## The Birth of the Buddha

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# On Some Late Records About the Buddha's Birth and Genealogy

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## Abstract:

The purpose of the paper is not to reveal new facts about the birth of the Buddha and the genealogy of his family but simply to draw attention to three little known or unknown late descriptions and to try to determine their sources. As is generally known, Aśvaghosa's *Buddhacarita* as edited by Cowell contains a number of additional stanzas — dealing with the birth of the Buddha — in the beginning the first canto as well as three and a half cantos after stanzas 14.31 to make up for the lost portions of the Nepalese manuscript. It was generally held that these additions were composed by the Nepalese scholar Amrtananda at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. I was able to show in an article<sup>1</sup> that some of the additional stanzas of the first canto can also be found in chapter 35 of Haribhatta's Jātakamālā, the Śākyasimhajātaka, which is a short biography of the Buddha. Although this is a later addition to the work of Haribhatta (fl. c. 400 CE), its first part must have already existed in the 12th century when it was translated into Tibetan. Thus it seemed that Amrtananda had borrowed from the Śākyasimhajātaka. In 1998 my Japanese student Dr. Kiyoshi Okano was able to show that even more stanzas attributed to Amrtananda occur in the cosmological text Mahāsamvartanīkathā composed by the Buddhist poet and grammarian Sarvaraksita, which accounts for their literary quality. Now it looks as if this was the common source of Pseudo-Haribhatta and Amrtananda. The relevant passage from the Mahāsamvartanīkathā will be presented and analysed. I will also present the beginning of Ksemendra's Buddhāvatāra, the ninth chapter of his

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Hahn 1986.

Daśāvatāracarita that deals with the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu. The *Buddhāvatāra* has recently been re-edited, translated and studied under my supervision by another Japanese, Dr. Shōgo Iwai.

The oldest known records about the life of the Buddha – apart from what is contained in the *sūtra* texts themselves – can be found in the Pali Nidānakathā, in the Lalitavistara and Mahāvastu, both of which are written in what is called "Buddhist Sanskrit" or "Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit", in Aśvaghosa's poetical record *Buddhacarita* or "Life of the Buddha", and in the *Vinayavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. Since 1977, the relevant portions of the last-mentioned source are available in their original Sanskrit. They belong to the *Sanghabhedavastu* that is preserved in the Pakistani portion of the Gilgit manuscript and was edited by Raniero Gnoli<sup>2</sup>. Other important old sources are preserved in the Chinese Buddhist canon. They were partly translated, and partly analysed by scholars like Samuel Beal<sup>3</sup>, E. H. Johnston<sup>4</sup> and André Bareau<sup>5</sup>. The crucial texts, i.e., those referring to the birth of the Buddha, are quoted in the paper of Max Deeg in this volume. We will not dwell longer on them but focus on an apparently very late addition to one of the oldest descriptions of the life of the Buddha, the portions that were added to the incompletely preserved manuscript of Aśvaghosa's Buddhacarita by Paṇḍit Amṛtānanda in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in an attempt at filling its gaps at least partially.

It might be useful to recall to the attention the basic facts about the extant portions of the oldest known *mahākāvya* of classical Sanskrit literature. The French scholar Sylvain Lévi<sup>6</sup> was the first to make this work known to the scholarly world. In 1892 he published its first canto as a specimen of the whole work. Only one year later, in 1893, E.B. Cowell<sup>7</sup> published the *editio princeps* on the basis of three manuscripts, C and D from Cambridge, and P from Paris. These three MSS go back, either

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Gnoli 1977, 1978.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Beal 1883.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Johnston 1936.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Bareau 1971-1995.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Lévi 1892.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Cowell 1893.

directly or indirectly, to a copy that was prepared in 1828 or 1829 by Paṇḍit Amṛtānanda. The colophon of MS C informs us that cantos 14, 15, 16, and 17 were added by him because his original source was incomplete. Amṛtānanda's source was discovered by the Indian scholar Haraprasād Śāstrī in the Royal Library (Durbar Library) in Kathmandu at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>8</sup>. Later E. H. Johnston named this palm leaf MS A and made it the basis of his revised edition, together with the Tibetan and Chinese translations of the work. By comparing MS A with Cowell's text one can easily see which stanzas do not belong to the original text of the *Buddhacarita*:

Canto 1	Stanzas 1-24, 26-28, 44-45
Canto 13	Stanza 73
Canto 14	Stanzas 33-91
Canto 15	Stanzas 1-119 (the whole canto)
Canto 16	Stanzas 1-132 (the whole canto)
Canto 17	Stanzas 1-31 (the whole canto)

Already in 1914-15 the Polish scholar Gawroński suspected that the beginning of the first canto must have been borrowed from an unknown source. His arguments ran as follows:

"The second point is with regard to the introductory stanzas of the Buddhacarita (as well as to several others in the first Canto) which are wanting in the Tibetan and the Chinese translations. They may or may not be genuine but at any rate they do not come from the pen of Amṛtānanda and seem to be much older. My reasons for this statement are:

- 1) Amṛtānanda himself confesses to have composed Cantos XIV (i.e. XIV. 32 ff) XVII but he does not maintain the same with respect to the beginning of the poem.
- 2) With regard to poetical merit the first 24 stanzas in Cowell's edition are by far superior to anything in the last three and a half Cantos of the printed text. In fact, they are scarcely if at all inferior to the remainder of the poem.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Śāstrī 1909.

