lived on the Himālaya, as leader of a herd of monkeys. The monkeys lived on a large *nyagrodha* tree, subsisting by

its fruits. One branch of the tree stretched out above a river. The leader cautiously ordered the monkey, before all, to cull the fruits from this branch. But once the monkeys overlooked one fruit, which, when grown ripe, fell into the river. It was by the current borne down to where the king bathed. The king was so much pleased with it that he decided to find out the tree on which such wonderful fruit grew, and, with his army, marched up the river till he saw the tree, and, on it, the monkeys, which latter he ordered to be killed, as they ate the coveted fruit. The leader encouraged the frightened monkeys, climbed to the top of the tree, and jumped from thence to a near hill, but he saw that the other monkeys would not be able to take such a jump; then he bound his feet to a strong liana, jumped back, and caught hold of the tree with his hands, so that he formed a bridge on which the other monkeys did not tarry to fly from the tree. The king and his army, beholding such force and courage, were astounded. The king ordered the monkey, who, from exhaustion, had lost consciousness, to be cautiously taken from the tree and put on a soft couch. When he had recovered his senses, the king asked him why he had acted thus. The monkey answered that such was his duty as leader, and pronounced a long sermon on the duties of a king. Then, leaving his body, he goes to heaven.

28. *KSHĀNTI. Patience.*—The Bodhisat was a hermit, with name *Kshāntivādin*, and settled in a forest. Once the king, with his women, came into the forest; when the king fell asleep the women walked about and found the hermit. They sat down near him and he preached the law to them. When the king awoke he went to seek his women, and found them listening to the hermit; he became angry and began to upbraid him. The women interceded for him, but the king grew only the more angry, and the women went off. The king drew his sword and began to hack the hermit to pieces. Though he hewed off the hermit's hands, feet, ears, and nose, the latter suffered and was silent. On completing this horrible work the king felt a great heat; and, as he

just came out of the forest, the earth opened with a crash, fire came out, and the king was swallowed down. On the noise the people assembled in fright, and asked the hermit that the whole country might not be destroyed like the king. The hermit appeased all and flew up to the sky.

29. BRAHMA. *The god Brahma.*—The Bodhisat was born in the world of *Brahma*. Once he saw that king *Angaddins* of *Videha* cherished heretical opinions, denied the existence of another world, and the reward of good and bad actions. He descends from heaven and appears before the king. Struck with this appearance, the king asks who he was; he answers that he is one of the *devarshi's* of *Brahma's* world, and begins a sermon on the other world; the king listens to him but is not convinced, and interrupts him by the ironical remark that, if there is indeed another world the *devarshi* should give him 500 *nishka* (cash), and he would give him back in the other world 1000. Seeing his obstinacy ('the') *Brahma* points to him the tortures of hell. The king, frightened at this, turns to the true path. *Brahma* disappears.

30. HASTI. *The Elephant.*—The Bodhisat was an elephant. Once he saw 700 people who had lost their way. They had been exiled by the king; at first they had been 1000, but after their long wanderings only these 700 were alive. The elephant conceived the thought to feed them with his own flesh, in order to save them from starvation. He shows them the way to the water, and says that on the way they will find the body of an elephant that might serve them for food. They go; he, by another way, gets the start of them, and, throwing himself from above down on their road, kills himself. At the time of this his self-sacrifice several miracles happen. The wanderers find the body, and, on looking at it, see that it is their former guide. Then some of them say that it is impossible to take of his flesh, but that they must honour his body and go their way. But others point out that this would be to act contrary to the elephant's wishes, who had died just for

this purpose. Then all satisfy their hunger with his flesh and safely go on.

31.¹ SUTASOMA. *Prince Sutasoma*.—The Bodhisat was born in the royal race of *Kuru*, and was called *Sutasoma*. He distinguished himself by knowledge and virtue. Once, on his walk, a Brahmin appeared before him, who pronounced beautiful sentences (*subhāshita*): Suddenly a noise arose, the frightened servants run up, shouting that *Saudāsa* had come. The Bodhisat, though he knew, asked, who was that. They told him that once king *Sudāsa* went hunting, and carried by his horse into the depths of the forest, met there a lioness, with whom he had relations, and who bore him *Saudāsa*. *Sudāsa* brought him up. From his mother the boy inherited the taste for different sorts of (raw) flesh, he also ate human flesh, and, for that purpose, killed his subjects (having become king after his father's death). These latter, at last, resolved to kill him. *Saudāsa* became afraid, and promised to the *bhūtas* (evil spirits) a sacrifice of 100 princes if they would deliver him from his danger. As soon as he was free from his enemies he began to steal princes, and now came here to fetch *Sutasoma*. *Sutasoma*, on hearing this, goes up to *Saudāsa*, who carries him off to his seat (*durga*). *Sutasoma* remembers the Brahmin, whom he could not hear to end, and sheds tears. *Saudāsa*, thinking that he weeps from fear, scoffs. *Sutasoma* explains the reasons of his tears, and begs *Saudāsa* to allow him to go and hear all the Brahmin has to tell, promising to return. *Saudāsa* does not believe in *Sutasoma's* resolution to return to certain death. *Sutasoma* declares to him that truth goes before all, and that he always keeps his promises. *Saudāsa*, to try *Sutasoma*, allows him to go home. *Sutasoma* hears to end the four verses of the Brahmin, generously rewards him, and, notwithstanding the entreaties of his father, returns to *Saudāsa*, who expresses his astonishment. *Sutasoma* replies that now he has heard the Brahmin's

¹ [The Jain tale corresponding to this Jātaka is found in the commentaries on *Āvasyaka-niryukti*, ix. 32 (more exactly on *Viśeshāvasyaka-bhāṣya*, v. 189, 5); it is alluded to also in *Āv.-niry.* xix. 164, 4.—E.L.]

four verses, he is ready to be made a sacrifice. *Saudāsa* wishes to hear these sayings, but *Sutasoma* replies that to the lawless the hearing of the law will be no use. *Saudāsa* excuses himself, saying that, as others hunt game, he hunts men. *Sutasoma* answers that also the hunt for game is sinful, much more that for men; then he speaks to him on the truth, and on the question of *Saudāsa*; how it is he does not fear death, explains why it is not to be feared. *Saudāsa* is struck by his words, renounces his resolution to kill him, again begs him to tell the four strophes, and constructs him a teacher's seat. *Sutasoma* pronounces the four verses. *Saudāsa* is so much pleased that he offers to him anything he may wish. *Sutasoma* answers, how could one give presents to others, who is not even his own master. *Saudāsa* says that he is ready to give his life. *Sutasoma* demands four things: that he be honest; do not kill living beings; set his prisoners free; and do not eat human flesh. *Saudāsa* consents to the three first demands, but asks to have the fourth one changed. *Sutasoma* explains to him that the three, without the last, had no meaning. *Saudāsa* says that it is quite impossible for him to abstain from human flesh. *Sutasoma* continues to preach to him, and he at last surrenders. The imprisoned princes are set free, and they all, with *Saudāsa* and *Sutasoma*, return to their different countries.

