

JĀTAKAMĀLĀS IN SANSKRIT

'Jātakamālā' is a generic name usually given to collections of jātaka stories written in the 'Campu' style, i.e. a mixture of ornate verse and prose. Āryaśura's Jātakamālā is the most popular and well-known work of this genre in Sanskrit literature. Also known as the *Bodhisattvavadanamālā*, ('Garland of 'avadāna' stories of the Bodhisattva'), it contains 34 stories: Vyaghri, Sibi, Kulmaṣapindī, Śreṣṭhi, Aviśahya, Śaśa, Agastya, Maitribala, Viśvantara, Yajña, Śakra, Brahmaṇa, Unmadayanti, Suparaga, Matsya, Vartakapotaka, Kumbha, Aputra, Bisa, Śreṣṭhi, Cullabodhi, Haṃsa, Mahābodhi, Mahakapi, Sarabha, Ruru, Mahakapi, Kṣanti, Brahma, Hasti, Sutasoma, Ayogṛha, Mahiṣa and Śatapattra jātakas. Hendrik Kern, who published the text of this Jātakamālā in the 'Devanāgarī' script in 1891,¹ gives in the preface, a list of the stories in it, providing references to parallels in the first four volumes of Fausböll's edition of the Pali collection of the Jātakas and the tales of the *Cariyapitaka* edited by the Rev. R. Morris. According to this list, there are eleven stories in Āryaśura's Jātakamālā, which have no parallels in the Pali tradition. They are: Vyaghri, Maitribala, Yajña, Brahmaṇa, Unmadayanti, Kumbha, Aputra, Mahābodhi, Mahakapi (story nr. 24) Brahma, and Hasti jātakas. Of these the Unmadayanti, Kumbha, Mahābodhi and Mahakapi appeared in the fifth volume of Fausböll's edition of the Jātakas, which was not available to Kern at the time he made his list,² while, Viśvantara, the *Cariya-pitaka* version of which was noted, has its parallel in *Jataka* Vol. VI.³

1. Kern, Hendrik, ed. *The Jātaka-mālā: Stories of Buddha's Former Incarnations; Otherwise Entitled Bodhisattvavadāna-mālā* by Ārya-Sura. Harvard Oriental Series, vol. I Cambridge, Massachusetts. The Harvard University Press, (1891: reprinted 1914, 1943).
2. Fausböll, V. ed. *The Jātaka: together with its Commentary*. vol. V. London (1891: reprinted 1963) Nos. 527, 512, 528 and 516. These were identified by Speyer in his translation of the *Jātakamālā* (see note 5 below) but 529 should be corrected to read as 527 on Page 114 of his book.
3. Fausböll, V. ed. *The Jātaka: together with its Commentary*, vo. VI (1896: reprinted 1964) *Jataka* Nr. 547.

The *Kacchapa-jātaka*, a spurious tale found in one of the manuscripts that Kern used, is included as an appendix to his edition of Āryasūra's *Jātakamālā*. Akira Yuyama published a comprehensive study of this jātaka in 1983.⁴ Here, he gives two Sanskrit versions of the *Kacchapa-jātaka* viz. critical and scientific editions of the text printed by Kern and referred to above and that printed by Émile Senart in the second volume of his edition of the *Mahāvastu-Avādāna*. These are accompanied by the Chinese text of a translation of the *Kacchapa-jātaka* made in the sixth century, which has been included in the Taisho edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka. Yuyama gives a German translation of this version, the Indian origin of which is said to be lost.

Āryasūra's *Jātakamālā* was translated into English by J.S. Speyer and published by the Pali Text Society in 1895.⁵ There has been an Indian reprint of this translation,⁶ while the text of the *Jātakamālā*, also in the Devanāgarī script, was printed in the Buddhist Sanskrit Texts series issued by the Mithila Research Institute at Darbhanga.⁷ Marie Musaeus-Higgins made use of Speyer's translation which had earlier been published in a Dutch magazine and rewrote thirty of the stories in simple English to make them popular. She published these in Colombo in 1914, illustrating some of them with photographs of the carvings of the Borobudur temple in Java, sent to her by Major van Erp, who had been deputed by the Dutch

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4. Yuyama, Akira. *Kacchapa-jātaka. Eine Erzählung von der Schildkröte und dem Kranzwinder. Studia Philologica Buddhica. Occasional Paper Series V. Tokyo. The International Institute for Buddhist Studies (1983).*
 5. Speyer, J.S. *The Jātakamālā or Garland of Birth Stories by Ārya Sūra. Translated from the Sanskrit. The Sacred Books of the Buddhists. vol. I. London (1895).*
 6. 1st Indian edition. Delhi. Motilal Banarsidass (1971).
 7. Vaidya, P.L. ed. *Jātaka-mālā by Ārya Sūra. Buddhist Sanskrit Texts No. 21. Darbhanga. The Mithila Institute of Post-graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning. (1959).*

government to restore this temple.⁸ A re-designed edition of Higgins' work was published in Colombo recently.⁹ Here, the Borobudur photographs are not given, but line drawings by the Sri Lankan artist, Stanley Kirinde, illustrate some of the jātakas. The publication of a new translation of Āryasūra's *Jātakamāla* in 1986 under the title: *The Marvelous Companion* has also been announced.^{9a} Āryasūra's *Jātakamāla* received the attention of Russian scholars as early as the late nineteenth century. One of S. Oldenburg's major works was on Buddhist legends, where his aim was to provide a survey of Indian literature related to Buddhist legends (in Sanskrit, Prakrits and Pali). He published the first part of his work as his M.A. thesis at St. Petersburg in 1894. A special section of this publication was devoted to a study of Āryasūra's *Jātakamāla*.