3) They contain a regular introduction viz. a mangala (I.1) and a description of the hero's birth-place (I.2 ff) which reminds us vividly of the Kumārasaṃbhava I.1 ff. The two beginnings closely correspond to each other. [...]"

In order to show the difference between the original *Buddhacarita* and the 'restored' version of Amṛtānanda I will present both of them in abbreviated versions. First I will summarize Johnston's English rendering of the beginning of the poem, done from Tibetan (stanzas 1-8) and Sanskrit (9ff.):

- 1. Introduction of King Śuddhodana
- 2. Introduction of his wife, Queen Mahāmāyā.
- 3. Queen Mahāmāyā becomes pregnant in an undefiled manner.
- 4. Before her conception, she sees, in a dream, a white elephant entering in her body.
- 5. Mahāmāyā wishes to go to the forest.
- 6. With the king's permission, she goes to Lumbinī.
- 7. The king follows her.
- 8. The queen realizes that the delivery is imminent and proceeds to a couch.
- 9. Under the constellation of Puṣya her son is born, without her suffering.
- 10. The bodhisattva is born in the same manner as Aurva, Pṛthu, Mandhātṛ, and Kaksīvat were born, i.e., not in the natural way.
- 11. The queen remains fully conscious during the delivery.
- 12. The Bodhisattva resembles both the sun and the moon.
- 13. Like the sun, he illuminates everything.
- 14. The seven steps of the Bodhisattva.
- 15. He utters: "I am born for enlightenment, this is my last birth."
- 16. Two streams of water fall down upon his head.
- 17. He lies on a couch, being revered by the lord of the Yaksas.
- 18. The gods hold a white umbrella up in the sky, and bow their heads.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Gawroński 1919: 12–13.

- 19. They fan him and strew him with flowers.
- 20. The Śuddhādhivāsa gods rejoice.
- 21-26 Various miraculous events.
- 27. Kāma alone does not rejoice.
- 28. The king is disturbed, torn between delight and apprehension.
- 29. The queen is disturbed, torn between fear and joy.
- 30. Auspicious rites are performed.
- 31. Brahmins speak to the king.

One can see that Aśvaghoṣa's text is straightforward. The events leading to the actual birth of the Bodhisattva are described in just seven stanzas. This is the text that is lost in Sanskrit. The birth itself and the events accompanying it are described in much greater detail. The language of stanzas 1.8ff is elegant, but by no means florid; complicated figures of speech are virtually absent. The metre is mostly *upajāti*, the classical version of the epic *triṣṭubh*.

## Amrtānanda's text reads as follows:

- 1 Benedictory stanza Appraisal of the Buddha
- 2-8 Poetical description of the splendour of the city Kapilavastu
- 9-14 Poetical description of King Śuddhodana
- 15-18 Poetical description of his wife, Queen Māyā
- The Bodhisattva descends from the Tuşita heaven and enters Queen Māyā's womb.
- He assumes the form of a six-tusked elephant and enters Queen Māyā's womb.
- The guardians of the world descend from heaven in order to protect the newly born child.
- The pregnant Queen Māyā makes large donations to the people.
- 23 Queen Māyā goes to the pleasure-grove Lumbinī.
- While she is leaning on a tree, the Bodhisattva is born from her side.

- He is born in a painless manner at the time of the constellation Pusya.
  - (= Buddhacarita 1.9)
- He illuminates the world.
- 27 Indra pours two pure streams of water down on the Bodhisattva's head.
- 28. Description of the Bodhisattva's beauty.
- 28A He is born in a painless manner at the time of the constellation Pusya.
  - (= Buddhacarita 1.9)
- 29. = Buddhacarita 1.10
- 30. = Buddhacarita 1.11
- 31. = Buddhacarita 1.12
- 32. = Buddhacarita 1.13
- 33. = Buddhacarita 1.14

Amṛtānanda's version is quite different from the brief description of Aśvaghoṣa. With its detailed descriptions of Kapilavastu, King Śuddhodana and Queen Māyā it shows the typical features of a *mahākāvya* or 'ornate epic' ("Kunstgedicht" in German). In this respect too, Gawroński's reference to Kālidāsa's *Kumārasaṃbhava* was completely correct. The linguistic features, however, point to a somewhat later time. In the beginning of the poem with its repetition of sounds we have two good illustrations of alliteration or *anuprāsa* that are rare in Aśvaghosa's text:

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śriyam parārdhyām vidadhad vidhātṛ-jit
tamo nirasyann abhibhūta-bhānu-bhṛt |
nudan nidāgham jita-cāru-candramāḥ
sa vandyate 'rhann iha yasya nôpamā || 1.1 ||
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"That Arhat is venerated, who has no counterpart in this world,—who, bestowing supreme happiness, surpasses (Brahman) the creator,—

who, driving away darkness, vanquishes the sun,— and, dispelling all burning heat, surpasses the beautiful moon."