32. **AYOGRHA.** *The iron house.*—The Bodhisat was born as a prince. All the children the king had had before him had died. Therefore, when the Bodhisat was about to be born, the king erected an iron house, embellished with all precious things; here the Bodhisat was born; here he grew up and was educated. Once the king allowed him to take a ride. On the sight of all surrounding beauties of nature, and the products of human hands, he begins to meditate on the transitoriness of everything earthly, and turns to his father with the request to allow him to become a monk. The king will not give his consent; the son, by long persuasion, finally brings him round to his side. The prince becomes an hermit, and eventually is born again in *Brahma's* world.

33. MAHISHA. *The Buffalo*.—The Bodhisat was a buffalo and dwelt in the forest. There also lived a monkey, who constantly tortured and tormented the buffalo, but he suffered all. Once a *yaksha* asked him why he so patiently bore the persecution of the monkey. The buffalo answers with a long sermon on patience. The *yaksha* praises him, and, throwing the monkey from his back, goes away.

34. ŚATAPATTRA. *The Woodpecker*.—The Bodhisat was a woodpecker. Once he saw a lion, struck with whose sorry aspect, he asked what was the matter with him. The lion told him that a bone stuck in his throat. The woodpecker put a piece of wood, as a prop, between his jaws and took out the bone. After some time he, being very hungry, met the lion, who had just killed a deer, and asked him for some meat; the lion gave him nothing, and added that he ought to be glad to have saved his head from his jaws. The woodpecker quietly flew away: the divinity of some tree there asked him why he had not torn out the lion's eyes, or at least taken a bit of meat out of his mouth while he could have done so. The woodpecker makes him a sermon—that we must not get angry (give way to anger), nor give attention to the ingratitude of others.

TABLES OF PARALLELS.

I. *The Jātaka Mālā*.¹

<i>Jātaka Mālā.</i>	<i>Jātaka.</i>	<i>Cariyā Piṭaka.</i>
1. Vyāghri	*(Hardy, Manual, 92)	
2. Sibi	499	8
3. Kulmāshapiṇḍī	415	
4. Sreshti	40	
5. Avishahya	340	*Nidānakathā, p. 45
6. Śaṣa	316	10
7. Āgastya	480	1
8. Maitribala	?	
9. Viṣvantara	W. 539	9
10. Yajña	cf. *50	
11. Sakra	31, p. 202 sq.	
12. Brāhmaṇa	*305	
13. Unmādayantī	*527	
14. Supārāga	463	
15. Matsya	75	30
16. Vartakāpotaka	35	29
17. Kumbha	*512	
18. Aputra	?	
19. Bīsa	488	24
20. Sreshti	171	
21. Cullabodhi	443	14
22. Hamsa	502	
23. Mahābodhi.	*528	*Nidānakathā, p. 46
24. Mahākapi	*516	
25. Śarabha	483	
26. Ruru	482	
27. Mahākapi	407	
28. Kshānti	313	
29. Brahma	*W. 536	
30. Hasti	?	
31. Sutasoma	*537	32
32. Ayogrha	510	23
33. Mahisha	278	15
34. Śatapattra	308	

¹ On this table and the third compare the similar tables at the end of Prof. Rhys Davids's introduction to his 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' London, 1881.

Those signed with an asterisk are not in Prof. Kern's table (Preface, p. viii sq.). The greater part of these omissions is explained by the fact that, at the time when the *Jātaka Mālā* was being printed, the fifth part of the *Jātaka* was not yet published. Yet other parallels are: 1=in another redaction *Divyāv* 32. *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* (B.K.) 51. 95. *Dsaṅgūn* 2; 2=Ds. 35; 6=B.K. 104. *Av. Śat.* 37; 8=Ds. 12; 9=B.K. 23; 28=B.K. 38. [Ds. 11. H.W.]; 29 cf. *Beal, Rom. Leg.* 306-310; 31=Ds. 36, *Bhadrakalpāvadāna* 34.

II. *The Nidāna Kathā.*

<i>Nidāna Kathā.</i>		<i>Jātaka.</i>
1. Akittibrāhmaṇa	dāna	480
2. Saṃkhabrāhmaṇa	„	442
3. Dhanañjararāja	„	276
4. Mahāsudassana	„	95
5. Mahāgovinda	„	?
6. Nimimahārāja	„	W. 533
7. Candakumāra	„	W. 534
8. Visahyasetthi	„	340
9. Sivrāja	„	499
10. Vessantara	„	W. 539
11. Sasapaṇḍita	„	316
1. 12. Silavanāgarāja	silā	455
2. 13. Campeyyanāgarāja	„	506
3. 14. Bhūridattanāgarāja	„	W. 535
4. 15. Chaddantanāgarāja	„	514
5. 16. Jayaddisa (Alinasattu)	„	513
6. 17. Saṃkhapāla.	„	524
1. 18. Somanassakumāra	nekkhamma	505
2. 19. Hatthipālakumāra	„	509
3. 20. Ayogharapaṇḍita	„	510
4. 21. Cūlasutasoma	„	525
1. 22. Vidhūrapaṇḍita	paññā	W. 537
2. 23. Mahāgovindapaṇḍita	„	?
3. 24. Kuddālapaṇḍita	„	70
4. 25. Arakapaṇḍita	„	169
5. 26. Bodhiparibbājaka	„	528
6. 27. Mahosadhapaṇḍita	„	W. 538
7. 28. Senakapaṇḍita (Sattubhattaj)	„	402
1. 29. Mahājanaka	vīrya	W. 531
1. 30. Khāntivāda	khānti	313
1. 31. Mahāsutasoma	sacca	537
1. 32. Mūgapakkha	adhiṭṭhāna	W. 530
1. 33. Ekarāja	mettā	303
1. 34. Lomahaṃsa	upekkhā	94 (?)

III. *The Cariyā Piṭaka.*

	<i>Cariyā Piṭaka.</i>	<i>Jātaka.</i>	
i.	1. Akatti	480	dāna
	2. Saṃkha	442	„
	3. Kurudhamma	276	„
	4. Mahāsudassana	95	„
	5. Mahāgovinda	Mahāvastu	„
	6. Nimirāja	W. 533	„
	7. Candakumāra	W. 534	„
	8. Sivrāja	499	„
	9. Vesantara	W. 539	„
	10. Sasapaṇḍita	316	„
ii.	1. 11. Sīlavanāga	455	silā
	2. 12. Bhūridatta	W. 535	„
	3. 13. Campeyyanāga	506	„
	4. 14. Cūlabodhi	443	„
	5. 15. Mahimsarāja	278	„
	6. 16. Rururāja	482	„
	7. 17. Mātāṅga	497	„
	8. 18. Dhammādhamma- devaputta	457	„
	9. 19. Jayaddisa	513	„
	10. 20. Saṃkhapāla	524	„
iii.	1. 21. Yuvañjaya	460	nekkhamma
	2. 22. Somanassa	505	„
	3. 23. Ayoghara	510	„
	4. 24. Bhisā	488	„
	5. 25. Soṇapaṇḍita	W. 524	„
	6. 26. Temiya	W. 530	adhittāna
	7. 27. Kāpirāja	407	sacca
	8. 28. Saccavhayopaṇḍita	?	„
	9. 29. Vattakapoṭaka	35	„
	10. 30. Maccharāja	75	„
	11. 31. Kaṇhadīpāyana	444	„
	12. 32. Sutasoma	537	„
	13. 33. Suvanṇasāma	?	metta
	14. 34. Ekarāja	303	„
	15. 35. Mahālomahaṃsa	94	upekkhā [not en- tirely identical].

