JATAKAMALAS IN SANSKRIT

"Jatakamalā" is a generic name usually given to collections of jataka stories written in the 'Campu' style, i.e., a mixture of ornate verse and prose. Aryasura's Jatakamalā is the most popular and well-known work of this genre in Sanskrit literature. Also known as the Bodhisattvavādanamala, ('Garland of avadana stories of the Bodhisattva'), it contains 34 stories: Vyaghri, Sibi, Mātṛaśāpinī, Śreṣṭhi, Aviśhyā, Sadaśa, Agastyā, Mātrībala, Viśvantara, Yājñā, Śakra, Brahmanā, Unmadayanti, Suparṣaga, Mateya, Vartakapotaka, Kumbha, Aputra, Bisa, Śreṣṭhi, Cullabodhi, Ṣaṅkha, Mahābodhi, Mahakapi, Ṣaṇkha, Mahakapi, Kaṇṭīti, Brahma, Hasti, Sutasoma, Ayogrha, Mahiṣa and Satapattāra jatakas. Hendrik Kern, who published the text of this Jatakamalā in the 'Devanagari' script in 1891, 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 Jatakas and the tales of the Carīyāpiṭaka edited by the Rev. R. Morris. According to this list, there are eleven stories in Aryasura's Jatakamalā, which have no parallels in the Pali tradition. They are: Vyaghri, Mātrībala, Yājñā, Brahmanā, Unmadayanti, Kumbha, Aputra, Mahābodhi, Mahakapi (story nr. 24) Brahma, and Hasti jatakas. Of these the Unmadayanti, Kumbha, Mahābodhi and Mahakapi appeared in the fifth volume of Fausböll's edition of the Jatakas, which was not available to Kern at the time he made his list, while, Viśvantara, the Carīyā-piṭaka version of which was noted, has its parallel in Jataka Vol. VI.¹


² Fausböll, V. ed. The Jataka: 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 Jatakamalā (see note 5 below) but 529 should be corrected to read as 527 on Page 114 of his book.

The *Kacchapa-jātaka*, a spurious tale found in one of the manuscripts that Kern used, is included as an appendix to his edition of *Aryaśūra's Jatakamāla*. Akira Yuyama published a comprehensive study of this jātaka in 1983. 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-Avadana*. 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 Tripitaka. Yuyama gives a German translation of this version, the Indian origin of which is said to be lost.

*Aryaśūra's Jatakamāla* was translated into English by J.S. Speyer and published by the Pali Text Society in 1895. There has been an Indian reprint of this translation, while the text of the *Jatakamāla*, also in the Devanāgarī script, was printed in the Buddhist Sanskrit Texts series issued by the Mithila Research Institute at Darbhanga. Marie Musaeus-Higgin 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


government to restore this temple. A re-designed edition of Higgins' work was published in Colombo recently. Here, the Borobudur photographs are not given, but line drawings by the Sri Lankan artist, Stanley Kirinde, illustrate some of the jatakas. The publication of a new translation of Aryasura's Jatakamāla in 1986 under the title: The Marvelous Companion has also been announced. Aryasura's Jatakamāla 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 Aryasura's Jatakamāla.

The work on the Jatakamāla, 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 Jatakamāla appeared. An Italian rendering of some of the Āryasura stories was published in Turin in 1983.

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Āryaśūra's *Jātakaṁāla* received the attention of Sri Lankan Buddhist scholars too at the beginning of this century. Two Buddhist monks, Venerable Telwatte Āryawamsa and Venerable Telwatte Amarawamsa published a part of the *Jātakaṁāla* as the first of a series of Buddhist Sanskrit texts in 1908.¹² This work, printed at the Saddharmaprakaśa Press at Alutgama,¹³ contained the stories up to and a half of *Viśvantara-jātaka*. It is also on record that Batukanatha Sāstrī published a selection of eleven jātakas from the collection along with a tīka (sub-commentary) under the title *Uddhṛttajātakaṁāla*.¹⁴ These two publications were made use of by Venerable Ananda Maitreya Sthavira in bringing out his edition of the full text of Āryaśūra'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 *Jātakaṁāla* are found in the *Dharmapradīpikā*, while many stanzas in the *Hatthavanagallaviharavamsa* show the influence of those of Āryaśūra.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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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.


¹⁵ See note 12 above.