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āsīd viśālônnata-ṣāla-lakṣmyā
payoda-paṅktyêva parīta-pārśvam |
udagra-dhiṣṇyair gagane 'vagāḍhaṃ
puraṃ maharṣeḥ kapilasya vastu || 1.2 ||
```

"[Once] there was a city, the dwelling-place of the great seer Kapila, that was encircled by the splendour of broad and high [white] walls as if by an assembly of clouds, and that by its high-rising palaces seemed to plunge into the sky."

I have marked the alliterations in bold face. The triple occurrence of **dh** in line 1.1a and **bha** in line 1.1b can only rarely be found in the earlier  $mah\bar{a}k\bar{a}vyas$ . In stanza 7 we find the first illustrations of paronomasia or yamaka, and in 1.14-17 a whole sequence that shows the hand of a skilled poet (kavi):

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tasyâtiśobhā-visṛtâtiśobhā
ravi-prabhā vâsta-tamaḥ-prabhāvā |
samagra-devī-nivahâgra-devī
babhūva māyâpagatâiva māyā || 1.7 ||
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udā**ra-saṃkhyaiḥ** sacivai**r asaṃkhyaiḥ** kṛtâ**gra-bhāvaḥ** sa uda**gra-bhāvaḥ** | śaśī **yathā bhair** akṛtân**yathâbhaiḥ** śākyênd**ra-rājaḥ** sutarāṃ **rarāja** || 1.14 ||

tasy**âtiśobhā**-visṛt**âtiśobhā**ravi-**prabhā vâ**sta-tamaḥ-**prabhāvā** |
sama**gra-devī**-nivahâ**gra-devī**babhūva māyāpagatâiva māyā || 1.15 ||

prajāsu mātêva hita-pra**vṛttā** gurau jane bhaktir ivânu**vṛttā** | lakṣmīr ivâdhīśa-kule kṛ**tâbhā** jagaty abhūd uttama-deva**tâbhā** || 1.16 ||

The style of the last three and a half cantos that are—mostly—the work of Amrtānanda is judged by Cowell as follows:

"It is totally devoid of all attempt at ornament, and it is often grammatically and metrically incorrect." 10

It is indeed hard to conceive that the same Amṛtānanda wrote the ambitious verses at the beginning of the first canto.

The open question of Amṛtānanda's possible source(s) has gradually been solved. In 1986 I detected that an as yet unpublished text, the Śākyasiṃhajātaka, shows a great affinity to Amṛtānanda's additional stanzas<sup>11</sup>. The Śākyasiṃhajātaka is a later addition to the Jātakamālā composed by Haribhaṭṭa not much later than 400 AD. Originally consisting of 34 legends, like Āryaśūra's Jātakamālā, an unknown author later added a brief biography of the Buddha as a new concluding chapter No. 35. This addition exists in two recensions. The first one came into being before the middle of the 12<sup>th</sup> century AD when Haribhaṭṭa's Jātakamālā was translated into Tibetan since it can be found in the Tibetan version. However, this recension covers only the first half of the legend and breaks off during the final stage of meditation immediately before the attainment of enlightenment. The second recension can be found in a Sanskrit manuscript from Nepal. It continues the legend up to the Buddha's first sermon after enlightenment, delivered in Benares.

The two parts of the Śākyasiṃhajātaka (Śsj) are quite incongruous. Its first half is written in fairly correct Sanskrit (apart from one remarkable exception in 15a where we read—metri causa—imair instead of ebhir), which in many places shows a certain degree of poetical beauty. It starts with a very good imitation of the formal setting Haribhaṭṭa's legends: a motto in the form of an Āryā stanza, the old and well-known opening

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Cowell 1883: vii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Hahn 1986.

formula *tadyathānuśrūyate*, the introductory portion of the main story in prose, and finally the use of eleven different metres, interspersed with portions in ornate prose.

The second half is completely different. From stanza 57 onwards only three (or four) metres are used: Anustubh (46 times), Upajāti (8 times) and Vamśastha (7 times), plus three occurrences of Vamśālā, an 'impure' variety of Vamśastha not sanctioned by classical metrics. Only stanzas 59-64, 78-85, and 116-118 can be regarded as poetical in their diction; the rest of the stanzas do not rise above mere matter-of-fact description. The same holds true for all prose portions in the latter half of Śsj. Here we note several instances of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit like durmanāsi (instead of durmanā asi) in 75a, ānayitvā in 76a, babhāṣa (instead of babhāṣe) in 78a, etāmś ca (referring to neuter substantives) in 79c, mahotpātam (nominative) in 97+, purim in 102b, vandya in 102+, etc. Below, in the discussion of the sources of the Śsj, we shall see what accounts for this change in language and style.

An analysis revealed that the first half by and large follows the first half of the *Buddhacarita*, whereas the second half is based on *parivartas* 23-26 of the *Lalitavistara*. This accounts for the linguistic peculiarities just described. These are the correspondences:

Śākyasiṃhajātaka	Buddhacarita	Lalitavistara (chapter, verse)
2+ to 11+	1.6 to 1.68	
11+	2.17 to 46	
11+ to 14+	3.1 to 3.30	
19	4.44	
25+	5.47 to 5.81	
27 to 29	6.12 to 6.52	
29+		8
29+ to 33+	12.1 to 12.116	
36 to 46	13	
56+ to 61	14.52 to 14.91	
62 to 67		23
68 to 93		24.0; 24.72+ to 24.155
95+ to 99		25.8+ to 25.33+
102 to 108		26.4 to 26.27

It almost looks as if the unknown composer of the Śsj had at his disposal only the same incomplete text of the *Buddhacarita* that is represented by Johnston's MS A and that he was forced to look for another biography of the Buddha in order to bring his story to an end. 11 stanzas were taken from the *Lalitavistara* almost *verbatim*:

Śākyasiṃhajātaka	Lalitavistara
75	24.73
76	24.74
77	24.75
86	24.76
87	24.78
88	24.79
89	24.81/82
90	24.110
91	24.150
93	24.155
102abc	26.4