Bhadrakalpāvadāna, ch. 34 (f. 424 v.—448 v.).

The Buddha came into the city to king *Śuddhodana* with his disciples. The King fed Buddha and his disciples; after dinner Buddha blesses the king and his ministers, and goes back to the wood. The king follows him to hear the law. Turning to *Ānanda*, he (Buddha) effusively praises monkdom and hermitry, and on this occasion, remembering a former rebirth, tells the legend of *Sutasoma* (*Sutasomāvadānaka*).

In *Kāṣi* there was at one time king *Sudāsa*, a worshipper of the three precious things, and very virtuous (long description!). Once he, with his women, repaired to his park to enjoy himself. All disperse in the beautiful park; suddenly the king's horse bolts, and bears him into the jungle. Tired of racing, after four *yojanas*, it stands still under a tree. The king dismounts to take breath. He begins to upbraid his horse, that it had borne him to so lonesome and dangerous a place. Feeling thirsty, the king looks out for water, having before bound his horse to the tree. He hears from afar the noise of a waterfall (*prapāta*), goes there, drinks, washes himself, and takes breath: remembering his women, he is seized by love, and, loudly complaining that he is deprived of the means to gratify it, from grief falls senseless. At this time a young lioness wandered about in the wood, seeking a male. Hearing the complaints of the king, she goes up to him. The king is frightened; she speaks to him with human voice, quieting his fears, and expressing her desire; from fright the king again falls into a swoon, but the lioness with blandishments brings him round, and persuades him to fulfil her desire. Then the lioness tries to induce him to live, as her husband, entirely with her in the wood, as she too was the daughter of a king, that of the beasts. The frightened king does not decidedly refuse her, but, under the pretext that she must find food, he sends her off, himself mounts his horse and flies. He falls in with his suite, and, returning to the city, tells what had happened to him, only concealing his relations with the lioness. The lioness, returning, and not

seeing the king, from grief falls into a swoon. Soon it appeared that she was with child; upbraided by her parents, she goes out into the wood, and there brings forth a beautiful boy. Until the twelfth year she nourished him in the wood, but then she gave him to some merchants coming through the city, and goes herself back into the wood. The merchants were struck with the boy's likeness with the king, and decided that this must be his son, born, in some miraculous way, by a lioness, when he had been carried away by his horse into the wood. They brought the boy to *Benares*, and presented him to the king, who gladly acknowledged him as his son, giving him the name of *Saudāsa Narasiṃha* ('Son of Sudāsa, Man-Lion'). In the course of time the king married him, and afterwards, being old himself, went with his wife to the forest, after having anointed his son as king. The young king was fierce, and ate very much meat; constantly animals and birds were killed for him. But, not content with this, he himself went into the forest, killed animals and ate them, trying all kinds of raw meat. His councillors tried to dissuade him from eating raw meat, as that was not seemly for human beings. He retorted that raw meat, more than anything else, gives force, and declared to them that he was resolved even to eat human flesh, as the best of all. In the night the king secretly goes to the gaol, fetches a man, and eats him; so he did every night. This was remarked, and the councillors were informed of it. They took counsel together, and also questioned queen *Dharmagañjā*, who confirmed the information as to the king's behaviour. The councillors go to, and remonstrate with, him, but he does not listen to them, and objects. Then they decide to drive him away, and, in the following night, meeting him in the place of his crime, drive him out of the kingdom, notwithstanding his entreaties. In the forest he meets his mother, the lioness, who asks him who he is: he answers, and she tells him that she is his mother, and then asks him what his father is doing, and why he has left *Benares*. He tells her all that has happened. Then

she counsels him to collect a hundred princes for a sacrifice, telling him not to kill them before the hundred is full.¹ The son obeys his mother; he seizes prince after prince, and puts them into a cavern; soon he has collected ninety-nine.

At this time the pious king *Sutasoma*, of the race of *Kuru*, was reigning. Once, in spring, he repaired with his suite to the park to enjoy himself. There a monk presents himself before him, who wishes to communicate to him some beautiful sentences. *Sutasoma* promises him a liberal reward, and prepares himself to listen; suddenly a noise rises, the servants come running and shouting that the terrible *Saudāsa* has appeared. On the question of *Sutasoma* (who, of course, knew what he asked about) who this was, the servants relate: Once the king went hunting and his horse carried him far into the forest; here he met a tigress, and, inflamed by love, had relations with her. She bore a son, who, later on, was brought to his father, who gladly acknowledged him; he succeeded to his father. *Saudāsa* very much liked flesh, and ate even that of men. His subjects resolved to kill him and he fled. Finding himself in the forest, he made a vow for his deliverance from misery to bring a sacrifice of a hundred princes. The servants bid *Sutasoma* save himself, as *Saudāsa* apparently had come for him. But *Sutasoma* wishes to turn *Saudāsa* to the right path and goes to meet him. *Saudāsa* says he came to seek him, seizes him, and carries him off to his cavern. Here *Sutasoma*, remembering the monk from whom he was to hear the beautiful sentences, and whom he had promised to reward, weeps, thinking of the disappointment of the poor monk. *Saudāsa*, seeing his tears, thinks that he is afraid of death, and ridicules him. *Sutasoma* explains to him the reason of his tears, begs to be allowed to go and reward the monk, and promises afterwards to return. *Saudāsa* at first expresses a doubt whether *Sutasoma* would return to a certain death, but then, to try his truthfulness, dismisses him. The relations, seeing *Sutasoma*

¹ The text apparently is corrupt, and it is not clear to whom the sacrifice is to be brought, and what is its aim.

return, rejoice. *Sutasoma* tells them he is only come to hear the monk. The monk pronounces his verses; *Sutasoma* gives his presents. *Sutasoma's* father finds his liberality excessive, and reproaches him. The son justifies his act, and declares that he must return to *Saudāsa*. His father decidedly dissuades him, but *Sutasoma* is firm, and returns to the man-eater, who is struck with wonder. *Sutasoma* thanks him that he had allowed him to hear the beautiful sentences. *Saudāsa* wishes to hear them also, but *Sutasoma* declines to impart them to one living so lawlessly. Between them a conversation takes place, in which *Saudāsa* is struck so much by the merits of *Sutasoma*, that he renounces eating him, and again begs him to tell him the verses. He, as disciple, sits down below his teacher, and *Sutasoma* tells him the sentences of the monk. *Saudāsa*, charmed by them, bids him take anything he likes. *Sutasoma* asks him (1) to be true to his word; (2) not to destroy living beings; (3) to dismiss the prisoner princes; (4) not to eat human flesh. With the three first points *Saudāsa* agrees, but says that he cannot fulfil the fourth: at last he surrenders to the persuasion of *Sutasoma*. All princes and *Sutasoma* are released, and return each to his kingdom; after a sermon of *Sutasoma's* that we must aspire to *brahmacharyā* and always be honest,

Buddha identifies himself with *Sutasoma*.