The work on the *Jātakamāla*, begun by Oldenburg, was continued by other Russian scholars. In the 1920s academician A. Barannikov began to translate this text into Russian, and later on, his pupil O. Volkova completed the work. In 1962, a Russian translation of the *Jātakamāla* appeared.¹⁰ An Italian rendering of some of the Āryasūra stories was published in Torino in 1983.¹¹

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8. Musaeus-Higgins, Marie. *Jātakamāla or A Garland of Birth Stories*. Colombo: Printed at the Boys' Industrial Home Press, Wellawatte (1914).
 9. Musaeus-Higgins, Marie. *Jātakamāla*. Illustrated by Stanley Kirinde. First re-designed edition. Colombo, Lake House Bookshop (1984).
 - 9a. Brill's Weekly No. 1567. Issued by E.J. Brill. Leiden. Köln. April 3, 1987, p.5.
 10. Bongard-Levin, G. and Vigin, A. *The Image of India. The Study of Ancient Indian Civilisation in the U.S.S.R.* Moscow. Progress Publishers (1984) p. 111-112.
 11. Gnoli, R. *Testi Buddhisti in Sanscrito*. Torino (1983). The stories translated are *Jātakamāla* Nrs. 14, 24, 28, 30 and 31.

Āryasūra's *Jātakamālā* received the attention of Sri Lankan Buddhist scholars too at the beginning of this century. Two Buddhist monks, Venerable Telwattē Āryawaṃṣā and Venerable Telwattē Amarawaṃṣā published a part of the *Jātakamālā* as the first of a series of Buddhist Sanskrit texts in 1908.¹² This work, printed at the Saddharmaprakāśa Press at Alutgama,¹³ contained the stories upto, and a half of *Viśvantara-jātaka*. It is also on record that Baṭukanātha Śāstrī published a selection of eleven jātakas from the collection along with a *ṭīkā* (sub-commentary) under the title *Uddhṛtajātakamālā*.¹⁴ These two publications were made use of by Venerable Ānanda Maitreya Sthavira in bringing out his edition of the full text of Āryasūra's work in 1950.¹⁵ This edition, where the text is printed in the Sinhala script, was published by the Oriental Studies Society in Colombo. In the introduction to his edition, Venerable Maitreya says that some of the verses of the *Jātakamālā* are found in the *Dharmapradīpikā*, while many stanzas in the *Hatthavanagalla-viharavamsa* show the influence of those of Āryasūra.¹⁶ *Dharmapradīpikā* is a Sinhala classic of the twelfth century, written by Gurulugomin,¹⁷ while the *Hatthavanagallaviharavamsa*¹⁸ is a Pali work written during the reign

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12. Ānanda-Maitreya Sthavira, B. ed. *Jātakamālā*. Colombo (1950) Introduction. p. 1.
13. This information is from the Author Card Catalogue of the Peradeniya University Library. The date of publication given here for fasciculus I is 1907. The publication itself appears to have been lost.
14. Ānanda-Maitreya Sthavira, B. *op.cit.* introd. p. 1.
15. See note 12 above.
16. Ānanda-Maitreya Sthavira, B. *op.cit.* Introd. p. 1.
17. Godakumbura, C.E. *Sinhalese Literature*. Colombo (1955) p. 50.
18. Godakumbura, C.E. ed. *Hatthavanagallaviharavamsa*, London. Pali Text Society (1956).

of King Parakramabahu II, whose period of rule is placed in the thirteenth century.¹⁹ An appendix in Venerable Maitreya's publication gives the text of stanzas in the *Pāli Jātaka* which show similarities to verses in the *Jātakamāla*, while a special announcement inserted at the beginning of the publication says that a Sinhala translation of the *Jātakamāla* was due to be published also by the Oriental Studies Society (Prācīna-Bhaṣopakara Samitiya). However, there is no evidence of it having appeared.

A selection of stories from the *Jātakamāla*, namely the first eight jātakas prescribed for the Prācīna Prārambha examination by the Prācīna Bhaṣopakara Samitiya for the years 1952 - 1954 was edited and published by Venerable Keraminiye Jinananda in 1951. It was called the *Jātakamāla* accompanied by the 'Maṅgala vyākhyāna' (commentary).²⁰ The text given here in the Sinhala script is accompanied by a Sinhala translation and comments. The same eight stories were published by Venerable Paṇḍita Gaṅkewela Ratanajoti and Venerable Ācārya Bāddawala Ratanawamsa in 1952.²¹ Called the *Jātakamāla Selantara Vyākhyā*, this publication also gives the text in the Sinhala script and a word by word translation into Sinhala. 'Selantara' is the name of the *piriveṇa* (monastery) in Alawwa, of which the two author monks were incumbents.²² It was noted earlier that Venerable Jinananda's commentary was called *Maṅgala Vyākhyāna*. 'Maṅgala' was the name of a *pariveṇa* (monastery) in Beruwala, the head of which was Venerable Telwatte Śrī Āryawamsa, the preceptor of Venerable Jinananda,²³ whose help relating to the commentary he acknowledges in the preface. The *vyākhyāna* was named Maṅgala after the monastery.²⁴