What is more important in this connection is the fact that 12 stanzas from the Śsj can be found among Amṛtānanda's additions to the *Buddhacarita*. Four of them belong to the first chapter and describe the actual birth of the Buddha.

Śākyasiṃhajātaka	Buddhacarita (ed. Cowell)
2	1.20
3	1.23
4	1.24
5	1.27
49	16.19
50	16.20
51	16.21
52	16.22
53	16.23
54	16.24
55	16.25
56	16.26

My detailed analysis, published in 1986, led me to the following conclusion:

"What Amṛtānanda has done is more or less the same as the compiler of the Śsj had done before him: after noticing the incompleteness of his copy of Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* he took recourse to other biographies of the Buddha available at his time. These were obviously the Śsj and the *Lalitavistara*. He interspersed passages from these two works with some well-known dogmatic formulas and with inventions of his own – a practice typical of many Buddhist works composed (or rather compiled) during the present millennium in Nepal." <sup>12</sup>

However, this picture is not complete. Several years after the publication of my analysis of the Śsi a Japanese student, Kiyoshi Okano from Sendai, requested me for a suitable topic for his Ph. D. thesis. I selected for him an unpublished Sanskrit text from Nepal about which little more than its title Mahāsamvartanīkathā (MSK) was known. Dr. Okano succeeded in preparing a critical edition, German translation and detailed study of the work<sup>13</sup>. The MSK is actually a Buddhist cosmology written by the Buddhist grammarian and poet Sarvaraksita, who lived in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. What makes the MSK rather peculiar is the fact that it represents the views of the Sāmmitīya school. Sarvaraksita used as his model an old canonical text in prose that is lost in its original Sanskrit but fortunately is quoted in toto in Daśabalaśrīmitra's huge doxographical work Samskrt āsamskrtaviniścaya, still available in its Tibetan translation. Sarvaraksita preserved the content of his canonical source very faithfully, but he transformed it into very ambitious poetical verses that abound in the figures of speech called yamaka.

The whole work is organized into six chapters ( $k\bar{a}n\dot{q}a$ ) each of which consists of four sections ( $vi\acute{s}r\bar{a}ma$ ). While chapters 2 through 6 deal with cosmological topics, closely following the canonical text, the first chapter serves as a long poetical introduction. Its first section ( $upodgh\bar{a}ta\dot{p}$ ), consisting of only four stanzas, is a kind of preface. The second section ( $kum\bar{a}rodaya\dot{p}$ ) describes the birth and youth of the Bodhisattva, the third

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Hahn 1986: 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Okano 1998.

(buddhatvâdhigamaḥ) his attainment of buddhahood, and the fourth (tīrthyaparājayaḥ) his defeat of the heretics. The sources that were used by Sarvarakṣita for his introductory chapter are unknown.

Kāṇḍa	1: Nidāna-kāṇḍam	
Viśrāma	1: Upodghātaḥ	(4 stanzas)
Viśrāma	2: Kumārôdayaḥ	(34 stanzas)
Viśrāma	3: Buddhatvâdhigamaḥ	(19 stanzas)
Viśrāma	4: Tīrthya-parājayaḥ	(11 stanzas)

The first chapter is transmitted in two slightly different recensions, the older and original recension (MSKa) and the younger recension (MSKn). The main difference between them lies in the wording of the first chapter. An unknown editor added four stanzas from the Śsj (2-5) and three and a half from the *Buddhacarita* (ed. Johnston, 1.9-1.12ab). On the other hand he deleted five genuine stanzas from MSKa (1.2.21 and 1.2.23-26). Moreover he repeats the *mangala* stanza 1.1.1 as 1.2.1. The following table shows the relationship between the two editions of the *Buddhacarita*, the two recensions of MSK, and the Śsj.

Buddhacarita (Cowell)	MSKn	MSKa	ŚSJ	Buddhacarita (Johnston)
,	1.1.1	1.1.1		, ,
	1.1.2	1.1.2		
	1.1.3	1.1.3		
	1.1.4	1.1.4		
1.1	1.2.1	(1.1.1)		
1.2	1.2.2	1.2.1		
1.3	1.2.3	1.2.2		
1.4	1.2.4	1.2.3		
(etc.)	(etc.)	(etc.)		
1.18	1.2.18	1.2.17		
1.19	1.2.19	1.2.18		
1.20	1.2.20		2	

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1.21	1.2.21	1.2.19		
1.22	1.2.22	1.2.20		
1.23	1.2.23		3	
1.24	1.2.24		4	
1.25	1.2.27			1.9
1.26	(missing)	1.2.21		
1.27	1.2.25		5	
1.28	1.2.26	1.2.22		
1.28A	1.2.27			1.9
1.29	1.2.28			1.10
1.30	1.2.29			1.11
1.31ab	1.2.30ab			1.12ab
1.31cd				1.12cd

We now see that with the exception of 1.25 and 1.26 Buddhacarita (Cowell) follows MSKn. Stanza 1.25 seems to have been taken from Buddhacarita MS A, 1.26 from MSKa. Starting with 1.28A, which is the first completely preserved stanza in MS A, Amrtananda follows MS A. The unnecessarily repeated stanza *Buddhacarita* 1.9 in Amrtānanda's text was relegated to the footnotes by Cowell. Now we know who was the author of Amrtananda's additions in the first chapter – Sarvaraksita. And we see, with a certain admiration, that Gawroński's assessment and favourable judgment of the long introductory passage was absolutely correct and that Amrtananda has preserved a specimen of a precious piece of good classical Sanskrit literature that has become accessible in its entirety only recently. With this solution of an old problem we can now put aside Cowell's editio princeps and concentrate on the study of the original works, Aśvaghosa's Buddhacarita and Sarvaraksita's Mahāsamvartanīkathā. As for Amrtānanda's other additions to MS A of the *Buddhacarita*, we refer to the papers of Koichi Hokazono<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Hokazono 1981, 1983.

## Appendix

1) Sarvarakṣita's description of the birth of the Buddha, *Mahāsaṃ-vartanīkathā* 1.2, entitled *Kumārodayaḥ*, as established by Kiyoshi Okano in Sarvarakṣita's *Mahāsaṃvartanīkathā*, Sendai 1998, including all his emendations.

