

# THE STORY OF KALMĀṢAPĀDA AND ITS EVOLUTION IN INDIAN LITERATURE

(A STUDY IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA AND THE  
JĀTAKA)

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## INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

SCARCELY any story is so widely distributed in Indian literature as that of Kalmāṣapāda, that curious tale of a cannibal king with 'spotted feet' (kalmāṣapāda), who was doomed to devour many human beings through a sage's curse.

The Mahābhārata tells this story in full detail. It is also described in both the famous Purāṇas, Viṣṇu, and Bhāgavata, familiar to European scholars through the translations of those two great pioneers of Oriental learning—H. H. Wilson and Eugène Burnouf.

The Buddhists made this king a predominant figure in the Jātakas and Avadānas. In the Pāli collection of the birth-stories his conversion is depicted in romantic colours.

In the various Avadānas preserved in the Chinese Tripitaka, the king appears more frequently, and with more varied features than in the Pāli literature. Later Buddhist writers of popular works in China and Japan took the king as the type of an Oriental Nero. Nor is he absent from Jain literature. Finally, it is an important and interesting fact that we can trace this story so far back as the Vedic age. Vestiges are found not only in many commentaries, but even in the Ṛgveda itself.

Thus the story, commencing with the Vedic age, reaches to the later time of the Purāṇas, with various tendencies and features, representing the literatures of different periods.

It was common property to the poets of Brahmanism, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Jainism. A study of the legend, therefore, is by no means without significance for inquiries into Indian literature. But it is curious how, in spite of its importance, it has escaped the eyes of investigators of the Mahābhārata and Jātakas, except only for a few remarks of limited scope made by Professors Holtzmann and Speyer, the late great Wilson and Dr. Muir.

The little article here published attempts to supply this want, and tries to show how great is the significance of a study, through which many questions on the Epics and Jātakas may find elucidation.

I am, of course, here making no claim for my inquiry, either of ultimate validity or of exhaustive treatment, for many other things still remain awaiting further investigations. But at least I hope that the reader will acknowledge the importance of a comparative and systematic study of a story like this, even through my imperfect treatment of the subject.

For the publication of this article I am deeply grateful to Professor Rhys Davids, who encouraged me to let my work appear in this journal. I am also very much indebted to the kind offer of Mrs. Rhys Davids to read through my manuscript.

To my teacher and friend, Professor Leumann, I am especially grateful for his generous help in giving me important materials together with useful advice.

My thanks are, further, due to the kindness of Dr. Sakaki and Dr. Walleser for lending me copies of some passages from *Laṅkāvatāra*. Dr. Walleser gave me also several important suggestions from the Tibetan sources.

K. W.

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NOTE.—Among the authorities to which reference is made in this paper, two works are consulted in almost every page, with the abbreviations: T.E. and N.

T.E. = *Tokio Edition of the Chinese Tripitaka*, 1888-92, Part I. (*Thien*)—XL. (*Shang*). Every Part has 10-15 volumes.

N. = Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, 1883.

## I. THE KALMĀṢAPĀDA STORY IN BUDDHIST LITERATURE.

1. *The Texts.*—The story of Kalmāṣapāda is told in various texts under various forms. A list of those texts is appended :

### A. Pāli.

1. Mahāsutāsoma-jātaka (No. 537).<sup>1</sup>
2. Cariyā-piṭaka, III., 12.<sup>2</sup>
3. Nidāna-kathā, I., v. 265.<sup>3</sup>
4. Jayaddisa-jātaka (No. 513).<sup>4</sup>
5. Cariyā-piṭaka, II., 9.<sup>5</sup>

### B. Sanskrit.

6. Rāṣṭrapāla-pariprechā.<sup>6</sup>
7. Jātakamālā, XXXI.<sup>7</sup>
8. Bhadrakalpāvadāna.<sup>8</sup>
9. Laṅkāvatāra.<sup>9</sup>

### C. Chinese.

10. Older Samuktāvadāna,<sup>10</sup> translated by Khān Saṃ-hui in A.D. 251.
11. Ṣaṭpāramitā-samuccaya,<sup>11</sup> translated by Khān Saṃ hui in A.D. 251.

<sup>1</sup> Fausböll's Jātaka, V., p. 456 *et seq.*; translation by Francis, V., p. 246 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Cariyā-piṭaka, edited by Morris, 1882 (P.T.S.), pp. 100-101.

<sup>3</sup> Fausböll, I., p. 46; Rhys Davids's 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. 57.

<sup>4</sup> Fausböll, V., p. 21 *et seq.*; Francis, V., p. 11 *et seq.*

<sup>5</sup> Morris, p. 90.

<sup>6</sup> Finot: Rāṣṭrapāla-pariprechā (Bib. Buddh.), 1901, p. 22.

<sup>7</sup> Kern's edition, 1891 (Harvard Oriental Series), p. 207. Eng. translation by Speyer (Sacred Books of the Buddhists), 1895, p. 291 *et seq.*

<sup>8</sup> S. d'Oldenbourg's 'On the Buddhist Jātaka' (translated by Wenzel), *J.R.A.S.*, 1893, p. 331 *et seq.*; Bendall's *Cat. of the Buddh. Skt. MSS.*, Cambridge, 1883, p. 91.

<sup>9</sup> A copy of the Paris MS. by Dr. Sakaki, and collated by him with other 3 MSS., and a photographic reproduction of the *R.A.S. MS.*, No. 5 (Cowell and Eggeling's Catalogue, p. 6), made by Dr. Walleser.

<sup>10</sup> Nanjio's *Cat. of the Chinese Tripitaka*, no. 1539, fasc. 2 (Tokio edition of Tripitaka XIX., 7, f, 23b). Nanjio takes Khān (=Khān-kiu) for Tibet, but this word means Samarkand.

<sup>11</sup> N., no. 143, fasc. 4 (T.E. VI., 5, 67a).

12. Samyuktâvadâna ;<sup>1</sup> the translator's name was lost.
  13. Saṅgharakṣa-samuccaya,<sup>2</sup> translated by Saṅghabhūti in A.D. 384.
  14. Bodhisattva-pūrvacaryā;<sup>3</sup> the translator's name was lost.
  15. Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra,<sup>4</sup> translated by Kumārajīva in A.D. 405.
  16. Zan-wān-hu-kwo-pān-zo-po-lo-mi-king :
    - A. First translation,<sup>5</sup> translated by Kumārajīva in A.D. 404-412.
    - B. Second translation,<sup>6</sup> translated by Amoghavajra in A.D. 765.
  17. Laṅkāvatāra :
    - A. First translation,<sup>7</sup> translated by Guṇabhadra in A.D. 445.
    - B. Second translation,<sup>8</sup> translated by Bodhiruci in A.D. 513.
    - C. Third translation,<sup>9</sup> translated by Sikṣānanda in A.D. 700-704.
  18. Damamūkhâvadâna,<sup>10</sup> translated by Hwui-ciao, etc., in A.D. 445.
  19. Ratnakūṭa XVIII. (Rāṣṭrapāla) :
    - A. First translation,<sup>11</sup> translated by Jñānagupta in A.D. 591.
    - B. Second separate translation,<sup>12</sup> translated by Dānapāla in A.D. 982-1014.
  20. Simhasaudāsamāṃsabhakṣanivṛtti,<sup>13</sup> translated by Ch'-yen in A.D. 721.
- D. Tibetan.*
21. Dsang-lun.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> N., no. 1368, fasc. 1 (T.E. XIX., 7, 29b).

<sup>2</sup> N., no. 1352, fasc. 1 (T.E. XXIV., 7, 94b).

<sup>3</sup> N., no. 432, fasc. 3 (T.E. VI., 5, 43a).

<sup>4</sup> N., no. 1169, fasc. 4 (T.E. XX., 1, 32a). The exact date of the translation is given in N., no. 1476, fasc. 10 (T.E. XXXVIII., 1, 60b).

<sup>5</sup> N., no. 17, fasc. 2. The date of translation after Chêng-yuen-lu, fasc. 1. Skt. title may be somewhat as Maitrīrājarāṣṭrapālaprajñāpāramitā (T.E. X., 50b).

<sup>6</sup> N., no. 965, fasc. 2 (T.E. XXV., 76b).

<sup>7-9</sup> 1, N., no. 175, fasc. 4 (T.E. IV., 6, 28a); 2, N., no. 176, fasc. 8 (T.E. IV., 6, 67a); 3, N., no. 177, fasc. 6 (T.E. IV., 6, 111a).

<sup>10</sup> N., no. 1322, fasc. 11 (T.E. XIV., 9, 64a).

<sup>11</sup> N., no. 28, fasc. 81 (T.E. II., 4, 104b). The exact date of translation see Chêng-yuen-lu, fasc. 10.

<sup>12</sup> N., no. 873 (T.E. II., 10, 68b).

<sup>13</sup> N., no. 460 (T.E. XXIV., 8, 81a). Nanjio's Skt. rendering and English translation are both wrong. It should be translated: 'The Sūtra on King Simhasaudāsa abstaining from flesh.'

<sup>14</sup> Schmidt's 'Der Weise und der Thor,' 1845; Tibetan, p. 248 *et seq.*; German, vol. ii., p. 311 *et seq.*

Besides these texts, Kalmāṣapāda is included in a list of Yakṣas in the Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī, as a tutelary demon of the people Vairyā.<sup>1</sup>

2. *Classification of the Texts.*—If the contents of the texts above given are carefully compared, a noticeable mark of difference is soon discovered. This relates to a prelude in the story, in which the mysterious birth of Kalmāṣapāda by a lioness is described. Some texts omit this prelude, while in others this introduction forms one of the most important points. Thus it may be natural to divide all the texts into two great groups according to these distinguishing marks. Those which have not this prelude are grouped under the first, and those which have it belong to the second.<sup>2</sup>

Under the first group a subdivision is made to distinguish two forms from the moral teachings which form the central point of the story. Some of them teach a single moral maxim only. In others, however, two or more moral lessons are given, with the occasional addition of a few dogmatical explanations. We may further divide the second form into two versions: the Sanskrit and the Pāli.

Another dichotomy is applied in the second group. The first is characterized by answering a question: Why had Kalmāṣapāda received such a curious name? The lioness story is therefore introduced as an *a priori* reason. The second, beside that etymological explanation, solves yet another question: Why did the king become cannibal? A curse story is told here, as an *a posteriori* solution.

<sup>1</sup> N., nos. 306-308 (T.E. XXV., 6, 71a; XXVII., 7, 48b; XXVII., 7, 61a). According to the R.A.S. MS., 102a, and the Calcutta MS., 133b—

Kalmāṣapādo Vairyāyāṃ, Virateṣu Maheśvaraḥ,  
Vṛhaspatīś ca Śrāvastyāṃ, Sākete Sāgaro vaset.

See also d'Oldenbourg's edition in the Sapiski of the Oriental Part of the Imperial Russian Archæological Society, 1897-98, p. 231.

<sup>2</sup> The second division is only made *par excellence* of the Sanskrit, as we can expect few original texts of the early Chinese translations, written in *some language other than Sanskrit.*;

Group I.	1. First form (Simplicity of the subject)					10
						13
						15
	2. Second form (Plurality of the subject)					11
						12
						14
		1. Sanskrit version				6
						19 A. B.
						16 A. B.
						1
						2
						3
						4
						5
Group II.	1. First development ( <i>A priori</i> explanation of the character)					7
						8
						17 A.
						20
	2. Second development ( <i>A posteriori</i> explanation of the conduct)					18
						21
						9
						17 B. C.

A. THE FIRST GROUP.

1. THE FIRST FORM.

3. *Text 10, Older Samyuktāvadāna.*—This old Jātaka collection consists of sixty-four short chapters of various stories and allegories. Our text is found under No. 39. The text runs literally as follows :

‘Once in remote ages there was a Brahmin, who begged a king to give him something. The king was about to go hunting, and therefore made the Brahmin wait till his return to the palace. Stalking his game and getting separated from his followers, the king entered a deep valley, where he met with a Rākṣasa waiting to devour him. The king said : “ Listen ! This morning I have met with a Brahmin, to whom I have promised something on my return. I will first give him alms and then come back here as thy victim.” The Rākṣasa said : “ I wish to devour thee now. Wilt thou certainly come here again ? ” The king answered : “ Were I not true to my word, I should have



forgotten the Brahmin." The Rākṣasa allowed him to go free. So the king returned to his palace, gave liberal alms to the Brahmin, and delivered over his kingdom to his successor. Then he came back again to the Rākṣasa, who was deeply moved by his faithfulness, paid great homage to him, and gave up the intention of devouring him.'

The names of the king and the Rākṣasa are here not given.

None of those episodes in the later texts—as, for example, the captivity of ninety-nine kings—is found here. The text is composed only of the central and essential point of the story, around which different factors were gradually added. This evidently shows the text to be the simplest and primitive form of all Kalmāṣapāda legends.

4. *Text 13, Saṃgharakṣa-samuccaya.*—Saṃgharakṣa, the author of the text, was, according to an introduction of the translator, a native of Surāṭha, and honoured by the famous king Kaṇiṣka as his teacher.<sup>1</sup> Three works composed by him are still extant.<sup>2</sup> Our text treats of the former births of the Buddha, with various examples, which praise his excellent virtues. Some dogmatical treatment is added thereto. The text describes the legend of the King Aśoka.<sup>3</sup>

The Kalmāṣapāda story in the text is mainly the same as that in the last text, except that the description is more detailed and complete. Here the names of the hero and his antagonist are mentioned.

'Thus I have also heard: In the ancient time there was a king named *Sutasoma*.<sup>4</sup> . . . Once he was going to a pond in order to bathe, driving in a carriage adorned with rare plumage. As he was passing the city-gate, a Brahmin with a grave face, being intelligent and wise, came to beg money.

<sup>1</sup> This tradition is analogous to the relation of Aśvaghōṣa to the King Kaṇiṣka. On Surāṭha see Watters, 'On Yuan Chwang,' II., 248.

<sup>2</sup> N., nos. 1325, 1326, 1350.

<sup>3</sup> Fasc. 3 (T.E. XXIV. f., 120a et seq.).

<sup>4</sup> The Chinese Su-da-ma is apparently an abridged transliteration of Sutasoma. Or we may take Sudama for Sudāma, which seems to have some connection with the Vedic Sudās.

. . . At that time a winged demon with the name of *Kalmāṣapāda*,<sup>1</sup> showing his fearful form, carried off the king. The king then shed tears. Considering what the king was thinking, the demon asked : "O great king, why do you weep and cry? Why are you so sorrowful and distressed?" The Bodhisattva answered : "I have no care for my body, but I have promised a Brahmin to give money. On that account I am sorrowful and distressed. . . ." The rest of the story is substantially the same as in the last text. At the end of the story three stanzas are recited by the demon-king to praise the noble character of Sutasoma.

5. *Text 15, Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra*.—This voluminous commentary on the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*<sup>2</sup> is said to be the work of the famous Mahāyāna doctor Nāgārjuna.

The great commentary takes the story as an example of the exercise of the Śīla-pāramitā, and quotes it immediately after the Śīvi-jātaka. The meeting of the king with the Brahmin, his pastime, his unhappy accident and his final triumph over the demon-king are vividly written. Besides these factors, which already exist in the last two texts, a new episode is now found ; this is the story of the captivity of ninety-nine kings.

The existence of the story as a separate Sūtra in the time of Nāgārjuna, may be proved from a description of fasc. 14, where the name of the *Sutasoma-rājā-sūtra* is mentioned in relation to the above-given example.<sup>3</sup>

It would not be quite superfluous to give here the whole translation of the story, because it is one of the most important texts, and it will serve for comparative purposes later on :

‘ Question : How can we complete the Silapāramitā ?

Answer : The commandments shall be strictly observed, by

<sup>1</sup> In Chinese : Kat-ma sha-pa-ra (Ka-ma-sha-po-lo). If this reading is right it suggests the name *Kalmāṣapāla*.

<sup>2</sup> N., nos. 16, 2, 3, 4. The Skt. MSS. of this text exist in the libraries of Cambridge, Paris, and Calcutta.

<sup>3</sup> T.E. XX., 1, 90b.

taking no care even for one's own life ; just as the king *Sutasoma*<sup>1</sup> did not violate the precept even when in danger of destruction through the great king *Kalmāṣapāda*.<sup>2</sup>

'Once upon a time there was a king named Sutasoma, who observed the commandments with energetic diligence, speaking the truth always. One morning, driving in his royal chariot, followed by court ladies, he was going to take his pastime in a garden. As he reached the city-gate he met a Brahmin who begged of him. [The Brahmin said :] "O king ! you are a happy and virtuous man, and I am very poor. Pity me and give me more or less !" The king answered : "Yes, willingly ! The Tathāgata teaches that alms must be always given, but wait till my return." Having thus given his promise, the king entered the garden and amused himself with the bath and other enjoyments. Just then a king with two wings, named Kalmāṣapāda,<sup>3</sup> came flying through the air and captured the king from among the royal ladies, as a Garuda catches a Nāga from the ocean. All the king's female attendants cried out, and wept. Everyone in the garden was distracted. Without and within the city arose a great panic and lamentation. Kalmāṣapāda, carrying the king, flew away through the air and confined him among the ninety-nine kings. Seeing that Sutasoma wept continually, his tears dropping like rain, Kalmāṣapāda asked : "Why, O great Kṣatriya-king, do you weep like a child ? Where life is, there of necessity is death. There is a coming together, then follows a separation." Sutasoma answered : "I fear not death, but only my violation of truthfulness. Since my birth I have never spoken an untruth. This morning, as I reached the city-gate, a Brahmin came for alms. I promised to give him something after my return. But now from this deplorable accident I must commit a sin by having told a lie. Therefore I am weeping." Kalmāṣapāda said : "If you fear to

<sup>1</sup> In Chinese : Su-da-su-ma (Su-to-su-mo).

<sup>2</sup> In Chinese : Ko-ma-sha-pa-da (Ka-mo-sha-po-ta).

<sup>3</sup> Here the translator renders the name by a Chinese phrase (Lu-tsō), meaning having [spotted] feet like a deer [skin].

tell a lie, I will allow you once to return, but you must come back here again after seven days, when you have finished giving to the Brahmin. It is not difficult for me to capture you if you were not to come back to me, since I have the power of flying." When Sutasoma reached his kingdom he gave alms very generously, inducted his heir-apparent to the throne, and assembled the whole population of the kingdom to beg them to excuse him, with the words: "My wisdom [as a king] was imperfect. My reign was not lawful. You are begged therefore to excuse me. Now my body belongs no more to me. I shall go back again [to Kalmāṣapāda to be a victim]." The people and the royal relatives besought him with their heads bent to the ground, saying: "O king, please reign over this kingdom with your benevolence. Have no anxiety on account of Kalmāṣapāda. We will build you an iron palace, guarded by a strong army. Though Kalmāṣapāda have miraculous power, he deserves not to be feared." The king said: "It cannot be so." He uttered then a stanza:

"To speak truth is the best of all moral precepts. To speak truth is a ladder attaining to heaven. To speak truth is very great, though it may seem a trifle. A liar will fall down to hell. Now I keep truth, and therefore can I feel no remorse, even if I give up my life."

