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**THE KUŚA-JĀTAKA**  
**A CRITICAL AND COMPARATIVE STUDY**

by  
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### Preface

The Kuśajātaka (Pali: Kusajā., KJ; see Abbreviations) is one of the longer and more interesting tales which have found their way into the narrative literature of the Buddhists of almost all denominations. The Buddhists, in turn, carried it over to all the peoples with whom they came in contact, enabling, as we shall see in the Introduction, this charming tale to invade a considerable slice of world literature. Though the extent of this invasion is disputed, yet the vastly important position it occupies in the Buddhist narrative literature in particular and in the narrative folk-literature in general is beyond all doubt. It is, therefore, highly surprising that the three earliest and most fundamental versions of this tale - two of them in the Mahāvastu and the third in the Pali Jātaka - should have escaped an adequate philological examination so far. However, a short survey of the research work done hitherto in this field, meagre though it be, is given in the Introduction.

The aim of the present study is to investigate more or less thoroughly these three versions and thereby to create a sound basis for further research. For it is needless to say that without such a basic study no effective general discussion of this tale is feasible. In order to illuminate and understand better these versions I shall have occasion sometimes to fall back upon the other versions. These last are, therefore, surveyed briefly in the Introduction; not all of them could, however, be subjected to such a close scrutiny as the three older versions. In the future I hope to be able to bring forth a study of the other Indian and Tibetan versions. Part One of the present investigation is offered also as a modest contribution towards the textual criticism of the Mahāvastu, "the oldest Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit text we have", (Franklin EDGERTON in the introductory remarks to his BHS Grammar) a new critical edition of which is long due.

For the initial suggestion to undertake this interesting and worthwhile study as well as for numerous other valuable suggestions and criticisms and for his constant encouragement and patience I am deeply indebted to my Doktorvater, Professor Dr Ludwig Alsdorf. I would also like to thank my friend Helmut Eimer for his help in preparing the typescripts.

# Abbreviations

abl.	= ablative
acc.	= according; accusative
act.	= active
adj.	= adjective
aor.	= aorist
ARW	= Archiv für Religionswissenschaft
Av. S.	= Avadānaśataka, ed. by SPEYER
B <sup>e</sup>	= Burmese edition of the Pali Tipiṭaka (see Intr., n.50)
BBL	= Bharhut und die buddhistische Literatur by LÜDERS
BHS	= Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit
BHSD	= BHS Dictionary
BHSG	= BHS Grammar
bhvr.	= bahuvrīhi
BKA	= Bhadrakalpāvadāna (see Intr., § 3, and n. 58)
BM	= Buddhistische Märchen by LÜDERS (see Bibliography)
BSOAS	= Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London
caus.	= causative
C <sup>ee</sup>	= Ceylonese edition of the Jātaka Pali (see Intr., n.50)
cf.	= compare
Ch	= CHAVANNES, Cinq cent contes, etc. (see Bibliogr. and Intr., § 3)
Cl.Skt	= Classical Skt
comm.	= commentary, commentator
Comm.	= Commentaire on the Mv. by S.
Conc.	= Conclusion
contd	= continued
CPD	= Critical Pali Dictionary, by ANDERSEN et al.
dat.	= dative
Divy.	= Divyāvadāna, ed. by COWELL and NEILL
DPPN	= Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, by MALALASEKARA
E.	= EDGERTON, Franklin, author of BHSD and BHSG
ed.	= editor; edited
edn	= edition
em(m).	= emendation(s)
ep(s).	= episode(s) (see Intr., § 4, and n. 105)
esp.	= especially
F.	= FAUSBØLL, V., ed. of the Jātaka
fem.	= feminine
FFC	= Folklore Fellows Communications, Helsinki
f(f).	= following
foll.	= following
fut.	= future
g(g).	= gāthās
GEIGER	= Pali Literatur und Sprache, Strassburg, 1916
gen.	= genitive
ger.	= gerund
GGA	= Göttinger Gelehrter Anzeiger
GM	= GMss. version of the KJ (see Intr., § 3)
GMss.	= Gilgit Manuscripts, ed. by N. DUTT
HOS	= Harvard Oriental Series
IAC	= Indo-Asian Culture
IIJ	= Indo-Iranian Journal
impf.	= imperfect