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19. History of Ceylon, University of Ceylon, vol. I. Colombo. (1959) p. 61.
20. Paṇḍita Keraminiye Jinananda Sthavira ed. *Maṅgala vyākhyāna sahita Jātakamāla*. Colombo, Anula Press at Maradana (1951).
21. Paṇḍita Gaṅkewela Ratanajoti Sthavira. Ācārya Bāddawala Ratanawamsa Sthavira. *Jātakamāla Selantaravyākhyā*, Kelaniya, Vidyālaṅkara Press (1952).
22. *ibid.* introd. p. ii and iii.
23. Paṇḍita Keraminiye Jinananda ed. *op.cit.* dedication.
24. *ibid.* p. vi.

A project to study all the source material relevant to Āryasūra's *Jātakamālā* viz. manuscripts not used by Kern the Tibetan translation and three known commentaries, has been in progress since 1985.²⁵ This work, carried out by Michael Hahn, his students and colleagues, has as its ultimate aim a revised version of the Sanskrit text. As part of this project Peter Khoroché's listing of variant readings on Kern's text, based on two old manuscripts, which he places in the 11th and 12th century A.D., was ready for publication in August 1986, and has been published this year in Bonn as Volume 12 of the series *Indica et Tibetica* under the title: *Towards a New Edition of Āryasūra's Jātakamālā*. Ratna Basu, who completed her edition of the *Jātakamālāṭīkā*²⁶ as part of her Ph.D. dissertation in mid-1986, was expected to edit the *Jātakamālāpañjikā* by Vīryasimha, which is available only in its Tibetan translation, while it is anticipated that Tissa Rajapatirana of the Australian National University will complete his edition of the Tibetan version of the *Jātakamālā* in 1987. It may be mentioned *inter alia* that a so-called Chinese pseudo-translation of Āryasūra's *Jātakamālā* was discussed by John Brough in 1964.²⁷

The most recent discussion on Āryasūra's date, viz. that in Carol Meadows' introduction to Āryasūra's *Paramitasamāsa*, favours assigning it to the 4th century A.D.²⁸

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25. Private communication by Michael Hahn in letters dated: August 9th 1985, June 6th 1986, August 21st 1986, July 6th 1987.
26. A manuscript of a *Jātakamālāṭīkā* dated 1724, covering the first 15 jātakas, has been discussed by Peter Khoroché in *South Asian Studies* I. London (1985) p. 63-66.
27. Brough, J. 'The Chinese Pseudo-Translation of Āryasūra's *Jātakamālā*'. *Asia Major*. N.S. 11. London (1964) p. 27-53.
28. Meadows, Carol. 'Āryasūra's *Compendium of the Perfections*: Text, translation and analysis of the *Paramitasamāsa*. (*Indica et Tibetica* 8) Bonn (1986) p. 4.

The popularity of Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā* is attested not only by textual studies made of it, but also the availability of illustrations of its stories. The *Jātakamālā* was the source of a number of representations among the wall-paintings of Ajanta. The relationship between Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā* and the Ajanta frescoes, and inscriptions from the text found in some of the caves formed the theme of a paper read by Heinrich Lüders to the Göttingen Royal Society as early as 13th December 1902.²⁹ This paper was printed the same year,³⁰ while an English translation of it by J. Burgess was published the following year.³¹ Dieter Schlingloff has shown interest in the *Jātakamālā* representations at Ajanta in the recent past.³² Discussing a battle-painting depicted in cave 17 at Ajanta, Schlingloff identified the scene as being from *Sakra-jātaka* and stated that the painting shows more conformity to the *Jātakamālā* account of the story than to the *Pali Jātaka* in matters of detail.³³ The jāta illustrations found in cave 16 at Ajanta formed the theme of Schlingloff's contribution to the felicitation volume presented to Ernst Waldschmidt on his eightieth birthday.³⁴ Here he discusses the

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29. *The Indian Antiquary*. August, 1903. p. 326.
30. Lüders, H. 'Ārya-Śūra's *Jātakamālā* und die Fresken von Ajanta. *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Kl. (1902) p. 758-762 (= *Philologica Indica*, Göttingen (1938)p.73-77).
31. 'Ārya-Śūra's *Jātakamālā* and the Frescoes of Ajanta'. p. 326-329 in *The Indian Antiquary*. August (1903).
32. Schlingloff, D. '*Jātakamālā*-Darstellungen in Ajanta', *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*, Band. XVI (1972) p. 55-65.
33. Schlingloff, D. 'A Battle-Painting in Ajanta'. (p. 196-203) in *Indologen-Tagung* (1971) ed. Herbert Härtel and Volker Moeller. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH (1973) p. 201.
34. Schlingloff, D. 'Die Jātaka-Darstellungen in Höhle 16 von Ajanta' (p. 455-478) in *Beiträge zur Indieforschung*. Ernst Waldschmidt zum 80 Geburtstag gewidmet. Berlin. Museum für Indische Kunst (1977).