Content with the sermon, king *Suddhodana* and the people return to the city.

This extract will suffice to show how near the author of the *Bhadrakalpāvadāna* kept to his original in its prosaic parts; the verses he mostly copies word for word.

Closing herewith our remarks on the *Jātaka Mālā*, I would point out yet another, though not quite convincing datum, on the question of the chronology of this collection. In *Bunyin Nanjio's* catalogue (No. 1349), a work of *ārya Śūra* is enumerated, as translated into Chinese in the year 434 A.D. If this date is correct, and our author is really meant, then the *Jātaka Mālā* could not be later than the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century.

III.

Jātakas in the Mahāvastu.

In the Mahāvastu are found a considerable number of Jātakas, partly complete and partly abridged. The following list thereof is compiled after the excellent edition of Mr. Senart, and the Catalogues of Rājendra Lal Mitra and Bendall; we have included all the rebirths of the Buddha mentioned in the work, notwithstanding that, according to the indication of the Mahāvastu itself, Jātakas are only to be found in the 8th, 9th, and 10th *bhūmi* (‘grades’ which the *Bodhisattva* must traverse before he becomes a *Buddha*), since this indication is directly contradicted by the mention in the 3rd and 7th *bhūmis* of Jātakas, which occur in the Mahāvastu and other collections.

1. Buddha was a cakravartin king, by name *Dr̥dhadhanu*, and lived at the time of Buddha Aparājita-dhvaja; he honoured him for 1000 years, and on his death erected him a stūpa, i, l. 60 sq.

Buddha was a merchant’s son under Śākyamuni, to whom he gave a rice soup, i, l. 47 sq. 111.

— was a cakravartin king, living under the Buddha Samitāvin, to whom he gave a palace built of the seven precious materials, i, l. 48–53.

— was the young Brahmin Megha, who lived under Buddha Dīpaṅkara, i, 1–2. 193–248; cf. Dharmaruci. Divyāv. xviii; Bodhisattvāvadānak. lxxxix.

— was the monk Abhiji (Abhiya), who lived under Buddha Sarvābhibhu, i, 2. 35–45.

— was the Brahmin Jyotipāla, who lived under Buddha Kāçyapa, i, 2. 317–338.

— gave to Buddha of his time 80 sandal palaces, i, 54.

— was king Arka, who gave to Buddha Parvata 80,000 caverns for the monks, i, 54.

— was under Buddha Ratnendra, who taught him during six years.

Buddha was a cakravartin king, who lived under Buddha Ratna, for whom he made 84,000 palaces embellished with jewels.

— gave away his wife and children in order to hear a wise saying, i, 91 sq.¹

— gave his head to a brahmin, to hear from him a wise saying, i, 92.

— was king Surūpa, with the same purpose, gave his wife, his son, and himself, to a rākṣhasa, i, 92 sq.

— was minister Saṃjaya, with the same purpose, gave his heart to a piśāca, i, 93.

— the merchant's elder Vasuṃdhara, gave, with the same purpose, all his wealth to a poor man, i, 93 sq.

— was king Surūpa, gave, with the same purpose, all Jambudvīpa to some man, i, 94.

— the deer Satvara, gave, with the same purpose, his body to a huntsman, i, 94 sq. This is the *Mṛgarājajī*. Mhv. ii, 255–257, where the deer is called *Surūpa*, and the 'wise saying' is read with slight variation.

— was king *Nāgabhuja*, with the same purpose, gave away his kingdom over the four dvīpas, i, 95.

— with the same purpose, threw himself into an abyss, i, 95.

— with the same purpose, left a ship (?) in the sea, i, 95. As we do not know what tale is alluded to here, we can translate only tentatively; *pota* might mean also 'a young one.'

— with the same purpose, gave away his eyes, i, 95; cf. *Dsanglun*, i.

— with the same purpose, threw himself into the fire, i, 95; cf. *ibid.*

— was the cakravartin king *Dharaṇīṃdhara*, who lived under Buddha *Sudarṣana*, to whom he gave all necessities of life, i, 111 sq.

¹ In this place the text is very much corrupted, and we cannot form a clear idea what tale here is related, as also further on there is a lacuna; also the tale, how Buddha obtained a wise saying from the snake-charmer, is not clear.

Buddha was the cakravartin king Aparājita, who lived under Buddha Nareṣvara, to whom he gave eighty-four monasteries, i, 112.

— was minister Vijaya, who lived under Buddha Suprabha, to whom he gave an entertainment, i, 112 sq.

— was the cakravartin king Acyuta, who lived under Buddha Ratnaparvata, for whom he constructed 84,000 palaces, i, 113 sq.

— was the cakravartin king Priyadaršana, who lived under Buddha Kanakaparvata, to whom he gave his kingdom, i, 114 sq.

— was king *Durjaya*, who lived under Buddha Pushpada, to whom he gave a luxurious entertainment, i, 115 sq.

— was a king who lived under Buddha Lalitavikrama, to whom he gave forty koṭis of palaces and yet another magnificent palace, i, 116 sq.

— was king Mṛgapatisvara, who lived under Buddha Mahāyaśas, to whom he gave a magnificent entertainment, i, 117 sq.

— was the cakravartin king Maṇivishāṇa, who lived under Buddha Ratnacūḍa, to whom he gave ninety-two myriad koṭis of palaces, i, 118 sq.

— was king Kuṣa, i, 128–131. This redaction is entirely different from the other Jātakas about Kuṣa; only this it has common with them, that also here they wish to carry off the queen.

— was king of the snakes Ugra, charmer of snakes, who pardons the ignorant, i, 131.

— was a lion, wounded by the hunter with the poisoned arrow, i, 131 sq.

— was leader of a caravan, misled by the treacherous guide, i, 133.

— was a king, pardoning his transgressing wife, i, 133 sq.

— was a nāgarāja (‘king of elephants’ or ‘of nāga’s’; it is not clear, from the tale, which is meant) Atula, who lived under Buddha Maṅgala, i, 248–252.

— was a brahmin, who erected an umbrella on the stūpa of his son, who was a Buddha, absorbed into nirvaṇa, i, 267.

*Triṣakunaj. 282=Tesakunaj. (521) (translated from the MS. by T. P. Minayev).