impv.	= imperative
indecl.	= indeclinable
indic.	= indicative
inf.	= infinitive
instr.	= instrumental
Intr.	= Introduction
JAOS	= Journal of the American Oriental Society
J	= Pali version of the KJ (see Intr., § 3 and n. 50)
Jā. or jā.	= Pali Jātaka
JRAS	= Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
KJ	= Kuś(s)ajātaka
loc.	= locative
masc.	= masculine
Mbh.	= Mahābhārata, The critical edn, ed. by SUKTHANKAR et al.
m.c.	= metri causa
metr.	= metrical(ly)
MSS	= Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft
Mv.	= Mahāvastu, ed. by S.
MW	= Skt-English Dictionary, by Monier-Williams (2nd edn)
N.	= Nikāya (followed by Samy., etc.)
NGGW	= Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen
N <sup>g</sup>	= Nagari (Indian) edn of the Pali Tipiṭaka
neg.	= negative
NIA	= New Indian Antiquary
n.	= (foot)note
no.	= number
nom.	= nominative
nt.	= neuter
opt.	= optative
P	= prose version of the Mv. KJ (see Intr., § 3)
pass.	= passive
paccu(s).	= paccuppannavatthu(s)
pers.	= person
Phil.Ind.	= Philologica Indica by H. LÜDERS
Pkt	= Prakrit
pl.	= plural
pres.	= present
Prol.	= Prologue
PTSD	= Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary
pw	= BOEHTLINGK, Skt Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung
S	= SENART, Emile, ed. of the Mahāvastu
S <sup>e</sup>	= Siamese edn of the Pali Tipiṭaka
sg. or sing.	= singular
Skt	= Sanskrit
SN	= Suttanipāṭa (HOS)
subst.	= substantive
s.v(v).	= under the word(s)
Tib.	= Tibetan
transl.	= translates, translated, translation
Trans.Am.Phil.Soc.	= Transactions of the American Philosophical Society
unmetr.	= unmetrical(ly)
V	= verse version of the Mv. KJ (see Intr., § 3)
vb.	= verb
VKA	= Virakūśāvadāna (see Intr., § 3, n. 54)

v(v).	= verse(s), generally of V
WZKSOA	= Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd-Ost-Asiens
WZKM	= Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
ZDMG	= Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZII	= Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik

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## INTRODUCTION

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1. Preliminary remarks

Even if we were to take issue with the eminent German classical philologist, Prof. Richard REITZENSTEIN,<sup>1)</sup> on his thesis that the tale of Cupid and Psyche, one of the most beautiful and probably the only Märchen of classical antiquity,<sup>2)</sup> is an "alexandrinische Umgestaltung"<sup>3)</sup> of the KJ - or that it is derived "aus einer indischen Vorstufe von ihm" (i.e. KJ)<sup>4)</sup> - there remains, nevertheless, much to make this Buddhist tale unique in some very interesting respects. Its uninterrupted popularity among the literary artists is no less striking than its almost complete neglect among the sculptors and painters throughout the Buddhist world.<sup>5)</sup> The thoroughly mundane theme of the story, to-

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1) ARW 28, 1930, 42-87; esp. 59, 73-74, 82, 83n. See also LIUNG-MANN, III, 118-19; and DE VRIES, 150; for a criticism, SWAHN, 377 ff.; for recent criticism of "the Indian method" in general, *ibid.*, 413 ff.

2) Cf. W.R. HALLIDAY, *Indo-European Folktales and Greek Legend*, Cambridge, 1933, 42-43; "except for Aesop's fables we have no Greek folk-tales as such. The only example, I believe, in classical literature of a fairy story told as such is the tale of Cupid and Psyche ...". Cf. also VON DER LEYEN, *Die Welt der Märchen*, I, 175-79; *Das Märchen*, 129 ff. For a psychoanalytical interpretation see Erich NEUMANN, *Ein Beitrag zur seelischen Entwicklung des Weiblichen*, Zürich, 1952.

3) REITZENSTEIN, *loc.cit.*, 66.

4) *Ibid.*, 72.