Vartakāpotaka, *Vyāghrī*, *Mahiṣa*, *Viśvaṅtara*, *Bisa*, *Kumbha*, *Maitrībala* and *Hasti* jātakas from Āryasūra's *Jātakamāla*, which are illustrated in this cave. Scenes from the *Mahiṣa-jātaka* are found in cave 17 as well,³⁵ while the *Maitrībala-jātaka* is depicted in caves 1 and 2 also.³⁶ The *Maitrībala* representation in cave 1 was identified by Schlingloff himself in a paper on 'Two Paintings in Cave 1 at Ajaṅṭa', the second painting discussed being one related to a 'nagakumāra' story.³⁷ The *Kṣānti-jātaka* of *Jātakamāla* is illustrated in cave 2 at Ajaṅṭa,³⁸ and so is the *Haṃsa-jātaka*.³⁹

An illustration of the *Maitrībala-jātaka* of Āryasūra's *Jātakamāla*, which as noted earlier was not traced in the Pali tradition, has been identified among the jātakas painted on the walls of the vestibule of a shrine at the medieval capital of Polonnaruva in Sri Lanka.⁴⁰ Mistrermed '*Demala-Mahā-Sēya*' according to H.C.P. Bell,⁴¹ the shrine was anciently called

35. *ibid.* p. 461.

36. *ibid.* p. 469 note 42.

37. Schlingloff, Dieter. 'Zwei Malereien in Höhle I von Ajaṅṭa' (p. 912-917) in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. Supplement III, 2. XIX. Deutscher Orientalistentag. Vorträge. ed. Wolfgang Voigt. Wiesbaden. 1977.

38. Schlingloff, Dieter, 'Der König mit dem Schwert' (p. 57-70) in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*. Band XXI (1977) p. 59.

39. Schlingloff, Dieter, 'Zwei Anatiden-Geschichten im alten Indien' (p. 369-397) in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. Band 127, Heft 2. Wiesbaden. (1977) p. 376-380.

40. Bell, H.C.P. *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon. Annual Report 1909*. Colombo (1914) p. 36 and Plate D.

41. *ibid.* p. 9.

'Tivaṅka-patimā-ghara', and the paintings on its walls, dating from the reign of Parakramabahu I (1153-1186 A.D.) or the decades immediately following, prove, in the words of Senarat Paranavitana, "that the classical tradition of Indian painting, represented at Ajanṭa and Bagh, was kept alive in Ceylon after it had lost its vitality in India itself."⁴² The other stories, besides *Maitrībala*, that Bell identified among the wall paintings in the shrine at Polonnaruva are the *Vessantara*, *Asaṅka*, *Sasa*, *Tuṇḍila*, *Vidhura-paṇḍita*, *Guttiḷa*, *Culla-paduma*, *Mugapakkha*, *Sāma*, *Mahāsudāsana*, *Kusa* and *Māha-Ummagga* jātakas. Of these the *Jātakamālā* contains the *Vessantara* and *Sasa* jātakas.⁴³ It will be a matter of interest to find out whether the illustrations of these stories at the Tivaṅka-patimā-ghara conform more to the *Jātakamālā* account than to the Pali, as was seen in the case of the *Sakra-jātaka* at Ajanṭa. Plates giving line drawings of the frescoes at the shrine appended to Bell's report⁴⁴ will be of use to any art-historian interested in this matter.

Jātakamālā carvings from Borobudur were referred to earlier in relation to Higgins' publication. In 1897, Oldenburg, who studied plates of jātaka representations at Borobudur published in 1874,⁴⁵ thought that he found in the bas-reliefs of the temple a series of illustrations of jātakas arranged approximately in the order followed in Āryaśura's *Jātakamālā*.⁴⁶ These reliefs are in the first balustrade of this famous monument.⁴⁷

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42. CEYLON: *Paintings From Temple, Shrine and Rock*. Preface. W.G. Archer. Introduction, S. Paranavitana. Unesco World Art Series. Published by the New York Graphic Society (1957) p. 25.
43. Bell, H.C.P. *op.cit.* p. 32-38. Āsaṅka Jātaka has no parallel in the *Jātakamālā*, as wrongly indicated by Bell.
44. Plates A - P.
45. Leemans, C. *Borô-Boudour dans l'île de Java*. Leide (1874).
46. Oldenburg, Sergej Fedorovič. 'Notes on Buddhist Art'. Translated from the Russian by Leo Wiener. (p. 183-201) in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. vol. 18. (1897) p. 196-200.
47. Fontein, Jan. 'Notes on the Jātakas and Avadānas of (contd.)

Representations of stories of Āryasūra's *Jātakamālā* have been noted in twelve of the thirteen Tibetan 'tankas' (painted scrolls) kept at the City Art Museum of St. Louis in the United States.⁴⁸

Authors of *Jātakamālā* collections are referred to in a verse in Somendra's preface to the *Avadānakalpalatā* of Kṣemendra, who is said to have lived in the eleventh century A.D.⁴⁹ The verse in question is as follows:

ācāryagopadattādyaiv avadānakramojjhitāḥ
uccityoccitya vihita gadyapadyaviśṛṅkhalāḥ /
ekamārganusāriṇyāḥ param gambhīryakarkaśāḥ
vistīrṇavarnanāḥ santi jīnājātakamālikāḥ⁵⁰

Speyer's translation of this verse, given in the introduction to his translation of Āryasūra's *Jātakamālā*, reads:

"There exist many 'Garlands of Birth-stories of the Gina' by Gopadatta and other teachers, who, discarding the usual order of the Avadanas, gathered tales 'carptim' and told them at length in elaborate prose (*gadya*) interspersed with verse, holding themselves free as to the proportions of the two styles, which they made interchange. They all treat of the praise of the Right Path, but, owing to their profoundness, are hard to understand."⁵¹

The teachers other than Gopadatta referred to here could be Āryasūra, whose *Jātakamālā* was discussed above, Haribhaṭṭa, whose *Jātakamālā* has received scholarly attention recently, and presumably others whose names and works remain unknown.