The king immediately went out in order to meet Kalmāṣapāda, who marvelled and rejoiced, when he saw Sutasoma from afar. He said: "You are a man who speaks truth and never breaks his word. All human beings take care for their life, but, when you were liberated from death, you came again to me for the sake of truthfulness. Verily you are a great man!" Then the king Sutasoma praised truthfulness: "For speaking truth, he is called a man. He is called not a man, when he speaks not truth." Thus he praised truthfulness and blamed the lie. Hearing that, Kalmāṣapāda felt the pure faith awake in him, and said to the king: "Verily you have spoken an excellent thing. I will now liberate you and give you the

ninety-nine kings as a gift. They may return to their kingdoms, as they wish.”

‘When he had thus spoken, the hundred kings returned [to their kingdoms].’

## 2. THE SECOND FORM.

### (A) *The Sanskrit Versions.*

6. *Text 11. Saṭ-pāramitā-samuccaya.*—As the title of the text indicates, it includes seventy-four sūtras, describing various former births of the Buddha, which are arranged under the six Pāramitās. The Kalmāṣapāda-legend, under the name Phumiñ-rājā-sūtra, occurs in the last section of the Śīla-pāramitā.

The hero and his adversary are described in the text as follows :

‘In very remote time the Bodhisattva was a king named *Phu-miñ* (Japanese : Fu-myo).<sup>1</sup> He reigned over a great kingdom. His benevolence and sympathy radiated over ten regions of the earth. The people praised his virtues with hymns, because they were favoured by his compassion as children are loved by their father. In a neighbouring country a king lived. He ruled his subjects with rigorous laws. His strength was that of a lion, and he could catch a flying bird as he ran.’

This vigorous ruler is called *A-guñ*,<sup>2</sup> a contracted transliteration for *Aṅgulimāla*, who is identified as this king in his former birth. Once this king tried to eat human flesh, and found it very delicious. He commanded his cook therefore thenceforth to offer him this horrible food. All his ministers remonstrated with him on this inhuman deed. As the king listened not to them, they banished him to a lonely mountain.

‘The king entered now a deep forest and offered a prayer

<sup>1</sup> This may be rendered as *Samantaprabhāsa* or *Samantaraśmin*. But it may also be read as *Subhāsa* or *Svābhāsa*, as having some connection with *Saudāsa*.

<sup>2</sup> The identification is found in T.E. VI., 5, 68b.

to a sacred tree : " If thou helpest me to be restored to my lost kingdom, I will bring thee a hundred kings as a sacrifice." Then follows in the text the captivity of the kings, the meeting of Phu-miñ to a Brahmin on the way to visit diseased and distressed persons, his confinement, his honourable return to the cannibal king, and his victory in converting the man-eater. The Brahmin who met Phu-miñ and received from him 12,000 gold pieces preaches the Buddhist doctrine of impermanence, composed in *four stanzas*.<sup>1</sup> These stanzas form the important part of the story, and they deserve to be here translated.

(1) At the end of the kalpa, heaven and earth will be entirely burnt up (*a*). The Mount Sumeru and the great oceans will be reduced to ashes and dust (*b*). Their happiness therein being ended, the gods and Nāgas will perish (*c*). Even the two standards<sup>2</sup> will fall down. How may there remain a land that is everlasting ?

(2) Birth, old age, sickness and death have no end, turning like a wheel (*a*). Wishes for the most part cannot be fulfilled ; sorrow and distress cause great injury (*b*). As desire is deep, calamity is high ; wounds and sores are due not to an external (cause), (but due to inner desire) (*c*). The three worlds are all *painful*. Is there no country on which we may depend ? (*d*)

(3) Existence is in its nature nothingness. It exists only through cause and condition (*a*). That which is once prosperous must (at last) fall into decay. That which is once full must (at last) be reduced to nothingness (*b*). Living beings resemble creeping worms living in an illusion (*c*). Sound and its echo are both *void* ; so also are kingdoms and lands (*d*).

(4) Consciousness and mind have no definite shape.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to the commentaries on the Text 16 (N., nos. 1566 and 1567), the stanzas explain in regular order the four characteristics of the Duḥkha-satya : Anitya, Duḥkha, Śūnya, Anātman. See German translation by Schmidt, Dsang-lun, p. 318 (Text, pp. 254-255).

<sup>2</sup> Heaven and earth.

<sup>3</sup> Schmidt's translation : ' Die volle Erkenntniss (Weisheit) ist un-körperlich,' is not right. The Tibetan text reads like the Chinese.

They drive four snakes in temporary existence<sup>1</sup> (a). Ignorance cherishes (this temporary existence) as a precious thing and takes possession of it as a pleasant carriage<sup>2</sup> (b). The body has no constant master and the mind possesses no everlasting residence (c). The three worlds are all illusion. How, then, should there be such a country? (d).

The Damamūkāvadāna and Zan-wān-hu-kwo-sūtra borrow these stanzas in their Kalmāṣapāda legends. The translators of both texts used the Chinese rendering of our text, with few corrections. A short story of a prince, who was murdered for his debaucheries, is added to the main story in our text, and concludes with the identifications of Sutasoma to Buddha himself and of Kalmāṣapāda to Aṅgulimāla. This supplementary story is modified and enlarged in the Damamūkāvadāna, and the same identifications are made.

7. *Text 12. Samyuktāvadāna.*—The name of the translator was lost when the Chêng-yuen-lu was composed, A.D. 800.<sup>3</sup> The catalogue registers the Avadāna under the later Hān dynasty. This may be right, as the transliterations of the Sanskrit names and the technical terms show the characteristics of this period. But it must be later than the older Samyuktāvadāna, which is shorter than our text. The word 'older' in this title seems to be expressly given by the Buddhist scholars in ancient times to that Avadāna in order to distinguish it from our text and N., no. 1366.

The Avadānas consist of thirty-one sections, describing birth-stories and miracles of Buddha. No. 8 is our story,

<sup>1</sup> Schmidt takes these for birth, old age, sickness, and death, but in fact, they mean four dhātus: earth, water, fire, and air. See Kiō-shaṅ-fā-shu fasc. 11 (N., no. 1636; T.E. XXXVII., 3, 67a). Text 16 B. reads: It is produced from four dhātus. Cf. *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*, Chap. 6, vv. 11—12 (Cambridge Ms. Add. 875, f. 19A., Calcutta ed., p. 31).

<sup>2</sup> Schmidt: 'Aus der Unwissenheit Erzeugten, wird alles dauernde Heil angenommen.' Text 16 B. reads: Fettered by love of ignorance Ātman and that which belongs to Ātman are produced.

<sup>3</sup> This work is wanting in the Nanjio's Catalogue. The description of our text is found in fasc. 2, T.E. XXXVIII., 6, 8a.

the contents of which are in the main identical with the former text :

‘ In ancient times there was a king. He was accustomed to eat human flesh, and gave orders to the cook to kill human beings in the night and to dress the flesh. His subjects knowing this banished the king, and, electing a wise man, crowned him as king. The cannibal king, after thirteen years, grew two wings in his body, and flying through the air devoured human beings in remote and near places. He offered up a prayer to a *tree spirit* in a mountain to bring him happiness, saying : “ If thou so favour me that I return again to my kingdom and regain the throne I will offer thee five hundred kings in sacrifice.” ’

Then follow in the story the captivity of the kings and other acts, as they are played in the Avadānas above mentioned. The name of Sutasoma or Phu-miñ, however, in our story is never found. The Brahmin utters here also *stanzas*, but they are not given in full form, only named. After the question of the man-eater the deliverer preaches five commandments, ten good works, four infinities, and six *pāramitās*.<sup>1</sup>

The text gives the identifications of the hero and antagonist in the story as Buddha and Aṅgurimāla, as in the last Avadāna. It explains the etymology of Rājagrha. The captured kings in the story after their liberation remained by the deliverer (Sutasoma), who built beautiful residences for them in his city. So the city received the name ‘ king’s house.’

8. *Text 14. Bodhisattvapūrvacaryā, Text 6, 19 A.B. Rāṣṭrapāla-paripṛcchā.*—The Bodhisattvapūrvacaryā contains twenty-three Jātakas, among which 1-6 and 20-23 are written in detailed manner, while 7-19 are only found in abridged form. Our story is briefly summarized as No. 11 :

‘ When I was *Sutasoma*<sup>2</sup> I saved the lives of one hundred kings who were expelled to die, and converted *Kalmāṣa-*

<sup>1</sup> 5 Silas ; 10 Kuśalamūlas ; 4 Apramāṇas (see Mahāvvyutpatti, sec. 69).

<sup>2</sup> Su-da-so-mi (Su-to-su-mi)



*pāda*<sup>1</sup> to the right view, by which the twelve years' curse on him was cancelled.'

A similar allusion is made in the Rāṣṭrapāla-pariprechā. The Sanskrit text corresponds exactly to both Chinese translations. The passage in the text is found under the enumeration of the great achievements of the Bodhisattva for the attainment of Buddhahood.

'When I lived as *Sutasoma* the renowned king, the deed I wrought was this: Through my faithfulness to duty, I delivered one hundred kings who had been carried off to their death.'

The former text seems to have abridged a certain extensive form of the story, because the duration of the curse-burdened condition of Kalmāṣapāda points to a complicated construction as the source of this allusion. The conversion of the man-eater is also dogmatically affirmed as against the primitive moral form of the legend in the first group.

The word 'right view,' *Samyag-drṣṭi*, means technically Buddhist doctrine or dogmas, not simply moral insight.

The later text may be supposed to have the same source as the former, the number of the captured kings being exactly similar.

9. *Text 16, A.B. Zan-wān-hu-kwo-pān-zo-po-lo-mi-king.*—Here a special development of the Kalmāṣapāda story may be seen. The Mahāyāna-followers now applied this story to the propagation of their Prajñāpāramitā doctrine. The text is evidently a new production, for other older Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras are referred to therein.<sup>2</sup> Both translations agree very closely. The epitome of the story is as follows:

'*Kalmāṣapāda*, the heir-apparent of Thien-lo,<sup>3</sup> intended

<sup>1</sup> Ka-ma-sha-ba (Ka-mo sha-fu).

<sup>2</sup> Viz., Mahāprajñāpāramitā (Śatasāhasrikā), Vajracchedikā, Suvikrānta-vikrāmī and Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā. See fasc. 1, sect. I. In sect. II., Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā is cited.

<sup>3</sup> This name never occurs in other Chinese scriptures, and it is very difficult to identify it with the Sanskrit name. In a commentary on the text (N., no. 1566), compiled by the famous C'-cō-tā-sh (see N., p. 460), this name is taken for the father of Kalmāṣapāda, being a Chinese translation of Magadha (!). (T.E. XXX., 8, 13a.)

to sacrifice one thousand kings to his domestic god<sup>1</sup> on the occasion of his coronation, and had already captured 999 kings. As to the 1000<sup>th</sup> he caught a king named *Phu-min*, who asked Kalmāṣapāda to let him go free once to perform his last religious services. After his liberation *Phu-min* returned to his capital and gave alms to one hundred monks, who preached the *Prajñāpāramitā*. The head-priest instructed the king in *four stanzas*. Through him the king realized holy life. The king, after loyally returning, explained these four stanzas to his unhappy companions. They obtained thereby the holy state. Kalmāṣapāda was delivered also through the exhortation of *Phu-min*.

The text had apparently borrowed its materials from Text 11. Not only the name of the hero, but the four verses, as I have said, coincide exactly. The first translator, Kumārajīva, copied, therefore, the whole Chinese rendering of the verses from that text, with a few insignificant corrections.<sup>2</sup>

(B) *The Pāli Versions.*

10. *Text 1. Mahāsutasoma-jātaka.*—This text is one of the more voluminous Jātakas, extending to 54 pages in Fausböll's Edition, though it is shorter than the *Mahā-ummagga* or *Vessantara*, each of which covers over 100 pages. Abstract of the text :

I. *Introduction* (Fausböll, V. p. 457-458<sup>10</sup>; Francis, V. p. 246-247).—(a) There was once a king named *Koravya*, who ruled in the city *Indapattha* in *Kuru*. His son was *Sutasoma*. (b) The father sent him to *Takkasilā* for his education. A prince of the king *Brahmadatta* of *Kāsi* also went there for the same object. The *Bodhisattva* formed a friendship with the *Kāsi* prince and a hundred other royal sons.

II. *Man-eater.*—(1) *Cannibalism* (F. 458<sup>10</sup>-461<sup>6</sup>; Fr. 247-249).—The *Bodhisattva* ruled righteously after his coronation, but the *Kāsi* prince, as king, never took his meal without meat. The *cook* by carelessness let the meat be

<sup>1</sup> *Mahākāla* in the translation B.      <sup>2</sup> See *Additional Notes*, I., 9.

stolen by a dog of the king. Going, therefore, to a cemetery he took a piece of flesh from the thigh of a corpse, roasted it, and gave it to the king, who found it tasteful, and ordered him to prepare the same dish in future. The cook did so, killing men in the night. The people complained and reported the loss of their kinsfolk to a leading officer, *Kālahatthi*, who caught the cook and learnt the whole truth.

(2) *Remonstrance* (F. 461<sup>11</sup>-470<sup>30</sup>; Fr. 249-256).—*Kālahatthi* remonstrates with the king, telling a fish legend. The king answers him with a *Sujāta* story. *Kālahatthi* continues his speech by citing the example of a Brahmin. The king replies again with a fable. The officer refutes this with the story of a golden goose. But seeing that the king would not give up his wicked custom, *Kālahatthi* had him expelled from his kingdom.

(3) *The ex-King in the Forest* (F. 470<sup>30</sup>-473<sup>16</sup>; Fr. 256-257).—The ex-king killed many human beings in the forest, and at last devoured even his cook, whom he had taken as his only follower. Afterwards he captured a Brahmin, whose escort pursued the ex-king and wounded him. He offered up, therefore, a prayer to the nymph of a banyan-tree: 'If, within seven days, thou canst heal my wound, I will bathe thy trunk with blood drawn from 101 kings.' He met with a *Yakṣa*, from whom he learned a spell, enabling him to run quickly.

(4) *Captivity of Kings* (F. 473<sup>16</sup>-476<sup>2</sup>; Fr. 258-259).—Now the man-eater captured the hundred kings one by one, and drilled holes in the palms of their hands and hung them up by a cord on the banyan-tree. He did not catch *Sutasoma*, because he had been his tutor in *Takkasilā*. The nymph of the tree did not desire the bloody sacrifice, and complained of it to the four great kings in heaven. They gave her the advice that *Sutasoma* was alone able to cure the man-eater. The nymph made the ex-king capture *Sutasoma* for his own cure.

III. *Sutasoma*.—(1) *Captivity of Sutasoma* (F. 476<sup>2</sup>-487<sup>19</sup>; Fr. 259-266).—*Sutasoma* went to bathe in the garden

Migāsira on the day of the Phussa conjunction. He met with a Brahmin called *Nanda* who had come from Takka-silā, bringing with him the knowledge of *four stanzas* taught by Kāśyapa Buddha, and each worth a hundred pieces of money. The king promised him to hear the stanzas after his bath. The man-eater caught the king in his bath. Being asked by the man-eater, Sutasoma explains the reason of his weeping, and was allowed by the cannibal after a long conversation to return only in order to hear the stanzas. The Brahmin uttered the stanzas for the king, and received 4,000 pieces of money. Notwithstanding the lamentations and entreaties of his parents and subjects, the king came back to the man-eater.

(2) *Deliverance of the Man-Eater* (F. 487<sup>30</sup>-511; Fr. 266-277).—Moved by the fearlessness and truthfulness of the king, the man-eater, at the end of a long dialogue, begged to hear the four stanzas. The Bodhisattva uttered the stanzas, when the man-eater granted him four boons<sup>1</sup> which he had requested. When the Bodhisattva had cured the man-eater, he returned with the latter to Kāśī, reconciled the queen and Kālahatthi, and restored him again to the throne. The place where the man-eater was cured received the name of Kammāsadamma.

The name of the hero is Sutasoma as in the Sanskrit version, but the adversary, the man-eater, is not named in the main part of the story. Nevertheless we read his name clearly in verses 472, 473,<sup>2</sup> and in the conclusion<sup>3</sup> as

<sup>1</sup> 1. Long life to the man-eater; 2. The release of the captured kings; 3. Their restoration to their respective kingdoms; 4. Abstinence from human flesh.

<sup>2</sup> F. V., p. 503; Fr. V., p. 274: 'Kammāsapādena viheṭhitattā talāvutā assumukhā rudantā.' (With bodies injured by Kammāsapāda, strung up [upon the tree] through [perforated] palms of hands, with faces full of tears, crying.) Francis's translation is here rather free, omitting the important name of the king. The verse 473 is the same, except that it is spoken by the kings themselves.

<sup>3</sup> F. V. 511; Fr. V. 279: 'Kammāsapādassa damitaṭṭhāne niviṭṭhattā pana so Kammāsadamma-nigamo nāma jāto.' (On the spot, where Kammāsapāda was converted, the place grew into the town of Kammāsadamma, viz., taming of Kammāsa[pāda].)

Kammāsapāda. This is a rather curious fact. But it is probable that this important name, at the time when the present form of the Mahāsutāsoma-jātaka was compiled, which may belong to a comparatively recent date, was no longer familiar to the Pāli Jātaka writers, and, therefore, was totally omitted in the main part of the story, leaving only slight traces in the more insignificant parts quite neglected and unnoticed.

Though the Jātaka is considerably enlarged and elaborate as compared with the Sanskrit versions, and in artificial and dramatic skill far exceeds them, the main points of the story agree with the Ṣaṭpāramitāsamuccaya. Among these similarities two points are especially important: Firstly, the nymph of the banyan-tree, as the object of the man-eater's worship, is found here in the same way as in the Chinese version. Secondly, the four stanzas,<sup>1</sup> which form the most important point of the story, are similar. The contents of the stanzas in the Pāli and Chinese are not quite identical. The central idea of both is not different.

<i>Pāli.</i>	<i>Chinese.</i>
1-2. The necessity of becoming acquainted with the wise.	—————
3. The impermanence of earthly existence contrasted with the eternity of the dharma.	1. Impermanence 2. Pain 3. Emptiness 4. Non-ego
4. The great difference between the dharma and wordliness.	—————

Verses 1-2 in the Pāli serve as an introduction, and the last is a fuller explanation of the third, which recurs in the Dhammapada,<sup>2</sup> and is the main subject of the stanzas. This verse 3, teaching the impermanence of worldly power and splendour, strikes the same chord as the Sanskrit version, except that the latter arranges the verses more

<sup>1</sup> F. V., pp. 477, 483, 494; Fr. V., p. 264.