Buddha was the hermit Rakshita, who saved the city of Kāmpilya by appearing from the sea, i, 283-6.

— was an elephant in Vāraṇasī; he saved from the sea the city of Mithilā, i, 286-8.

Rshabhaj. i, 288-290.

Buddha was the leader of a herd of deer, of name Nyagrodha, who wanted to sacrifice himself in order to save a deer, i, 359-366; cf. Nigrodhamigaj. (12).

*Mañjarīj. ii, 48-64=Sudhābhojanaj. (535); cf. also the Biṭārikosiyaj. In regard to the uncertainty expressed by the editor (p. 509) as to the title of this Jātaka, we allow ourselves to opine that this title refers to the flowers that call forth the quarrel of the goddess. On the rôle of Nārada cf. the Mārkaṇḍeyapur. and Simhās. Introduction (dispute between Rambhā and Urvaṣī).

Godhaj. ii, 64-67=Jātaka, 333; cf. Beal, Rom. Leg. 82 sq. Hārapradānaj. ii, 67 sq.

Yaṣodharā-vyaghrībhūtaj. ii, 68-72; cf. Beal, 99 sq.

*Dharmapālaj.=Mahādhammapālaj. (447).

Śara-kshepañaj. ii, 82 sq.

Amarā-karmāra-dārikāj. ii, 83-89; cf. Sūcij. (387).

*Mahā-ummaggaj. Channa-patha-panho; *Mahaushadha and Viṣākhā: Schiefner, Tibetan tales—Ralston, particularly p. 157. *Minayev, Buddhism, i, 151-4; Beal, Rom. Leg. 23-6. *Divyāv. xxxvi, 521 sq. Śirij. ii, 89-94.

*Kinnarīj. ii, 94-115; cf. Divyāv. xxx. Sudhāna-kumārāvadāna. Schiefner-Ralston, Sudhana-avadana, 44-74.

*Syāmaj. ii, 166-177; cf. Kaṇaveraj. (318); cf. also No. 419 and Petavatthuvaṇṇanā, i, 1.

*Campaka-nāgarāja-j. ii, 177-188=Campeyyaj. (506). Cariyāpiṭaka, 85 sq.

*Syāmaka-j. ii, 209-231. Sāmaj. Westergaard, 532.

Śiriprabhaj. ii, 234-7. Suvaṇṇamigaj. (359).

Śakuntakaj. ii, 241-3.

Kacchapaj. ii, 244 sq. This tale, as was mentioned above, found its way into one of the MSS. of the Jātakamālā.

Markaṭaj. ii, 246–250; cf. Jāt. 208. 342 (also 57. 224).

Sakuntakaj. ii, 250–5.

Śurūpa-mṛgarājaj. ii, 255–7; cf. Mahāvastu, i, 94.

Kuṣaj. ii, 420–496; cf. Kusaj. (531). Schiefner-Ralston, 21. Dsanglun, xiii, p. 91 *sqq.* Bhadrakalpāv. xxx; cf. Mahāvastu, i, 128–131.

Vrshabhaj.¹

Vānaraj.

Vānarīj. (?).

Puṇyavantaj.; cf. Bhadrakalpāv. xvi and Tib.; Benfey, Panchatantra, ii, 535–7 (Nachtrag).

Vijitāvīj.

Rakṣhasadvīpa-pākshika-j.; cf. below Dharmalabdhaj. Valāhassaj. (196). Divyāv. 119–121. 523–8. Avalokiteṣvaraguṇa-kāraṇḍa-vyūha (ed. Calc. pp. 52–59; cf. Burnouf, Introd. p. 223 *sq.* Rājendralāl. p. 96 *sq.*). Wenzel, A Jātaka tale from the Tibetan. Beal, Rom. Leg. 332–340. Hiouen-Thsang (St. Julien, ii, 131–140. Beal, ii, 240–6); cf. also Telapattaj. (96).

Kākaj.

Hastinīj.; cf. Bhadrakalpāv. xxxii.

Nalinīj.; cf. Nalinīj. W. 519. Bhadrakalpāv. xxxiii.

Padmavatīj.; cf. Bodhisattvāvadānak. lxxxiii. [Candra-Sūryaj.]; cf. Bhodisattvāvadānak. lxxxiii, Bhadrakalpāv. xxvii. Beal, Rom. Leg. 361–3.

Upāligāṅgapālaj. Gaṅgamālaj. (421); cf. a similar story in the collection Karpūraprakarāvacūri: Kapilabrāhmaṇa-kathā.²

Mahāgovindaj.; cf. Cariyāp. i, 5.

Dharmalabdhaj.

Ājñāta-kaunḍinya-j.

Pañcabhadravargīyaj.

¹ Here M. Senart's edition stops unfortunately at present. The remainder of the titles, here added by the author from Rājendralāl, p. 145 *sq.* and Bendall, p. 56 *sq.*, will doubtless be found in the forthcoming volume of M. Senart's edition.—H. W.

² This collection is apparently very near related, if not identical, with the Kathā-mahodadhī of the poet Somacandra.

Ṣarabha[ṅga]j.; cf. Sarabhaṅgaj. (522). Commentary on the Upālisutta (Feer).

Pūrṇa-maitrāyaṇī-puttraj.

Yaṣodaj.; cf. Bhadrakalpāv. xv. Beal, Rom. Leg. 250-6; cf. Minayev, Buddhistische Fragmente, 584 n.

Ashtisenaj.

Uruvilvā-kāṣyapa-nadī-kāṣyapaj.

Arindamaj.

As we do not feel ourselves justified, before the completion of the exemplary edition by *Senart*, to enter into a critique of the text, we confine ourselves here to adducing some more parallels: ii, 166 and 198-200=Suttanip., Pabbajjas. pp. 71-74; ii, 238-240=Suttanip., Padhānas. pp. 74-78; ii, 191-5 = Kaṅṭhakavimāna, Vimānavatthu, p. 73 sq. (No 81).

Misprints, i, 27. 4 read *tiryag°*; i, 630. 32 read *359*; ii, 54. 37 read *brāhmaṇa*; ii, 78. 17 read *imāni*; ii, 83. 17 read *adhevānam*; ii, 363. 11 read *sphīteshu*; ii, 362 sq. is found, with rather considerable variants and transpositions, as a quotation in the Śikshāsamuccaya of Śāntideva, beginning of ch. 17:

ukto vandanāvidhiḥ | tena puṇyavṛddhir bhavatīti kuto
gamyate || āryāvalokanasūtrāt | evaṃ hi tatroktam ||
varjayaty akṣhaṇāny asṭtau ya ime deṣitā mayā
kṣhaṇaṃ cārāgayety ekaṃ buddhotpādaṃ suṣobhanam, etc.

(Copy of Minayev, from MS. in India Office, fol. 174 v. sq).

IV.

The Jātaka of the “Young Trailhunter” and the Jain parallels to it.

(Padakusalamāṇava Jātaka, No. 432.)

