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MARCO FRANCESCHINI

RECASTING POETRY: WORDS, MOTIFS AND SCENES
BORROWED FROM THE *RAGHUVAMŚA* AND
RESHAPED IN BUDDHAGHOŚA'S *PADYACŪDĀMAṆI*

Abstract

Buddhaghoṣa's *Padyacūḍāmaṇi* is a medieval Sanskrit *mahākāvya* telling the story of the life of Siddhārtha. Surprisingly enough, the influence exerted on it by its famous predecessor, Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita*, is marginal, if any. As a matter of fact, Buddhaghoṣa's poetic model is Kālidāsa, and especially his *Raghuvamśa*, on which he draws profusely in terms of language, motifs and scenes. However, despite his indebtedness to Kālidāsa, Buddhaghoṣa is far from being a mere imitator. This article illustrates the diverse ways in which Buddhaghoṣa melded the words and ideas he drew from Kālidāsa's work in the mould of his own creativity, and ingeniously remodelled them into new, fresh, enjoyable poetry.

The greatness of Kālidāsa is widely recognized, and over the course of centuries his poetry has won him the highest admiration of a vast audience and exerted a powerful influence on many later poets and dramatists: some tried to emulate his style of composition, which they regarded as a paragon, while others borrowed motifs, themes, and scenes made popular by his genius, reshaping them through their own style and idiom. To

the latter group belongs the author of the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi*, a Sanskrit *sargabandha* which, in spite of its remarkable poetic value, has received but scant attention in contemporary scholarly research. The purpose of this paper is to illustrate how patently the author of the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi* borrowed from Kālidāsa's poetry – particularly from his *Raghuvamśa* – and, at the same time, how skilfully and creatively he reworked what he had borrowed, giving shape to new, original poetry. However, since the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi* is (deplorably) almost unknown, a short introduction, restricted to the most relevant facts, is in order here.¹

The *Padyacūḍāmaṇi* is a Sanskrit *sargabandha* in 645 stanzas divided into 10 *sargas*, narrating the story of the “historical Buddha”: it opens with the Bodhisattva residing in his penultimate station, the heaven called Tuṣita, goes on with his birth on earth as Prince Siddhārtha, then recounts Siddhārtha's life up to his Enlightenment. Hardly any facts concerning this work are known to us: the poem contains no information about its date, place and author. In addition, it seems to be totally unknown in the Indian literary tradition. All that we know about its author is his name, Buddhaghōṣa. Although some scholars are inclined to identify him with the celebrated Buddhist savant who lived in Ceylon during the 5th century, it seems more likely that they are just namesakes.² No

¹ More detailed overviews of the poem can be found in: A. Fernando, *Buddhaghōṣa's Padyacūḍāmaṇi As a Biography of the Buddha*. (A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in The Faculty of Graduate Studies, Department of Asian Studies, McGill University). Montreal, 1992, *passim*; M. Franceschini (ed., trans.), *Padyacūḍāmaṇi. Il diadema dei versi*. Milano, 2010, pp. 13-31; M. Franceschini, *Buddhaghōṣa's Padyacūḍāmaṇi: A Medieval Mahākāvya on the Life of the Buddha*, in: G. Boccali and E. Mucciarelli (eds), *Stylistic Devices in Indian Literature and Art*. Quaderni di Acme 135. Milano, 2013, pp. 37-45.

² The identification between the author of the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi* and the celebrated Buddhist teacher and commentator was first assumed by the editors of the first edition of the poem (M. Ranga Acharya and S. Kuppaswami Sastri (eds), *The Padyacūḍāmaṇi of Buddhaghōṣacārya*. Madras, 1921, pp. 3-5 (Preface); the Preface was later reprinted as S. Kuppaswami Sastri, *The Padyacudamani of Buddhaghosa*, in: S.S. Janaki (ed.), *Kuppaswami Sastri Birth-Centenary Commemoration Volume. Part I: Collection of Sastri's Writings and a Kavya on him*. Madras, pp. 154-157). Their claim, which was essentially based only on the homonymy between the two authors and their association with Buddhism,

definite information is available either as to when or where the poem was composed: slight hints – regarding style and vocabulary – suggest that it was possibly composed around the 9th or 10th century, while other similarly slight indications point to South India as its place of origin.³

As previously stated, the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi* is a *sargabandha* on the life of the Buddha: as such, it might be expected to show the strong influence of Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita*, the only other extant Sanskrit *sargabandha* on the same subject.⁴ Quite the contrary, Buddhaghōṣa seems to ignore Aśvaghoṣa's work. In fact, with regard to the events of the storyline, he follows the plot of the *Nidānakathā*, a long narrative introduction to the *Jātaka* collection. Moreover, as far as poetic images and scenes are concerned, there is no doubt that Buddhaghōṣa's source of inspiration was Kālidāsa, and especially his *Raghuvamśa*. The influence of the *Raghuvamśa* is clearly perceivable in a great number of passages of the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi*; but, despite his inspirational debt to Kālidāsa, Buddhaghōṣa is far from being a