<sup>2</sup> Verse 151, Samyutta I., p. 17.

dogmatically and systematically than the Jātaka, and explains only the negative side.

In the Chinese text the Brahmin receives 12,000 pieces of gold for reciting the four stanzas, while in the Pāli the fee is 4,000.

The four boons, which the man-eater gave to Sutasoma to hear the stanzas, are not known in the Chinese versions.

In general, the elaborate and prolix style of the Pāli-jātaka is sufficient to prove the recent date of its present form; hence little comment is called for. One of the most modern elaborations of the Jātakas is probably the episode of the dialogue between the king and Kālahatthi. The long remonstrance of the commander-in-chief and the opposition of the king, with the many examples and legends, show us clearly the lateness of this part. The Jātakamālā, which we shall soon examine, is indebted to the Jātaka for its poetical material, and takes over many verses from our text. But Śūra, the author of the poem, is quite ignorant of this episode. The introduction belongs also to a modern date, as the description itself suggests. The identification of the *dramatis personæ* (samodhāna) in the Jātaka is more particularized and artificial than the Sanskrit version. Besides the two main rôles, the other persons identified are: Ānanda as the Brahmin Nanda, Sāriputta as Kālahatthi, Kassapa as the nymph of the tree, and Anuruddha as the god Sakka.

11. *Texts 2 and 3, Cariyā-piṭaka and Nidāna-kathā.*—The story in the Cariyā-piṭaka is an abridged form of the Mahāsutasoma-jātaka. The whole text verbatim is as follows:

(1) Once, when I was Sutasoma, lord of the earth, I was captured by a man-eater, and remembered a Brahmin with distress of heart.

(2) Having strung up the hundred warriors through [their perforated] palms, and reduced them to despair, that he might offer his sacrifice, he led me among them.

(3) The man-eater asked me: 'Do you wish to be released? If you again come back to me, I will let it be as you wish.'

(4) On this question I promised faithfully to return.

When I returned to the city I delivered up my pleasant kingdom.

(5) After I had remembered the hundred dharmas, which were practised by former Buddhas, and had given alms to the Brahmin, I came back again to the man-eater.

(6) Now I did not hesitate whether I should be killed or not. I came back again to give up my life in order to keep my troth. There is nothing like speaking the truth. Such is my perfection in speaking the truth.

The laconic allusion to the cruel treatment of the captured kings by the man-eater in verse 2 cannot be understood without the full text of the Mahāsutasoma-jātaka.

Text 3, the Nidāna-kathā, condenses the story still more. This introduction to the Jātaka is, of course, a more recent compilation than the Jātaka itself. The story is given in like manner in the Cariyā-piṭaka, as an example of the perfection of the veracity and faithfulness of the Bodhisattva. I will borrow here the translation by Professor Rhys Davids:<sup>1</sup>

‘And so in the Mahāsutasoma Birth according to the word: Guarding the word of Truth, and offering up my life, I delivered the hundred warriors: Such is my perfection of Truth.’

Here is a curious parallelism of the adaptation of the story to serve as an example of the Pāramitā. In the Chinese texts the story serves always as the example of the Śīla-pāramitā,<sup>2</sup> while both Pāli texts use it as the example of the perfection of truthfulness among the ten Pāramitās.<sup>3</sup>

12. *Texts 4 and 5, Jayaddisa-jātaka and Cariyā-piṭaka, II.*, 9.—The Jayaddisa-jātaka apparently is a modified form of the Mahāsutasoma-jātaka. The trace of this recast may be sufficiently followed in the text. The Jātaka divides the personality of Sutasoma into two individuals. The first

<sup>1</sup> Buddhist Birth-Stories, p. 507.

<sup>2</sup> See Texts 11 and 15.

<sup>3</sup> Daśa-pāramitās in the Mahāyāna-Texts are different. See Mahāvvyutpatti 34. On the Pāli Pāramitās see F.I., p. 45 *et seq.*; Buddhist Birth-Stories, p. 19 *et seq.*; Childers' Pāli Dictionary, p. 335. They are: 1. Dāna; 2. Śīla; 3. Nekkhamma; 4. Pañña; 5. Viriya; 6. Khanti; 7. Sacca; 8. Adhiṭṭhāna; 9. Metti; 10. Upekha.

half of his worldly career as the king makes up the part of Jayaddisa. From the second half of his religious achievement as the deliverer, is derived the character of Alītasattu. The episode in the Mahāsutasoma, the wounding of the man-eater, by the followers of the travelling Brahmin, is found here in an imperfect sketch. The text overlooks the important motive of this interlude in the original Jātaka, making it rather an insignificant and unnecessary act. The Brahmin Nanda, who brought the four stanzas, also appears here, but the verses are not given in detail. The conclusion of the Jātaka evidently presupposes the existence of the Sutasoma-jātaka, describing the village, where the ogre was tamed by Alītasattu :

‘This village grew into the town Culla-kammāsadamma. The region, where the man-eater was tamed by the great being Sutasoma, was to be known as the town Mahā-kammāsadamma.’<sup>1</sup>

The tentative adaptation of the name Kammāsa for the man-eater, in total ignorance of the original meaning, is most interesting. For the Jātaka itself see the following epitome.

I. *Introduction* (F.V., p. 21-22<sup>7</sup>; Fr.V., 11-12).

A king lived in a city of the northern Pañcāla, in the kingdom of Kampilla. Cursed by a rival in her former existence, the queen had her new-born children twice devoured by an ogress. At the third birth the attendants of the queen prevented the ogress from devouring the son. But the ogress got him, and went to a cemetery, when she reared him on human flesh. He became, therefore, an ogre. The queen gave birth to yet another son, who is called *Jayaddisa*. When he succeeded his father as king, the Bodhisattva was born as his son, with the name of *Alītasattu*.

<sup>1</sup> F. V., pp. 35-36. So gāmo Culla-kammāsadamma-nigamo jāto. Sutasoma-mahāsattena porisādassa damita-padeso Mahā-kammāsadammaṃ nāmā ’ti veditabbo. Fr.V., p. 19.



II. *Man-eater* (F. 22<sup>7</sup>-22<sup>25</sup>; Fr. 12-13).

The ogre used to feed on human flesh, without hiding his shape. People petitioned the king to catch him. Escaping from the pursuit of the people, he roamed about in a forest and captured men one by one, devouring them. He seized a Brahmin, but, being wounded by a splinter of wood as he was running, dropped his prey.

III. *Jayaddisa* (F.V., 22<sup>25</sup>-25<sup>16</sup>; Fr. 13-14).

King Jayaddisa proclaimed a hunt. Just as he was starting, a native Brahmin of Takṣasilā named *Nanda* came into the king's presence bringing *four stanzas*, each worth one hundred pieces of money. The king met with the man-eater, and was made captive. He begged the ogre to liberate him only till he had heard the stanzas. The ogre allowed it. The king promised to come back again after seven days.

IV. *Alitasattu* (F.V. 25<sup>18</sup>-36; Fr. 14-19).

Alitasattu persuaded his father to send him to the man-eater, as a substitute. The great lamentation of the royal family and subjects then follows.<sup>1</sup> As the prince came to the man-eater, the latter, moved by his heroism and fearlessness, could not devour him.<sup>2</sup> Alitasattu, observing that the ogre was his only uncle, cured him, and brought him back to Jayaddisa, who wished to deliver the kingdom to him. As he declined it, the king built a settlement in a mountain for him.

An abridgment of this Jātaka is found in the ninth section of the second Book, Sila-pāramitā in the Cariyā-piṭaka. It consists of eleven stanzas.<sup>3</sup> As the contents are

<sup>1</sup> Here the Rāmāyaṇa is referred to. See Fausböll, vol. v., p. 29, v. 80.

<sup>2</sup> The Sasa-jātaka is here alluded to. See Fausböll, vol. v., p. 33, v. 93.

<sup>3</sup> Epitome I.-II., are wanting. Stanzas 1-6 = III., 7-11 = IV.

in the main identical with the Jātaka, the translation may be here omitted.

## B. THE SECOND GROUP.

### 1. THE FIRST FORM.

13. *Text 20. The Simhasaudāsa-māṃsabhaḥṣanivṛtti.*—The text is a beautiful poem consisting of 38½ stanzas, accompanied by a short piece of prose. The name of the man-eater is called here Simhasaudāsa. Saudāsa is the well-known patronymic of Kalmāṣapāda in the Epics and Purāṇas. The father of the ex-king is not Brahmadata of Benares, as in the other Buddhist texts, but is the same as in the Brahmanic literature—viz., Sudāsa of Magadha. The name of Kalmāṣapāda does not occur in the text, but the spotted feet of Saudāsa are described. The name of the hero is Śrutasoma.<sup>1</sup> The first ligature of this name, Śru, is easily changeable with akṣara *Su* in the Sanskrit writing.<sup>2</sup>

The text teaches, as the title indicates, the prohibition against eating flesh as its main subject. The impermanence and emptiness of the world are also preached as subordinate matters. The short supplementary prose piece describes the Śivi-jātaka in a contracted form.

### I. Prelude.

The king Sudāsa went to a mountain to hunt. Having been left by his followers, he roamed about the forest and met with a *lioness*, who forced the king to wed her (v. 1-3). The lioness was delivered of a son with a lion's head and human body, 'a powerful man of spotted feet like a king of animals.' When he learned from the mother-lioness that he was the son of Sudāsa, he visited the king, and afterwards succeeded him (v. 4-9).

<sup>1</sup> In Chinese, Wan-yueh=renowned-moon.

<sup>2</sup> This change of the ligature is seen also in the Brahmanic MSS. See the St. Petersburg Skt. Dictionary, vol. vii., p. 1053.

## II. Main Part.

(1) *Cannibalism of Saudāsa*.—Inheriting the lion's nature, Saudāsa ate only flesh. Once a dog stole the meat reserved for him. From fear of punishment the cook took a small child, roasted it, and sent the dish to the king. As this pleased the king's taste, he ordered the same dish in future (v. 10-15). The subjects of the king, learning of this horrible crime, attempted to kill Saudāsa. He offered up a prayer to a goblin to give him wings, and vowed that if the wish were fulfilled, he would sacrifice to him one hundred kings (v. 16, 17).

(2) *Captivity of Kings*.—As a feathered demon, Saudāsa caught ninety-nine kings, and at last captured Śrutasoma while in his bath. Śrutasoma begged the demon to set him free on condition that he would come back again after seven days. The demon suffered him to go (v. 18-25).

(3) *Emancipation of Saudāsa*.—Śrutasoma, after seven days, during which he heard the Dharma, came again to Saudāsa and preached to him on the heavy crime of flesh-eating. He expounded also the impermanence and emptiness of the world and of living beings. Converted, Saudāsa liberated the kings in prison (v. 26-36), returned to Magadha, reigned righteously, and forbade his subjects to eat flesh. Śrutasoma uttered a vow that these kings, as well as Saudāsa, would realize Buddhahood in the future (v. 36-38½).

14. *Text 17A. Lankāvatāra*.—The text preserves an older form than the two other translations and the existing Sanskrit text, as we shall see presently. Like many of the Mahāyāna-sūtras, the text emphatically forbids the eating of any flesh.<sup>1</sup> Many examples on the sinfulness of flesh-eating, which would convert the human

<sup>1</sup> See Śikṣāsamuccaya, p. 133, quoting the Lankāvatāra.

Hastikakṣe, Mahāmeghe, Nirvāṇāṅgulimālike,  
Lankāvatāra-sūtre ca, maya māṃsaṃ vigarhitam.

being into a cannibal, are given. Among these examples the Kalmāsapāda legend is also referred to:

‘In remote times there was a king with the name of Siṃhasaudāsa. He was accustomed to flesh-food, and at last ate human flesh. As the subjects of the king could not endure [this horrible usage] they excited a revolt, and refused to pay taxes. Flesh-eating brings these great misfortunes. The Buddhist must, therefore, absolutely not eat flesh.’

The text implies a fuller story as told in the last text, for the name Siṃhasaudāsa evidently refers to it.

15. Text 7. *Jātakamālā*.—It is very regrettable that there is no Chinese translation of this highly poetical work, the fame of which was already noticed by the famous I-thing.<sup>1</sup> A work, bearing the same title and author is found in Nanjio’s Catalogue, No. 1312. But it is quite different, and it seems that the work wrongly connected two different texts under the well-known title.<sup>2</sup>

Our text combines the Pāli Sutasoma-jātaka and the Sanskrit traditions. On the side of the hero, Sutasoma,

<sup>1</sup> Takakusu’s translation, pp. 162, 163, 177.

<sup>2</sup> The contents of the N., no. 1312:

Fasc. 1	{	1. Tigress . . . . .	Jātakamālā 1
		2. Sivi . . . . .	Jātakamālā 2
		3. Supratisthita . . . . .	
Fasc. 2	{	4. Bimbisāra . . . . .	
		5. Ajataśatru . . . . .	
		6. Hare . . . . .	Jātakamālā 6
Fasc. 3	{	7. Maitracitta-nāga . . . . .	
		8. Maitrabala . . . . .	Jātakamālā 8
		9. Merchant . . . . .	
Fasc. 4	{	10. Sudatta . . . . .	} Events in the lifetime of Buddha.
		11. Sick monk . . . . .	
		12. Candraguṇa . . . . .	
		13. Stūpa . . . . .	
		14. Puṇyavardhana . . . . .	

Fasc. 5-16, Chap. 11-34, Commentaries on the dāna-pāramitā, taught in the Rāṣṭrapāla-jātaka (perhaps Rāṣṭrapālapariṣcchā?).

the poet Śūra is indebted to the Pāli; while on the side of the adversary, Saudāsa, he borrows the materials from the Sanskrit.

Sutasoma in the Pāli Jātaka.	}	1. The Bodhisattva happened to be born in the royal house of Koravya . . . . .	}	Kern, pp. 207-8 Speyer, pp. 291-2	Jātakamālā.				
		2. He went to bathe . . . . .				K., p. 208. S., pp. 292-3			
		3. Meeting with the Brahmin who brought the stanzas . . . . .					K., p. 209 S., pp. 293-4		
		4. His dialogue with the man-eater, as he was captured . . . . .						K., pp. 211-3 S., pp. 297-300	
		5. Lamentation of the royal family for his departure . . . . .							K., pp. 213-6 S., pp. 300-3
		6. His curing of the man-eater. Receiving the four boons for the four stanzas . . . . .							
Saudāsa in the Sans- krit Texts.	}	1. Sudāsa went to hunt and was compelled to wed a lioness who gave birth to a son, Saudāsa . . . . .	}	K., p. 209 S., p. 294					
		2. His cannibalism . . . . .			K., p. 209 S., pp. 294-5				
		3. His prayer to Goblins in order to escape from death at the hands of his subjects, promising 100 kings as an offering. . . . .				K., p. 209 S., p. 295			

Here we have sufficient ground to assume that the author of the Jātakamālā was not acquainted with at least the present form of the Sutasoma-jātaka, but he had used a more primitive version of the story. The Brahmin bringing four stanzas to the hero is not named in the Jātakamālā, while he is called Nanda in the Pāli. Kāḷahatthi, who plays a by no means unimportant rôle in the Pāli text, and whose dialogue with the man-eater is suitable material for a poetical work, is not found here. The complicated episode of the nymph of the banyan-tree is also foreign to Śūra. The Jātakamālā owes much to the Pāli in the second half of the story, which is concerned with the conversion of the man-eater. In the entire metrical portion of the text, which numbers nearly one hundred stanzas, verses 1-46 cannot be found in the Pāli stanzas, but in the remaining

part twenty-one verses have been carefully identified by Professor Speyer.<sup>1</sup> The father of the man-eater, bearing the Epic name of Sudāsa, his unnatural relation with the lioness, the birth of Saudāsa, the prayer of the man-eater to goblins,<sup>2</sup> to escape from peril, and the captivity of the hundred kings, all agrees exactly with the Simhasaudāsa-sūtra given above.

16. *Text 9. Bhadrakalpāvadāna.*—In the Chinese Tripitaka this work is wanting. The story is found under No. 34<sup>3</sup> in the Avadāna. As I had not an opportunity of reading the manuscript of this text, I have used an extract made by Professor d'Oldenbourg.<sup>4</sup> Dr. Rājendralāla Mitra gives also a short notice of the story in his 'Nepalese Buddhist Literature':<sup>5</sup>

'Rāja *Sudāsa* of Benares had by a *lioness* a son named *Saudāsa*.<sup>6</sup> When that son came to the throne he was in the habit of eating privately raw human flesh in the prison-house. He was for this expelled by the nobles from the throne. He fell in with his lioness mother, who advised him to celebrate a sacrifice of a hundred royal youths. After ninety-nine princes had been already secured, the ex-king went in search of *Sutasoma*, whose achievements form the subject of another part—viz., *Sutasoma-jātaka*. The Lord said I was that *Sutasoma*.'

Professor d'Oldenbourg maintains that this Jātaka 'mostly copies word for word' from the Jātakamālā. But,

<sup>1</sup> Speyer's Eng. Trans., p. 340. Among 95 verses, V. 47, 48, 49 = P. 54, 55, 56; 52 = P. 59; 54 = P. 60; 61-66 = P. 64-71; 67 = P. 72; 71, 72 = P. 40, 41 (74, 75); 74, 75 = P. 40, 43 (76, 77); 78 = P. 80; 93, 94 = P. 102, 103.

<sup>2</sup> Kern's Text, p. 209. Yato 'sau bhītaḥ Saudāso nara-rudhira-pīṣita-bali-bhugbhyo bhūtebhyo upaśuśrāva; asmāt samkātān mukto 'haṃ rājñāṃ kumārasātena bhūta-yajñāṃ kariṣyāmi. The object for the sacrifice is not here the nymph of the tree as in the Pāli, or in other Avadanās.

<sup>3</sup> Bendall, Cat. of the Buddh. Skt. MSS., p. 91.

<sup>4</sup> See I., 1, 8 footnote.

<sup>5</sup> Nepalese Buddhist Literature, p. 46.

<sup>6</sup> 'Sutasoma' in the work.

as Professor Speyer had already pointed out,<sup>1</sup> there are some minute discrepancies with the latter. The meeting of Saudāsa with his lioness mother in his banishment is never found in the other Avadānas or Jātakas.

17. *Texts* 18, 21. *Damamūkāvadāna*.—The Tibetan text of the work was translated from the Chinese, which originated from Khotan, and was compiled in Turfan in its present form.<sup>2</sup> No wonder, therefore, that we see an exact coincidence in these two texts, that word after word can be almost identified in the two translations. A conscientious comparison of these two versions has been published by Professor Takakusu.<sup>3</sup>

The following epitome of this text would manifest to us how the story reached a highly elaborate and developed construction :

I. *Prelude* (Chinese, T.E. XIV., 9, 64a, 1-6 ; Schmidt, 311<sup>14</sup>-312<sup>9</sup>).

Brahmadatta, the King of Benares, went to hunt, and being left by his followers, he entered a forest, where he saw a lioness. She forced the king to cohabit with her. After some time she was delivered of a son, whose body was like a man but whose feet were spotted. Mindful of the father, the lioness brought the baby to the king, who had him nourished and educated, giving him the name Kalmāṣapāda.