Interesting parallels to this Jātaka are found (1) in the Jain collection *Samyaktvakaumudī*.¹

(2) In the commentaries to the Uttarajjhayaṇa, ii, 44.²

The parallelism extends to the general idea as well as to the tales. There is no doubt of the relation between the Buddhist and the Jain texts, though the character of this relation, on account of the insufficiency of the material, is at present difficult to define. This only is certain, that those Jain texts which we could make use of are younger than the Pāli text.

In the *Samyaktvakaumudī* the group of tales and the ‘frame’ to them are the following :

At the time of the campaigns of king *Suyodhana*, the general of police *Yamadaṇḍa* represented him ; and he governed so wisely that he conquered the love of all. The king, returning from his campaign, began to envy him, and resolved to destroy him. In the night, together with a councillor and the house-priest, he robs the treasure-house, and on the following day, under pain of death, demands of *Yamadaṇḍa* the discovery of the thieves. *Yamadaṇḍa*, inspecting the place of the burglary, finds the king’s shoe,

¹ Cf. Weber, A. Ueb. die Samy.; SBBA. 1889, xxxviii. For the text we had the use of the MS. from Minayev’s collection, which resembles the redaction AB. of Weber (fol. 133, ll. 9-12; Samvat, 1629). It is in different hands—Jain Devanāgarī; we denote it by M.; this MS. is now in the Imperial Public Library. The tales that are not found in M., or that are different from the redaction ABM., we give after Weber.

² Cf. Weber, p. 30 (756), after the indication of Prof. Leumann; for this text we only could make use of the Calcutta edition (Samvat, 1936), and two MSS. from Minayev’s collection, nearly coinciding with the Calcutta text, viz. i. Samvat, 1839, fol. 293, with a tāba in bhāshā; ii. The Commentary (Uttarā-dhyāyanasūtrārthadīpikā) of Lakshmīvallabha, fol. 470, l. 16; Samvat, 1909. Besides, we had a MS. of the Avacūri to the Uttarajjhayaṇa, from the same collection, fol. 73, ll. 20-21, s.a.; it gives the tales nearly in the form of a compact, not differing in any material point from the text of Lakshmīvallabha.

the seal of the councillor, and the priest's Brahmanic string. Understanding the king's purpose, he gives him, in the shape of tales, seven cautions, in the course of seven days of respite which the king had accorded him at the people's request.

i. On a tree there lived flamingoes. Once near the root of this tree a liana-creeper began to grow. An old flamingo bade the young ones to root it up, as it might become the source of disaster. The young ones laugh at him. A huntsman comes there, and, by the help of the liana, catches the birds; the birds, fallen into captivity, call to the old flamingo for aid; he counsels them to feign themselves dead.¹ The huntsman, thinking them really dead, climbs the tree; he throws them down and they fly away. [B. according to Weber more detailed.]²

ii. The clever potter *Pālhaṇa*, who, having grown wealthy little by little, liberally gives alms, was eventually crushed by the earth of the pit, whence he used to take his clay.³

iii. In the country of *Pañcāla* was the town *Varaṣakti*, where king *Sudharma* lived, given to Jainism; his wife was *Jinamatī*. His minister *Jayadeva* was a *Cārvāka*; his wife was called *Vijayā*. Once the king, after a victorious campaign,⁴ wished to have a triumphal entry into his capital; but the principal street fell in and continued to fall for three days, notwithstanding all props. Then *Jayadeva* counsels the king to make the street firm by the

¹ This conceit is often repeated in Indian tales.

² Weber has already remarked (*l.c.* p. 18) that the *Samyaktvak.* has many quotations in common with the *Pañcantantra* and the *Hitopadeṣa*; we do not think it superfluous to adduce three arguments from the *Pañcantantra* that we have found in the *Samyaktvak.*

i. tale: varam buddhir na sã vidyã vidyãto buddhir uttamã
buddhihinã vinaṣyanti yathã te simhakãrakãḥ (Pañc. v, 5, Koseg.).
ii. tale: vṛddhavãkyam sadã kṛtyam prajñaih ca guṇaṣãlibhĩḥ
paṣya haṃsãn vane baddhãn vṛddhavãkyena mocitãn (Pañc. Benfey,
ii, 139 sq.).
iii. tale: bubhukshitaḥ kiṃ na karoti pãpam kshĩṇã narã nishkaruṇã bhavanti
ãkhyãhi bhadre priyadarṣanasya na Gaṅgadattaḥ punar eti kũpam (Pañc.
iv, 1, Koseg.).

³ The tale is in C.; in the other MSS. only the verse; in M. only a reference to the potter.

⁴ Weber does not mention the campaign.

blood of a man, whom he had killed himself; this, he says, was a *kaulavāk*.¹ The king does not consent, though the people assure him that they will take the sin upon themselves. Then they give another advice,² viz. they make the figure of a man in gold and carry it about in the city, announcing that this golden statue and a *koṭi* of gold will be given to the mother who herself will poison her son, or to the father who will suffocate his son. A poor brahmin *Varadatta* and his wife *Nirghrṇā*³ are found, who are ready to sacrifice their seventh son *Indradatta*. The youngster laughs, and, on the question of the king, why he, at a time so terrible for him, is joyful, replies by pointing out the strangeness of his position. But the gods are pleased with the courage of the youngster and the behaviour of the king, who had not the intention to kill him, and everything ends happily.

iv. A deer with many young ones lived quietly in a park; the king of this town, *Ripumardana*, had many sons, to one of whom a huntsman once brought a little deer; the other princes also wished to have little deer, and a hunt was made in the park.⁴

v. In *Nepal*, in the city *Pāṭaliputra*, lived the poet king *Vasūpala*, whose wife was *Vasumati*. His minister, *Bhāratibhūshaṇa*, had a favourite wife, *Devakīrtimanoharā*.⁵ Once, in the assembly, the minister criticized a poem of the king's; the latter, becoming angry, had him thrown into the Gaṅga. Being in the water, the minister pronounces some beautiful sentences, and the king pardons him.

vi. In the country of *Kurujaṅgala* is the city of *Pāṭaliputra*,⁶ where king *Subhadra* lived with his queen *Subhadrā*. This park is devastated by monkeys, drunk with palm-wine. He sends, for the protection of the park, his domestic

¹ Weber, *Kulamataṃ*.

² Cf. Jacobi *Ausg. Erz.* in *Māhārāshṭri*, p. 51 sq.

³ Weber, *Niḥkaruṇā*, both = 'pitiless.'

⁴ The tale is in B. only; the others have no more than the verse; from the fragment, preserved in M., it is still apparent that the deer begs for forbearance.

⁵ Weber does not mention the wife.

⁶ Weber, *Pāṭalipura*.

monkeys, notwithstanding the objections of the park-keeper.¹

vii. In the country *Avanti* is the city of *Ujjayinī*; there lived the rich merchant Subhadra. Going out once, he left his two wives under the care of his mother. Returning suddenly home, he finds his mother in the embraces of a paramour.