5) BARUA, *Bharhut*, III, plate LXXXIX 133 (COOMARASWAMY, *La sculpture de Bharhut*, omits it) shows a man sitting on a *mophā* perhaps talking to a standing woman, on the right; somewhat in the background at the extreme right a woman is going away. This scene was identified by BARUA, II, 150-51, with the concluding part of ep. 5. He interprets that king Okkāka is talking to Silavati who is pregnant (?); the departing woman is identified by him

gether with the difficulty of doing adequate justice to the hero's figure, - whose frightening ugliness, notwithstanding its being the central theme of the story, must have been an effective deterrent<sup>6)</sup> - might to some extent explain the latter circumstance; all the more so as it is without exaggeration one of the most un-Buddhistic tales<sup>7)</sup>. The Chaddantajā. and the Vessantarajā., two of the most popular motifs in plastic and pictorial art of the Buddhists, the latter of which indeed vies with the KJ for literary popularity<sup>8)</sup>, are made of a different metal. The KJ, albeit one of the most charming tales of the Pali jāta-ka-collection, has nothing to commend it morally, unless we are

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5) with Sakka (?). LÜDERS, BBL, 130-31, has justly rejected BARUA's ingenious interpretation and has convincingly identified this scene with an episode of the Mahāummaggajā. No other case is known to me where KJ or a part thereof has been identified with any plastic or pictorial representation.

6) It seems that the Buddhist artists consciously refrained from depicting the ugliness of a bodhisattva. J does not dwell upon the description of Kusa's ugliness; and in the Sinhalese epic Kavaṣiḷumina, a poetical adaptation of the KJ (see below § 3), Kusa's "ugliness is not described in detail". (GODAKUMBURA, 151).

7) Cf. ALSDORF, WZKSOA 1, 1957, 60 ff., who has conclusively proved that the (verse-)Vessantarajā. "is just as completely un-Buddhist or rather pre-Buddhist as the vast majority of the other Jātakas." *ibid.* 70. See also LÜDERS, *Phil. Ind.*, 97 ff. and 359 where the question: "Sind die (Jātaka-)Geschichten ursprünglich buddhistisch?" has been discussed. - The KJ might well have been in the mind of the author of the *Api-sutta* when he said: *ye pana te suddantā kavikatā kāveyyā cittakharā citta-vyañjanā bāhirakā sāvakabhāsītā, tesu bhaññamānesu sussaṣṣanti sotam odahissanti aññacittam upaṭṭhāpessanti.* *Samyutta-N.* XX, 7, 6. (Repeated *Aṅguttara-N.* V, 79, 5). Cf. also WINTERNITZ, 76-77.

8) For bibliography on the Vessantarajā. and for details about its plastic and pictorial representations see ALSDORF, *loc.cit.* and DRESDEN, *Trans. Am. Philos. Soc., N.S.*, vol. 45, pt. 5, 1955, 452; on Chaddantajā. DRESDEN, *loc. cit.*, 447.

credulous enough to take the author of the paccuppannavatthu at his word, who would take the KJ to be an illustration of the moral: "Through falling in love with a woman, wise men of yore, mighty though they were, lost their power and came to misery and destruction."<sup>9)</sup> But as we shall presently see, if the plastic and pictorial artists were unwilling to handle it, the poets and the story-tellers were the more prepared to let themselves be fascinated by this "fine romantic tale"<sup>10)</sup>. In our own century the first Nobel-laureate of Asia, Rabindranath Tagore, exploited the KJ for two of his dramas<sup>11)</sup>. In the Mahāvastu, "more especially valuable as a treasure-trove of Jātakas and other narratives"<sup>12)</sup>, the KJ occupies a unique position: it is the longest Jātaka in this collection<sup>13)</sup>; its prose version (i.e.P) comes very near to deserving the classical designation of a *campū*<sup>14)</sup> as against an epic<sup>15)</sup>. In still another respect the KJ

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9) J 278, 19-20: *mātugāme paṭibaddhacittatāya hi tejavanto pi porāṇakapaṇḍitā nittejā hutvā anayavyasanaṃ pāpuṇṇsu*. The paccu.-author seems not to have read the tale through, for we are never told that Kusa "lost his power and came to misery and destruction". Rather the reverse is true.

10) GODAKUMBURA, 149; where it is also described as "an excellent topic for a mahākāvya."

11) Viz. Rājā (English: The King of the Dark Chamber) and Śāp-mocan (not transl. into English). See also below § 3.