```
āsīd viśālônnata-śāla-lakṣmyā
payoda-paṅktyêva parīta-pārśvaṃ |
udagra-dhiṣṇyair gagane 'vagāḍhaṃ
puraṃ maharṣeḥ kapilasya vastu || [1]
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[Once] there was a city, the dwelling-place of the great seer Kapila. It was encircled by the splendour of broad and high [white] walls as if by an assembly of clouds, and by its high-rising palaces it seemed to plunge into the sky.

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sitônnatenâiva cayena hṛtvā
kailāsa-śailasya yad abhra-śobhāṃ |
bhramād upetān vahad ambu-vāhān
saṃbhāvanāṃ vā saphalī-cakāra || [2]
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By its white and high wall alone it surpassed the beauty of the clouds around mount Kailāsa, and it enhanced the impression [of being mount Kailāsa] by bearing the clouds that had approached it. wrongly assuming [it to be mount Kailāsa].

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ratna-prabhôdbhāsini yatra lebhe
tamo na dāridryam ivâvakāśam |
parârdhya-pauraiḥ saha-vāsa-toṣāt
rta-smitêvâtirarāja laksmīh | [3]
```

Neither poverty nor darkness found room in it, because it was illuminated by the splendour of jewels. Lakṣmī, the Goddess of Wealth, seemed to display a bright smile, being pleased to live together with excellent/rich citizens.

yad vedikā-toraṇa-siṃhakarṇe ratnair dadhānaṃ prati-veśma śobhāṃ | jagaty adṛṣṭvêva samānam anyat spardhāṃ sva-gehair mitha eva cakre || [4]

Each building in it was decorated with jewels on the balustrades, on arched doorways, and on the lion-headed beams. Since there was nothing to match it in the whole world, it could be rivalled only by its own houses.

rāmā-mukhêndūn paribhūta-padmān yatrôpayāto 'py avamānya bhānuḥ | saṃtāpa-yogād iva vāri veṣṭuṃ paścāt-samudrâbhimukhaḥ pratasthe || [5]

Although the sun had arrived [only because of them], it disregarded (?) the moon-like faces of the women that surpassed [the beauty of] lotuses; because of its intensive pain (jealousy?) it proceeded towards the western ocean as if wishing to enter its water.

śākyârjitānāṃ yaśasāṃ janena dṛṣṭānta-bhāvaṃ gamito 'yam induḥ | iti dhvajaiś cāru-calat-patākair yan mārṣṭum asyâṅkam ivôdayacchat | [6]

"The people compare the fame acquired by the Śākya family with [the white lustre of] the moon."
With this in mind [the city] seemed to endeavour to wipe off the [moon's] marks with its banners, decorated with fluttering ribbons.

kṛtvâpi rātrau kumuda-prahāsam indoḥ karair yad rajatâlaya-sthaiḥ sauvarṇa-harmyeṣu gatârka-pādair divā saroja-dyutim ālalambe | [7]

At night, it displayed the bright laughter of white water-lilies by the rays of the moon reflected in the silvery [shimmering] houses; in the daytime, it assumed the splendour of lotuses by the rays of the sun, reflected in the golden [shimmering] palaces.

mahībhṛtāṃ mūrdhni kṛtâbhiṣekaḥ śuddhodano nāma nṛpo 'rka-bandhuḥ | abdhyâśayaṃ vā sphuṭa-puṇḍarīkaṃ purâdhirājaṃ tad alaṃcakāra | [8]

A king by the name of Śuddhodana, belonging to the solar race and consecrated as the first among the rulers of the earth, adorned the empress among the cities like a fully blossomed white lotus [adorns] a pond

bhūbhṛt-parârdhyo 'pi sa-pakṣa eva pravṛtta-dāno 'pi madânupetaḥ | īśo 'pi nityaṃ sama-dṛṣṭi-pātaḥ saumya-svabhāvo 'pi pṛthu-pratāpaḥ | [9]

Although he was the foremost among the rulers of the earth/among the mountains, he had only partisans/he still had wings; although he was generous/sexually aroused, he was free of pride/he did not emit rut-fluid; although he was mighty/[like] the three-eyed god Śiva, his gaze was impartial/the number of his eyes was even; although he was friendly by nature/possessed the [cooling] qualities of the moon,

his power was vast/he possessed great heat (or: the heat of fire).

bhujena yasyâbhihatāḥ patanto dviṣad-dvipêndrāḥ samarâṅgaṇeṣu | udvānta-muktā-prakaraiḥ śirobhir bhaktyêva puspâñjalibhih pranemuh | [10] When the mighty elephants of his enemies fell down on the battlefield, hit by his [strong] arm[s], they bowed down [before him] with their heads, emitting masses of pearls as if they were a handful of flowers, [presented] in devotion.

atipratāpād avadhūya śatrūn mahôparāgān iva tigma-bhānuh | uddyotayām āsa janam samantāt pradarśayann āśrayanīya-mārgān | [11]