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

A selection of stories from the Jatakamāla, namely the first eight jātakas prescribed for the Pracina Prārambha examination by the Pracina Bhāṣopakara Samitiya for the years 1952–1954 was edited and published by Venerable Keraminiye Jinananda in 1951. It was called the Jatakamāla accompanied by the ‘Maṃgala vyākhyāna’ (commentary). 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 Gaṃkewela Ratanajoti and Venerable Ācārya Bāddawala Ratanawamsa in 1952. Called the Jatakamāla Selantarāvyākhyā, this publication also gives the text in the Sinhala script and a word by word translation into Sinhala. 'Selantarā' is the name of the pirivena (monastery) in Alawwa, of which the two author monks were incumbents. It was noted earlier that Venerable Jinananda’s commentary was called Maṃgala Vyākhyāna. 'Maṃgala' was the name of a pirivena (monastery) in Beruwala, the head of which was Venerable Telwatte Śrī Aryawamsa, the preceptor of Venerable Jinananda, whose help relating to the commentary he acknowledges in the preface. The vyākhyāna was named Maṃgala after the monastery.

22. ibid. introd. p. ii and iii.
24. ibid. p. vi.
A project to study all the source material relevant to Aryasura's Jatakamala viz. manuscripts not used by Kern the Tibetan translation and three known commentaries, has been in progress since 1985. 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 Khoroche'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 Aryasura's Jatakamala. Ratna Basu, who completed her edition of the Jatakamalaṭika as part of her Ph.D. dissertation in mid-1986, was expected to edit the Jatakamalaṭikāṭīka by Vīryasimha, which is available only in its Tibetan translation, while it is anticipated that Tissa Rajapatiirana of the Australian National University will complete his edition of the Tibetan version of the Jatakamala in 1987. It may be mentioned inter alia that a so-called Chinese pseudo-translation of Aryasura's Jatakamala was discussed by John Brough in 1964.

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

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The popularity of Āryaśūra’s Jatakamāla is attested not only by textual studies made of it, but also the availability of illustrations of its stories. The Jatakamāla was the source of a number of representations among the wall-paintings of Ajanta. The relationship between Āryaśūra’s Jatakamāla 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. This paper was printed the same year while an English translation of it by J. Burgess was published the following year. Dieter Schlingloff has shown interest in the Jatakamāla representations at Ajanta in the recent past. Discussing a battle-painting depicted in cave 17 at Ajanta, Schlingloff identified the scene as being from Sakra-jataka and stated that the painting shows more conformity to the Jatakamāla account of the story than to the Pali Jataka in matters of detail. The jataka 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. Here he discusses the

Vartaka-jātaka, Vyāghrī, Mahiṣa, Viśvantara, Bīsa, Kumbha, Maitribala and Hasti jātakas from Aryāśūra’s Jatakamālā, which are illustrated in this cave. Scenes from the Mahiṣa-jātaka are found in cave 17 as well, while the Maitribala-jātaka is depicted in caves 1 and 2 also. The Maitribala representation in cave 1 was identified by Schlingloff himself in a paper on 'Two Paintings in Cave 1 at Ajañṭa', the second painting discussed being one related to a 'nagakumara' story. The Kṣanti-jātaka of Jatakamālā is illustrated in cave 2 at Ajañṭa, and so is the ṇaṁsa-jātaka.

An illustration of the Maitribala-jātaka of Aryāśūra's Jatakamālā, 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. Mistermed 'Demala-Maha-Śeyya' according to H.C.P. Bell, the shrine was anciently called

35. ibid. p. 461.
36. ibid. p. 469 note 42.
41. ibid. p. 9.
'Tivaṅka-patima-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 Ajanta and Bagh, was kept alive in Ceylon after it had lost its vitality in India itself." The other stories, besides Maitribala, that Bell identified among the wall paintings in the shrine at Polonnaruva are the Vessantara, Āsaṅka, Sasa, Tuṇḍila, Vidhurapāndita, Cuttila, Culla-padumā, Mugapakkha, Sama, Mahasudassana, Kusa and Mahā-Ummagga jatakas. Of these the Jatakamala contains the Vessantara and Sasa jatakas. It will be a matter of interest to find out whether the illustrations of these stories at the Tivaṅka-patima-ghara conform more to the Jatakamala account than to the Pali, as was seen in the case of the Sakra-jataka at Ajanta. Plates giving line drawings of the frescoes at the shrine appended to Bell's report will be of use to any art-historian interested in this matter.

Jatakamala carvings from Borobudur were referred to earlier in relation to Higgin's publication. In 1897, Oldenburg, who studied plates of jataka representations at Borobudur published in 1874, thought that he found in the bas-reliefs of the temple a series of illustrations of jatakas arranged approximately in the order followed in Aryasura's Jatakamala. These reliefs are in the first balustrade of this famous monument.