12) WINTERNITZ, 243.

13) The other Jātakas are not even half as long as the KJ in the Mv. More interesting is the fact that of all the Mv.-jātakas which correspond to the longer Pali Jātakas (viz. Jā. 506 = Mv. II, 177-88; Jā. 521 = Mv. I, 271-82; Jā. 522 = Mv. III, 361-75; Jā. 526 = Mv. III, 141-52; Jā. 529 = Mv. III, 449-61; Jā. 535 = Mv. II, 48-64; and part of Jā. 546 = Mv. II, 83-89) none is so well-preserved and so circumstantially detailed as the KJ (cf. only the bulk: Jā. 531 = Mv. II, 419-96 + III, 1-27). The same singular position it occupies in the unpublished mss. of the BKA, where the next longest parivartta (i.e. Supriya-sārthavāha-jātaka-parivartta, leaves 303-325) takes up 22 leaves against 53 of Kuśa-Sudarsanā-parivartta. Cf. BENDALL, 90-91. See also § 3.

seems to be unique. There is hardly another Jātaka which is so often mentioned, indeed discussed, in scientific literature that disclaims any title to its being Indology or even Buddhology<sup>16)</sup>; and which has still remained without an adequate treatment of its most fundamental versions.

## 2. A Short Survey of the Research Work done so far

The great German philologist, Heinrich LÜDERS, seems to have felt this need, but he could go no further than putting down a few jottings<sup>17)</sup>. When we read his critical studies of the Sarabhaṅgajā.<sup>18)</sup>, of the Vidhurapaṇḍitajā.<sup>19)</sup>, and of the other jātakas<sup>20)</sup> we are made conscious of our loss in his not having been able to pursue further his investigations on the KJ; for,

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14) For a discussion on the definition of a campū see KEITH, Hist. of Skt Lit., 332.

15) This designation is justly claimed for the metrical part of the Pali Vessantarajā. by ALSDORF, WZKSOA, 1, 1957, 1. See also below § 3.

16) See below § 2.

17) My guru Prof. Ludwig ALSDORF has kindly put these handwritten jottings (some thirteen leaves written on one side) at my disposal. They contain mostly juxtaposition of parts of P and V, bibliographical references on the Dsanglun version, and on the Kusajātakya (STEELE's transl.), information on the person of Alagiyaṇṇa, a descriptive note on the sixteen treasures (see I, ep.6, n.4), another one on the golden image (see II, ep.7a). The bibliographical references are mostly culled from RALSTON-SCHIEFNER (in Frau Lüders's hand). It seems that LÜDERS's intention was to write a paper on the KJ similar perhaps to the one on the Vidhurapaṇḍitajā.; and that he could not go further than the preliminary collection of material. Whenever I have made a direct use of this material it is acknowledged.

18) In BBL, 112 ff.

19) ZDMG 99, N.F. 24 (1945 - 49), 103-130.

20) In Phil. Ind., and in the last part of BBL.

if completed, LÜDERS's would have been the only critical and philological study of the earliest versions of our tale.

In 1913 WINTERNITZ, in the original German edition of his famous work<sup>21)</sup>, remarked rather cautiously on the two Mv. versions with a reference to the Pali version: "The Kusa-Jātaka appears once (ii, 420 ff.) in a recension deviating considerably from the Pāli, a second time (iii, 1 ff.) in a metrical version, which shows points of agreement with the Pāli Gāthās." Taking this judgement as his point of departure, Jarl CHARPENTIER, who had already worked on similar lines in his *Pacceka-buddhageschichten* (Upsala 1908), scrutinized the three versions a little more closely in his review of WINTERNITZ's work<sup>22)</sup> and came to the following conclusions. P, according to him, "schließt sich im großen und ganzen, was den Fortlauf der Erzählung betrifft, ziemlich genau dem Pālijātaka [i.e. J] an, ist aber weitläufiger, und enthält zudem sehr wenige Gāthās, und zwar nur solche, die man in der metrischen Version [i.e. V] wiederfindet." About V he is of the opinion: "Die metrische Abfassung wiederum ist offenbar ziemlich fragmentarisch und würde, wenn sie allein bewahrt wäre, an manchen Stellen schlechthin unbegreiflich sein, enthält aber etwa zwei Dutzend Gāthās, die mit solchen des Pālijātaka übereinstimmen, nicht aber überall an entsprechender Stelle in der Erzählung stehen." Concluding his remarks he suggests a problem to be dealt with by a future investigator: "Welche der beiden Versionen ursprünglich sein mag, kann wohl nur durch nähere Vergleichung mit der Pāligeschichte ausgemacht werden." CHARPENTIER, it appears, took a little too much for granted<sup>23)</sup>; for it is not possible to decide the priority of one whole version against the other<sup>24)</sup>.