The king *Suyodhana* does not understand these hints. *Yamadaṇḍa* then shows the shoe, the seal, and the string, and makes known the thieves; the people expel them, and put their sons in their places.

As is seen from this abridgment, the theme is the same in the Pāli and the Jain texts—the king with some men placed near him, commits a robbery, and demands that the thieves be found; the person to whom he addresses himself knows the thieves, but before exposing them before all the people, tries by tales to hint that the truth is known to him. Every tale includes a verse as a kind of argumentum, always ending by the proverb “from the protection the injury arose,” corresponding with the contents of the tales, which are about occasions when a thing or a human being, which or who should have been a refuge, turns out the source of misery. In the case put, the occasion for all these tales, *i.e.* their ‘frame,’—the king-guardian, who ought to be the refuge for all his subjects, becomes a thief, the source of damage. This explanation, the undoubted correctness of which is attested by the Pāli version, makes all the tales completely clear, and removes all scruples, formerly felt by Weber and myself.²

Of the tales only two are identical: Pāli i=Jain v. and Pāli ii=Jain ii; and even then in the first of these the tale presents great variations, and only the verses in both, taken together, have a remarkable likeness.

¹ B. adds that the domestic, together with the wild, monkeys devastate the park.

² The doubts of Weber arose from the explanation of the hidden meaning of the tales “die (*i.e.* the tales) sämtlich darauf hinausgehen, dass man durch Unvorsichtigkeit und Unklugheit, gelegentlich freilich auch ohne eigene Schuld, zu Schaden komt,” *l.c.* 14).

Jātaka.

Samyaktvakaumudī.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>i. yena siñcanti dukkhitam
'yena siñcanti āturam
tassa majjhe marissāmi
jātam saraṇato bhayam</p> | <p>jena biyā parohanti jena sip-
panti pāyavā
tassa majjhe marissāmi jāyam
saraṇao bhayam</p> |
| <p>ii. yattha bījāni rūhanti sattā
yattha patiṭṭhitā
sā me sīsam nipīleti jātam
saraṇato bhayam</p> | <p>jeṇa bhikkham balim demi
jeṇa posemi appayam
tena me pubiyā bhaggā jātam
saraṇato bhayam</p> |

- i. Amidst that, by the aid of which the seed grows, with
which they water the trees
I die, from the refuge (my) misery arose.

In the translation of the second verse we allow ourselves to differ a little from Prof. Weber: *appayam* we take as an accusative sing. 'myself'; *jeṇa* we do not understand in the sense of 'because,' but simply 'that by which,' 'by the aid of which,'—this refers to the clay, which gave the potter the means to live—accordingly we translate :

- ii. That by the aid of which I give alms, and bring sacrifices
wherewith I feed myself
That crushed my back, from the refuge misery arose.

The other group of tales which we bring together with the *Jātaka*, differs considerably in the subject, though the same 'motif' of the hint or admonition lies at the root of them all. The abridgment of this version, to which we now pass on, is made after the Calcutta edition, with the help of the above-mentioned two MSS. We give an abridgment only, thinking that a translation of a text not yet critically constituted, has no superiority over an abridgment, and, moreover, lacks an advantage the latter possesses, viz. brevity.¹

¹ By reason of deficient material for the constitution of a good text, we had to renounce the production of all Prakṛit verses, and confine ourselves to those that are parallels to the Pāli ones; to omit those we thought not advisable, in consideration of the importance of showing the identity of particular expressions in the compared texts.

In the country of *Vatsa*, among the followers of the sect of *Āshāḍhabhūti*, there was this custom: to the dying they said,¹ "You will become gods in heaven, show yourselves then to us." But the dead transferred to heaven did not appear any more, and among the followers of this sect doubt about a life after death arose. Once a disciple died, and, before death, they said to him: "You by all means must appear again to us when you become a god in heaven; do not forget it." But he, having become a god, distracted by the various enjoyments and representations of heaven, forgot to show himself. After having in vain waited for some time for his appearance, all the followers of this sect were confirmed in their doubts regarding life after death, and dispersed, fallen into error. At this time a disciple, after becoming a god, driven by love for his teacher, showed himself on earth, and saw that his teacher had fallen into error. In order to instruct him, he held at the end of some village representations; his teacher amused himself for six months with these representations, feeling neither hunger nor thirst; when the god ceased his representations the teacher went away. In order to try his self-command the god sent six youths, embellished with jewels; the first youth was called "He of the Earth." When the teacher saw him he said to him, "Little one, give me your ornaments?" When he would not give them the teacher seized him by the throat. The frightened youth said: "I am the youth of the earth (*Prthvikāyika*); in this terrible forest I have come to you for aid; it is not seemly for people like you to act thus; I will tell you a story, listen to it."

i. *He of the Earth*. A potter, digging clay in a pit, was crushed by the earth, and complained that he was

¹ Here, and further on, the plural number is used; apparently only a pl. majest. On *Āshāḍhabhūti*, who in the *Avacūri* is called *Āshāḍhācārya*; cf. *Leumann, E., Die alten Berichte von den Schismen des Jaina, Ind. St. xvii, 109-112 (Drittes Sch.)*. In the *Karpūraprakarāvacūri* (MS. of Minayev) there is a story about *Āshāḍhabhūti*. In the Brahminical literature this name is known from *Pañcat. i, 4*, where a clever thief, robbing a monk, is called thus.

struck down by that which had been his source of subsistence.¹

The teacher, notwithstanding the youth's prayers, took his ornaments and put them into his bowl.²

ii. *The youth of the Water (Āpkāyika)* relates: The actor *Pātala*, taking a walk, went into the Ganges; when the current carried him away, some one standing on the bank said: “O wise *Pātala*, pronounce some beautiful sentence.” *Pātala* pronounced a verse, wherein he bewails his situation.³

iii. *The youth of the Fire (Agnikāyika)* relates: A hermit's hut burned down, whereon he pronounced a verse describing his situation.

iv. 2. tale of the same youth: Some wanderer, from a fear of tigers, had recourse to fire, and, being severely burned by it, pronounced a verse.

v. *The youth of the Wind (Vāyukumāra)*: There was a corpulent youth, whom once the wind(-disease) crippled; seeing him going in the streets, leaning on a stick, some one asked him: “How have you, so strong, become such”; he answers with a verse.

vi. *The youth of the Tree (Vanaspatikāyika)* relates: On a tree there lived some birds, who had many young ones; from the root of the tree a liana began to grow, and, winding round the tree, reached the summit; once a snake climbed up by this liana, and ate up the young ones; the birds, complaining, pronounced a verse.

vii. (Not in the *Avacūri*). *The Moving youth (Trasakāyika)*: In a certain town they expelled the *caṇḍālas*, who had come in from fear of defilement; the fair-minded (*madhyastha*) of the people expressed their disapprobation by a verse.

¹ We shall not repeat again this proverb, already known from the Jātaka and the Samyaktvak.

² The robbery of the ornaments is repeated on the appearance of each following youth, and therefore, without repeating this circumstance, we give just the series of the remaining tales.