Barabudur' (p.85-108) in *Barabudur. History and Significance of a Buddhist Monument* ed. by Luis O. Gomez and Hiram W. Woodward Jr. (Berkeley Buddhist Studies Series 2) University of California, (1981) p. 103.

48. Bryner, Edna. *Thirteen Tibetan Tankas*, Falcon Wings Press (1956)

49. Sarat Chandra Das and Pandit Hari Mohan Vidyābhūshana. ed. *Avadānakalpalatā* by Kṣemendra. vol. I. Calcutta (1888) f. p. vii.

50. *ibid.* p. xxvii.

51. Speyer, J.S. 'The *Jātakamālā*' *op.cit.* p. xxiii.

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Authors of *Jātakamālā* collections are referred to in a verse in Somendra's preface to the *Avadānakalpalatā* of Ksemendra, who is said to have lived in the eleventh century A.D.⁴⁹ The verse in question is as follows:

ācāryagopadattādyair avadānakramojjhitāḥ
uccityoccitya vihita gadyapadyaviśṛṅkhātāḥ /
ekamārganusāriṇyāḥ param gambhīryakarkasāḥ
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48. Bryner, Edna. *Thirteen Tibetan Tankas*, Falcon Wings Press (1956)
49. Sarat Chandra Das and Pandit Hari Mohan Vidyābhūṣana. ed. *Avadānakalpalatā* by Ksemendra. vol. I. Calcutta (1888) f. p. vii.
50. *ibid.* p. xxvii.
51. Speyer, J.S. 'The *Jātakamālā*' *op.cit.* p. xxiii.

In 1904, F.W. Thomas described the *Jātakamālā* of Haribhaṭṭa as a collection of thirty-five stories, basing his information on the translation of the work included in the Tanjur section of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka. Thomas did not subject the *Jātakamālā* itself to a detailed examination, but presented the facts recorded concerning the author, and appended the commencement of the book, the titles of the stories, and the colophons together with a provisional translation of these. The colophon of his *Jātakamālā* describes Haribhaṭṭa as an *acarya* and a prince, learned in grammar and the word of the Buddha, and also a poet, "the moon of later poets", who, experiencing distress in Kashmir, "through the fault of mischief-makers" cast away his life in the Himalayas. At the commencement of the work, Haribhaṭṭa says that he undertook the composition "being skilled in the fame of the lives of the Bodhisattva" and desiring his own advantage, after stating modestly that "with the string of Jātaka composed by the *acarya* Sura others are without power to follow on an equality."⁵²

In recent times, Haribhaṭṭa's *Jātakamālā* has received the attention of Michael Hahn, who published the Tibetan version, accompanied by notes, of the *Dardara-jātaka*, which has a parallel in the *Daddara-jātaka* (*Pāli Jātaka* Nr. 304) and the *Sugata-jātaka* which is parallel to the *Udaya-jātaka* (*Pāli Jātaka* Nr. 458), in 1971,⁵³ the Tibetan version and a German translation of the *Ādarśamukha-jātaka*, a Pāli parallel to which is the *Gamanicaṇḍa-jātaka* (*Pāli Jātaka* Nr. 257), in 1973,⁵⁴ the Tibetan text and the German translation of the *Syāma-jātaka*,

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52. Thomas, F.W. 'Notes from the Tanjur. 6. The *Jātakamālā* of Haribhaṭṭa,' p. 733-743 in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland for 1904*. London (1904).
53. Hahn, Michael. *Lehrbuch der Klassischen Tibetischen Schriftsprache Mit Lesestücken und Glossar*. 3rd edition Bonn (1974) p. 225-237 and p. 245-250.
54. Hahn, Michael. 'Die Haribhaṭṭajātakamālā (1). Das *Ādarśamukhajātaka*', p. 49-88 in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*. Band XVII, (1973).

of which the Pali parallel is the *Sāma-jātaka* (Pali *Jātaka* Nr. 540) in 1976;⁵⁵ the revised version of the Tibetan *Dardara-jātaka* and its German translation in 1979;⁵⁶ and the *Udaya-jātaka* in 1980.^{56a}

Hahn's publication of 1977 entitled *Haribhātta and Gopadatta: Two Authors in the succession of Aryasūra: On the rediscovery of parts of their Jātakamālās* is a noteworthy contribution to Sanskrit *Jātakamāla* studies.⁵⁷ Pointing out that he was unaware of the existence of the Sanskrit original of stories from the *Haribhātta-jātakamāla* until about three years before its publication, here he identified eleven stories from it, with the help of the Tibetan translation, in two collections of Buddhist birth-stories, nine of them being in the *Avadānasārasamuccaya* and all eleven in the *Jātakamālavadānasūtra*. The nine legends found in the *Avadānasārasamuccaya* are the *Badaradvīpa*, *Sāsa*, *Candraprabha*, *Rūpyāvati*, *Mṛga*, *Hastin*, *Candra*, *Harinamga* and *Mayura* jātakas, a very brief outline of which appeared in print in 1972, in an article entitled the '*Avadānasārasamuccaya*'.⁵⁸ The two additional stories found in the *Jātakamālavadānasūtra* are the *Siṃha* and *Sākyasiṃha* jātakas. However, Hahn argues that the *Sākyasiṃha jātaka*, the thirty-fifth narrative in the *Haribhātta-jātakamāla*, which deals with the life of the Buddha, may be a later addition and not the work of Haribhātta. Hahn printed the Sanskrit text of one of the stories he identified, the *Sāsa-jātaka*, as a supplement to his study on Haribhātta and