was later endorsed without reservation by a few scholars, e.g. Krishnamachariar (M. Krishnamachariar, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*. Madras, 1937, pp. 129-131) and Sharma (M.C. Sharma, *Ācārya Buddhaghōṣa and His Padyacūḍāmaṇi*, in: K.N. Mishra (ed.), *Glimpses of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature (Vol. I)*. Sarnath-Varanasi, 1997, pp. 104-105), but sharply rejected by most of the scholarly community, e.g. Law (B.C. Law, *The Life and Work of Buddhaghōṣa*. Calcutta and Simla, 1923, pp. 90-91), Winternitz (M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature. Vol. II: Buddhist Literature and Jaina Literature*. Calcutta, 1933, p. 276), Lienhard (S. Lienhard, *A History of Classical Poetry. Sanskrit – Pali – Prakrit. A History of Indian Literature, Volume III, Fasc. 1*. Wiesbaden, 1984, p. 201), Warder (A.K. Warder, *Indian Kāvya Literature. Volume V: The Bold Style (Śaktibhadra to Dhanapāla)*. Delhi, 1988, p. 672). The question is discussed at large in Fernando, *Buddhaghōṣa's Padyacūḍāmaṇi*, op. cit., pp. 99-105.

³ Cf. Warder, *Indian Kāvya Literature*, op. cit., pp. 674-5. In addition to Warder's considerations, a southern origin of the poem is also suggested by the fact that all but one of its known manuscripts are preserved in South Indian libraries, and all of them, without exception, are either written in a southern script or show the idiosyncrasies that are characteristic of manuscripts copied from an exemplar written in a southern script (Franceschini, *Padyacūḍāmaṇi: A Medieval Mahākāvya on the Life of the Buddha*, op. cit., p. 38).

⁴ In (at least some of) the section rubrics of all manuscripts, the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi* is subsumed under the "siddhārthacarita" literary category, with the formula: *buddhaghōṣācāryaviracite padyacūḍāmaṇināmi (mahākāvye) siddhārthacarite [...] sargah*. Cf. the critical apparatus in Franceschini, *Padyacūḍāmaṇi. Il diadema dei versi*, op. cit.

plagiarist or a mere imitator. In fact, he recasts the material borrowed from the *Raghuvamśa* in the mould of his poetical imagination (*pratibhā*), giving shape to new – and often amazing – fancies.⁵ As a matter of fact, *pratibhā* is the hallmark of Buddhaghōṣa’s poetry: his creative skill impressed A.K. Warder so much so that he described the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi* as “a flow of poetry made fresh and enjoyable by surprising fancies” and praised its author as being “very polished in the later *kāvya* manner and spontaneous in a manner possible only to a genius”.⁶

As aforementioned, many stanzas and even whole scenes of the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi* – scattered throughout the poem – have a counterpart in the *Raghuvamśa*. The present analysis, however, will be restricted to the fourth *sarga* of the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi*, since the cases it provides constitute, as a whole, a substantial and illustrative set of samples of the diverse ways Buddhaghōṣa avails himself of the text and imagery of Kālidāsa. As will be shown, he sometimes borrows words or expressions, other times he picks out the “frame” of an image or scene and fills it with new pictures. In addition, in several cases he borrows elements from stanzas or scenes of the *Raghuvamśa* and skillfully adapts them to a totally different context in his poem.

The whole fourth *sarga* of the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi* is devoted to the description of Siddhārtha’s wedding: it opens with the marriage arrangement between Śuddhodana and the king of the Koliya (the bride’s father),⁷ which is followed by a long lyric

⁵ Granoff shows how the distinction between plagiarism and legitimate borrowing (or poetic influence) was a sensitive issue among medieval Indian authors and theorists: as such, it was dealt with in several medieval Indian treatises on poetics, sometimes in great detail (as in Rājaśekhara’s *Kāvyaṁīmāṁsā*). See P. Granoff, *The Alchemy of Poetry: Poetic Borrowing and the Transmission of Texts*, in: G. Colas and G. Gerschheimer (eds), *Écrire et transmettre en Inde classique*. Paris, 2009, pp. 135-146.

⁶ Warder, *Indian Kāvya Literature*, op. cit., p. 681.

⁷ Siddhārtha’s wife is never called by her name in the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi*: outside the fourth *sarga* – where she is called “(Koliya) princess” (*koliyakanyakā*, *naradevakanyā* and the like) before the marriage and “wife” (*jāyā*) after the wedding – she is mentioned only once, in *Padyacūḍāmaṇi* 5.5, where she is simply Siddhārtha’s “bride” (*vadhū*). She is of very little significance to the plot of the poem, since Buddhaghōṣa omits the two episodes where, in other “biographies” of the Buddha (e.g. Aśvaghōṣa’s *Buddhacarita*), she plays a

section describing the preparation of bride and groom. Then comes the celebration of the marriage rite, the ceremonial procession of the newly-married couple through the capital city of Kapila, and, in the end, their visit to Śuddhodana's palace to pay respect to the groom's father.

The first stanzas in the fourth *sarga* of the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi* which have a counterpart in the *Raghuvamśa* are those coming right after the description of the marriage agreement between the two kings. The wedding day has come: early in the morning, bride and groom are being made ready for the wedding. Stanzas *Pad.* 4.5-6 are a *yugma* (two stanzas that form a grammatical unit) celebrating the magnificence of the royal apartments where Siddhārtha's bride-to-be is getting prepared for the marriage by her maids:

āropitābhraṃkaṣaketumālam
ābaddhakaśeyavitānaśobham /
abhyucchritendrāyudhatorañāṅkam
abhyantarasthāpitapūrṇakumbham // Pad. 4.5 //
āstīrṇamuktāsikatābhīrāmam
āktīrṇanānākusumopahāram /
ārabdhaveivāhikasaṃvidhānam antahpuraṃ bhūmipater
*babhūva // Pad. 4.6 //*⁸

main role: the birth of her son Rāhula, and her forlorn lament in the wake of Siddhārtha's departure from the royal palace to undertake the ascetic life.