When by his excessive valour he had dispelled his enemies, in the same manner as the sun [dispels] the eclipses (darkness), he enlightened his subjects wherever they lived by showing them the paths they should adhere to.

dharmârtha-kāmā viṣayaṃ mitho 'nyaṃ na te samācakramur asya nītyā | vispardhamānā iva tûgra-siddhyai svagocare dīptatarā babhūvuḥ || [12]

Because of his [wise] policy, the three goals of life, rightfulness, acquisition of wealth, and sensual pleasures, did not interfere with each other; they became even more brilliant in their own spheres by [peacefully] rivalling each other for greater success.

udāra-saṃkhyaiḥ sacivair asaṃkhyaiḥ kṛtâgra-bhāvaḥ sa udagra-bhāvaḥ | śaśī yathā bhair akṛtânyathâbhaiḥ śākyêndra-rājaḥ sutarāṃ rarāja | [13]

The supreme ruler of the Śākyas, who had acquired precedence and was of noble character, shone even more on account of his numerous ministers who bore famous names/who were noble-minded.

tasy**âtiśobhā**-visṛt**âtiśobhā**ravi-**prabhā vâ**sta-tamaḥ-**prabhāvā** |
sama**gra-devī**-nivahâ**gra-devī**babhū**va māyâ**pagatâi**va māyā** || [14]

His main queen among all his wives was Māyā. She had turned away from [all kinds of] deceptions  $(m\bar{a}y\bar{a})$ , her extraordinary beauty shone excessively; possessing the splendour of the sun, she broke the power of (mental) darkness.

prajāsu mātêva hita-pra**vṛttā** gurau jane bhaktir ivânu**vṛttā** | lakṣmīr ivâdhīśa-kule kṛ**tâbhā** jagaty abhūd uttama-deva**tâbhā** || [15]

Like a mother, she cared for the welfare of her subjects; like devotion in person, she respected those deserving respect; like Lakṣmī [at the side of Viṣṇu], she shone in the family of the king; [although being] on earth, she had the appearance of the highest goddess.

kāmaṃ sadā strī-caritaṃ tamisraṃ tathâpi tāṃ prāpya bhṛśaṃ vireje | na hīndu-lekhām upagamya śubhrāṃ naktaṃ tathā saṃtamasatvam eti || [16]

Although the conduct of women always contains an element of darkness,

she nevertheless shone brightly in her womanhood. Likewise the night does not become completely dark when it is illuminated by the crescent of the moon.

atīndriyeṇâtmani duṣkuho 'yaṃ mayā jano yojayituṃ na śakyaḥ | itīva sūkṣmāṃ prakṛtiṃ vihāya dharmeṇa sākṣād vihitā sumūrtiḥ || [17] "These incredulous people are not able to unite themselves with me, because I transcend the organs of the senses."

As if it were thinking this, the dharma abandoned its subtle nature and assumed a beautiful [visible] shape [in Māyā].

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cyuto 'tha kāyāt tuṣitāt trilokīm
uddyotayann uttama-bodhisattvaḥ |
viveśa tasyāḥ smṛta eva kukṣau
*mandaṃ guhāyām iva nāga-rājaḥ | [18]
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Then the Bodhisattva, who had reached the highest stage, descended from the Tuṣita heaven, illuminating the three worlds, and entered her womb in full awareness, in the same manner as the king of the elephants slowly<sup>15</sup> (?) enters his cave.

rakṣā-vidhānaṃ prati loka-pālā lokâika-nāthasya divo 'bhijagmuḥ | sarvatra bhānto 'pi hi candra-pādā bhajanti kailāsa-girau viśeṣam | [19]

In order to protection the unique saviour of the world the [four] Guardians of the World descended from heaven. For the rays of the moon, although shining everywhere, display their full splendour [only] when they hit Mount Kailāsa.

māyâpi taṃ kukṣi-gataṃ dadhānā vidyud-vilāsaṃ jaladâvalīva | dānâbhivarṣaiḥ parito janānāṃ dāridrya-tāpaṃ śamayām babhūva | [20]

 $<sup>^{15}</sup>$  The Ms. has  $nand\bar{a}$ , which is emended as nando by Okano. I tentatively read and translate \*mandam.

Māyā, for her part, while carrying him in her womb like clouds carrying flashing lightning, appeared the burning pain of poverty through showers of donations for the people around her.

prātaḥ payodād iva tigma-bhānuḥ samudbhavan so 'pi ca mātṛ-kukṣeḥ | sphuran mayūkhair vihatândhakāraiś cakāra lokaṃ kanakâvadātam | [21]

In the same manner as the sun makes the world shine golden by its rays that dispel darkness, when in the morning it breaks through the clouds with dazzling brightness, so did he when appearing from his mother's womb.

sura-pradhānaiḥ paridhāryamāṇo dehâṃśu-jālair anurañjayaṃs tān | saṃdhyâbhra-jālôpari saṃniviṣṭaṃ navôdu-rājam vijigāya laksmyā || [22]