43. Bell, H.C.P. op.cit. p. 32-38. Āsaṅka Jataka has no parallel in the Jatakamala, as wrongly indicated by Bell.

44. Plates A - P.

45. Leemans, C. Bōrō-Boudour dans l'île de Java. Leide (1874).


47. Fontein, Jan. 'Notes on the Jatakas and Avadānas of (contd.)
Representations of stories of Āryaśūra's Jñatakamalā 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 Jñatakamalā collections are referred to in a verse in Somendra's preface to the Avadanakalpalata of Kṣemendra, who is said to have lived in the eleventh century A.D.\(^{49}\) The verse in question is as follows:

\[
\text{acāryagopadattādyair avadānakramojjhitāh}
\text{ucityoccitya vihita gadyapadyavisāpākhāh}
\text{ekamarganusaśrityah param gambhiryakarkabāh}
\text{vistirnavarṇanāh santi jīnajñatakamalālikāh}\]

Speyer's translation of this verse, given in the introduction to his translation of Āryaśūra's Jñatakamalā, reads:

"There exist many 'Garlandsof Birth-stories of the Gina' by Gopadatta and other teachers, who, discarding the usual order of the Avadānas, 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 profundity, are hard to understand."\(^{51}\)

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

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\(^{49}\) Bryner, Edna. Thirteen Tibetan Tankas, Falcon Wings Press (1956)


\(^{51}\) ibid. p. xxvii.
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50. ibid. p. xxvii.

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 Tripitaka. 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 acārya 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 Jataka composed by the acārya Sura others are without power to follow on an equality."  

In recent times, Haribhaṭṭa's Jātakamālā has received the attention of Michael Hahn, who published the Tibetan version, accompanied by notes, of the Daḍḍara-jātaka, which has a parallel in the Daḍḍara-jātaka (Pali Jātaka Nr. 304) and the Sugata-jātaka which is parallel to the Udaya-jātaka (Pali Jātaka Nr. 458), in 1971;  the Tibetan version and a German translation of the Adāraṇamukha-jātaka, a Pali parallel to which is the Gamaṇṭiçanda-jātaka (Pali Jātaka Nr. 257), in 1973;  the Tibetan text and the German translation of the Šyāma-jātaka,


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

Hahn's publication of 1977 entitled Haribhāṭṭa and Gopadatta: Two Authors in the succession of Āryaśūra: On the rediscovery of parts of their Jatakamalas is a noteworthy contribution to Sanskrit Jatakamāla studies.\textsuperscript{57} Pointing out that he was unaware of the existence of the Sanskrit original of stories from the Haribhāṭṭajātakamāla 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 Avadanasarasamuccaya and all eleven in the Jatakamalavadanasutra. The nine legends found in the Avadanasarasamuccaya are the Badaradvipa, Saśa, Candraprabha, Rupyavati, Mrṣa, Bastin, Candra, Hariṇamycga and Mayura jatakas, a very brief outline of which appeared in print in 1972, in an article entitled the 'Avadanasyarasamuccaya'.\textsuperscript{58} The two additional stories found in the Jatakamalavadanasutra are the Simha and Sākyasima jatakas. However, Hahn argues that the Sākyasima jātaka, the thirty-fifth narrative in the Haribhāṭṭajātakamāla, which deals with the life of the Buddha, may be a later addition and not the work of Haribhāṭṭa. Hahn printed the Sanskrit text of one of the stories he identified, the Saśa-jātaka, as a supplement to his study on Haribhāṭṭa and


\textsuperscript{58.} Handurukande, Ratna. 'The Avadānasarasamuccaya,' Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture. vol. I. ed. Peralia (contd.)
Gopadatta, as an example to illustrate Haribhatṭa's style, while he and Konrad Klaus published a study of the Mṛgajātaka of the Haribhatṭajātakamāla, containing both the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts and a translation into German, in 1983.

The date of Haribhatṭa also received Hahn's consideration. His contribution to the Ludwig Alsdorf Felicitation Volume, published in 1981, dealt with this problem. Here he attempted to establish an upper limit for the date of Haribhatṭa, the twelfth century, in which his Jātakamāla 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 Haribhatṭa's Jātakamāla. A parallel version of the legend listed by Schlingloff is that in the Chinese collection called Hsien-yū-ching, 'The Sutra 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 Haribhatṭa'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-yū-ching borrowed from Haribhatṭa. The upper limit of Haribhatṭa's date could then be determined by the date of the compilation of Hsien-yū-ching, which according to the oldest catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka took place in the year 455 A.D. Further, taking into account


the time required for the dissemination of the work, Hahn says that the Haribhāṭṭajatakamāla 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 Haribhāṭṭa in the Jataka section of the Tibetan Tanjur, which is thought to be a chronological placement. Here, Haribhāṭṭa is placed after Āryaśūra, confirmed by Haribhāṭṭa's own reference to Āryaśūra as noted earlier, but before the Buddhist poet and grammarian, Candragomin. The date suggested for Āryaśūra is the 4th century A.D., while Candragomin's productive period was between the years 425 and 475 A.D., according to a previous study of Hahn.63