⁸ The Sanskrit works quoted in this article are taken from the following editions: the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi* (abbreviated *Pad.*) from Franceschini, *Padyacūḍāmaṇi. Il diadema dei versi*, op. cit.; the *Raghuvamśa* (abbreviated *Ragh.*) from G.R. Nandargikar (ed.), *The Raghuvamśa of Kālidāsa: With the Commentary of Mallinātha*. Third edition: Revised and enlarged. Bombay, 1897; the *Kumārasaṃbhava* (abbreviated *Kum.*) from V.L.Ś. Paṇṣīkar (ed.), *The Kumārasaṃbhava of Kālidāsa: With the Commentary (the Sanjīvinī) of Mallināth (1-7 Sargas) and of Sītārāma (8-17 Sargas)*. Twelfth Edition. Bombay, 1935. Corresponding or analogous words occurring in the verses put in comparison are marked in bold. Unless otherwise indicated, translations are by the author of this article, with the support of Formichi (C. Formichi (trans.), *La stirpe di Raghu*. La Spezia, 1992) and Kale (M.R. Kale (ed., trans.), *The Raghuvamśa of Kālidāsa: Cantos I-V*. Delhi, 2008; reprint of Bombay, 1925) for the *Raghuvamśa*; Smith (D. Smith (trans.), *The Birth of Kumāra, By Kālidāsa*. New York, 2005) and Kale (M.R. Kale (ed., trans.), *Kumārasaṃbhava of Kālidāsa: Cantos I-VIII*. Delhi, 2004; reprint of Bombay, 1923) for the *Kumārasaṃbhava*.

In these stanzas, the gynaeceum is “adorned with tall archways [that were like] rainbows” (*abhyucchritendrāyudhatorañāṅka*) and its floor is “scattered with the offerings of various flowers” (*ākīrṇanānākusumopahāra*). Both images are clearly derived from a single stanza of the *Raghuvamśa* (7.4), where Aja and Indumatī are parading the main street of the city, heading to the royal palace where they are going to be married:

*tāvat prakīrṇābhīnavopacāram
indrāyudhadyotitatorañāṅkam /
varaḥ sa vadhvā saha rājamārgam prāpa
dhvajacchāyanivāritoṣṇam // Ragh. 7.4 //*

The two compounds in the first half of this verse describe the superb decoration of the street, that is “adorned with archways bright [as] rainbows” (*indrāyudhadyotitatorañāṅka*) and “scattered with fresh adorning flowers” (*prakīrṇābhīnavopacāra*). Doubtlessly Buddhaghōṣa had in mind this verse when he composed his own; note also that “flags” are mentioned in both texts, although by different words – *ketu* in the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi*, *dhvaja* in the *Raghuvamśa*.

Further in the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi*, the bride is finally adorned and ready for the marriage, and Buddhaghōṣa extols her beauty in a series of seventeen stanzas (*Pad.* 4.10-26), the first four of which (*Pad.* 4.10-13) are influenced by a passage in the ninth *sarga* of the *Raghuvamśa* (stanzas 40 to 44):

*antaḥsamāveśitaphullamallīdhammillabandhas
taralekṣaṇāyāḥ /
tatāna tārāgaṇaśāritasya gāḍhāndhakārastabakasya
kāntim // Pad. 4.10 //*
*ākuñcitāgrair alakaiḥ praśastais tasyā
mukhāmbhoruham ābabhāse /
tadīyasaurabhyasamṛddhilobhād ālīyamānair iva
cañcarīkaiḥ // Pad. 4.11 //*
*sindūrakṣiptaḥ kṣītipālaputryā vivāhadīkṣātilako vireje /
prāptādhipatyasya manobhavasya pratāpabālārka
ivojjihānaḥ // Pad. 4.12 //*

karṇāvasaktāḥ kamalekṣaṇāyā **yavāṅkurāḥ** sātiśayaṃ
virejuḥ /
trilokajiṣṇoḥ **kusumā**yudhasya kīrtiprarohā iva
jṛmbhamāṇāḥ // *Pad.* 4.13 //

hutamutāśanadīpti vanaśriyaḥ pratinidhiḥ
kanakābharaṇasya yat /
yuvatayaḥ **kusumaṃ** dadhur āhitam tad **alake**
dalakesarapeśalam // *Ragh.* 9.40 //
alibhir añjanabindumanoharaiḥ
kusumapaṅktinipātibhir aṅkitaḥ /
na khalu śobhayati sma vanasthalīm na **tilakas tilakaḥ**
pramadām iva // *Ragh.* 9.41 //
amadayan madhugandhasanāthayā
kisalayādharasaṃtatayā manaḥ /
kusumasaṃbhṛtayā navamallikā smitarucā
tarucāruvilāsinī // *Ragh.* 9.42 //
aruṇarāgaṇiṣedhibhir aṃśukaiḥ **śravaṇalabdhapadais**
ca **yavāṅkuraiḥ** /
parabhṛtāviritais ca vilāsināḥ smarabalair
abalaikarasāḥ kṛtāḥ // *Ragh.* 9.43 //
upacitāvayavā śucibhiḥ kaṇair alikadambakayogam
upeyuṣī /
sadrśakāntir alakṣyata mañjarī
tilakajālakajālakamauktikaiḥ // *Ragh.* 9.44 //