The admirers of Rabindranath Tagore have shown considerable interest in the KJ, for as mentioned above, their admired poet exploited our tale for two of his dramas: "Rājā" and "Śāp-mocan". Two years before the publication of the latter work Heinrich

21) Geschichte der indischen Literatur, Band II, 190.

22) WZKM 27, 1913, 94-95.

23) Cf. also ZDMG 66, 1912, 44 ff. and WINTERNITZ, II, 124n.

24) See below Conc.

ZIMMER published an interesting paper entitled: Der "König der dunklen Kammer." In drei Verwandlungen vom R̥gveda bis Tagore<sup>25)</sup>. His "three transformations" are: (i) the story of Purūravas and Urvaśī<sup>26)</sup>, (ii) the KJ, and (iii) Tagore's drama, The King of the Dark Chamber. ZIMMER, it appears, wanted to prove that (ii) is in the same way a "transformation" of (i) as (iii) is of (ii) - a hypothesis which goes beyond the limits of our investigation<sup>27)</sup>; the following pages, therefore, make no pretensions to attempt to prove, or for that matter even disprove, this hypothesis<sup>28)</sup>. It may, however, be remarked, that ZIMMER with his mystic-symbolical explanations has been occupied more in reading between the lines than the lines themselves. Even his summing up of the Mv. versions not infrequently contains matter which, in fact, is wanting in the text summarized by him<sup>29)</sup>.

A more realistic view of the relationship of the KJ with Tagore's drama is to be found in an interesting study by Heinrich MEYER-BENFEY<sup>30)</sup>. His comparative study has the merit of

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25) ZDMG 83, 1929, 187-212.

26) R̥gveda X, 95; Śatapathabrāhmaṇa XI, 5, 1. See WINTERNITZ, I, 103-05; H.J. DE ZWART, Orientalia Neerlandica, Leiden, 1948, 363-71. Cf. also TAWNEY and PENZER, II, 245 ff.

27) It may be noted that REITZENSTEIN and DE VRIES have unquestioningly taken ZIMMER's theory for granted. See below next p.

28) MEYER-BENFEY and SWAHN have tried to disprove it. See n.30.

29) For instance that Sudarśanā approaches Kuśa "mit zitternden Gliedern", and that Kuśa "der im Schmutz des Küchenhofes steht und Schüsseln spült" (p. 200), is recorded neither in P nor V, but only in J. MEYER-BENFEY calls ZIMMER's summary "pesievolle Nacherzählungen".

30) Festschrift Winternitz, 98-116: "Der König der dunklen Kammer." His criticism of ZIMMER's theory is worth quoting: "Es ist unstatthaft, den Mythos von Urvaśī als Vorstufe des Jātaka zu behandeln. Beide haben nur die letzte Grundformel gemein; es sind Schößlinge aus derselben Wurzel, die dauernd nebeneinander stehen. Nur durch Ungenauigkeit wird der Schein von Ähnlichkeiten erweckt, die nicht vorhanden. Purūravas ist nicht häßlich und ist jederzeit zu sehen; er hat eine dunkle Kammer nur bei Nacht,



showing distinctly how much Tagore actually owes to the KJ and how much is his own<sup>31)</sup>. Radhagovinda BASAK's "The Kuśa-Jātaka of the Mahāvastu Avadāna and Tagore's Rājā and Śāp-mocan" has nothing to add that we did not know already<sup>32)</sup>.