When he was held by the foremost among the gods, he reddened/gladdened them by the rays coming forth from his body; in his beauty, he surpassed the newly risen moon residing on the clouds at the time of dusk.

janmôtsave 'syâdri-śikhaṇḍakôrvī prakīrṇa-puṣpâbharaṇā cakampe | sva-phena-carcôpahitâṅga-śobhas taraṅga-hastair jaladhir nanarta | [23]

At the festival of his birth the earth trembled, adorned with various flowers, the mountains forming its tuft. The ocean danced with its hands, the waves, its foam being the unguent applied to decorate its body.

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puṣpa-drumâkarṣita-cāru-gandho
janâṅga-sevyaḥ pravavau samīraḥ |
satūrya-nṛttaiḥ sura-sundarīṇāṃ
pauspair vimānaiś ca nabho babhāse | [24]
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A [mild] wind blew that was pleasant for the bodies of the people and had extracted a lovely smell from the flowers and trees.

And the sky shone with the flower-bedecked chariots of the goddesses and their dances that were accompanied by musical instruments.

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samyak-parīṇāma-vaśād ṛtūnāṃ
hatôpatāpā mumude trilokī |
taj-janma-ratnôpahitôpaśobhaṃ
viśeṣataḥ śākya-kulaṃ nananda || [25]
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Because the seasons followed each other in the proper order, [the inhabitants of] the triple world rejoiced, free of pain. The people of the Śākyas were particularly happy, because they had been decorated with the jewel of his birth.

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siddhāṃs tad-arthān abhivīkṣya vṛddhāḥ
siddhārtha ity asya tu nāma cakruḥ |
yad-yogavān abhyadhikam babhāse
yathôpta-ratnas tapanīya-niṣkaḥ | [26]
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When the older people saw that all their aims had been fulfilled, they gave him the name Siddhārtha or "He who has fulfilled [our] aim."

Adorned with that [name] he shone excessively, like a golden ornament decorated with jewels.

lokâika-nātho bhavitâyam itthaṃ saṃprāpta-sad-vyākaraṇo munīndrāt | jñātârgha-cintāmaṇivaj janānāṃ saṃbhāvanā-bhājanatām jagāma | [27]

[Asita], the foremost among the seers, rightly predicted: "He will become the sole saviour of the world." Like the wish-fulfilling jewel Cintāmaṇi, whose value is known, he became the object of worship for the people.

manorathaiḥ sārdham atho prajānāṃ sa kalpa-śākhīva vivardhamānaḥ | sādhāraṇī-kṛtya nijāṃ vibhūtiṃ cakāra lokaṃ dhanadāyamānam || [28]

Accompanied by the wishes of the people, he grew up like the wish-fulfilling tree. He made the people equal to Kubera, the God of Wealth, by sharing his own wealth with them.

vidyā-kalābhiḥ subhagāṃ samagrasal-lakṣaṇâptāṃ tanum udvahantaṃ | kṛtânurāgêva tam āliliṅga prakāma-harsā nava-yauvana-śrīh | [29]

As if filled with deep affection, the beauty of youth embraced him with utmost joy, he whose body was adorned with all the good physical attributes [of a great being] and lovely by [his mastery] of sciences and art.

yuvâtha dharmaiḥ sa yaśo-mayūkhaiḥ śuklī-kṛtâśeṣa-jagan-niveśaḥ | yaśāṃsi martyâmara-puṅgavānāṃ jyotīṃṣi vârko 'titiraścakāra | [30]

As a young man he now brightened the abodes of the whole world through the rays of his fame that was based on his [talks about the] dharma,

and [at the same time] he completely obscured the renown of the best among men and gods as the sun [completely obscures] the stars.

dharmâikatāno vanam eṣa mā gāt kṛtvêti śaṅkām atha śākya-rājaḥ | anaṅga-rājasya jayâvahābhiḥ saṃyojayām āsa vadhūbhir enam | [31]

Fearing that his son might concentrate only on the dharma and settle in the [solitude of the] forest the king of the Śākyas brought him into contact with women, the kind who can guarantee the victory of Ananga, the God of Love

saṃpūrya saṃpūrya śaśī sva-śobhāṃ jigīṣayêvâsya vadhū-mukhānāṃ ajāta-sāmyo 'tivilakṣa-pāṇḍur jagāma bhūyo sakrd eva kārśyam | [32]

Wishing, as it were, to surpass the faces of his women, the moon became fuller and fuller [in order to display] its own beauty.

Since it could not even reach [their beauty], it became pale and thin again because of its great embarrassment.

abhyāsa-yogād itarāsu nūnaṃ
vivṛddha-vaidagdhya-vidhir vidhātā |
vinirmame tā lalitâṅga-śobhāḥ
surâṅganānām sprhanīya-rūpāh | [33]

Certainly the creator, whose skill had increased through experience with other women, created these [women] with their charming bodies such that even the wives of the gods longed for such beauty