The influence of the *Raghuvamśa* on the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi* is here suggested by the following three facts. Firstly, the number of words shared by the two texts: *alaka*, *kānti*, *kusuma*, *tilaka*, *mallī* (*mallikā* in the *Raghuvamśa*), *yavāṅkura*. Secondly, in both texts “bees” are mentioned – although by synonymous words: *cañcarīka* in the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi*, *ali* in the *Raghuvamśa* – and the *yavāṅkura* (“shoots of barley”) are worn by women over their ears (*karṇāvasakta* in the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi*, *śravaṇalabdhapada* in the *Raghuvamśa*). Third, the similes in two stanzas translated below – *Pad.* 4.10 and *Ragh.* 9.44 – are based on the same poetic image, namely “darkness speckled with bright dots”. In *Pad.* 4.10 the comparison is between “[black] braided hair interwoven with jasmine blossoms”

(*antaḥsamāveśitaphullamallīdhammillabandha*) and “deep darkness spangled with multitudes of stars” (*tārāgaṇasārīta [...] gāḍhāndhakārastabaka*); in *Ragh.* 9.44 “a bunch of *tilaka* flowers covered by bright pollen and reached by a swarm of black bees” (*upacitāvayavā śucibhiḥ kaṇair alikadambakayogam mañjarī tilakajā*) is compared with “a pearl ornament on [a mass of black] curled hair” (*alakaajālakamauktika*):

“The [black] braided hair of the quivering-eyed princess, interwoven with jasmine blossoms, spread the beauty of a mass of deep darkness spangled with multitudes of stars.” (*Pad.* 4.10)

“When a bunch of *tilaka* flowers, which was covered by bright pollen, was reached by a swarm of black bees, it took on the beauty of a pearl ornament on [a mass of black] curled hair.” (*Ragh.* 9.44)

In spite of all these correspondences, the two passages deal with different topics: the one in the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi* praises the beauty of Siddhārtha’s bride-to-be – eventually dressed and adorned, ready for the marriage – while that in the *Raghuvamśa* describes the loveliness of trees blooming in springtime. In this case, Buddhaghoṣa borrowed poetic imagery and words from the *Raghuvamśa* and skillfully adapted them to a totally different context.

Still further, Siddhārtha has reached the wedding pavilion and finds himself – presumably for the first time – in the presence of his bride-to-be. The following stanza describes his delight on finally seeing her, right before their marriage:

sotkaṇṭham ālokayataḥ kumārīm
sudhāmśuśobhāparibhāvukāṅgīm /
atītya velām adhirājasūnor ānandasindhuḥ prasasāra
dūram // Pad. 4.39 //

“On looking with ardent desire at the princess, whose figure humbled the splendour of the moon, the ocean of

joy of the prince overflowed its shores and flooded in the distance.”

The corresponding stanza in the *Raghuvamśa* instead depicts the joy of King Dilīpa on looking for the first time at his newly born son, Raghu:

*nivātapadmastimitena cakṣuṣā nṛpasya kāntaṃ pibataḥ
sutānanam /
mahodadheḥ pūra ivendudarśanād guruḥ praharṣaḥ
prababhūva nātmani // Ragh. 3.17 //*

“The immense joy of the king, who was drinking the lovely face of his son through his eyes – which were motionless as a lotus sheltered from the wind – rose [and spilled] outside him, as the flow of the ocean at the sight of the moon.”

The two stanzas use the same simile: the joy of a man at the sight of his loved one becomes uncontainable, as an ocean when, on “seeing” the full moon, overflows its shores. Here, again, Buddhaghōṣa borrowed Kālidāsa’s imagery and reshaped it to his needs: he skilfully turned the paternal joy depicted by Kālidāsa into the bliss of a bridegroom on seeing his beautiful bride-to-be – and he did so without borrowing one single word from the original stanza.

Then comes the marriage itself, followed by the description of the emotional reactions of the newly-married couple: the passage in the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi* (4.41-44) has its parallel in the *Raghuvamśa* (7.20, 22-23). Both texts refer to the same circumstances, although, of course, the characters in play are different: Siddhārtha and his bride in the former poem, Aja and Indumatī in the latter. The stanzas describing the moment of the marriage in the two poems share just a few words and their connection is somewhat loose:⁹

⁹ Nonetheless, it is worth noting that the word *udarcīṣas* (“blazing upward”, referred to the nuptial fire) in the beginning of Buddhaghōṣa’s verse may be the result of an ingenious adaptation to a different context of *arcito* (“honored”, referring to the celebrating priest) in

*udarciṣas tasya hutāśanasya havirbhir uccair jvalataḥ
purastāt /
kriyākālāpe kṛtadhīḥ purodhāḥ saṃyojayām āsa
vadhūkumārau // Pad. 4.41 //
tatrārcito bhojapateḥ purodhā hutvāgnim ājyādibhir
agnikalpaḥ /
tam eva cādhāya vivāhasākṣye vadhūvarau
saṃgamayām cakāra // Ragh. 7.20 //*

Right after these verses, in both poems comes the description of the involuntary physical symptoms revealing the emotion of the spouses. Though there is hardly any verbal agreement in the verses, they are clearly related in their content, and the reactions depicted are the same: the horripilation of the groom and the sweating of the bride. Buddhaghōṣa here expands in two stanzas (*Pad.* 4.42-43) what is described in the first half of *Ragh.* 7.22:

*āsīt kumāraḥ pulakaprarohair udañcitaiḥ
kañcukitāṅgayaṣṭiḥ /
vaikakṣamālyacyutakesarās tadguptyai babhūvur
guṇaratnarāśeḥ // Pad. 4.42 //
āvīrbhavadbhiḥ śramavārileśair ādrāṅguliḥ
koliyakanyakāsīt /
vivāhadhārājalaśīkarās tadvyājībbabhūvur
vipulekṣanāyāḥ // Pad. 4.43 //*
“The prince [*i.e.* Siddhārtha] had his slender body covered by an armour of blossom-like raised hair, [but] the filaments fallen from the flowers of his garland hid this horripilation of him, who was a treasure of virtue-jewels.”
“The Koliya princess had her fingers wet because of the droplets of sweat coming out, [but] the drops of the stream of water [poured on her hands] during the marriage dissimulated the perspiration of the long-eyed [bride].”
*āsīd varah kaṅṭakitaprakoṣṭhaḥ svinnāṅguliḥ saṃvavrte
kumārī /*

the beginning of Kālidāsa’s verse, or, more likely, it is borrowed from *Ragh.* 7.24, just four stanzas ahead, where *udarciṣas* opens the second *pāda* (see below).

*vṛttis tayoh pāṇisamāgamena samaṃ vibhakteva
manobhavasya // Ragh. 7.22 //*

“The hair on the forearm of the bridegroom raised, the fingers of the princess were sweating: it was as at the joining of their hands, the activity of the god of love was divided equally between them.”

The following stanza in both poems depicts the same circumstance: bride and groom have just been joined in marriage, they stand by the sacred fire and they both long to look at each other, but at the same time they are prevented from doing so by their shyness:

*ālokalobhād abhivartamānā nivartamānās trapayā ca
śaśvat /*

*tayor apāṅgaprasarās tadanīm dolāvihārasriyam
anvabhūvan // Pad. 4.44 //*

“Out of desire they cast them, then out of shyness they withdrew them – again and again: in that moment, the course of their side-glances was as lovely as the swing game.”

*tayor apāṅgapratisāritāni kriyāsamāpattinivartitāni /
hrīyantraṇām ānaśire manojñām anyonyalolāni
vilocanāni // Ragh. 7.23 //*

“Their eyes, longing for each other, were incited to cast side-glances [and then] averted by their encountering [in the same] action: they enjoyed the lovely constraint of bashfulness.”

Although Kālidāsa’s verse is patently the source of this stanza of the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi*,¹⁰ Buddhaghoṣa masterly forged a new poetry out of it, a delicate picture that stands out as a fine specimen of poetry in its own right.¹¹

¹⁰ Incidentally, it can be surmised that the image of the “swing” (*dolā*) as a term of comparison for the lover’s glances was suggested to Buddhaghoṣa by the term *lola*, which is used by Kālidāsa in his stanza with the meaning of “longing for [each other]”, but whose primary meaning is in fact “swinging”.

¹¹ The passage in *Ragh.* 7.20-23 has its parallel in *Kum.* 7.74-77, where the marriage of Śiva and Umā is celebrated. Tubb (G.A. Tubb, “The Relative Priority of the Wedding Passages in the *Kumārasaṃbhava* and the *Raghuvamśā*”, *Journal of the American Oriental*

Bride and groom having been joined in matrimony, both texts proceed with the description of the auspicious subsidiary ritual acts following the central rite:

*abhyastayā saṃvaranāmburāśer
āvartacakrabhramalīlayeva /*

varah samaṃ vāmadṛśā kṛśānoḥ

pradakṣiṇaprakramam *anvatiṣṭhat // Pad. 4.45 //*

“The bridegroom – together with his lovely-eyed bride – performed the circumambulation of the sacred fire, as if imitating the repeated wheel-like motion of a whirlpool on the ocean of the wedding rite.”

pradakṣiṇaprakramaṇāt kṛśānor *udarciṣas tan*

mithunaṃ cakāse /

meror upānteṣv iva vartamānam anyonyasaṃsaktam

ahastryāmam // Ragh. 7.24 //

“That couple, proceeding to circle the blazing sacred fire, shone like day and night joined one to the other revolving around mount Meru.”

kanyākumārau kamanīyarūpāv ālokya homāgnir

adrṣṭapūrvau /

pradakṣiṇārciḥsphuraṇacchalena ślāghāsiraḥkampam

ivācacāra // Pad. 4.46 //

“Looking at the princess and the prince – who were of beautiful appearance, matchless – the sacred fire seemed to nod its head in praise, under the guise of giving off its flames to the right.”

tasmai samyag ghuto vahnir vājinīrājanāvidhau /

pradakṣiṇārcir vyājena hasteneva jayaṃ dadau // Ragh.

4.25 //

Society 102.2 (1982), pp. 309-321), comparing the corresponding passages in the *Raghuvamśa* and in the *Kumārasambhava*, points out two discrepancies. Firstly, he notes that the order of the events is different: in the *Kumārasambhava* the exchange of glances comes first, followed by the marriage and the “involuntary reactions” of the couple (p. 311); secondly, he underlines that the reactions of bride and groom in the two poems are reversed: “the sweating belongs to the bridegroom, and the horripilation to the bride” (p. 317). The *Padyacūdāmaṇi* follows the *Raghuvamśa* in both respects.