³ Those verses of these tales, which offer parallels with the tales in the Jātaka, we give below with a translation.

viii. 2. tale of the same: In a certain town the king and his house-priest were thieves; the people, seeing this criminality, pronounced a corresponding verse.

ix. 3. tale of the same: In some village a brahmin had a beautiful daughter; he was inflamed by passion towards her, but, being ashamed of it, told nobody; his wife remarked his unhappy appearance, and, learning the reason, contrived to help him. She said to her daughter that they had the custom, before marrying their daughter, to deliver her to a *yaksha*, and announced to her that on the fourteenth day, between full moon and new moon, the *yaksha* would come to her at night, and bade her not to light a fire. At the appointed time the father appeared to her in the night under the shape of a *yaksha*, and had relations with her. When he fell asleep from exhaustion, she took a candle to look at the *yaksha*, and recognized her father. She said, "What must happen cannot be avoided," and again gave herself to him. Her mother, seeing in the morning that they are long in waking, breaks out in complaints; the daughter, on awaking, tells her she herself is guilty, now she might find out another husband for herself. The mother again (in verses) complains that her own daughter had deprived her of a husband.

x. 4. tale of the same (not in the *Avacūri*): In some village a brahmin dug a pond for the use of sacrifice, and thereby planted a grove, and brought his sacrifices there. In his next birth he became a goat in the same village; and walking about he came to the pond, and remembered his former existence. Once his son, about to bring a sacrifice, took this goat (not knowing it to be his father), and led it to the grove. The goat bellowed; a hermit, hearing it, addressed him (the goat), reminding him how he had dug the pond and planted the grove. The goat was silent. The son asked the hermit what was the meaning of all this, and he informed him that this was his father, who, precisely because of his bringing sacrifices, had fallen to such a state. The hermit adds that the goat could, with her foot, indicate the place, in the courtyard of the house, were a treasure

was hidden in the earth. This was done, and afterwards father and son were transferred to the world of gods.¹

In the same manner the teacher, not listening to the warnings of the six youths, robbed them, and went away. In order to try his piety the god sends a woman to meet him on the way, but the teacher drives her off; going, she pronounces a warning, but he pays no attention to it. Then, going on his way, the teacher meets the king, who bade him to hold out his bowl, wishing to fill it with sweets. Fearing to show to the king the jewels he had stolen, and which were in the bowl, he answered that on this day he did not take food. Then the king by force takes hold of the bowl and discovers the jewels. The king says, “How is this? you scoundrel, then, have killed my sons!” The teacher, frightened, was silent.

Here the god explains that all this was a magic trick for the instruction of the teacher.

As we have in our hands only the very modern text of *Lakshmivallabha*, and the very much abbreviated text of the *Avacūri*, we cannot enter at present into an examination of the relation of our text to the Jātaka on one side and the *Samyaktvak.* on the other, and therefore confine ourselves to the pointing out the parallels, and the remark that, in our opinion, our text most probably is only a slight variation of an ancient text. The parallels with the Jātaka are the following: i=Jātaka ii; ii=Jātaka i; iii, iv are here similar to Jātaka iii; v=Jātaka v; vi similar to Jātaka vi (cf. verse in viii B.); viii=frame of Jātaka. With the *Samyaktvak.*: i=*Samyaktvak.* ii; ii similar to *Samyaktvak.* v; vi=*Samyaktvak.* i; viii=frame of *Samyaktvak.*

Uttarādhyayanāsūtrārthadīpikā.

ii. jeṇa rohanti bīyāṇī jeṇa jīvamti kāchavā²

tassa majjhe marissāmi, jāyaṃ saraṇao bhayaṃ.

(Jātaka i, yena siñcanti.)

¹ The meaning is this, that the sacrificial grove round the pond, which the Brahmin had planted, thinking to merit a reward by this, became the source of misfortune for him, as in it himself nearly was offered up as a sacrifice, having been reborn for his sacrifices in the shape of a goat.

² kāsavā.—E.L.

- i. jeṇa bhikkhaṃ balim demi jeṇa posemi nāyae
sā me mahī akkamai, jāyaṃ saraṇao bhayaṃ.
(Jātaka ii, yattha bijāni.)
- iii. jaṃ ahaṃ divā ya rāo ya tappemi mahusappiṇā
teṇa me uḍao daddho, jāyaṃ saraṇao bhayaṃ.
- iv. mae vagghassa bhieṇaṃ pāvao saraṇikao
teṇa daddhaṃ mamaṃ aṅgaṃ, jāyaṃ saraṇao bhayaṃ.
(Jātaka iii, yena bhattāni.)
- v. jeṭṭhāsāḍhesu māsesu jo suho hoi māruo
teṇa me bhajjāe aṅgaṃ, jāyaṃ, saraṇao bhayaṃ.
(Jātaka v, gimbānaṃ.)
- vi. jāva vucchaṃ¹ suhaṃ vucchaṃ¹ pāyave nirupaddave²
mūlāo utṭhiyā vallī, jāyaṃ saraṇao bhayaṃ.
(Jātaka vi, yaṃ nissitā.)
- viii. jattha rāyā sayāṃ coro bhaṇḍio ya purohio
disaṃ bhayaha nāgaragā, jāyaṃ saraṇao bhayaṃ.
(Jātaka, p. 513, v. 60, rājā vilumpate.)

Translation of the Jain verses :

- ii. Thanks to which the seeds grow, by which the tortoises
live,
In midst of this I die, from the refuge etc.
- i. Thanks to which I give alms, and offer sacrifices, with
which I feed my relatives,
This earth crushes me, from etc.
- iii. That which I feed day and night with honey and fat,
That has burned down my hut, from etc.
- iv. From fear of a tiger I took my refuge with the fire,
But it burned my body, from etc.
- v. The wind that is (a friend) beneficent in the months of
Jeṭṭhā and Āsāḍha,
That has broken my limbs, from etc.
- vi. As long as we lived on the dangerless tree, we lived
happily,
From the root a liana sprang up, from etc.
- viii. Where the king himself is a thief, and the priest a
scoundrel,
From there fly, O citizens, from the refuge the misery
arose.

¹ vutthaṃ.—E.L.

² niruvaddave.—E.L. [See note on p. 356.]

V.

Bibliographical List.

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St. Petersburg, October, 1892.

Note.—Prof. *E. Leumann*, of Strassburg, has communicated to me a few additional notes in reference to the Jain parallels (see pp. 309, 310), and also some corrections to the Prakṛit verses, p. 349 *sq.* below, all of which appear there signed with his initials (E.L.).—H.W.

Note.—It does not seem out of place to mention here that Dr. D'Oldenburg has given a short bibliography of works on the Indian collection of tales 'Bṛhatkathā' (and Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara) in vol. iii. of the same Journal; and, in vol. iv., a review of *Weber's* Ueb. die Samyaktvak. (see above, p. 341), also with a bibliographical list of works relating to this literature.—H.W.

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