manoharais tad-upahitaiḥ sa vibhramair vilāsavān api nṛpa-līlayânvitaḥ | jarā-rujā-mṛti-hata-martya-darśanād gṛhâśrame na rati-vidhiṃ samāyayau | [34]

Although he, who was endowed with royal charm, was amused by the delightful coquettishness they presented, he did not enjoy the pleasures of love with them in the state of a householder because he realized that mortals are hit by old age, sickness, and

2) The beginning of Kṣemendra's *Buddhāvatāra*, chapter 9 of his *Daśāvatāracarita*, as re-edited by Shogo Iwai in his unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Tokyo 2001.

kāle prayāte kaliviplavena rāgagrahogre bhagavān bhavābdhau | majjatsu saṃmohajale janeṣu jagannivāsaḥ karuṇānvito 'bhūt || 1 ||

death.

When time went on with the calamities of the Kali age, the Blessed One [decided] to live in this world, full of compassion for the people sinking in the ocean of existence that is frightening on account of the crocodiles of 'passion' and filled with the water of 'delusion'.

sa sarvasattvopakṛtiprayatnaḥ kṛpākulaḥ śākyakule viśāle | śuddhodanākhyasya narādhipendor dhanyasya garbhe 'vatatāra patnyāḥ || 2 ||

Striving to help all beings and full of compassion, he descended into the womb of the blessed wife of Śuddhodana, who was the moon among the kings and belonged to the great family of the Śākyas.

māyābhidhānā naranāthapatnī garbhe harim viśvagurum vahantī | āsannacandreva sudhābdhivelā nidhānadhanyeva vasumdharābhūt || 3 ||

When queen called Māyā was bearing in her womb the lion, who was to become the teacher of all, she was like the tide of an ocean filled with nectar when the moon is near and like the earth blessed by the hoards of treasures [hidden in it].

kukṣiṃ tatas tatkṣaṇam akṣatāyā vibhidya mātur bhagavān prajātah | garbhodakāspṛṣṭaviśuddhamūrtir jāmbūnadeneva vinirmitāṅgah || 4 ||

Then the Blessed One was born after he had split the womb of his mother in a moment without wounding her. His body remained pure because it was not touched by the water of the womb and his limbs seemed to be made of gold

sa jātamātras tridaśapramuktanabhonadīvāribharābhiṣiktaḥ | padatrayīṃ kampitasarvalokāṃ dattvā diśan dikṣu bhṛśaṃ jagāda || 5 ||

As soon as he was born, he was besprinkled with streams of water from the heavenly rivers that had been released by the gods. He took three steps that made the whole world tremble and spoke in a loud [voice], pointing in the [four] directions:

pūrvāsthiteyam mama nirvṛtir me dhīḥ sarvasattvoddhṛtidakṣiṇeyam | janmasthitiḥ saṃprati paścimeyaṃ samsārabandhād iyam uttarā ca || 6 ||

"[Already] *formerly* extinction in this life has been proclaimed for me,

my present mind is *capable* of rescuing all beings, this [present] state of birth is my *last* one, the one that *releases* [me] from the bonds of samsāra."<sup>16</sup>

iti bruvāṇaṃ nṛpatis tam etya dṛṣṭvā trilokīpatilakṣaṇāṅkaṃ | sa jātadivyānubhavābhimānaḥ kulasya bhūtyai dhrtim ābabandha || 7 ||

When he had spoken thus, the king went to him, seeing him sitting in the lap of the queen. Filled with the pride of divine feelings, he firmly resolved himself to the welfare of his family.

tam lakṣaṇajñā jagaduḥ saharṣaṃ ayaṃ śiśur lakṣaṇalakṣyamānaḥ | prabhur bhaviṣyaty avanīśvarāṇām] anuttarajñānanidhir munir vā | | 8 ||

Full of joy, the soothsayers spoke to him:
"This child bears the characteristics [that predict]
that he will either become the lord of all kings
or a sage possessing the treasure of the supreme knowledge."

sa sarvavidyāviditārthatattvaḥ saṃprāptaśastrāstragajāśvaśikṣaḥ | sarvārthasiddhyā pitur āptakīrtiḥ sarvārthasiddhābhidhatām jagāma || 9 ||

 $<sup>^{16}</sup>$  As most readers will notice, the stanza contains an extraordinary pun. The four words printed in bold face in the text and in italics in the translation also mean "east"  $(p\bar{u}rva)$ , "south" (daksina), "west" (paścima), and "north" (uttara). These puns are characteristic of Ksemendra's style.

Knowing the meaning and essence of all [fields of] knowledge, having received training in all kinds of weapons and in [how to deal with] horses and elephants, having obtained the fame of his father because of his success in all fields, he was named Sarvārthasiddha, "the one who has accomplished everything."

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