“The fire, which had properly received the oblations during the ceremonial lustration of the army, seemed to give him [*i.e.* Raghū] victory with its hand, under the guise of its flaming to the right.”¹²

guruprayuktā kulapālikā sā lājopahāraṃ visasarja vahnau /

marudvidhūtā latikeva puṣpaṃ cūtadrume syūtanavapravāle // Pad. 4.47 //

“The virtuous noble bride, exhorted by the priest, dropped the oblation of roasted rice grains into the fire, as a creeper shaken by the wind [drops] a flower on a mango tree interwoven with new [red] buds.”

nītabagurvī guruṇā prayuktā vadhūr vidhātṛpratimena tena /

cakāra sā mattacakoranetrā lajjāvātī lājavisargam agnau // Ragh. 7.25 //

“The heavy-buttocked bride, exhorted by the priest who was the image of the creator god, dropped the roasted rice grains into the fire, modest in demeanour, with her eyes like those of a *cakora* bird in love.”

In the above sequence, it may be noted that the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi* mirrors the narration of the wedding of Aja and Indumatī in the *Raghuvamśa* except for stanza *Pad.* 4.46, which corresponds to a verse of the fourth *sarga* of the *Raghuvamśa* (4.25). The connection between these two stanzas is indicated by the verbal agreements and by the reference in both stanzas to the sacred fire flaming auspiciously to the right. However, the circumstances they relate are different. Kālidāsa’s verse deals not with a wedding ceremony, but with the propitiatory rites performed by Raghū, who had just succeeded his father Dilīpa on the throne of Kosala, on the eve of his formidable military campaign of conquest. Once again, Buddhaghōṣa demonstrates his ability in remoulding the elements he borrows from the *Raghuvamśa* to match a new setting.

¹² See also *Ragh.* 3.14, where the sacred fire accepts the oblations by shooting its flame to the right (*pradakṣiṇārcir*) as an auspicious omen at the birth of Raghū.

In the next five stanzas of the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi*, Buddhaghōṣa depicts the same circumstance – namely, the face of the bride reached by the smoke rising from the sacred fire – using a different fancy in each verse. Sequences of stanzas like this one – appearing very much like *exercices de style* – are a stylistic feature characteristic of the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi*, found in most of its descriptive sections. The first four stanzas in the series under scrutiny (*Pad.* 4.48-51) are free modifications of the image in *Ragh.* 7.26, while the last (*Pad.* 4.52) is directly inspired by *Ragh.* 7.27 – but vocabulary agreements are spread across all the seven verses:

*samudgatā dhūmatatiḥ kṛśānoḥ samīpalagnā
mukhasārasasya /*

amlānanīlāyatanālabhaṅgīm

aṅgīcakārāmbujalocanāyāḥ // Pad. 4.48 //

“The line of smoke rising from the fire in the proximity of the lotus-face of the lotus-eyed [bride] took on the aspect of its unwithered, long, dark stalk.”

tasmād udīrṇā navadhūmarājis tasyā mukhe

tadgrahaṇaprasanne /

kṣaṇaṃ samālakṣyata saṃcarantī saroruhe

ṣaṭpadamālikeva // Pad. 4.49 //

“The line of fresh smoke rising from it [*i.e.* the fire] towards her face – which was radiant for the marriage with him [*i.e.* the prince] – for a moment looked like a row of bees gathering on a lotus.”

vaktrāravindaṃ paritaḥ prakīrṇā vāmahruvo

maṅgaladhūmarājīḥ /

anyāmṛtāṃśubhramataḥ prayātām adhatta sāksāt

pariveśalakṣmīm // Pad. 4.50 //

“The auspicious line of smoke that spread all around the lotus-face of the lovely-browed [princess] had indeed the beauty of the halo of the moon, come forth with the illusion that it were another moon.”

vaktrāmbujaṃ vāmadṛśaḥ parītā vaivāhikī

maṅgaladhūmapaṅktiḥ /

babhāra nīlāṃśukanirmitasya
muhūrtavaktrāvaraṇasya¹³ *śobhām // Pad. 4.51 //*
 “The auspicious line of smoke [rising from the] nuptial
 [fire] that girded the lotus-face of the lovely [bride] had
 the beauty of an ephemeral face-veil made of dark
 fabric.”
haviḥśamīpallavalājagandhī puṇyaḥ kṛśānor udiyāya
dhūmaḥ /
kapolaśamsarpiśikhaḥ sa tasyā muhūrtakarṇotpalatām
prapede // Ragh. 7.26 //
 “The auspicious smoke that rose from the fire – fragrant
 of butter, blossoms of the *śamī* tree and roasted rice –
 flaming close to her [*i.e.* Indumatī’s] cheek, assumed the
 form of an ornamental lotus flower fastened to her ear.”

kālāñjanocchvāsavikūṇitākṣaṃ
gharmodakakliṣṭakapolapatram /
vivarṇakarṇotpalam ānanābjam babhūva
dhūmagrahaṇān mṛgākṣyāḥ // Pad. 4.52 //
 “Because of the smoke surrounding it, the lotus-face of
 the fawn-eyed [bride] had eyes contracted due to the
 spreading of the collyrium, the lines drawn on the cheek
 spoiled by the sweat-drops, the lilies [worn as] ear-
 ornament faded.”
tad añjanakledasamākulākṣaṃ
pramlānabījāṅkurakarṇapūram /
vadhūmukhaṃ pāṭalagaṇḍalekham
ācāradhūmagrahaṇād babhūva // Ragh. 7.27 //
 “Due to the performance of the ritual fumigation, the
 bride’s face had eyes brimming with collyrium [mixed
 with] tears, the shoot worn on the ear withered, the
 cheeks faded.”