REITZENSTEIN's paper mentioned at the outset<sup>33)</sup> chronologically follows and is directly inspired and instigated by ZIMMER's; the latter being, in fact, the former's point of departure. But REITZENSTEIN goes further and sees in the tale of Cupid and Psyche a later "transformation" of the KJ itself or a supposed predecessor thereof. The well-known Swedish folklorist Waldemar LIUNGMAN, while discussing the tale-type 425<sup>34)</sup> (viz. tale of

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30) wie alle Menschen; der Blitz, der seine Nacktheit beleuchtet, ist kein Palastbrand".(108n.) MEYER-BENFEY's summaries are, incidentally, more reliable than ZIMMER's; he has moreover noticed a similarity between the spirit of Chitra, Rājā and a poem in the "Lover's Gift" (cf. pp. 111 f.).

31) Cf. *ibid.* esp. 110 f.

32) IAC, X, 1, 1961, 19-29.

33) See above n.1. It may incidentally be mentioned that it was neither REITZENSTEIN, as SWAHN (378n.) maintains, nor LIUNGMAN (vol. III, 119, where he calls Ch a "heretofore unnoticed fragment" = hittills ouppmärksammat brottstycke), as he himself would like us to believe, who discovered the similarity between the KJ and the tale of Cupid and Psyche. As far back as 1882 RALSTON noticed a link between the KJ and "the numerous European variants of the tale which we know so well under the title of 'Beauty and the Beast'" (Tibetan Tales, p. xxxvii). In 1913 the Index Volume of the English translation of the Jātaka explicitly noted the parallel between J and "beauty and the beast (Cupid and Psyche)". Even the similarity between the latter and Ch has been explicitly noted by Chavannes, IV, 133 (1934). As for detecting the similarity between the tales of Cupid and Psyche and that of Purūravas and Urvaśī cf. F. LIEBRECHT, Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung 18, 1869, 56-66.

34) For tale-types see AARNE and THOMPSON, The Types of the Folktale, Helsinki, 1961 (FFC 184).

Cupid and Psyche), notes its similarity with the Chinese version of KJ (i.e. Ch)<sup>35)</sup>. He further maintains that the tale of Cupid and Psyche originated in Syria or Asia Minor but adds: "It is perhaps not impossible that the motif as well as the tale and the folk-customs have their homeland in India, as it is the case with the Swan-maiden-motif."<sup>36)</sup> He, however, makes no reference to the story of Purūravas and Urvaśī.

The dutch philologist and folklorist Jan DE VRIES, in his *Betrachtungen zum Märchen*<sup>37)</sup>, confirming REITZENSTEIN's results (consequently ZIMMER's, too), adds: "die buddhistische Literatur behandelt die alten Mythen manchmal in der Form des Romans oder der Novelle"<sup>38)</sup>. The last part of this statement seems to me correct as far as P is concerned; P is, indeed, a romance, a novel in the medieval sense - I do not, however, claim to know which ancient myth has been transformed here if it is not the KJ itself, which can hardly be called a myth. DE VRIES's statement certainly goes too far when it claims to cover the entire Buddhist narrative literature.

In his very comprehensive folkloristic study of the tale of Cupid and Psyche<sup>39)</sup>, Jan-Öjvind SWAHN, another eminent Swedish scholar, has discussed almost all the known versions of the KJ, except BKA and VKA<sup>40)</sup>. With regard to J he is of the opinion, "The similarity between this Jātaka and Aa 425 is, perhaps, not very striking but is made more clear after an examination of

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35) LIUNGSMANN, II, 428-29, 440-41, 477-78; III, 117-22. It may be remarked that LIUNGSMANN knows only Ch and through it Dsang-lun. See also above n.33 and below in § 3, item nos. 7 and 8. I take this opportunity to thank Herr Kai von Drigalski who has very kindly translated a few Swedish passages for me.

36) Op. cit., III, 119. Cf. also the same author's *Das wahrscheinliche Alter des Volksmärchens in Schweden* (FFC 156), 11: "Das Motiv [*i.e. Amour and Psyche*] ist ursprünglich orientalisches, der schwedischen Tradition ist es aber fremd."

37) FFC 150.

38) Op. cit., 150. See also above 3-4(our reference to campū).

39) I.e. tale-type 425 (and 428).