II. *Kalmāṣapāda*.

(1) *Indirect Cause of the Fall* (Ch., 64a, 6-11 ; Sch., 312<sup>9</sup>-313<sup>3</sup>).—Kalmāṣapāda succeeded to the throne and had two queens, one a Brahminee and the other a Kṣatriyan lady. One day he said to them both that she who first followed him into the garden should share with him in

<sup>1</sup> Speyer's *Jātakamālā*, pp. 313-314.

<sup>2</sup> Feer's 'Analyse du Kandjour,' p. 283. Mdo., vol. xxviii., 1 ; N. 1476, fasc. 9 (T.E. XXXVIII., 1, 53b).

<sup>3</sup> *J.R.A.S.*, 1901, p. 447 *et seq.* : *Tales of the Wise and the Fools in Tibetan and Chinese*.

the amusements of the day, the other not. The Brahmin lady worshipped a temple on the way, and so failed to pass the day with the king. She begged the king at another time to grant her wish, and demolished the temple. The god of the temple intended to be avenged upon the king, but it was very difficult to get a chance.

(2) *Direct Cause of the Fall* (Ch., 64a, 11-17; Sch., 312<sup>9</sup>-314<sup>7</sup>).—In a mountain lived a sage, receiving every day the king's invitation to a meal. One day, as he came not to the king, the temple-god transformed himself into the saint, and requested the king thenceforth to offer him always meat. In another day when the true sage came, the king gave him meat. Being offended with this unworthy food, he laid a curse upon the king to become a cannibal for twelve years.

(3) *Cannibalism* (Ch., 64a<sup>17</sup>-64b<sup>12</sup>; Sch., 314<sup>7</sup>-315<sup>25</sup>).—The cook of the king neglected to prepare flesh, and from fear of punishment, finding the corpse of a child, roasted it and gave it to the king. Surprised at the tastiness of the food, the king ordered the cook to offer him always the same. The officers, from the complaint of townsmen at the loss of their kinsfolk, caught the cook in the night, when he had captured a child and killed it. The king had now to confess his wicked custom to the officers, who intended to put the king to death in his bath. The king begged their forgiveness. As they heard him not, the king became a flying man-eater in consequence of his fearful oath, and thenceforth he destroyed many human beings.

(4) *Imprisonment of a Thousand Kings* (Ch., 64b, 12-15; Sch., 316<sup>26</sup>-317<sup>16</sup>).—Many rākṣasas followed Kalmāṣapāda, and requested him to make a banquet in which a thousand kings should be devoured. He captured as many as 999 kings, and imprisoned them.

### III. Sutasoma.

(1) *Captivity* (Ch., 64b16-65a7; Sch., 317<sup>16</sup>-319<sup>14</sup>).—As the thousandth, Kalmāṣapāda captured *Sutasoma* while he bathed. The latter begged the man-eater to release him



for seven days, so that he could give alms to a *Brahmin*. The man-eater agreed. Sutasoma heard the *four verses* from the Brahmin.

(2) *Triumph* (Ch., 65a, 7-16; Sch., 319<sup>16</sup>-320).—For all the lamentations and entreaties of the royal family and his subjects, Sutasoma came faithfully back to the man-eater. He recited four stanzas for Kalmāṣapāda, and preached the fearful result of the killing in contrast with the blessed rewards of mercy. Kalmāṣapāda was converted, released the imprisoned kings, and returned to his kingdom again as a peaceful ruler.

The noticeable and important point in the story is the curse uttered by the sage. This is doubtless an influence of the Mahābhārata, and it will be fully treated of in the next chapter. This is quite a new factor in the story, never known to the Pāli Jātaka or to the northern Avadānas. The stanzas recited by the Brahmin are identical with those in Texts 11 and 16a. The translator of our Avadāna copied the whole text from the later with only a few alterations.<sup>1</sup>

Sutasoma and Kalmāṣapāda immediately after the story are identified as having been the Buddha and Aṅgulimāla in a former existence.<sup>2</sup>

18. *Texts 9, 17 B.C. Laṅkāvatāra, its Second and Third Translations*.—The second translation by Bodhiruci is of an enlarged form, thrice the size of the first, with many interpolations, one of which may be seen in the case of the Kalmāṣapāda legend. Beside the example of Simhasaudāsa, the text repeats the story under the name of Kalmāṣapāda, after an allusion to the Śivi-jātaka.

The third translation by Śikṣānanda is of almost the same size, but the division of the chapters is somewhat different. It corresponds generally to the existing Sanskrit text.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Additional Notes*, I., 9.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xxiv., T.E. XIV., 9, 65a, 15; Sch., p. 321.

<sup>3</sup> See Bendall's Cat., p. 21. A part of the text was published by the Buddhist Text Society in India, 1900-2. Cf. Satis Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa's Correspondence in *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, p. 831 *et seq.*

The following is a comparison of the Sanskrit and the two Chinese texts :

SANSKRIT. <sup>1</sup>	BODHIRUCI.	ŚIKṢĀNANDA.
Bhūta-pūrvam Mahāmate 'tite 'dhvani rājā 'bhūt Simhasandāso nāma. Sa māmsabhōjan 'āhārātiprasaṅgena ca pratisevamāno rasa-trṣṇā'dhyavasāna-para-matayā māmsāni mānuṣyāny api bhaksitavān. Tan - nidānam ca mitrāmātya - jñāti-handhu - vargeṇāpi parityaktaḥ, prāg eva paura-jānapadaih. Svarājya-viṣaya-parityāgāc ca mahad vyaśanam āsāditavān. [Then follows an allusion to the Śivi-jātaka.]	O Mahāmati, I remember, in ancient time there was a king named Simhādāsa, who was accustomed to eat flesh. Addicted to the taste of meat, he at last ate human flesh. His father, mother, brothers, wives, and sons abandoned him. All peoples in towns and lands excited a revolt against him and destroyed his life. [Then follows the Śivi-jātaka.]	In ancient time, O Mahāmati, there was a king, named Simhasambhava. Addicted to the taste of meat, he tried various kinds of flesh. Thus he ate at last human flesh. The people could not suffer this and excited a revolt against him. He lost his kingdom and throne and suffered many things. [Then follows the Śivi-jātaka.]
Anyeṣāṃ ca Mahāmate narēndra-bhūtānām satām aśvenāpahr̥tānām atavyām paryaṭamānānām simhyā sśha maithuṇam gatavatām jīvitabhayād apatyāni cōtpāditanvataḥ simhasamvāsānavayāḥ <i>Kalmāṣapāda</i> -prabhrtayo nr̥pa-putrāḥ pūrva-janma-mams'āda - doṣa - vāsanayā manuṣyēndrabhūtā api santo māms'ādā abhūvan. Ihaiva ca Mahāmate jamuāni saptakutīrake 'pi grāme pracura-māmsa-laulyād atiprasaṅgena niṣevyamāṇā mānuṣya-māms'ādā ghorā dākā vā dākinyas ca samjāyante : jātiparivarte ca Mahāmate tathāiva ca māmsa-rasādhyavasānatayā simhavyāghra - dvīpi-vṛka-taraksu - mājāra jambukōlūk'ādi-pracura-māms'āda - yoniṣu pracuratara - piṣit'āsana - rākṣas'ādi-ghoratara - yoniṣu	O Mahāmati, there is a king who never took flesh-meal, went out for amusement, driving his horse. Alarmed at something, the horse dashed into a deep ravine. The king lost his followers and found no way to return. Lions, tigers, and wolves did him no harm, for he never ate flesh. He enjoyed sensual pleasure with a lioness who gave birth to <i>Kalmāṣapāda</i> and others. The sons by heredity naturally ate flesh, though they became kings. It pleased them to eat flesh in a town with seven families. Excessive meat-eating brought them at last to eat human flesh. Boys and girls born to them were all Rākṣasas. O Mahāmati, those, who are addicted to eating flesh, are the result of the latent cannibal	In ancient time there was a king who went forth to hunt, driving his horses. Frightened at something, the horses dashed into a forest, where the king found no way out, and saw no human habitation. There he amused himself with a lioness, committing an odious deed. The lioness gave birth to sons, the elder of whom was called <i>Kalmāṣapāda</i> . He became afterwards a king, reigning over seven kotis of families. By heredity he ate nothing but flesh; commencing with flesh of bipeds and quadrupeds, he at last ate human flesh. Boys and girls born to him were all Rākṣasas. After the existence of that life, they had to be reborn as lions, wild dogs, wolves, tigers, leopards, eagles, or hawks. It is impos-

<sup>1</sup> R.A.S. MS., f. 117b 6—118b 2; Dr. Sasaki's copy of a Paris MS. I have omitted to give here various readings for the sake of simplicity.

SANSKRIT.	BODHIRUCI.	ŚIKṢĀNANDA.
vinipātyante. Yatra vinipātītānāṃ duḥkhe na mānuṣya-yonir api samāpadyate, prāg eva nirvṛtīḥ. Ity evam- ādāyo Mahāmate māṃ- sa-doṣāḥ.	force of their former existence. They would be re-born as Rākṣasa, lion, tiger, wolf, wild dog, cat, badger, owl, kite, eagle, or falcon. They would suffer the pains of hunger and thirst, for living beings would give them no chance to protect their lives. They desire to eat the flesh of others with wicked thoughts, and would descend to a yet more painful exist- ence after death. It is impossible for them to get even a human body, much more to find the way of Nirvāṇa.	sible for them to obtain again even human exist- ence, much more to realize Nirvāṇa, eman- cipation from Samsāra.

The interesting interpolation already noticed manifests itself herein, that when and where it took place nothing was known as to the identity of Siṃhasaudāsa and Kalmāṣapāda; and, moreover, that the interpolator, besides the first example, in spite of the name of Siṃhasaudāsa implying the lioness legend, made the entirely superfluous addition of the Kalmāṣapāda story, which was at that time one of the most popular Avadānas among the northern Buddhists—perhaps through the existence of a similar story in the Damamūkāvadāna. The interpolator modified the story in adopting it, for here the lioness not only brought forth Kalmāṣapāda but also his brothers. The King Sudāsa, who had an unnatural intercourse with that queen of beasts, according to the Sanskrit text, had many participators in his odious deed.

Thus it is not rash to suppose that the allusion in the later forms of Laṅkāvatāra shows the latest development of the Kalmāṣapāda story.

## II. KALMĀṢAPĀDA STORIES IN THE BRAHMANIC LITERATURE.

19. *Arrangement of the Stories.*—In the last chapter the versions of the story are arranged according to the various stadia of their development, from the simplest to the most

elaborate form. In the present chapter it would be convenient to take the contrary way, commencing with the latest form in the Purāṇas and Mahābhārata, then tracing backwards its origin in the Vedic literature.

Though their forms are manifold, the main character of the story in the Avadāna and Jātaka remains always unchanged. Various elements and factors are only added around one and the same central point. The case in the Brahmanic literature is utterly different. The story in the Mahābhārata, which the Purāṇas inherited and modified, borrowed the materials from old traditions kept in the Rg-veda and its commentaries, and transformed them as a new recast. Thus the story newly constructed differs from its originals in character. On this account, the traces of our story in old writings are faint and fragmentary, and to seek the connection from that end would be a difficult task, if one had no knowledge of the whole story lately developed.

20. *Purāṇic Literature*.—In three Purāṇas the Kalmāṣapāda story is told in its full form—that is to say, in the Viṣṇu, the Bhāgavata, and the Skanda. In other Purāṇas the name of the king appears in the genealogical lists, giving only a short allusion to the story.

As Professor Macdonell indicates,<sup>1</sup> the Bhāgavata presupposes the existence of the Viṣṇu. Naturally, therefore, we find a perfect coincidence of the story in the two Purāṇas.<sup>2</sup> The contents of the story are summarized as follows:

1. *Cause of the Cannibalism—the Curse.*

(a) *Indirect Cause (the King and two Rākṣasas)*.—Saudāsa, the king, went into the forest to hunt, and saw a couple of tigers, which are transformations of two rākṣasas. The king killed one of them; the other vowed vengeance (Viṣṇu, IV., 4, 22-23; Bhāgavata, IX., 9, 20).

<sup>1</sup> Macdonell's 'Sanskrit Literature,' p. 302. See also Winternitz, 'Geschichte d. Indischen Literatur,' I. pp. 464-465.

<sup>2</sup> Viṣṇu, IV., 4, 20 *et seq.* Bombay ed., 1867, IV., f. 12a. Wilson's translation, Works, VIII., p. 305 *et seq.* (Original ed., p. 381). Bhāgavata, IX., 9, 20. Burnouf's French translation, III., p. 238 *et seq.*

(b) *Direct Cause (the King and Vasiṣṭha).*—The king celebrated a sacrifice conducted by his teacher, Vasiṣṭha. When the sacrifice was ending the rākṣasa assumed the shape of Vasiṣṭha, and commanded the king to give him meat for his food. Then the demon transformed himself into a cook and dressed human flesh, which the king gave to the sage (V., 24-26; Bh., 21). The sage, provoked by the insult, cursed the king into becoming a cannibal for twelve years (V., 26-27; Bh., 22-23).

### 2. *Effect of the Curse—the Cannibalism.*

(a) The king intended to curse the sage with the holy water in the sacrifice; but reminded by queen Madayantī, he set it down at his feet, as this cursed water causes unhappy effect if it be thrown on to the earth or into the air. From the power of the imprecation his feet became spotted, hence he received the name *Kalmāṣapāda* (V., 28-32; Bh., 23-25).

(b) In consequence of the imprecation the king became a cannibal, and in the sixth watch of the night wandered through the forest and destroyed many human lives. Once he saw a Brahmin sleeping with his wife. In spite of the entreaties of the wife, he devoured the husband. The wife cursed the king to die immediately, should he sleep with his queen (V., 32-36; Bh., 25-35).

### 3. *After play—Birth of Aśmaka.*

At the expiation of the term of his curse Saudāsa went home, but, reminded of the imprecation of the Brahmin's wife, remained childless. However, having solicited the interposition of Vasiṣṭha, the queen became pregnant. The pregnancy endured seven years, and the queen opened the womb with a piece of stone, and was delivered of a son, who is therefore called Aśmaka (V., 37-38; Bh., 36-39).

In the Skanda-Purāṇa the story is thrice mentioned. The story in the Brahma-khaṇḍa<sup>1</sup> is absolutely identical

<sup>1</sup> R. Mitra's Notices of the Sanskrit MSS., vol. viii. (1886), p. 20.

with the contents given above. The Avanta-khaṇḍa<sup>1</sup> in the Purāṇa alludes also to the same story. But a story occurring in the Anbhika-khaṇḍa<sup>2</sup> is a direct copy of that in the Mahābhārata.

To register Kalmāṣapāda in the genealogy of the solar race, the Vāyu, Liṅga, Garuḍa, and Kūrma, on the one hand, agree exactly, composed in the same verses, with a summary on the birth of Āsmaka in a country called Kalmāṣapādaka.<sup>3</sup>

The stanzas are apparently borrowed from the Hari-vaṃśa. Here Sudāsa is the father of Kalmāṣapāda, and Āsmaka is his son. The Matsya, Padma, and Brahma, on the other hand, have the same genealogical order, describing Ṛtuparṇa as the father of the king, and Sarvakarman as his son.<sup>4</sup> The Agni-Purāṇa is similar with the Matsya and others in giving the patronymic lineage of Kalmāṣapāda, but it has its own independent stanzas.<sup>5</sup> In this Purāṇa the name Kalmāṣāṅghri *metri causa* occurs, with the same meaning as Kalmāṣapāda. In the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa the king is not mentioned, but allusion is made to a story narrating the destruction of Vasiṣṭha's hundred sons by

<sup>1</sup> R. Mitra's Notices of the Sanskrit MSS., vol. v. (1880), p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. vi. (1882), p. 117.

<sup>3</sup> Vāyu, II., 26, 176 (Mitra's ed., II., p. 283) ; Liṅga, Pūrvārḍha, 66, 26 (Bombay, 1858, f. 132b) ; Garuḍa, I., 142, 33-34 (Calcutta, 1890, p. 135) ; Kūrma, XX., 9, 11-12 (Calcutta, 1887, p. 230). I quote here the passage from the Liṅga :

Sudāsasya sutaḥ proktaḥ Saudāso nāma pārthivaḥ ; 26 B.

Khyātaḥ Kalmāṣapādo vai nāmna Mitrasahaś ca saḥ,

Vasiṣṭhas tu mahātejā kṣetre Kalmāṣapādake 27

Āsmakaṃ janayāmāsa Ikṣvāku-kula-varḍhanaṃ. 28 A.

Vāyu's reading 'Ikṣvāku-kulavṛddhye' is not right. Kūrma reads : 'Ikṣuvāku-kuladhvajam.'

<sup>4</sup> Matsya, XII., 46 (Vidyāsāgara ed., 1876, p. 46) ; Padma, V., 8, 151 (Ānandāśrama Skt. Series, 1893-94, vol. iii., p. 793) ; Brahma, VIII., 81-82. (On the difference of the genealogical order, see Wilson's Viṣṇu, III., p. 313 *et seq.*)

<sup>5</sup> Agni, 272, 31-32 (Bib. Ind., 1870-1879, vol. iii., p. 18)—

Śrutayor Ṛtuparṇo 'bhūt, tasya Kalmāṣapādakaḥ 31 B.

Kalmāṣāṅghreḥ Sarvakarmā hy Anaranyos tasya bhavat 32 A.

Viśvāmitra.<sup>1</sup> This story, as we shall see, is closely connected with our story, being a part of its original form.

21. *Epic Literature*.—Kalmāṣapāda appears in various places in the Mahābhārata. The main story of the king, however, is found in the Ādi-parvan 178.<sup>2</sup> The summary of the story is as follows :

1. *Cause of the Cannibalism—the Curses.*

(a) *First Curse (Śakti and the King)*.—Kalmāṣapāda went to hunt and met Śakti, the son of Vasiṣṭha, on a narrow road. As the Brahmin did not give way to the King, he whipped the ascetic, who cursed the king to become a cannibal (178, 1-14).

(b) *Auxiliary Cause (Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra)*.—Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra were struggling to get the position of preceptor to the king. As the king begged the protection of Śakti, Viśvāmitra ordered a rākṣasa to possess the king, who lost his reason thereby (15-23).

(c) *Second Curse (the King and a Brahmin)*.—A Brahmin met with the king in the forest and begged of him some meat. Having forgotten it, the king ordered the cook at midnight to dress meat for the Brahmin; but the cook informed the king that he failed to get any. The king ordered him to roast human flesh, which he had obtained from the executioner. When the dressed flesh was given, the Brahmin cursed the king to roam about as a cannibal (24-36).