After the rite is over, Siddhārtha and his wife reach Kapila to pay respect to King Śuddhodana. On their way to the royal palace, they walk in ceremonial procession along the main road

¹³ The compound *muhūrtavaktrāvaraṇa* (“ephemeral face-veil”) is found also in *Ragh.* 13.8, where the veil is formed by the waters still covering the globe of the world, which has just been recovered from the bottom of the ocean by Viṣṇu as Varāha, his *avatāra* in the form of a boar.

of the city: Buddhaghōṣa places here the episode of the women rushing to the windows of the palaces to have a glance of the handsome hero parading in the street (*Pad.* 4.55-62). As far as we know, this scene was first conceived by Aśvaghōṣa in his *Buddhacarita* (3.13-23) and later adopted by other poets, notably also by Kālidāsa, who incorporates it in the *Raghuvamśa* (7.5-15) as well as in the *Kumārasaṃbhava* (7.56-78).¹⁴ The scene is made up of a “gallery” of pictures portraying the women that, hurrying to the windows in their eagerness to see the prince, neglect to put on their ornaments or leave their make-up unfinished. Here Buddhaghōṣa gives free rein to his *pratibhā* and his fancies are particularly fresh and original. Nevertheless, four of his stanzas are reminiscent of as many verses of the corresponding scene in the *Raghuvamśa* (*Pad.* 4.56, 57, 61, 62 couple with *Ragh.* 7.6, 8, 10, 9). Moreover, the images of the first three pairs of stanzas centre on the same object or substance: a garland (*mālā/mālya*), the collyrium (*kālāñjana/añjana*) and a waistband or girdle (*raśanā*) respectively.

*tathā hi kācīt karapallavena kahlāramālām
avalambamānā /*

*svayaṃ varītuṃ kila rājadhānīsopānamārgaṃ tvarayā
jagāma // Pad. 4.56 //*

“Thus one woman rushed up the stairs of the palace
holding in her bud-like hand a garland of white lilies, as
if to cover herself {or, through pun: as if to choose [him]
as her husband}.”

*ālokamārgaṃ sahasā vrajantyā kayācid
udveṣṭanāvāntamālyah /*

*banddhuṃ na saṃbhāvita eva tāvat kareṇa ruddho ‘pi
ca keśapāśah // Ragh. 7.6 //*

¹⁴ It should be noted, though, that in both of Kālidāsa’s poems the scene takes place when the hero and the heroine (respectively Aja and Indumatī, Śiva and Pārvatī) are approaching the wedding pavilion, and thus *before* their marriage.

“As one woman was rushing to the window, her mass of hair lost its garland and its ribbon: and she did not think of tying it up but held it with her hand.”

*netrasya taddarśananiścalasya mā bhūd idaṃ rodha
itīva matvā /
apāsya **kālāñjanam** āyatākṣī **vātāyanam** satvaram āpa
kācit // Pad. 4.57 //*

“As if thinking «Let there not be here this hindrance to my eye, fixed on the sight of him», one long-eyed woman left off the black collyrium and quickly reached the window.”

*vilocanam dakṣiṇam **añjanena** sambhāvya
tadvañcitavāmanetrā /
tathaiva **vātāyanasaṃnikarṣam** yayau śalākām aparā
vahanī // Ragh. 7.8 //*

“Another woman, having made up her right eye with collyrium, her left eye deprived of it, went right to the window just as she was, still holding the collyrium stick.”

*pativratāyāḥ paradarśanāya yātrā na yukteti
nirundhatīva /
nitambabimbād **raśanā galanī** kasyāścid aṅghriṃ
kalayāṃ cakāra // Pad. 4.61 //*

“«It is not seemly for a woman devoted to her husband to go looking at other [men]!»: as if restraining [her], the waistband of one woman, slipping down her round waist, tangled to her feet.”

*ardhācitā satvaram utthitāyāḥ pade pade durnimite
galanī /
kasyāścid āsīd **raśanā** (v.l. **raśanā**) tadānīm
aṅguṣṭhamūlārpitasūtraśeṣā // Ragh. 7.10 //*

“When one woman got up in a rush, her girdle was only half strung, and impeded every step she made, flowing away as it dropped its gems – all that remained of it was the string she had tied to her toe.”

*ekāvalīm kācid anarpayitvā kaṅthopakāṅthe
karapaṅkajena /
samudvahanī tvaramāṅacetās tasyopahārārtham iva
pratasthe // Pad. 4.62 //*

“One woman, who had not fastened the string of pearls around her neck with her lotus-like hand, moved forward holding it up, with her mind in a flurry, as if to make a gift to him.”¹⁵

*jālāntarapreṣitadr̥ṣṭir anyā prasthānabhinnāṃ na
babandha nīvīm /
nābhīpraviṣṭābharaṇaprabheṇa hastena tasthāv
avalambya vāsaḥ // Ragh. 7.9 //*

“Sending her gaze through the window grill, another woman, the knot of her waistband undone by her dash to the window, did not refasten it. There she stood, her hand holding up her garment and lighting up her navel with the radiance of its rings.”¹⁶

The scene of the women at the windows is followed in the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi* by an “appendix” where the women, enchanted by the sight of Siddhārtha, fall in a sort of love-trance: in a sequence of nine graceful stanzas (*Pad.* 4.69-77), Buddhaghōṣa portrays them lost in their reveries, acting in a daze while fantasizing about the prince. There is no such scene in the *Raghuvamśa*, but some of Buddhaghōṣa’s stanzas have a parallel in a scene in the sixth *sarga* of the *Raghuvamśa* (6.13-19), which takes place just before the beginning of Indumatī’s *svayamvara*: the ceremony is about to begin and Kālidāsa depicts the candidates to Indumatī’s hand acting nervously and in anxiety, while they gaze full of desire at the beautiful princess, who is going to choose her husband from among them.