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55. Hahn, Michael, 'Die Haribhātta-jātakamāla (II). Das *Syama-jātaka*,' *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*. Band XX. (1976) p. 37-74.
56. Hahn, Michael. 'Die Haribhātta-jātakamāla (III) Das *Dardara-jātaka*,' *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*. Band XXIII (1979) p. 75-108.
- 56a. *Die Haribhātta-jātakamāla* (IV) Das *Udaya-jātaka*. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*. Band XXIV (1980) p. 99-128.
57. Hahn, Michael. 'Haribhātta and Gopadatta,' *Studia Philologica Buddhica*. Occasional Paper Series 1. Tokyo, The Reiyukai Library (1977) 39 p.
58. Handurukande, Ratna. 'The *Avadānasārasamuccaya*,' *Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture*. vol. I. ed. Perala (contd.)

Gopadatta, as an example to illustrate Haribhaṭṭa's style,⁵⁹ while he and Konrad Klaus published a study of the *Mṛga-jātaka* of the *Haribhaṭṭajātakamālā*, containing both the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts and a translation into German, in 1983.⁶⁰

The date of Haribhaṭṭa also received Hahn's consideration. His contribution to the Ludwig Alsdorf Felicitation Volume, published in 1981, dealt with this problem.⁶¹ Here he attempted to establish an upper limit for the date of Haribhaṭṭa, the twelfth century, in which his *Jātakamālā* was translated into Tibetan, being that which could be suggested until recently. In this connection, Hahn draws attention to a recent publication of Dieter Schlingloff on the legend of King Prabhasa and his elephant, which is also the opening story of Haribhaṭṭa's *Jātakamālā*. A parallel version of the legend listed by Schlingloff is that in the Chinese collection called Hsien-yü-ching, 'The Sūtra of the Wise Man and the Fool'. Hahn points out that the Chinese version contains a number of characteristic episodes which are available only in Haribhaṭṭa's text and nowhere else, in addition to a series of six stanzas, seemingly quoted more or less verbatim. Hahn's conclusion based on this data is that the compilers of Hsien-yü-ching borrowed from Haribhaṭṭa. The upper limit of Haribhaṭṭa's date could then be determined by the date of the compilation of Hsien-yü-ching, which according to the oldest catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka took place in the year 455 A.D. Further, taking into account

Ratnam New Delhi. International Academy of Indian Culture. 1972. p. 79-89.

59. Hahn, Michael, 'Haribhaṭṭa and Gopadatta'. *op.cit.* p. 31-39.
60. Hahn, Michael and Klaus, Konrad. 'Das Mṛgajātaka' (*Haribhaṭṭajātakamālā XI*). Studie, Texte, Glossar. Indica et Tibetica 3. Bonn (1983).
61. Hahn, M. 'Das Datum des Haribhaṭṭa' (p. 107-120) in *Studien zum Jainismus und Buddhismus. Gedenkschrift für Ludwig Alsdorf*. ed. Klaus Bruhn and Albrecht Wezler. (Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien herausgegeben vom Seminar für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens an der Universität Hamburg 23) Wiesbaden (1981).

the time required for the dissemination of the work, Hahn says that the *Haribhaṭṭajātakamālā* cannot have been composed later than the first decades of the 5th century A.D. Hahn adduces corroborative evidence in support of this date, viz. the placement of Haribhaṭṭa in the Jataka section of the Tibetan Tanjur, which is thought to be a chronological placement. Here, Haribhaṭṭa is placed after Āryaśura, confirmed by Haribhaṭṭa's own reference to Āryaśura as noted earlier, but before the Buddhist poet and grammarian, Candragomin. The date suggested for Āryaśura is the 4th century A.D.,⁶² while Candragomin's productive period was between the years 425 and 475 A.D., according to a previous study of Hahn.⁶³

Gopadatta, referred to as an *ācārya*, is the only author of a *Jatakamālā*, whose name is mentioned in the verse from the preface to the *Avadānakalpalatā*, quoted earlier in this paper. One work definitely known to be his, and a fair number of jataka compositions tentatively attributed to him have been studied in recent times. That a fragmentary manuscript of Gopadatta's *Jatakamālā* was purchased in Nepal around 1933 has been reported by Guiseppe Tucci in his contribution to the Moriz Winternitz Felicitation Volume.⁶⁴ Tucci says that, according to its colophon, the work consisted of three thousand and three hundred *granthas*. Gopadatta is referred to as *sthavira* Gopadatta and *ācārya* Gopadatta in this colophon, which also mentions one of the tales that the manuscript contained, viz. the *Dṛḍhadhyāśayavadāna*. Regrettably this manuscript cannot be traced.