2. *Effect of the Curses.*

(a) *Direct Effect (Destruction of the Hundred Sons of Vasiṣṭha)*.—The curse on the king thus repeated brought about a terrible result. The king devoured first Śakti, then, urged by Viśvāmitra, he killed all the sons of Vasiṣṭha, ninety-nine of younger brothers of Śakti (37-42).

<sup>1</sup> IX., 6 (Bib. Ind., 1869, p. 69 *et seq.*; Dutt's English translation of the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa, 1897, p. 50).

<sup>2</sup> Nilakaṇṭha's ed., chap. 176 (vol. i., f. 200a-202b); Protap Chandra Roy's translation, vol. i., pp. 505-511; Dutt's translation, vol. i., pp. 247-250; Muir's Sanskrit Texts, I., p. 415. Cf. Jacobi's Mahābhārata, p. 19; Winternitz' 'Ind. Literatur,' I., p. 346.

(b) *Indirect Effect (Lamentation of Vasishtha)*.—Overcome with grief, Vasishtha determined to destroy himself, but all means were unsuccessful. At last he went to the rivers Vipās and Śatadrū to drown himself, but he found that also impossible (43-179, 9).

### 3. *Deliverance.*

(a) *Vasishtha*.—The sage met with Adrsyantī, the wife of Śakti, and having learned of her pregnancy, he rejoiced and gave up his intention of suicide (10-16).

(b) *The King*.—With his daughter-in-law, the sage visited the king in the forest, and freed him from the curse. The king returned to his old residence in Ayodhyā with the sage (17-47).

### 4. *After-Play.*

The queen of Kalmāsapāda, Madayanti, conceived by Vasishtha, a connection solicited by the king. The queen tore open her womb with a piece of stone and was delivered of a son, after twelve years' pregnancy. The son is, therefore, called Āsmaka, who founded a city, Paudanya.

After a few chapters in the same Parvan, there is an apologetical explanation for the immorality committed by Vasishtha.<sup>1</sup> 'Why did that great and illustrious sage Vasishtha—knowing as he knew all the great precepts of religion—go to her to whom he should not go? Was this an act of sin on the part of Vasishtha?'<sup>2</sup> The explanation is absolutely the same with that in the two Purānas above summarized. An allusion to this apology is given in chapter cxxii., where morality for women is taught :

'We have heard that Madayanti, being appointed by (her husband) Saudāsa, went to Ṛṣi Vasishtha to raise up offspring. That lady obtained from him a son, named Āsmaka. She did this, moved by the desire of doing good to her husband.'<sup>3</sup>

This defence of Vasishtha, which, on the other side, also indicates the ennoblement of the military race through the

<sup>1</sup> Ādi, 184, 1-26 ; Dutt's translation, p. 254.

<sup>2</sup> Ādi, 184, 2-3.

<sup>3</sup> Ādi, 122, 21-22 ; Dutt, I., p. 174.



blood of a Brahmin, must be, of course, a later production, as the legend itself clearly shows.

An episode occurring during the cannibal period of the king is composed in the *Aśvamedha-parvan*.<sup>1</sup> Manifestly it presupposes the existence of the main story above mentioned.

The scene is the forest, where the ex-king Kalmāṣapāda is roaming, terrible to see. A certain Brahmin, Uттаṅka, ordered by his teacher, comes to beg of the cannibal king jewelled earrings, worn by his queen, Madayantī. The king intended to devour him, but the Brahmin promised him to come again as victim after the fulfilment of his duty, as a Brahmin always keeps his word. In the hope of his deliverance from the curse through the merit of giving such precious thing, the king agreed to the request of the Brahmin, and also refrained from killing him afterwards. This episode has a striking analogy with the *Sutasoma-jātakas*, the main object of which teaches truthfulness. It would not be unnatural to suppose that here the Epic had received an unconscious influence from Buddhist writings.

A short passage in the *Karṇa - parvan*<sup>2</sup> relating to Kalmāṣapāda indicates a quite different origin :

‘You shall know all this, O Śalya ; I will speak again to you. A rākṣasa by the name of *Kalmāṣapāda*, while bathing in a tank, said : Begging is Kṣatriya’s dirt, . . . the Madra-women are the dirt of the whole female sex. While going down the stream a king rescued the Rākṣasa.’

Now who this king is is entirely obscure in the text. But it is not impossible to expect here also a faint influence from Buddhist scriptures. Then the said king may be Sutasoma, who has delivered Kalmāṣapāda.

Like the *Purāṇas*, the *Harivaṃśa* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* bring the name of the king into the genealogical tree of the Ikṣvāku race. In the *Harivaṃśa*, which has a close connection with various *Purāṇas*, the stanzas registering

<sup>1</sup> *Aśvamedha*, 56, 30 *et seq.*; Dutt, XIV., p. 67 *et seq.*; P. Ch. Roy, XIV., p. 147 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Karṇa*, 45, 22-24 ; Dutt, VIII., p. 91.

Kalmāsapāda<sup>1</sup> are identical with those found in the Vāyu and elsewhere.

In the Rāmāyaṇa the genealogical description of the hero is twice repeated.<sup>2</sup> The surname of Puruṣādaka, the man-eater, is given here also. This shows that the cannibal story is known to the author of the Rāmāyaṇa.

22. *Epic and Purāṇas.*—Before trying to examine the origin of the Epic story, it would be necessary to give a glance at the relation between the Epic and Purāṇic stories, and at the same time to look briefly at their historical meaning.

In general, the Mahābhārata represents a culminating period of the priestly supremacy. Its tendency is to convince the submission of the worldly power to the Brahmanic sovereignty. Every legend in the Epic more or less shows this tendency, the story of the king Nahuṣa being a good example.

The Kalmāsapāda story especially manifests this with vivid colouring, as Professor Holtzmann has pointed out.<sup>3</sup> The central point of the story is distinctly seen in the following conversation between the king and Vasiṣṭha,<sup>4</sup> when the curse was lifted from the king :

<sup>1</sup> Bombay edition, 1861, I., 15, 21-22, *f.* 19 B. ; Langlois' French translation, I., p. 72 ; Dutt's translation (Calcutta, 1897), p. 60. Here the edition reads : ' Aśmakam janayāmāsa Ikṣvāku-kulavṛddhaye.' The last word is of course wrong. Dutt wrongly translates the proper name *Mitrasaha* to ' who was greatly attached to his friends.'

<sup>2</sup> I., 70, 38-39 ; II., 110, 29 ; Bombay edition, 1859, I., *f.* 110 B., *f.* 209 B ; Gorressio's edition, I., p. 275 ; II., p. 443 ; Schlegel's edition, I., p. 253 ; II., p. 341 ; Griffith's translation (popular ed., 1895), pp. 82, 220. His translation is rather free :

From him came Purushādak bold,  
Fierce hero of gigantic mould :  
Kalmāshapāda's name he bore,  
Because his feet were spotted o'er.

The last line is very important. But it is not found in the text of the editions above given. The translator seems to have supplied the line with some commentary, in which this Purāṇic legend is quoted.

<sup>3</sup> Holtzmann's Mahābhārata, IV., p. 38.

<sup>4</sup> Ādi, 179, 31-32 ; Dutt, I., p. 249.

Vasiṣṭha said: 'O king of men, my desire has been fulfilled at the proper time. Return to your kingdom and rule your subjects. *Never (again) disregard the Brahmanas.*'

The king said: 'O illustrious sir, I shall never again disregard the excellent Brahmanas. In obedience to your command, *I shall properly worship the Brahmanas.*'

How great this privilege was abused by the Brahmins we can clearly discern from the background of the story. The adultery of Vasiṣṭha, in spite of the latter's sophistical apology, affords one proof. The Epic holds that this flagrant act will serve to ennoble the Kṣatryan caste through the blood of the Brahmins. Another instance is that of king Bali giving his wife Sudeṣṇā to a Brahmin, Dīrghatamas, who bore him five sons.<sup>1</sup> The guilty action of Vasiṣṭha is whitewashed, moreover, in a passage of the Epic as one form of giving alms to Brahmins:<sup>2</sup>

'King Mitrasaha ascended to heaven by giving his favourite wife Madayanti to Vasiṣṭha.'

The warriors had in that period to put up with this oppression of the Brahmins, and remained in a painful submission, but not without a certain temporary resistance. We read of this in the plaintive voice of the unhappy King Saudāsa, who played the part of Emperor Henry IV. against the power of the Indian papacy, and was immediately punished more severely than by the latter's three days' penance:

'Kṣatriyas are seen to honour the Brahmins from the very beginning of the creation. Against the Brahmanas, however, many offences originate (on the part of the Kṣatriyas).'<sup>3</sup>

Here the conflict between the king and Śakti is suggested,

<sup>1</sup> Ādi, 104, 37-47; Dutt, I., p. 154. See also Holtzmann's *Mahābhārata*, I., pp. 29-30. The author says: Hier erreicht die sublime Frechheit der Brahmanen ihren höchsten Grad.

<sup>2</sup> Anuśāsana, 137, 18; Dutt, XIII., p. 280. Mitrasaha is another name of Kalmāṣapāda.

<sup>3</sup> Aśvamedha, 58, 5; Dutt, XIV., p. 69.

and in conclusion a maxim of absolute submission is given :

‘It is impossible for a king that is hostile to Brahmanas to continue living in this world, or to acquire happiness in the next.’<sup>1</sup>

Thus the legend in the Mahābhārata reflects a political *Culturbild*.

The Purāṇas had doubtlessly drawn from the Mahābhārata for the material to form a new story of Kalmāṣapāda, as they usually do. It is unnecessary to treat of the process of modification in the Purāṇas, but concerning the general tendency of the story a few words are needful. The character of the Purāṇic story differs greatly from the Epic. It represents another period of Indian culture. The picture turns now to a period of alliance or compromise. This tendency appears already in the Harivaṃśa and Rāmāyaṇa. The Brahmins who had consolidated their power, and whose superiority were universally acknowledged, had now to seek for a political support from the worldly power, as it was a pressing necessity for them to hold their position against powerful heretics — namely, against the Buddhists and the Jains.

The genealogical trees in the Purāṇas were therefore manufactured to gratify the royal house. The original motive of the submission and oppression in the Mahābhārata gradually disappeared, and in their place a new thought of alliance sprang up, through which the Brahmins gained great success for the re-establishment of their lost power. This great change of character can be easily understood from our story.

In the Purāṇas the conflict between the king and Śakti, which is the cardinal point in the Mahābhārata, is absent, and instead two ogres appear as the originators of the calamity. This is a specially noticeable and important point when compared with the Epic legend.

The quarrel of the two Brahmins in the Epic has great significance. The Epic tells of the Kṣatriyan origin of

<sup>1</sup> Aśvamedha, 58, 5; Dutt, XIV., p. 8

Viśvāmitra,<sup>1</sup> and his jealous and revengeful character<sup>2</sup> shows a striking contrast with Vasiṣṭha, who is a pure Brahmin. This indicates also the Epic characteristic. In the Purāṇic story this interlude of the struggle is entirely wanting.

The maxim of the absolute submission of the Kṣatriyas to the Brahmins, the main subject of the Epic story, is never seen in the Purāṇas.

The Purāṇas connect the later apology on Vasiṣṭha's adultery with the main story. In the Bhāgavata this part is specially detailed. This gives, on the one side, a convenient and happy idea for the alliances of the Brahmins and Kṣatriyas, modifying the original motive of the legend.

Among the newly-added factors in the Purāṇic story the etymological explanation of the name Kalmāṣapāda has an interesting parallelism with the Buddhist Avadānas. This will be afterwards fully examined. Some insignificant changes in the story, such as the duration of Madayanti's pregnancy, do not merit special study.

### III. ORIGIN OF THE EPIC STORY.

To trace the origin of the Epic legend in the Vedic literature, it would be convenient to treat the whole drama as trilogy, as it was summarized above. The prelude of the story consists of the conflict between Śakti and Kalmāṣapāda, together with the quarrel of the two saints, Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra. The second and principal act shows the horrible realization of the curse in the ex-king's devouring the hundred sons of Vasiṣṭha. The lamentation of the saint and his attempted self-destruction then follows. The act

<sup>1</sup> Ādi, 176 ; Śalya, 39, 24-35 ; Muir's Sanskrit Texts, I., p. 388 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> This is clearly seen in the Kalmāṣapāda legend. Muir, quoting a story in the Śalya-parvan, chap. 42, remarks: 'The Mahābhārata has a further legend regarding Viśvāmitra's jealousy of Vasiṣṭha, which again exhibits the former in a very odious light, and as *destitute of the moral dispositions befitting a saint*, while Vasiṣṭha is represented as manifesting a noble spirit of disinterestedness and generosity (Sanskrit Texts, I., p. 419).

closes with the emancipation of Kalmāsapāda. As conclusion, or after-play, the birth of Aśmaka is exhibited. We begin our inquiry with the first act.

23. *The Prototype of the Prelude.*—The original materials of the first act of the Epic story can be traced in the Ṛg-Veda. Sudās, the king of Tṛtsus, who had won a great victory in the famous ‘battle of ten kings,’<sup>1</sup> may be one of the greatest heroes in the Vedic period, having perhaps a historical character.

He is called, also, Pajjavana, the son of Pijavana, and occurs several times in the Ṛg-Veda.<sup>2</sup> The name Pajjavana is found in the later Vedic writings, but it is never mentioned in the Epic or in the Purāṇic literature. This Sudās Pajjavana is the original and perhaps historical form of the Epic Kalmāsapāda.

The relation of three prominent persons in the prelude—Vasiṣṭha, Viśvāmitra, and Śakti—are traceable also in the Vedic writings. An important study regarding these three Vedic saints was published by the late Professor Roth in his famous essay *Zur Literatur und Geschichte des Vedas*.<sup>3</sup> Afterwards Dr. Muir made an admirable collection of almost all materials on this topic, forming chapter iv. in his well-known work *Original Sanskrit Texts*, vol. i.<sup>4</sup>

The saint Viśvāmitra was once domestic priest of the king Sudās. This is described in the Ṛg-Veda III. 53.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ṛg-Veda, VII., 18 (Grassmann's German translation, I., p. 315; Muir's Sanskrit Texts, I., p. 321); VII., 32, 3 and 5 (Grassmann, I., p. 553); VII., 83, 8 (Grassmann, I., p. 365; Muir, I., p. 323) : Daśa-rājñe pariattāya viśvataḥ | Sudāsa Indrā-Varuṇau aśikṣataṃ || (Der rings bedrängt war dort in der Zehnkönigsschlacht, | dem Sudās gab ihre Hülfe, Indra-Varuṇa []). Cf. Macdonell's ‘Vedic Mythology,’ p. 64; Schröder's ‘Indiens Literatur u. Cultur,’ p. 34; Dutt's ‘History of Civilization in Ancient India,’ p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> I., 47, 6; 63, 7; 112, 9. VII., 19, 3; 20, 2; 25, 3; 32, 10; 53, 3, etc. See Muir, I., pp. 330-332.

<sup>3</sup> Edited in 1846. The fourth chapter of the essay is devoted to the study on Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra.

<sup>4</sup> Edited in 1872. See specially p. 317 *et seq.*

<sup>5</sup> Verse 11; Grassmann, I., p. 532.

One of the most important passages on this subject is that of the Brhaddevatā commenting Rg., III., 33, 3 :

'The seer' (Viśvāmitra), 'going with Sudās—being his domestic priest for the purpose of offering sacrifices—to the confluence of the Vipāś and Śatadrū, addressed these two verses' (with the words) '“ be propitious (śam) !”'<sup>1</sup>

This work Professor Macdonell, in his excellent edition, judges to be not later than 400 B.C.<sup>2</sup>

The same story is described in the Nirukta, which is older than the former work, and refers to it when explaining the Rg., VI., 61, 2 : 'It is explained in the holy tradition : the sage Viśvāmitra was the domestic priest of Sudās, the son of Pijavana. Taking his gains with him, he came to the confluence of the Vipāś and Śatadrū. The others followed (him).'<sup>3</sup>

The king at the same time patronized Vasiṣṭha, and it seems that he was more influential and more intimate with the king than Viśvāmitra, who appears to have lost his position afterwards, and to have stood against the king in the battle of the ten kings, and for the Bharatas, while Vasiṣṭha, in that case, occupied a very brilliant post on the side of the Trtsus.<sup>4</sup> His friendship with the king is proved, also, from the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa. He had delivered holy knowledge to Sudās.<sup>5</sup> He had brought about the coronation of the king.<sup>6</sup>

The trace of the irreconcilable hostility between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra, which forms an important episode in the present act, and is also the main subject of the famous battle story of the two sages in the Epics,<sup>7</sup> as well as of the

<sup>1</sup> Macdonell's edition, IV., 106 (Text, p. 46 ; Translation, p. 154). Śatadrū is given here, as in the Rg., III., 33, 3, and in the Nirukta, in the old form *Śutudrī*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. xxii.

<sup>3</sup> Jāśka's Nirukta ed. by Roth, p. 49 ; II., 24.

<sup>4</sup> Rg., VII., 18, 4 ; 33, 1-14.

<sup>5</sup> Aufrecht's ed., p. 210 ; Haug's ed., p. 212 ; Translation, p. 493.

<sup>6</sup> Aufrecht, p. 229 ; Haug, p. 209 ; Muir, I., p. 325.

<sup>7</sup> Ādi, 177 ; Rāmāyaṇa, I., 8 *et seq.*

Hariścandra legend in the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa,<sup>1</sup> can be discovered in like manner in the Vedic literature. Professor Oldenberg once maintained that the conflict of the two sages is never seen in the Rg-Veda.<sup>2</sup> But the verses 21–24 of III. 53 in the Rg-Veda are called Vasīṣṭha-dveṣīnyah—‘hating of Vasīṣṭha’—and consist of imprecations and jeers against the sage by commentators.<sup>3</sup>

A description of the contention is also found in the Taittīriya Saṃhitā,<sup>4</sup> and the late Professor Roth had judged it to be the struggle between the two races, the Bharatas and Trtsus. The latter he ingeniously identified as the Vasīṣṭha family.<sup>5</sup>

This mutual enmity becomes clearer when we examine the relations between Śakti and Viśvāmitra. This is concisely summed up by Professor Geldner:<sup>6</sup>

‘(1) Śakti, der Sohn des Vasīṣṭha, besiegt in einem Redeturnier den Viśvāmitra und bringt ihn um sein Prestige (Śaḍguruś., ed. Macd., p. 107).<sup>7</sup>

‘(2) Viśvāmitra geht darauf bei Jamadagni in die Lehre und empfängt von ihm eine neue himmlische Redekunst (Śaḍguruś., *ibid.*).

‘(3) Viśvāmitra rächt sich an Śakti, indem er ihn durch Knechte des Sudās in einem Wald überfallen und verbrennen lässt (Śaḍguruś., zu R.V. 7, 32).<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, IX. (M. N. Dutt's translation, p. 50 *et seq.*; F. E. Pargiter's translation, p. 59 *et seq.*). This story is alluded to in the Buddhacarita, XXVIII. The two demons Āri and Baka were always in hostility and destroyed living beings who were foolish and ignorant. Beal's translation in S.B.E., XIX., p. 330, is not right.