40) SWAHN, 387 ff.

some other versions."<sup>41)</sup> He then discusses the "other versions", viz. Ch, Dsanglun and GM (Tibetan translation only), all of which he calls "non-Indian texts" (?) and avers that the latter "sometimes represent an older tradition than those preserved in India itself."<sup>42)</sup> After discussing these four versions he remarks: "In the oldest form within the Indian boundaries, in which we can trace this tale, in the Mahāvastu, whose age it is difficult to decide but which may date back to the 4th century A.D., we find a few features of interest."<sup>43)</sup> He concedes, however: "That the non-Indian variants are based on an Indian form... is possible in view of the fact that Tibetan and Chinese texts cannot be based on each other since each of them has preserved features, common to the Indian tradition, which are not found in the other."<sup>44)</sup> On the relationship of the Urvaśī-Purūravas-episode and the KJ, SWAHN is more cautious than ZIMMER and REITZEN-STEIN; he concludes that a closer investigation of such a relationship "demands a rather exhaustive textual apparatus."<sup>45)</sup>

Before closing this section I would like to mention translations of the KJ into European languages. J has been translated three times, once into English in 1905 by H. T. FRANCIS, twice into German, by DUTOIT in 1914 and by Else LÜDERS in 1921. The last mentioned is by far the best of the three, all the more so as Heinrich LÜDERS himself was responsible for a metrical rendering of all the gāthās.

To J. J. JONES's labour of love we owe "a literal prose translation" into English of the whole of the Mahāvastu, including, of course, our P and V. In his Foreword to the second volume of the translation JONES says, "Not the least important part of the comparative study of the Mahāvastu will have to do with the numerous Jātakas, many, but not all, of which are found in Pali also...when that comparative study is achieved, it will have been found impossible to frame a general statement, and say of

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41) Op. cit., 387.

42) Op. cit., 389.

43) Ibid. See below Conc.

44) Ibid.

45) Op. cit., 390.

the whole ensemble of the Pali Jātakas that they are earlier and more original than the Mahāvastu versions. On the contrary, there is sufficient evidence in this present volume that some of its Jātakas are more original, because more coherent, than the corresponding Pali ones. Similarly, some of the latter in their turn have better preserved texts."<sup>45a)</sup> Taking the KJ he remarks on P that it "is obviously an elaboration of a more primitive form of the story, and this elaboration is quite in the peculiar style of the Mahāvastu."<sup>45b)</sup> JONES's meaning is not fully clear to me. Does he mean to suggest that a "more coherent" version is invariably "more original"? But can it not be "an elaboration of a more primitive form of the story" and, therefore, less original, as , in fact, P is? JONES, if I have understood him right, has been guilty of the same erroneous assumption as CHARPENTIER<sup>45c)</sup>. I may, however, add that on the whole I agree on many points with JONES which he has raised and partially discussed in his Forewords to the three volumes.<sup>45d)</sup>

### 3. A Brief Survey of the Known Versions and Adaptations

Mention has already been made of the literary popularity of the KJ. It is, therefore, not improbable that a few other versions and perhaps many more later adaptations, unknown to me, are in existence than those considered below. For the present study which limits itself chiefly to the first three versions (which are the oldest), a little less than a dozen other versions and later adaptations have been carefully gone through. Besides a few general informatory remarks on the first three versions, some of the general results of our investigations on the others are given below.

1. - 2. As already mentioned there are two versions of the

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45a) Vol. II, p. x.

45b) *ibid.* xi.

45c) See above n. 23 and corresponding text.

45d) For example, his view that " both Pali and Sanskrit texts preserve as a fixed core a very primitive tradition."(II, x.)

KJ found in the Mahāvastu-Avadāna<sup>46)</sup>. Not infrequently in this work we find the same story related more than once, and generally it is first narrated predominantly in prose and then predominantly in verse<sup>47)</sup>. The best example of this genre is the KJ.<sup>48)</sup> It is first narrated predominantly in prose (our P = II, 419, 16 - 496, 18; 77 pages contain some 55 verses recognized by S. as such, and not less than a hundred pādas, some of them making up to four consecutive verses, see I, Prol. n. 3, which are either not recognized as such by S. or are already "dissolved" into prose, but not irretrievably so) and then predominantly in verse (our V = III, 1, 1 - 27, 21; 27 pages contain some 165 verses not all recognized as such by S., and a few "dissolved" pādas, on which see Conc. below).