Gopadatā, referred to as an ācārya, is the only author of a Jatakamāla, whose name is mentioned in the verse from the preface to the Avadānakalpalata, quoted earlier in this paper. One work definitely known to be his, and a fair number of jātaka compositions tentatively attributed to him have been studied in recent times. That a fragmentary manuscript of Gopadatta's Jatakamāla 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 sthāvira Gopadatta and ācārya Gopadatta in this colophon, which also mentions one of the tales that the manuscript contained, viz. the Drāḍhāryāśayavadana. Regrettably this manuscript cannot be traced.

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

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62. See note 28 above.
The Tibetan version of this story found in the Tanjur section of the Tibetan Tripitaka 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 Saptakumarikaavadana 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 Aśokavadanamāla 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 Avadanasarasasūrya. The legends listed here are: Suprabhāsa, Rṣipāñcaka, Sarthavāha, Sarvamāda, Ṣrīnavaṇī, Kapiśvara, Megha, Matrpoṣahastin, Nāga, Śvān, Mātrarāmaṇa, Bhavalubāhaka, Maitrakanyaka and Ajataśatru. 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

66. Hahn, Michael. 'Haribhaṭṭa and Gopadatta,' op.cit. p. 15.
68. Hahn, Michael. 'Haribhaṭṭa and Gopadatta,' op.cit. p. 16.
69. ibid. p. 16-27.
the Sanskrit text of the Kapśīvarajātaka along with a philo-
logical 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 Kapśīvara legend
given here has its parallel in the Culanandiya-jātaka (Nr.222)
of the Pāli Jātaka collection.70

The Jñānavatī-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 intro-
duction contains a comparison of the legend with a parallel
version of it found in the Samadhirajasutra, an important work
of early Mahayana 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
Maitrakanyakavadāna as the subject of his M.A. thesis, which
again was presented to the Philipps University at Marburg in

70. Hahn, Michael. 'Gopadatta's Kapśīvarajātaka.' Journal
of the Nepal Research Centre No.4 (Humanities). Wies-
71. Ehlers, Gerhard. Das Jñānavatī-jātaka aus der Jātaka-
mala des Gopadatta. Nach drei Manuskripten herausgege-
ben, kommentiert, mit dem Samadhirajasutra des Gilgit
Manuskripts verglichen und ins Deutsche übersetzt.
Eingereicht als schriftliche Hausarbeit zur Magister-
Prüfung in Fach Indische Philologie Fachbereich II
(Außereuropäische Sprachen und Kulturen) der Philipps-
Universität in Marburg. Marburg/Lahn (11 Juli 1980)
49 p. (Typescript).
72. yosito 'pi........ pratipattivibesena puruṣan atiserate.
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 Maitrakanyakavadana. 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 Ajatasatruavadana 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 Ajatasatru of Magadha, a contemporary of the Buddha, viz. the repentance for the murder of his father, King Bimbisara, an event described in the Samanñaphalasutta of the Dighanikaya.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 Rsipañcaka,77


Sarthavāna, 78 Sarvāndada, 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, focusing my attention particu-
larly 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 Saptakumarikavādana. 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 Gopadattajatakamala, acquired by Tucci in Nepal in 1933,
is found and made available for study.

78. Handurukande, Ratna. 'A Merchant Story.' The Sri
Lanka Journal of the Humanities. University of

79. Handurukande, Ratna. 'Sarvāndada, The All-giver,'
Buddhist Studies (Bukkyo Kenkyu) vol. X. Edited by the
International Buddhist Association, Hamamatsu, Japan

80. Handurukande, Ratna. 'Matsaranandavādāna,' Bulletin
of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Univer-

81. Handurukande, Ratna. 'Five Buddhist Legends in the
Campu style. From a collection named Avadanasarasa-
muccaya.' Edited and translated (with an introduction).

82. Peter Khoroch, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
The upper limit of Gopadatta's date is the eleventh century, the date of Kṣemendra's Avadānakalpalata, 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 Prabhasa story for his own version of the same legend has been pointed out by Hahn recently. This will set the lower limit to the first decades of the fifth century A.D., the date suggested for Haribhaṭṭa's Jatakamala, as noted earlier.

The Jatakamālas discussed above are those composed in the 'Campū' 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 sloka metre. Called avadānamāla usually, and jatakamāla sometimes, they are versified adaptations of older works. One of these, the Mahājātakamāla, containing fifty chapters, edited by Michael Hahn, has been published recently. 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.