<sup>2</sup> Z.D.M.G., 1892, p. 159, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> Pischel and Geldner's 'Vedische Studien,' II., p. 158 *et seq.*; Bṛhaddevatā, IV., 119.

<sup>4</sup> Weber's 'Indische Studien,' XI., p. 71; XII., p. 72.

<sup>5</sup> Roth's 'Literatur u. Geschichte d. Vedas,' p. 119.

<sup>6</sup> Pischel and Geldner's 'Vedische Studien,' II., p. 159.

<sup>7</sup> Edited with the Sarvānukramaṇī by Macdonell, in the 'Anecdota Oxoniensia, Aryan Series,' vol. i., pt. 5, Oxford, 1886.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107. 'Śakti, the son of Vasīṣṭha, went to the forest to pluck flowers, etc. On the charge of Viśvāmitra and possessed by Demons, the followers of Sudās assailed the son of Vasīṣṭha and threw him on the fire.'



The first two points are given in the *Bṛhaddevatā*.<sup>1</sup> On the third point the *Sarvānukramaṇī* gives a short notice explaining the *Rg.*, VII., 32, with the comment that a hemistich of the verse 26 was uttered by Śakti, when he was being burnt.<sup>2</sup>

Thus we find very clearly the original stuff for the prelude of the later *Kalmāṣapāda* drama, as the late Professor Roth already hinted.<sup>3</sup>

Sudāsa, the followers of Sudāsa, killed Śakti, stirred up by Viśvāmitra. But the Epic changed the original meaning of the word, and took it for the son of Sudāsa. The innocent *Tr̥tsus* king himself became, therefore, guilty of the murder of *Vasiṣṭha's* son. The Epic gave a new dress to the old tradition of the struggle between the two sages, Viśvāmitra keeping his odious character as an instigator.

Nothing, however, is found in the Vedic literature to explain the origin of the name *Kalmāṣapāda*. We must be content to await the future results of patient study.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> IV., 112-114; Macdonell, p. 47; Translation, p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> *Sarvānukramaṇī*, p. 25; Muir, I., p. 328; Roth, p. 124.

<sup>3</sup> Roth, p. 124.

<sup>4</sup> The solution of the problem may depend upon whether the name has some connection with *Kalmāṣadāmya*, a city in the Kuru land, or not. This city is never mentioned in the Brahmanic literature, but it is one of the most famous places in the Buddhist Scriptures, and several important Sūtras in the *Samyutta*, *Majjhima*, and *Dīgha*, were there preached. (See Rhys Davids's 'Buddhist India,' p. 27.) In the Chinese *Madhyama-Āgama* this place is transliterated as *Ken-ma-shih-don*, which is equivalent to the Pāli *Kammāsadamma* (*Madhy.*, fasc. 20, 10, 18, 24, 26). In the *Samyukta-Āgama* it is called 'the city where spotted cattle are tamed.' This is simply a translation of *Kalmāṣadāmya* (fasc. 9, 12, 13). In the Chinese *Mahānidāna-sūtra* of the *Dīgha Āgama*, we find 'the place where *Kalmāṣa* is living,' which may be restored to *Kalmāṣasthāna*, or even to *Kalmāṣapāda*. As the king *Sudāsa* might be supposed to have had certain influence upon the ancient Kuru land, the capital of which was *Indraprastha*—the modern Delhi, in the Buddha's time—it is not unreasonable to conjecture that he had some connection with this city. Perhaps he had governed it, or, in other ways, had certain relations with it. The etymological explanation of the name *Kammāsadamma* in the Pāli *Sutasoma-jātaka* belongs doubtlessly to a modern invention, but does this not give some hint as to the connection of *Kalmāṣapāda* with the place?

24. *Original Materials for the Second Act.*—We will now proceed to investigate the origin of the second and main act. In the Mahābhārata, the curse on the king is first uttered by Śakti, whom he afterwards devoured. But in the Vedic writings the imprecation is spoken by Vasiṣṭha, because his sons were destroyed by the followers of the king. We read this in the Taittiriya-Saṃhitā:<sup>1</sup>

‘Vasiṣṭha, when his son had been slain, prayed, “May I obtain offspring; may I overcome the Saudāsas.” He beheld this ekasmānnapañcāśa,<sup>2</sup> he took it, and sacrificed with it. In consequence he obtained offspring, and overcame the Saudāsas.’

A similar passage is found in the Kauṣītakī-Brāhmaṇa:<sup>3</sup>

‘Vasiṣṭha, when his son had been slain, prayed, “May I be fruitful in offspring and cattle, and overcome Saudāsas.” He beheld this form of offering, the Vasiṣṭha-sacrifice; and having performed it, he overcame the Saudāsas.’

Both passages are very obscure, but they clearly point to vengeance projected by Vasiṣṭha against the followers of Sudās, who had slain Śakti.

In the Bṛhaddevatā the curse of Vasiṣṭha on the king is distinctly mentioned.<sup>4</sup> The passage runs :

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Another conjecture, which seems more plausible than the former, is an attempt to derive it purely from Buddhist origin. It is not impossible to think that the Buddhist invented a name Kalmāṣapāda from an association with the famous place in the Scriptures, bearing such a rare and curious name as Kalmāṣadāmya. The author of the Epic borrowed this from the Buddhists and connected it with Saudāsa. This solves the question also why the name never occurs in the Vedic writings.

<sup>1</sup> 7, 4; 7, 1 (Weber's I. S., XII., p. 301; Muir, I., p. 328).

<sup>2</sup> A sacrifice consisting of forty-nine Sūtya days.

<sup>3</sup> Lindner's ed., p. 16, IV., 6.

<sup>4</sup> Macdonell's ed., VI., 34; Text, p. 37; Transl., p. 217. In the Manu, VIII., 110 (S.B.E., XXV., p. 273), Vasiṣṭha was accused by Viśvāmitra, and had to take an oath before the king in order to clear himself, after the commentary of Kullūka. Here the commentary gives the name *Sudāman* for Sudās. If this be right reading, the transcription So-da-ma in the Saṃgharakṣa-samuccaya is very interesting.

‘Vasiṣṭha was at the time pained, as his hundred sons had been slain by Sudās, who, in consequence of a curse, had been transformed into a demon (rakṣas). Such is the sacred tradition.’

The fiction belongs to a more modern date than the above-given legend, and the gradual change of the subject, on which the Epic is based, may be obviously noticed. Thus the curse in the Epic was at first not on the king, but on his followers. In the Brhaddevatā it was transferred to the king. The later cannibal story is here in its primitive form.

A passage in Manu’s Law-book seems to have some reference to the Brhaddevatā, as the name Sudās Paijavana is mentioned. But its lateness will be soon recognized from its enumeration of Epic or Purāṇic kings, such as Vaṇa, Nemi, Nahuṣa.<sup>1</sup>

The lamentation of Vasiṣṭha over the tragical fate of his sons has its prototype in the Vedic writings, as quoted above. There is another interesting modification of the story in the Epic. We read of Vasiṣṭha’s attempts at suicide in the Mahābhārata:<sup>2</sup>

‘Thereupon the great Ṛṣi tied himself with very strong cords and fell in his grief into the waters of that great river. O chastiser of hostile ranks, the river, having torn those cords and making him free of them, cast him on to the land. Having been freed from the cords, the great Ṛṣi rose up and gave that river the name of *Vipās*.<sup>3</sup> Being oppressed with grief, that Ṛṣi could not from that time stay in one place. He went to the mountains, rivers, and lakes. Seeing once more the river Haimavatī of formidable appearance and full of fierce animals, the Ṛṣi threw himself into the waters. That best of rivers, thinking the Brah-

<sup>1</sup> Manu, VII., 41; S.B.E., XXV., p. 222. ‘Through a want of humility Vaṇa perished, likewise King Nahuṣa, Sudās, the son of Pijavana, Sumukha, and Nemi.’ On the legends of Nahuṣa, etc., see Muir, I., p. 298 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Ādi, 179, 4-9; Dutt, I., p. 248.

<sup>3</sup> Ptolemy’s *Βίπασις*; Arrian’s *Ῥίπασις*; Pliny’s *Hypasis*; modern *Beās*. vi + pās, unfettered.

mana to be fire, immediately fled away in a hundred different streams, and thence was she called *the Śatadrū*.<sup>1</sup>

Compare this passage with those of the Nirukta II., 24, and Bṛhaddevatā, IV., 106, given above. Here the poet of the Epic has transformed the story of Viśvāmitra in the Vedic writings into an etymological fiction, explaining the names of the two rivers. The track of this recasting can be easily followed in the text above quoted.

The third act, the conclusion, is a pure Epic invention, showing its characteristic tendency. In the Vedic period the later sharp distinction between Brahmins and Kṣatriyas never existed, as the author of the 'History of Ancient India' proves with patriotic eloquence,<sup>2</sup> and it is simply impossible to suppose such an abused supremacy of the Brahmin as the Madayantī-legend.

Parāśara, the grandson of Vasīṣṭha, born to Adṛṣyantī, is mentioned in the Ṛg-Veda as one member of the Vasīṣṭha family.<sup>3</sup> In the Nirukta he is said to be the son of Vasīṣṭha.<sup>4</sup> The Epic introduces him as a character in the conclusion. He plays there no insignificant part, being a philosopher and moral teacher.<sup>5</sup>

#### IV. THE RELATION OF BUDDHIST AND NON-BUDDHIST LITERATURES TO THE KALMĀṢAPĀDA LEGEND.

25. *The Vedic Influence on the Buddhist Legend.*—The simplest form of the Kalmāṣapāda legend, as we have seen in the Old Samuyaktāvadāna, takes on the independent

<sup>1</sup> Ptolemy's *Zadādrū*, modern Sutlej. Śata + drū, hundred running (dru, to run, to flow).

<sup>2</sup> Dutt's 'A History of Civilization in Ancient India,' I., vii.

<sup>3</sup> Ṛg., VII., 18, 21.

<sup>4</sup> Nirukta, VI., 80.

<sup>5</sup> Śānti, 291 *et seq.* To him is also ascribed the authorship of the Nitiśāstras with Manu, Cānakya, and others. See a new article by Hillebrandt: 'Über das Kautilya-śāstra (Jahresbericht d. Schlesischen Gesellschaft f. Vaterländische Kultur,' IV., Abteilung, p. 2).

nature of a Jātaka story. It appears simply as one of those primitive forms of the birth stories, which are found in the bas-reliefs on the Bharhut Stūpa.<sup>1</sup> The king, the Rākṣasa, the begging Brahmin, and truthfulness of speech as the didactic nucleus of the story, are quite common figures in the ancient birth-stories. Here we cannot naturally trace any Brahmanic influence. But when the gradual development gave their names to the king and the Rākṣasa, and the episode of the captivity of the hundred kings was introduced, some faint traces of that influence are visible. These traces are, however, so slight that we cannot be so positive as to their origin, as was the case in the Epic.

The name of *Sutasoma* seems to suggest some influence from the Vedic Sudās tradition. The colloquial meaning of this word is the pressing of the Soma—one of the most important cults in the Vedic age—and the word is often used in the Ṛg-Veda.<sup>2</sup> A son of Bhīma in the Mahābhārata, is called Sutasoma, this meaning being adopted.<sup>3</sup> The hero of the battle of the ten kings, Sudās, has a special connection with this ceremony. We read this in the Aitareya-Brahmaṇa: 'This portion was further told by Vasiṣṭha to Sudās, the son of Pijavana. All these became great, in consequence of their having drunk the Soma in this way, and were great kings. Just as the sun sends forth warmth, so the king, who when sacrificing, drinks the Soma in this way, is placed amidst good fortune, and shines everywhere; in all directions, expecting tribute, his kingdom becomes strong, and is not to be shaken.'

In the part of Kalmāṣapāda, the Buddhist take the dark

<sup>1</sup> See S. d'Oldenbourg's essay in the Journal of the 'American Oriental Society, vol. xxviii., 1897; Rhys Davids's 'Buddhist India,' p. 209.

<sup>2</sup> I., 2, 2; 44, 8; 142, 1; II., 12, 6; III., 32, 12; V., 37, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Ādi, 223, 81. The Pāli Jātaka takes the name also in this sense: 'From his fondness for pressed soma-juice they called him Sutasoma' (Francis, V., p. 246). The Jātakamālā takes the sense in a different way: 'His father gave the name of Sutasoma because he looked as lovely as Soma (the Moon-god)' (Speyer, p. 292).

<sup>4</sup> Haug's translation, p. 494.

side of Sudās in the same manner as the Epic poets. The cannibalism of the king as a Rākṣasa is found in the Bṛhaddevatā, as already mentioned. The captivity of the hundred kings suggests a transformation of the destruction of the hundred sons of Vasīṣṭha by the king.

Thus the older Buddhist legend of Kalmāṣapāda has a common source, with the Epic, in the Vedic writings. From this source they developed in two different ways without mutual influence, like other examples, such as the Śivi,<sup>1</sup> R̥ṣyaśṛṅga,<sup>2</sup> and Daśaratha<sup>3</sup> stories, or like certain verses in the Dhammapada.<sup>4</sup> The motives for the adaptations of the story by Buddhist and Brahmin, however, are quite opposite. The Brahmins adopted the Sudās story with the political aim of proving the superiority of the priesthood against the warriors, while the Buddhists employed it for the purely religious object of teaching their moral doctrine of truthfulness.

Thus we have ground to assume that the bright side, the triumphant character, of Sudās was taken as the name of the hero in the Buddhist legend. If this connection with Sudās is not admissible, it will at least be obvious that the name has an origin in Vedic thought for some great and mighty king. The meaning of the name Phumiṅ,<sup>5</sup> which may be rendered as Samantaprabhāsa or Samantaraśmin, is a well-known characteristic of the Soma in the R̥g-Veda.<sup>6</sup> If it be possible to take the Sanskrit form of Phumiṅ as Subhās or Subhāsa, this would give a strong support to the connection of Sudās and Sutasoma, for this Subhās is only a slight paleographical or phonetic change of Sudās.

<sup>1</sup> S. d'Oldenbourg maintains the Brahmanic origin of this story (*J.R.A.S.*, 1893, p. 309), while Th. Benfey assumes the Buddhist source (*Pañca-tantra*, I., 388).

<sup>2</sup> Lüder's 'Die Sage von R̥ṣyaśṛṅga' (*Nachrichten. d. k. Gesellschaft d. Wiss. z. Göttingen*, 1897, 1901).

<sup>3</sup> This Jātaka (No. 461) is often ascribed to the Rāmāyaṇa as its source by various scholars.

<sup>4</sup> Fausböll's *Dhammapada*, 1900, p. viii.

<sup>5</sup> See I., 6, 9.

<sup>6</sup> Macdonell's 'Vedic Mythology,' p. 108.

The capturing of Sutasoma by the demon with two wings<sup>1</sup> reminds us of the famous story in the Ṛg-Veda of the rape of the Soma.<sup>2</sup> The supernatural power of the Rākṣasa to go through the air is often described in the old Buddhist writings, but this special form, possessing two wings, is very rare, and it is a highly noticeable fact.

26. *The Epic Influence.*—In the later form of the Kalmāṣapāda legend the Buddhists received a considerable influence from the Mahābhārata. The name Saudāsa in the Siṃhasaudāsa-sūtra and in the first translation of the Laṅkāvatāra reveals this very clearly. This Epic name is never found in the older Chinese Avadānas or in the Pāli Jātakas. Perhaps they were compiled when the name of Saudāsa was not yet taken as an individual name of Kalmāṣapāda, but as in the Nirukta, or in the Sarvānukramaṇī, to mean the followers of Sudās. In the Damamūkāvādāna we see a new and important factor in the Kalmāṣapāda story, which is entirely ignored by the other texts. This relates to the explanation of the question why Kalmāṣapāda became a cannibal. The author of the Avadāna borrowed here a characteristic and common factor in the Epic—the curse—with some modifications. The immediate efficacy of a curse is a favourite and accustomed *technic* of the Epic poets to bring into relief the great powers of their saints, who are mostly revengeful and irritable, rather abusing their power of cursing. Thus curse-stories may be reckoned as, at least, one of the Epic characteristics, if not the most important one. In the Buddhist writings, practically teaching mildness and patience, and theoretically expounding strict causality, the curse and its immediate efficacy as the material of a story are not so familiar.

The sage in the Avadāna, who, by cursing the king for his gift of improper food, causes him to become a cannibal, is only a modified copy of the Brahmin in the Mahābhārata.

<sup>1</sup> See Texts 12, 13, 15, 18, 20.

<sup>2</sup> IV., 26, 27; Grassmann, I., pp. 133-4; Pischel and Geldner's 'Vedische Studien,' p. 206 *et seq.*; Macdonell's 'Vedic Mythology,' p. 111.

In the Epic Kalmāṣapāda gives human flesh to that Brahmin through his intelligence being bewildered by the curse, while in the Avadāna some meat is offered to the sage, who never eats flesh, apparently showing his Buddhist character. This is the only difference; the central point of the curse is identical. The construction of the utterance of the curse in the two texts is also strikingly analogous.

AVADĀNA.<sup>1</sup>

Weil du nun solches gethan hast mich zu höhnen, so mögest du, O König, während zwölf Jahren nichts als Menschenfleisch essen.

MAHĀBHĀRATA.<sup>2</sup>

Because that worst of kings offers me unworthy food, therefore shall that fool himself be fond of such food.

Two royal wives struggling for the love of their lord are recast from the two Brahmins quarrelling for the position of royal preceptor. Like the latter case, in which the enmity of the Brahmins serves as the remote cause of Kalmāṣapāda's fall, in the former the struggle of the two ladies indirectly involves the king in disaster. An important point of this recasting is traceable in the fact that the Avadāna is describing these two ladies, one as a Kṣatriyā and the other as a Brahminee by birth. This shows the original characters of Vasīṣṭha and Visvāmitra in the Epic, respectively representing the Brahmin and the Kṣatriya.

The early Buddhist story of Sutasoma, on the other hand, seems to have had some influence upon the Mahābhārata. In the Uttara episode, which was manifestly composed after the main story in the Ādi-parvan, a Buddhist tendency is clearly perceptible. This means the truthfulness specified by Uttara as the characteristic virtue of a Brahmin, and his promise to return again to the cannibal king as his victim after the fulfilment of his duty. Does this not vividly show an imitation of Sutasoma and his ethics?<sup>3</sup> A passage in the Karṇa-parvan, suggesting

<sup>1</sup> Schmidt, p. 314.

<sup>2</sup> Ādi, 178, 25; Dutt, I., p. 248.

<sup>3</sup> 'Having accepted from you as a gift that object for my preceptor, which is under your control, I shall, O King, on account of my agree-



a faint influence of the Buddhist Jātaka, was already treated of under Chapter II.