A manuscript of the Sanskrit text of a story called the *Saptakumārikavadāna*, where the name of the author is mentioned as Gopadatta, is found in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.⁶⁵

62. See note 28 above.

63. Hahn, Michael. *Candragomin's Lokānandanātaka* (Asiatische Forschungen Band 39). Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz (1974) p. 7.

64. Tucci, Guiseppe. 'Animadversiones Indicae.' *Festschrift Moriz Winternitz 1863-1933*. Herausgegeben von Otto Stein und Wilhelm Gampert. Leipzig. Otto Harrassowitz. (1933) p. 245, 246.

65. Filliozat, J. *Catalogue du Fonds Sanscrit*, Fasc. 1. Paris. (1941) Nr. 142.

The Tibetan version of this story found in the Tanjur section of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka along with a German translation was presented as a doctoral thesis by Lobsang Dargyay in 1974.⁶⁶ This was published in Vienna in 1978.⁶⁷ Dargyay points out that this Tibetan version of the *Saptakumarikavadana* is based on the Sanskrit text contained in the Paris manuscript and says that he did not edit the Sanskrit text or its adaptation found in the *Aśokavadanamālā* in view of the fact that Michael Hahn was editing them. Hahn announced that he had prepared an edition of the Sanskrit text of the *Saptakumarikavadana* as early as 1977.⁶⁸

In the same year Hahn tentatively attributed fourteen Buddhist legends written in the Campu style to Gopadatta and printed an *index locorum* of these, pointing out their location in anonymous collections of Buddhist birth-stories, notably the *Jatakamālavadanasūtra* and the *Avadanasarasamuccaya*. The legends listed here are: *Suprabhāsa*, *Rṣipañcaka*, *Sarthaḥa*, *Sarvaṃdāda*, *Jñānavatī*, *Kapīśvara*, *Megha*, *Matrpoṣahastin*, *Nāga*, *Svan*, *Matsaraṇanda*, *Bhavalubdhaka*, *Maitrakanyaka* and *Ajatasatru*. The last two of these legends had already been published at the time Hahn wrote. The similarity between three of the legends from the list, which Hahn had studied in detail with Gopadatta's *Saptakumarikavadana*, convinced Hahn of their common authorship. He argued in support of his assumption, justifying the inclusion of the other nine unpublished legends.⁶⁹

The following studies of the stories attributed to Gopadatta have been published since 1977. In 1980, Hahn printed

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66. Hahn, Michael. 'Haribhaṭṭa and Gopadatta,' *op.cit.* p. 15.
67. Dargyay, Lobsang. 'Die Legende von den sieben Prinzessinen (Saptakumarika-Avadana) in der poetischen Fassung von Guhyadatta/Gopadatta aufgrund der tibetischen Übersetzung herausgegeben, übersetzt und bearbeitet.' *Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde* Heft. 2. Wien. (1978).
68. Hahn, Michael. 'Haribhaṭṭa and Gopadatta,' *op.cit.* p. 16.
69. *ibid.* p. 16-27.

the Sanskrit text of the *Kapīśvara-jātaka* along with a philological commentary and an introduction, where he gives a detailed analysis of the story. Dealing with the life of the Bodhisattva, born as a king of monkeys, who leaves his troop to take care of his old, blind mother, the *Kapīśvara* legend given here has its parallel in the *Cūlanandiya-jātaka* (Nr.222) of the *Pali Jataka* collection.⁷⁰

The *Śānavatī-jātaka* was studied by Gerhard Ehlers, a pupil of Hahn, and submitted as a M.A. thesis to the Philipps-University in Marburg in 1980.⁷¹ This contains the Sanskrit text of the *jātaka* and a German translation of it. The introduction contains a comparison of the legend with a parallel version of it found in the *Samadhira-jasutra*, an important work of early Mahāyāna Buddhism. The *jātaka*, the opening stanza of which states that "even women can excel men on account of their distinctive behaviour",⁷² relates the story of a young woman, who gave her own flesh and blood to cure an illness of a sick monk.

Konrad Klaus, also a pupil of Michael Hahn, studied the *Maitrakanyakavadana* as the subject of his M.A. thesis, which again was presented to the Philipps University at Marburg in

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70. Hahn, Michael. 'Gopadatta's Kapīśvara-jātaka.' *Journal of the Nepal Research Centre* No.4 (Humanities). Wiesbaden (1980) p. 133-159.
71. Ehlers, Gerhard. *Das Śānavatī-jātaka aus der Jātaka-māla des Gopadatta*. Nach drei Manuskripten herausgegeben, kommentiert, mit dem Samadhira-jasutra des Gilgit Manuskripts verglichen und ins Deutsche übersetzt. Eingereicht als schriftliche Hausarbeit zur Magister-Prüfung im Fach Indische Philologie Fachbereich II (Außereuropäische Sprachen und Kulturen) der Philipps-Universität in Marburg. Marburg/Lahn (11 Juli 1980) 49 p. (Typescript).
72. *yoṣito 'pi..... pratipattiviśeṣena puruṣān atiśerate.*

1980.⁷³ A revised version of this was published in 1983.⁷⁴ Here, the Sanskrit text of the legend is accompanied by a German translation and an introduction, where, after a thorough and detailed examination of the legend, Klaus comes to the conclusion that his findings do not necessarily prove Hahn's surmise that Gopadatta composed the *Maitrakanyakāvādāna*. This avadana relates the story of Maitrakanyaka, a young man who kicked his mother when she tried to prevent him from following the call of the sea.