2a. Besides, Mv. I, 128, 12 - 131, 4 has a short tale in mixed prose and verse of a certain king Kuśa who is not to be confused with the hero of the KJ. This short tale is related to illustrate the actions of the paramapurūṣa (the Bodhisattva) when he is in his seventh bhūmi.<sup>48a)</sup> Once when the Bodhisattva is in his seventh bhūmi he is born as a king named Kuśa. His spouse is called Apratimā. The wicked Devadatta is born as a king named Jaṭhara who, having heard of queen Apratimā, desires to possess her and accordingly sends a message to king Kuśa demanding the latter's wife or challenging him to fight. Kuśa informs his wife who, "shedding a flood of tears" (aśruvegaṃ pramuñcitvā) assures him of her supernatural strength. King Jaṭhara is shown into king Kuśa's inner apartment. Queen Apratimā puts her right foot over king Jaṭhara's heart and her left on his gulpha [i.e. ankle (?). I am not sure if this mss.-reading (ms. C gulbhe) is correct; should we perhaps read gaṇḍe, "on the temple" (?)] and threatens to kill him. King Jaṭhara, wailing, asks her pardon. King Kuśa intervenes saying:

abhayam dadāhi devī kāpuruṣasya śaraṇaṃ upagatasya/  
+ [sa-7kṛtāṃjalīpuṭasya [ca<sup>49)</sup> yāvaṃ eṣu hi satāṃ dharma//

46) This is its self-styled title. Cf. ZIMMER, ZII 3, 201-11; and esp. THOMAS, 280 f.; RENOU et al., II, § 2002.

47) Cf. WINTERNITZ, 243; and WINDISCH, Die Komposition des Mv., 41.

48) See above the Preliminary Remarks and n. 13.

This tale reminds us of ep. 11 of the KJ. The verse message sent by king Jāṭhara to king Kuśa might well have been sent by Durmati (in P) to the heroine's father and the verses spoken by Apratimā (i.e. 128, 17 ff. and 129, 5 ff.) with some alterations could have been uttered by Kuśa in order to assure Sudarśanā in P. The subsequent four verses (i.e. 130, 7 ff. and 131, 3-4) likewise would not have been difficult to accommodate in the KJ for an ingenious redactor like the one whose hand we notice in ep. 4 at work (see below I, ep. 4, n. B). But apart from the fact that there is nothing corresponding to them in J, the verses of this tale have every sign of lateness.<sup>49a)</sup> We may thus safely assert that this short purāṇic tale has nothing common with our KJ save the hero's name, which is accidental.<sup>49b)</sup>

3. The KJ is no. 531 of the Pali jāṭaka (our J), FAUSBØLL, vol. V, pp. 278-312<sup>50)</sup>.

48a) For a discussion of the ten bhūmis see THOMAS, 198 ff.

49) S.: tasya kṛtāmjalipuṭasya; in Comm.(p.478) he says: "tasya s'offrait naturellement pour compléter le troisième pāda; il a pu fort aisément tomber après upagatasya." Not only that his mss. do not have tasya, it is also metr. untenable. For it is an Āryā and its pāda c must metr. read something like above. On sa- cf. BHSD s.v., "inseparable prefix in 'pleonastic' positive use, as opp. of neg." Ms.L reads: -jalimpu-.

49a) Cf. for instance 129, 15-16: dvābhyāṃśca parimokṣeyaṃ aham eva niropama/ mama māyā hy asaṃkhyeyā lokāḥ tṛṇamayo mama// which clearly betrays its affinity with the later (i.e. Lalita-vistara-)style. See also WINDISCH, Die Komposition des Mv., 40f. 49b) On some similarities between the Brahmanical Purāṇas and parts of the Mv. cf. WINTERNITZ, 244 f.

50) Besides FAUSBØLL, I have used four Oriental editions: Burmese and Siamese for the atthavappanā; Devanāgarī and Ceylonese for the gāthās only. For a recent critical appraisal of the Oriental editions of the Tipiṭika, see F.-R. HAMM in ZDMG 112, 1962, 353 ff. I take this opportunity to thank Prof. Heinz Bechert for kindly putting his personal copy of the Ceylonese Verse-Jātaka-edition (C<sup>eg</sup>) at my disposal. For particulars about this as well as other editions see Bibliography.