27. *The Avadānas and Purāṇas.*—The Avadānas in the second group bear a curious parallelism with the Purāṇas in giving an etymological explanation of the name Kalmāṣapāda. This tendency is already appearing in the Mahābhārata, as in the examples of Āsmaka, Parāśara,<sup>1</sup> Sutasoma, and many others. The etymology of the rivers Vipāś and Śatadrū belongs to the same favourite method of the Epic poets. The Buddhists and Purāṇic writers inherited this psychological tendency of the Epic period, and employed it in the name Kalmāṣapāda, making out a fiction of the pedal deformity of the king, who in the Mahābhārata is described as having perfect beauty,<sup>2</sup> and on his body no such defect as spotted feet.

The Buddhists explain the name from *a priori* grounds based on their Karmatic causality, ascribing the malformation of the king's feet to an inheritance from his lioness mother.

The Purāṇic writers, on the other hand, connect the name with the ritual efficacy, assuming an *a posteriori* ground of the pedal defect: the holy water cursed by the king caused the stigmata upon the feet. The characteristic contrast of the fiction in the Avadānas and Purāṇas would show the difference of these two religious ideas. In this part we cannot perceive the mutual relation of the two literatures, for it is a result of the common inheritance of the Epic thought. But in one phase of conformity between the Purāṇas and the Damamūkavadāna may not be merely an accidental coincidence.

We have seen already that in the Avadāna the temple-god, provoked by the demolition of his temple by the queen

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ment, once more come back to you and put myself under your power. I assure you truly of this. There is no falsehood in this. Never before have I spoken any falsehood, no, not even in jest! What shall I say then of other occasions?' (XIV., 57, 9-10; Dutt, XIV., p. 67).

<sup>1</sup> Ādi, 180, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Ādi, 179, 40: 'The king, most handsome of all handsome men.'

of Kalmāṣapāda, assumes the form of the sage and deceives the king into giving the sage flesh-meat. In the Purāṇas the transformation is done in a more complicated manner than in the Avadāna. The Rākṣasa, intending vengeance, takes at first the shape of Vasiṣṭha, and afterwards transforms himself into the royal cook in order to dress human flesh. Here the reciprocal relation cannot be doubted. It is, however, very difficult to decide which of the two was influenced by the other. But from the character of the Damamūkāvadāna, which assimilates almost all factors of the Kalmāṣapāda legend, both in the Buddhist and Brahmanic literature, and which, from the date of its compilation, apparently belongs to a later period, the Purāṇic influence upon it may be conjectured.

The ideality of the *duration* of the curse—twelve years of cannibalism in both stories—does not here deserve special notice, for this term is used always in the Epic and Buddhist works for asceticism, punishment, or other things.<sup>1</sup> The accidental agreement is rather a natural consequence.

28. *Jain Legend of Kalmāṣapāda*.—The story is not wanting in the Jaina-literature, as Professor Leumann has already noticed.<sup>2</sup> It may properly be dealt with here. The following is the entire German translation of the story in the *Āvaśyaka-niryukti*<sup>3</sup> by Professor Leumann, who kindly supplied it at my request :

‘Der König Saudāsa liebte es, Fleisch zu essen. Einmal war eine Schlachtung. Da wurde das Fleisch durch eine Katze gestohlen. Nun wollte man bei den Metzgern Fleisch holen, bekam aber keines. So nahmen die Leute ein Kind, das sie töteten und zubereiteten. Als der König

<sup>1</sup> The pregnancy of both Madayantī and Adṛśyantī, as already seen, endures twelve years. The exile of Arjuna and the five Pāṇḍavas continues also twelve years. In the Buddhist literature, the Bodhisattva Pūrvacaryā uses this period for several stories.

<sup>2</sup> *J.R.A.S.*, 1893, p. 325, footnote.

<sup>3</sup> IX., 32. According to Prof. Leumann it is more exactly called *Viśeṣā-vaśyaka-bhāṣya*, V., 1895.

das Fleisch gegessen hatte, fragte er nach der Herkunft des Fleisches. Man sagte ihm, woher es kam. Da befahl er (weil es ihm besonders geschmeckt hatte) seinen Leuten: tötet (auch weiterhin Kinder)! Durch die Städter wurde er (als Menschenfleisch-esser) erkannt; und die Diener, indem sie ihn für einen Rākṣasa hielten, gaben ihm ein berauschendes Getränk zu trinken und brachten ihn dann (da er als Betrunkener willenlos war) in den Wald hinaus. Dort stellte er sich an einem Kreuzweg auf, und indem er einen Knüppel (eine Keule) nahm, tötete er jeden Tag einen Menschen. Einige Erzähler sagen, er habe draussen in der Einsamkeit (nicht an einem von Menschen viel begangenen Kreuzweg) Leute getötet.'

The patronymic name of the king is the same as in the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas. But beside this, there is no similarity with those versions. It is more like the Buddhist Avadānas.

Āvaśyaka.	Avadānas.	Mahābhārata.
Saudāsa.	Saudāsa (Texts 7, 8, 9, 17 <i>abc</i> , 20).	Saudāsa.
Flesh was stolen by a cat.	Flesh was stolen by a dog (Texts 1, 20).	————
The cook took the flesh of a child and dressed it.	The cook took the flesh of a child and dressed it (Text 20).	————

This comparison shows that the Jain story must be derived from the same source as the Buddhist Avadāna, as in the case of the Citta and Sambhūta Jātakas.<sup>1</sup> The naïveté of the Jain story, however, suggests its priority as against the Buddhist writings, for the latter added the lioness story and invented the characteristic name Simhasaudāsa.

<sup>1</sup> This interesting study on the relation of the Buddhist and Jain versions was published by Prof. Leumann in 'Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes,' 1891-92.

## V. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE KALMĀṢAPĀDA-STORY IN BUDDHIST LITERATURE.

29. *The two Periods of the Development.*—The two groups of the texts above classified represent at the same time the two main periods of the literary development, the prelude of the lioness-myth being a mark of the whole study. The development in the first period consisted in the gradual addition of new factors to the primitive story. These factors were, however, always Buddhistic. Vedic traces are faint, and of the Saudāsa legend in the Mahābhārata there is scarcely a vestige of influence. So this may also be called the period of internal development. The highest point of this period is reached in the Mahāsutāsoma-jātaka.

The second period is characterized by external influence. Here Epic elements were largely interwoven with the story. The various tendencies in the first period are combined into unity. It is, therefore, also a period of the synthesis. The highest development of this period is represented by the Damamūkāvādāna.

### A. THE FIRST PERIOD.

30. *The First Form.*—The missionary San-hwi from Samarkand translated two different forms of the Sutasoma-jātaka in A.D. 251. Among them text 10 preserves a more primitive form than the other. If it is not the oldest form of the story, still, from its simple structure, it may be admitted to be nearly the original Jātaka. It teaches nothing but one simple moral, as in the oldest Birth-stories.

Text 13 is the collection of stories by Saṃgharakṣa, who is alleged to have been contemporary with King Kaniṣka. This tradition may be justified by the fact that another work of Saṃgharakṣa was translated by Si-kao of Parthia, who came to China in A.D. 148.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> N., no. 1126. The complete text was translated by Dharmarakṣa in A.D. 284. This is found in N., no. 1325. The Sanskrit of the title

The story in the text is more detailed than the older Saṃyuktāvadāna, and its connection with the Vedic writings, or, at least, with the current Vedic thought, is traceable from the name of the hero, Sutasoma. But the central point of the story remained unchanged, consisting only of a simple lesson in truthfulness.

About one century after the victorious Scythian ruler, the famous Nāgārjuna<sup>1</sup> wrote his commentary on the Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā (text 15). At that time the story possessed already a new factor—viz., the captivity of one hundred kings. The author takes this story as an example of the Śīla-pāramitā, like text 11. That the commentary refers to the story as a separate Sūtra suggests a certain enlargement of its contents. This Sūtra may be perhaps the original form of the Phumiṅ-Sūtra, collected by the compiler of text 11.

This text (15) inculcates nothing beyond the one simple moral taught in the above two texts. The Brahmin appears here, as in former texts, only to beg alms, while in the others he plays a great rôle in the preaching of the four stanzas. These two points are sufficient to betray their priority as against the remaining texts.

31. *The Second Form.*—The second form is characterized

work, 'Caryāmārgabhūmi,' rendered by Dr. Nanjio, is not right. The true original title is given in the preface of No. 1325. *Yogacaryā-bhūmi-sūtra*, which means in the Tsin language Sin-hhiṅ-tao-ti-king (T.E., XIX., 6, 35b). Perhaps the famous work by Asaṃga with the similar title, *Yogācāryabhūmi*, has some relation with our old text. The contents of the Nos. 1325 and 1326 are compared as follows :

<i>Si-kao's Translation.</i>	<i>Dharmarakṣa's Translation.</i>
Chaps. 1-5	Chaps. 1-5
" -	" 6-21
" 6	" 22
" -	" 23
" 7	" 24
" -	" 25-29

<sup>1</sup> Kern's 'Manual of Indian Buddhism,' p. 125. Beal's article in *Indian Antiquary*, 1886, p. 353, give some materials on the age of this great Mahāyāna doctor.

by its manysidedness or plurality of didactic subject-matter, developed, on the one side, through the Buddhistic dignifying of the begging Brahmin, and, on the other, through the personal elevation of Sutasoma. The Brahmin, who is coming simply to beg alms in the last three texts, now teaches the Buddhist doctrine. He utters the four stanzas in texts 1, 11, and 12. In text 16, he is transformed into a Buddhist high priest, and beside the stanzas, expounds the *Prajñāpāramitā*. Sutasoma delivers the man-eater only through his truthful conduct, which belongs to the first form. The texts give him nothing of the eminent character of a Bodhisattva, but only simple morality. But we see a quite different figure of him in texts 1, 11, 12, and 16. His complete knowledge of the Buddhist dogmas in text 12, his great eloquence and sagacity in converting the cannibal king in text 1, lends him a holiness like that of the Buddha. This moral perfection reaches its climax in the *Mahāsutasoma-jātaka* (text 1). In consequence of these characteristic changes the plurality of the central point must necessarily follow.

We will go a few steps further to search for the development on this side. The oldest date we can assign to this second form is text 11, which was translated in A.D. 251. In that version, the elevated character of Sutasoma was not yet so pronounced as in text 1. His skilful treatment for conversion is there undreamt of. The four boons, so important in text 1, were also entirely ignored.

These two leading factors became familiar only in the time of Ārya Śūra, who may be supposed to have lived at the end of the fourth century.<sup>1</sup> Thus it is not impossible to think that the *Mahāsutasoma-jātaka* was complete as to its main construction during some one century, between the time of San-hwi and that of Ārya Śūra, and that afterwards

<sup>1</sup> A Tibetan tradition related by Tāranātha ('Buddhismus,' p. 90), that Ārya Śūra is identical with Aśvaghōṣa, as Professor Speyer maintains, is simply impossible. On the date of this Buddhist poet, see the preface of the English translation of the *Jātakamālā*, p. xxxviii.

its present form was gradually completed, perhaps in the age of Buddhaghōṣa, when the literary activity of the Pāli language was in full blast. This gradual completion of the present form may be easily proved by the name Kalmāṣapāda being obsolete in the main part of the Jātaka, and remaining only in an insignificant corner of the story. Some ancient expressions in the narrative, such as 'the three Vedas,' or a description of Takṣasilā as a centre of learning, belong rather to ordinary Pāli usage, and imitates only the ancient part of the Birth-story.

The Pāli Jātaka not only agrees with texts 11 and 12 in the main points, but it bears an important resemblance in the subordinate points—for example, the prayer of Kalmāṣapāda to the tree-nymph, and the four stanzas uttered by the Brahmin, give a hint as to the close connection between the Sanskrit and Pāli versions of the story. If the Pāli Jātaka did not develop from the same form as texts 11 and 12, it will have grown out of the nearest form of it that was commonly known in the Buddhist schools in ancient times.

The Jayaddisa-jātaka, which divides the personage of Sutasoma into two parts, and presupposes the existence of text 1, belongs in many points to a later date.

The direct development of the story in text 11 is found in text 16. The adaptation of the story for the purpose of propagating the Prajñāpāramitā doctrine has already been noticed. The text not only borrows the name of the hero from text 11, but it takes the four stanzas *verbatim et literatim* therefrom. The first Chinese translation of this text, which is no longer extant, was finished by Dharmarakṣa,<sup>1</sup> who visited China in A.D. 266, and continued his work of translation till A.D. 317.<sup>2</sup> Thus it may be thought that this adaptation was made in the beginning or middle of the third century.

From the traditions given above, and justified by the trustworthy descriptions in the ancient Chinese chronicles,

<sup>1</sup> Kai-yen-lu, fasc. 2 (T.E., XXXVIII, 4, 15a).

<sup>2</sup> N., p. 391.

we can determine approximate dates relating to the various stadia of the development in the first period.

The primitive form in this period was probably existing one or two centuries before the Christian era, like other old Birth-stories. This simple story underwent gradual changes, by the accretion of different factors, among Buddhist schools spreading in various localities, and its most developed form was completed about the end of the fourth century :

- |             |   |   |                            |
|-------------|---|---|----------------------------|
| First form  | { | 1. The primitive form of the story . . . . .  | <i>circa</i> 200-1 B.C.    |
|             |   | 2. The story collected by Saṅgha-rakṣa . . . . .                                      | „ A.D. 1-100.              |
|             |   | 3. The story was existing as a separate Sūtra, quoted by Nā-gārjuna . . . . .         | „ A.D. 100-200.            |
| Second form | { | 4. Personal elevation of the hero in the story; brought to China by San-hwi . . . . . | <i>circa</i> A.D. 200-250. |
|             |   | 5. Adaptation of the story by the followers of the Prajñāpāramitā . . . . .           | „ A.D. 250-300             |
|             |   | 6. Full development of the story . . . . .  | „ A.D. 300-400.            |

B. THE SECOND PERIOD.

32. *The First Development.*—The second period is characterized by the combination of the prelude—*i.e.*, the lioness story—with the Sutasoma-jātaka. This prelude reminds us of the fiction of the lion and princess explaining the origin of the Singhalese people in Yuan-chwang's travels.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps a story of the same kind prevailed in India, and served as a common source to the Avadānas and Singhalese fiction.

In the first development we do not yet find the curse story, which introduces the strong and obvious colouring of the Epic character. The Buddhists had here only combined the patronymic name, Saudāsa, in the Mahābhārata, with the lioness story, and invented a new name—Siṃha-saudāsa.

The oldest form of this development known to us is the text 17A, the first translation of the Lankāvatāra. Before

<sup>1</sup> Beal's 'Si-yu-ki,' II., p. 235 *et seq.*; Watters' 'Yuan-Chwang,' II., p. 232.



this translation another of the oldest Chinese renderings of this Sūtra was completed by Dharmarakṣa,<sup>1</sup> who worked in China A.D. 433–452.<sup>2</sup> This is no longer extant. According to the description of catalogues, the size of this lost translation is almost equal<sup>3</sup> with Guṇabhadra's version.

Before Dharmarakṣa's translation appeared, this Sūtra was never known to the Chinese Buddhists. In the works of Nāgārjuna existing in China, such as text 15 or the Daśabhūmivibhāṣā,<sup>4</sup> many important Mahāyāna-sūtras are cited,<sup>5</sup> but the Laṅkāvatāra is not found among them. In the second and third translation a prophecy regarding Nāgārjuna is even mentioned.<sup>6</sup> So the date of the compilation must belong to a comparatively modern period—at least, posterior to the age of Nāgārjuna.<sup>7</sup>

Text 20 may be looked upon as a kind of commentary on the Māṃsabhakṣa-parivarta, the eighth chapter of the Laṅkāvatāra. It explains the example of Simhasaudāsa given in the Sūtra in full and poetical form. The supplementary prose on the Śivi-jātaka, which is also found in the

<sup>1</sup> Kai-yen-lu, fasc. 4 (XXXVIII., 4, 38a).

<sup>2</sup> N., p. 411.

<sup>3</sup> Both translations consist of 4 fascs. Cf. Kai-yen-lu, etc.

<sup>4</sup> N., 1180.

<sup>5</sup> In the text 15, Saddharmapūṇḍarīka (fasc. 7, 9, 10, 26, 30, 32, etc.), Sukhavatī vyūha (fasc. 9, 22), Avataṃsaka (fasc. 30, 50, 73, 100), Vimalakīrtinirdeśa (fasc. 9, 15, etc.), Śūraṅgamasamādhi (fasc. 10, 26, etc.), and many others are cited.

<sup>6</sup> Bodhiruci, chap. 18 (T.E., IV., 6, 71a); Sikṣānanda, chap. 10 (T.E., IV., 6, 114a). O Mahāmatī! Know this! In future, after the Sugata left this world, a man will be born in Southern India, protecting my Dharma, as a renowned and virtuous monk, with the name of Nāgārjuna. He will destroy the heretical doctrines of the Realists (Astika) and Nihilists (Nāstika), and propagate my highest Mahāyāna-dharma. He will attain to the Pramuditā stage, and be born in the land of Sukhavatī. R.A.S. MS. 129b 3-5. See Additional Notes.

<sup>7</sup> Two works commenting on the refutations against heretics and Hinayanists in the Laṅkāvatāra (N., no. 1259, 1260) are ascribed to Ārya Deva, who is a younger contemporary of Nāgārjuna. The works are translated by the same translator of the text 17 B. Considered from the date of the translation and translator, the ascribed authorship calls for further inquiry.

Sūtra, evidently shows this fact. The connection of the Sūtra with the Jain literature has already been mentioned. According to Professor Leumann, the oldest Nirukti belongs to the first century of the Christian era. The Saudāsa story in the Āvaśyaka may have existed in the fifth century. This gives an important suggestion as to the date of the construction of the Siṃhasaudāsa legend in Buddhist literature.

Texts 7 and 8 are especially important and interesting, because they combine the Sanskrit and Pāli stories of Sutasoma. As already said, Ārya Śūra, the author of text 7 takes the character of Kalmāṣapāda from the northern tradition, possibly from the Siṃhasaudāsa-sūtra, while he borrows materials *en bloc* from the Pāli for the part of Sutasoma.

The work by Kṣemendra, text 8, adopts the former poem with only few modifications.

In these two texts the curse-story of the cannibal king is entirely wanting. The number of the captured princes is only 100 or 101, as in the older Avadānas.

33. *The Second Development.*—Texts 19 and 21 are the most-developed form of the Kalmāṣapāda story. Not only the Buddhist elements in the various texts are here brought together, but the Epic colouring is conspicuously vivid. As the latter point has been already discussed, we will now consider the former. As has already been pointed out, the story in our text finished its development in Khotan and was brought to Turfan, where the compilation was made. Compared with the Mahāsutasoma-jātaka, the characteristics of the story are sharply contrasted. It is very interesting to see these developments in the two typical lands representing the two main divisions of the Buddhist Church—Khotan and Ceylon.