A study of the *Ajātasātrvavadāna* was published by Hahn in 1981. Here, he gave the Sanskrit text of the story, preceded by an introduction which gives a structural analysis of it. The legend deals with an important event in the life of King Ajātasātru of Magadha, a contemporary of the Buddha, viz. the repentance for the murder of his father, King Bimbisāra, an event described in the *Samaññaphalasutta* of the *Dīghanikāya*.⁷⁵

I have been studying five of the legends attributed to Gopadatta during the past few years and have from time to time given a paraphrase of their content⁷⁶ or abstracts and related information pertaining to them: the *Rṣipaṅcaka*,⁷⁷

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73. Klaus, Konrad. *Das Maitrakanyakāvādāna* (Nr. 38 des *Divyāvādāna*). Einleitung, Edition, deutsche Übersetzung. Dem Fachbereich II (AuBereuropäische Sprachen und Kulturen) der Philipps Universität Marburg als schriftliche Hausarbeit zur Magister-Prüfung im Fach Indische Philologie eingereicht. Marburg/Lahn. 28. Juli 1980. 105 p.
74. Klaus, Konrad. *Das Maitrakanyakāvādāna* (*Divyāvādāna* 38). Bonn (1983) *Indica et Tibetica*. Band 2.
75. Hahn, Michael. 'Ajātasātrvavadāna - A Gopadatta Story from Tibet.' *K.P. Jayaswal Commemoration Volume*. Patna (1981). p. 242-276.
76. Handurukande, Ratna. 'Buddhist Tales from Sanskrit Sources.' Retold. Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy. Sri Lanka (1981). *Bodhi Leaves*. No. B. 88. 28 p.
77. Handurukande, Ratna. 'Rṣipaṅcaka-jātaka' *Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture*. vol. 6. ed. Lokesh Chandra. New Delhi (1980). p. 111-122.

Sārthavāha,⁷⁸ *Sarvamdada*,⁷⁹ *Matsarananda*⁸⁰ and *Bhavalubdhaka* stories. In 1983, I presented the Sanskrit text of the stories accompanied by an English translation.⁸¹ In the introduction to this publication, I analysed the stylistic devices used in the stories, focussing my attention particularly on the question of authorship. As mentioned earlier, Hahn assigned these five legends, together with nine others, to Gopadatta, basing his arguments on the following criteria: vicinity of stories within collections, homogeneous use of metres, similar format at the beginning and end of each story, identical or similar phraseology and stylistic uniformity. I tested each of these arguments, comparing the five stories with Gopadatta's *Saptakumarikavadāna*. The conclusion I arrived at was that the textual and stylistic features of the five stories in question lend support to Hahn's hypothesis, but that a more definite conclusion should await a thorough lexico-statistical analysis and a comparative study of all the legends attributed to Gopadatta. However, this 'literary detective work', as one reviewer of my publication aptly put it,⁸² may become redundant, if the fragmentary manuscript of the *Gopadattajātakamāla*, acquired by Tucci in Nepal in 1933, is found and made available for study.

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78. Handurukande, Ratna. 'A Merchant Story.' *The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities*. University of Peradeniya (1980) vol. VI. nos. 1 and 2., p. 48-56.
79. Handurukande, Ratna. 'Sarvamdada, The All-giver,' *Buddhist Studies (Bukkyo Kenkyu)* vol. X. Edited by the International Buddhist Association, Hamamatsu, Japan (1981).
80. Handurukande, Ratna. 'Matsaranandāvadāna,' *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*. vol. XLIV (1981) p. 349-351.
81. Handurukande, Ratna. 'Five Buddhist Legends in the Campu style. From a collection named Avadanasarasamuccaya.' Edited and translated (with an introduction). Bonn (1984) *Indica et Tibetica* 4.
82. Peter Khoroché, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*. (1986) No. 1. London (1986) p. 147.

The upper limit of Gopadatta's date is the eleventh century, the date of Kṣemendra's *Avadānakalpalatā*, where Gopadatta's name is mentioned in a verse in the preface, quoted earlier in this paper. That Gopadatta literally borrowed a large prose passage from Haribhaṭṭa's Prabhāsa story for his own version of the same legend has been pointed out by Hahn recently.⁸³ This will set the lower limit to the first decades of the fifth century A.D., the date suggested for Haribhaṭṭa's *Jātakamālā*, as noted earlier.

The *Jātakamālās* discussed above are those composed in the 'Campu' style, that is, (as mentioned before) a mixture of ornate verse and prose. These apart, there are many collections of jātakas in Sanskrit literature, composed mainly in the śloka metre. Called *avadānamālā* usually, and *jātakamālā* sometimes, they are versified adaptations of older works. One of these, the *Mahajjātakamālā*, containing fifty chapters, edited by Michael Hahn, has been published recently.⁸⁴ In the introduction to this publication, Hahn makes a brief survey of studies pertaining to other collections of this genre. These studies are few, while manuscripts not yet studied are many. Bringing out critical editions of these will be of importance for the study of Indian literature in general, and Buddhist narrative literature in particular.

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83. Hahn, Michael. 'Das Datum des Haribhaṭṭa,' *op.cit.* p. 120.

84. Hahn, Michael. 'Der Grosse Legendenkranz. Mahajjātakamālā,' Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz (1985). *Asiatische Forschungen*. Band 88.