*Firstly*, the texts are indebted to text 11 for their foundation-stone. In text 11, as before mentioned, two questions on the former birth of the robber Aṅgulimāla are explained. On the first question—why that cruel robber was converted by the Buddha?—the Avadāna gives the

answer in the story of Phumiṅ and the man-eater. Regarding the second question—why Aṅgulimāla had taken so many lives before his conversion?—a supplementary story is told about a sage. In our texts, after the Sutasoma-jātaka, the story of a sage follows directly, just as in text 11, only with some modification and enlargement. There remains, therefore, scarcely any doubt concerning the source of our texts. Further, our text uses the four gāthas in text 11 *verbatim et literatim*.

*Secondly*, the texts do not hesitate to borrow the names of hero and adversary from texts 13 and 15. In text 11 the name of the man-eater is wanting, and the hero is called Phumiṅ, not Sutasoma. This fact may be proved from the following parallel passages in the Mahāprajñā-pāramitā-śāstra and our texts :

## TEXT 15.

‘They said: “Have never anxiety on account of Kalmāṣapāda. We will build an iron palace guarded by a strong army. Though Kalmāṣapāda has a miraculous power, he deserves not to be feared.”’

## TEXT 21=18.

‘Da sprachen die Beamte zu ihm: “Habe keine Furcht vor König Kangta (Kalmāṣapāda); unsere Meinung ist, dass wenn zum Schutze der königlichen Person ein Gebäude von Eisen aufgeführt würde, und der König darin seinen Sitz nähme, Kangta, so stark und mächtig er auch sein mag, nichts vermögen wird.”’

*Thirdly*, the texts have some relation to text 14. Here the duration of the twelve years’ cannibalism agrees. The description in text 14 is very laconic, and the meaning is not quite intelligible. But it relates to the oath of the king himself, who according to our texts utters a terrible curse on his subjects who try to kill him in the bath.

*Fourthly*, perhaps our story has some relation to text 16. It is at least positively clear that the compilers of the Damamukāvadānā referred to Kumārajiva’s translation of text 16, for the four stanzas in the texts apparently show this fact. The number of the kings captured by Kalmāṣapāda in our story is quite identical with that in text 16.

*Fifthly*, a most important point is the relation of our

texts to texts 17A and 20. Our texts here introduce the lioness-story in the older *Laṅkāvatāra*, and its enlarged and poetical version in text 20.

The priority over our text of the *Siṃhasaudāsa-sūtra*, though the date of its translation is considerably later, may be sufficiently proved from the interpolation in the later *Laṅkāvatāra* mentioned above. If this commentary was written after the interpolated texts, 17 B.C.—that is to say, after the superfluous addition of a new *Kalmāṣapāda* story like our texts—this suitable and important example for the subject-matter of the *Sūtra* must be also placed after the supplementary prose on the *Sivi-jātaka*.

With the texts 1, 6, and 7, our story has no connection. This may probably be due to the geographical position of Khotan being unfavourable for the transmission of the influence.

34. *Conclusion.*—The study on the *Kalmāṣapāda* stories touches certain important questions in Indian literatures.

It supplies at least a concrete example for the solution of a question: Which process does the development of a story follow in various literatures?

On the Brahmanic side this study reveals clearly a literary connection between the Vedic writings and the *Mahābhārata*. We find that an ancient tradition preserved in the *Ṛg-Veda* had gradually developed in the Epic and the *Purāṇas*, taking on quite a different form and character. On the Buddhistic side it contributes still more important results concerning the development of the Birth-stories, manifesting clearly a process of advance from the simplest form to the most elaborate construction. Many important points on the Pāli and Sanskrit *Jātakas* are also elucidated through it.

The inquiry explains yet another question: What are the conditions necessary for the development of a story? Herein our inquiry is of deep significance for the histories of civilization and religion.

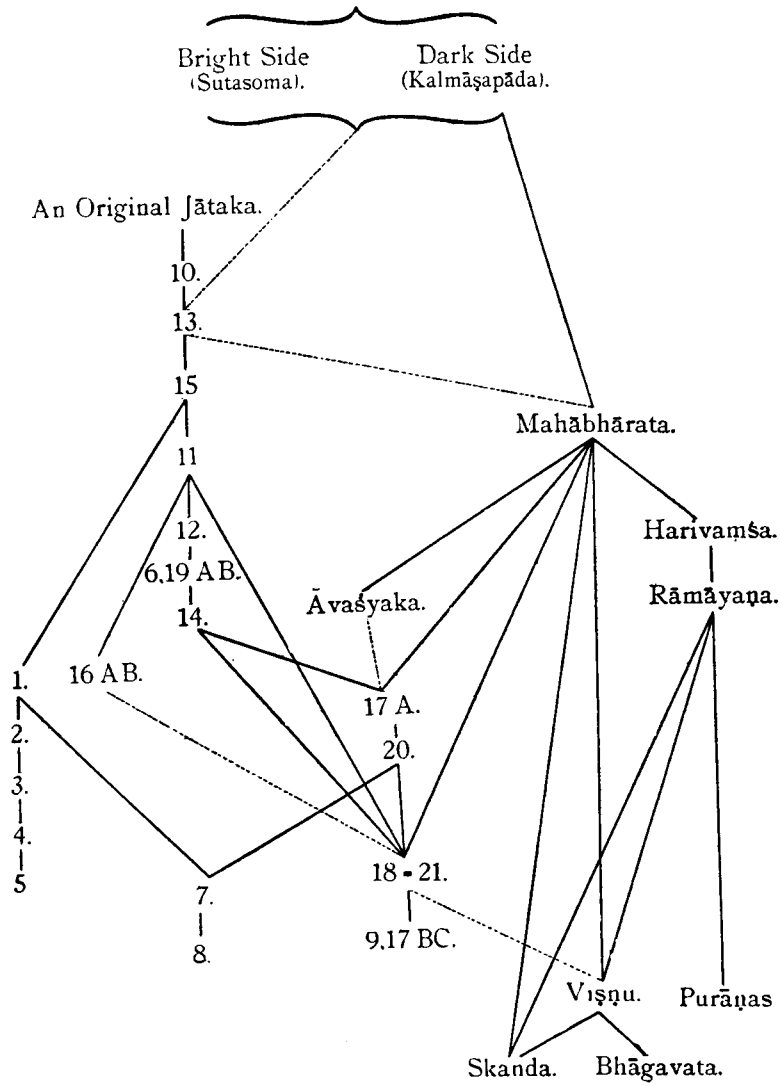
The picture of the priestly supremacy in the Epic period in contrast with the heroic age of the *Ṛg-Veda* is

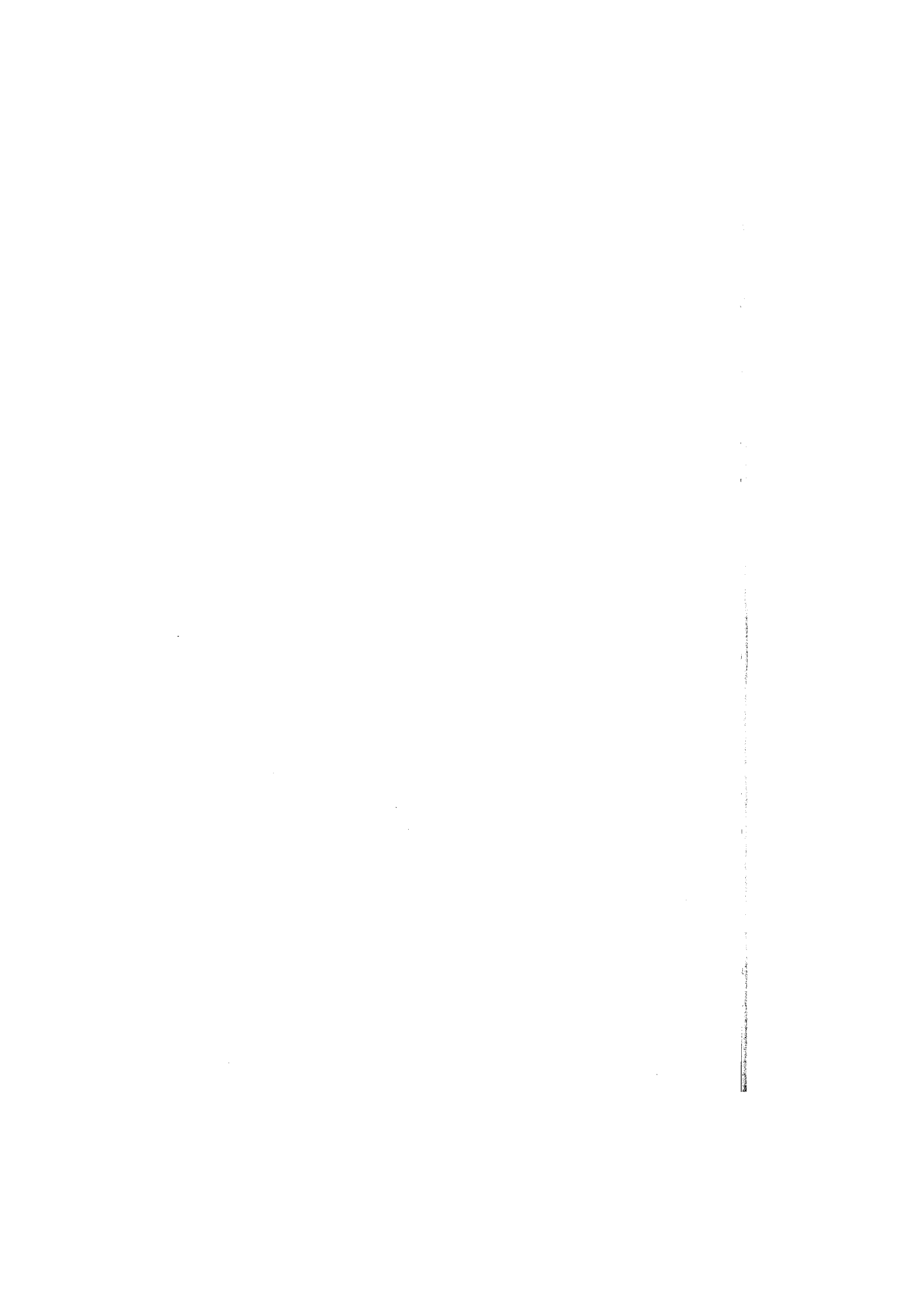
thrown into high relief by such a study. The incidental implications of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas may as to culture be also observed. The characteristic differences of Brahmanism and Buddhism in the story are of interest. The tendencies of the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna may be obviously seen. The Ceylonese Hīnayānists, who were always of a conservative character, have completed a development of the story with pure Buddhistic elements, while the progressive Khotan Mahāyānists received considerable external influence from the Brahmanic literature, showing their customary facility for assimilation.<sup>1</sup>

The result of the whole study is schematized as follows :

<sup>1</sup> See *résumé* of my speech in the Third Congress of the History of Religions in Basle, 1905.

THE VEDIC STORY OF SUDĀS.





## ADDITIONAL NOTES.

## CHAPTER I.

1. 康 Khān is an abridged form of 康居 Khān-kiu. See 元史譯文證補; Watters' *On Yuan-chwang*, I., p. 92; F. W. K. Müller's *Beitrag z. genaueren Bestimmung d. unbekanntten Sprachen Mittelasiens* (Sitzungsbericht d. Königl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften, 1907, p. 959).

In a commentary on the Dharmapada, Avadāna-sūtra (Nanjio, No. 1321), fasc. 25 (T.E. xxiv., 6, 35*a-b*), a different version of the Kalmāṣapāda story is found. The story serves as an example to verse 38 of the Pāpa-varga (Udānavarga XXVIII., v. 41; W. W. Rockhill's translation, p. 140). Its epitome is as follows:—Once a cannibal demon ruled as king. He caught ninety-nine kings for his victims. The poor kings complained to the demon that they would not regret dying if he could only capture Sunakṣatra (or Surāśi, good constellation, 善宿), who was a king practising the deeds of the Bodhisattva. The cannibal king agreed, and sent forth his demon army to take Sunakṣatra captive. A Brahmin went abroad to study, leaving all his relatives at home. When he returned after his long journey he could not find them, and learnt that they were confined to prison for debt to their king. The Brahmin begged Sunakṣatra for help. The merciful king consented to his petition and then went to bathe. Thereupon the demon army captured the king and brought him to the cannibal king, who allowed him to go only to fulfil his promise to the Brahmin, and on the condition of his duly returning. When Sunakṣatra faithfully returned he uttered a gāthā (Udānavarga XXVIII., ver. 41), to the surprise and admiration of the demon, who was at once converted, and set free the ninety-nine kings, giving up his own kingdom to Sunakṣatra.



4. *Suratha* 須賴國 in the older translations. It is also variously transcribed as 須賴拏, 須賴屯, 蘇刺佗. *Sutasoma* 須陀摩. *Kalmāṣapāda* 羯摩沙波羅.

5. *Sutasomarāja-sūtra* 須陀蘇摩王經. *Sutasoma* 須陀須摩王. *Kalmāṣapāda* 却磨沙波陀大王. *Lu-tsö* 鹿足.

6. *Phumih* 普明. *A-gun* (Ö-chiün) 阿群.

8. *Sudasoma* 須陀素彌. *Kalmāṣapāda* 迦摩沙毗, *Mahāsutasoma* 大蘇摩王.

9. 班足 Spotted feet. *Thien-lo* 天羅; 摩竭提此云天羅, 天羅者即班足之父 (T.E. xxx., 8, 13a).

The slight alternations of the stanzas in Text 11 by Kumārajīva are as follows. The compiler of Text 18 copied the whole text from Kumārajīva's translation with a few corrections:—

TEXT 11.	TEXT 16a.	TEXT 18.
V. Ia. 却數終訖	Same as 11.	却數終極 བཞུག་པའི་མཐའ་ལ་བྱག་པ་ན།
V. Ib. 天龍福盡	Same as 11.	天龍人鬼 ལྷ་དང་ཀླུ་དང་ལྷ་མི་ཡན།
V. IIc. 欲深禍重	欲深禍高	Same as 16a. འདོད་པ་ལྷོན་ཏུ་དབ་ཆེ་སྟེ།
V. IIIc. 都緣幻居	Same as 11.	都如幻居 ལྷུང་མ་ལ་ནི་ཀྱན་གནས་ཏེ།
V. IVa. 駕乘四蛇	假乘四蛇	Same as 16a. གཏུག་པའ་སྐྱལ་བའི་ལ་གནས་ཏེ།
V. IVd. 三界皆幻	形神尙離	Same as 16a. ལྷས་དང་སེམས་ཀྱང་བཟའ་བྱུང་ན།

13. *Simhasaulāsa* 師子素駄娑. Wan-yueh 聞月. V. 5b describes the pedal deformity of the king as 班足丈夫如獸王.

14. *Simhasaudāsa* 師子蘇陀娑.

17. *Kalmāṣapāda* 以足班駁, 字爲迦摩沙波陀 (晉言駁足): ཀླུང་པ་བཟའ་བའི་ཕྱིད་མིང་ཀླུང་བཟའ་བཏགས་སོ།. *Sutasoma* 須陀素彌.

18. The concordance of the Skt. text of the Laṅkāvatāra and the two Chinese translations is as follows :—

SANSKRIT TEXT (R.A.S. MS.).	SIKṢĪNANDA.	BODHIRUCI.
1. Adhyeṣa (f. 1b 2)	1. 勸請	1. 請佛.
2. Sarvadharmasamuccaya (f. 11a 3)	2. 集一切法	2. 問答 Praśnōttara. 3. 集一切法.
3. Anitya (f. 64a 3)	3. 無常	4. 佛心 Buddhacitta. 5. 盧迦耶陀 Lokāyata. 6. 涅槃 Nirvāna. 7. 法身 Dharmakāya. 8. 無常.
4. Abhisamaya (f. 99a 5)	4. 現證	9. 人道 Mārgapraveṣa.
5. Tathāgata-nityānitya (f. 101b 4)	5. 如來常無常	10. 如來常無常.
6. Kṣanika (f. 103a 1)	6. 剎那	11. 佛性 Buddhagotra. 12. 五法門 Pañcadharma mukha. 13. 洹沙 Gaṅganādivāluka 14. 剎那.
7. Nairvāṇika (f. 113a 5)	7. 變化	15. 化.
8. Māṃsabhakṣa (f. 115a 2)	8. 遮肉	16. 遮肉.
9. Dhāraṇī (f. 121a 5)	9. 陀羅尼	17. 陀羅尼.
10. Sagāthaka (f. 122a 7)	10. 偈頌	18. 總 Sāmānya.

Siṃhadāsa 師子奴. Siṃhasambhava 師子生.

### CHAPTER III.

23. Foot-note. *Kammāssadamma*, 劍磨瑟曇 in the Chinese Madhyama-Āgama, 調伏駁牛聚落 in the Samyukta, 却磨沙住處 in the Dīgha.

28. A Sanskrit rendering of the Jain legend of Kalmāṣa-pāda in the Āvaśyaka reads as follows : 'Saudāso rājā māṃsa-priyaḥ. Amāghātaḥ. Māṃsaṃ biḍalena gr̥hitaṃ. Saukarikeṣu mārgitaṃ, na labdhaṃ. Kumāra-rūpaṃ māritaṃ, susambhṛtaṃ. Bhuktvā pṛcchati. Kathitaṃ. ॥Puruṣā ājñaptā mārayatēti. Nāgarair jnātaḥ bhṛtyaiś ca "rākṣasa" iti madhu pāyayitvā aṭavyāṃ praveśitaḥ. Catvare sthitaḥ, gadāṃ gr̥hītvā dine-dine mānuṣaṃ mārayati.'—Kecid bhaṅanti : 'virahe jaṇaṃ mārayati' (Prof. Leumann).

## CHAPTER V.

30. The title of N. 1325: 瑜珈遮復彌, 晋言修行道地.

32. A prophecy regarding Nāgārjuna in the Laṅkāvatāra, chap. X:

Nirvṛte Sugate paścāt kālo 'tito bhaviṣyati.  
 Mahāmate! Nibodha tvaṃ! Yo nītiṃ dhārayiṣyati  
 Dakṣiṇāpatha-Vaidarbhī bhikṣuḥ śrīmān mahāyāsāḥ  
 Nagāhvayasya so nāmnā sad-asat-pakṣa-dārakaḥ,  
 prakāśya loke mad-yānaṃ mahāyānaṃ anuttaram,  
 āsādyā Muditāṃ bhūmiṃ yāsyate sa Sukhāvatiṃ.

(R.A.S. MS. No. 5, f. 129b 3-8).

Dr. Walleser has kindly read for me a corresponding Tibetan translation (India Office copy, Kanjur Mdo, vol. V., f. 254b 3 et seq.), which agrees with the Sanskrit text very closely, and through which some obscure points in the text were settled.