¹⁵ Or perhaps: “One woman, who had not fastened her string of pearls, moved forward holding it up by her neck with her lotus-like hand – her mind in a flurry –, as if to make a gift to him.”

¹⁶ The four stanzas of the *Raghuvamśa* given above (7.6, 7.8, 7.10, 7.9) are identical to *Kum.* 7.57, 7.59, 7.61, 7.60 respectively; their translation is taken, with a few changes, from Smith, *The Birth of Kumāra*, op. cit., pp. 277, 279.

The similarity between the following pair of stanzas is conspicuous:¹⁷

*śukāvacañcūpuṭapāṭalena nakhena kācid vililekha
navyam /
pāṇisthitam ketakagarbhapatram anaṅgasamdeśam
ivāsya kartum // Pad. 4.71 //*
“One woman, with her nail rosy like a parrot’s beak,
scratched the tender leaf of *ketaka* she held in her hand,
as if writing a love message to him.”
*vilāsinīvibhramadantapatram āpāṇḍuram
ketakabarham anyah /
priyānitambocitasamniveśair vipāṭayām āsa yuvā
nakhāgraiḥ // Ragh. 6.17 //*
“Another young [prince], with his nails [that were]
accustomed to sink into his lover’s buttocks, tore a pale
ketaka leaf, that women used to wear as an earring.”

This last pair exemplifies one of Buddhaghōṣa’s *modus operandi*: he borrows just the framework of Kālidāsa’s picture (someone scratches a *ketaka* leaf absentmindedly with his nail), adds a new element (the simile between the nail and the parrot’s beak) and an original poetic idea (the love message), then reworks the whole giving shape to new poetry. In the process he adapts the stanza to a new context: in this case, he had to invert the roles of the male and female characters, as well as change the predominant feeling of the main character, from one of anxiety and sexual desire to one of dreamlike, romantic love rapture.

After the scene of the “entranced women”, there come five stanzas where those very women extol, in direct speech, the beauty and glory of Siddhārtha (*Pad.* 4.78-82). In the *Raghuvamśa* the corresponding passage is placed after the scene of the women rushing to the windows (*Ragh.* 7.13-15): the two passages share the same general frame (women sing the hero’s

¹⁷ Other verses of the two passages can be paired, although on the basis of weaker correspondences: *Pad.* 4.69 and *Ragh.* 6.13, *Pad.* 4.71 and *Ragh.* 6.17, *Pad.* 4.72 and *Ragh.* 6.15.

praises) and stylistic device (direct speech), but their agreement in content is negligible.

Then comes the final comparison. In *Pad.* 4.83 Siddhārtha and his wife finally reach Śuddhodana's palace to pay respect to the king, the groom's father: this verse has its counterpart in *Ragh.* 7.16, which portrays Aja and Indumatī arriving at the palace of King Bhoja, where they are going to be married:

*ityādīm āsāṃ giram atyudārām ākarṇayan
karṇasukhāyamānām /*

*pradakṣiṇīkṛtya purīm kumārah prāvikiṣad
antarbhavanam nṛpasya // Pad. 4.83 //*

“The prince, hearing these and other noble words of the women – pleasant to his ears –, completed the circling of the city and entered the king's palace.”

*ity udgatāḥ pauravadhūmukhebhyaḥ śṛṇvan kathāḥ
śrotrasukhāḥ kumārah /*

*udbhāsitaṃ maṅgalasaṃvidhābhiḥ saṃbandhinaḥ
sadma samāsasāda // Ragh. 7.16 //*

“The prince, hearing the conversation issuing from the mouths of the city's women – pleasant to his ears –, came to his brother-in-law's mansion, which was decorated with auspicious arrangements.”

Here ends the presentation of the indebtedness of the fourth *sarga* of the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi* to the *Raghuvamśa*. As has been shown, a good number of verses of the former poem (25 out of 87) have a counterpart in the latter, mostly in its seventh *sarga* (the marriage of Aja and Indumatī), but also in the third (the birth of Raghu), in the fourth (Raghu's conquest of the world), in the sixth (Indumatī's *svayaṃvara*) and in the ninth (the description of springtime). Like any other poet, Buddhaghōṣa was indebted to several of his great forerunners: surely Bāṇa, probably Bhāravi and Māgha as well. But none of them exerted such a definite influence on his poetry as Kālidāsa's works: by far chiefly the *Raghuvamśa*, but – to a lesser extent – also the *Kumārasaṃbhava*. Although the analysis of the correspondences between the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi* and the

Kumārasaṃbhava is out of the scope of this article, one revealing case will be illustrated here.

As aforementioned, many stanzas of the fourth *sarga* of the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi* have their counterpart in the passage of the seventh canto of the *Raghuvamśa* dealing with the marriage of Aja and Indumatī; the latter, in turn, is strikingly similar to the passage in the *Kumārasaṃbhava* describing the wedding of Śiva and Pārvatī.¹⁸ As a rule, Buddhaghōṣa follows – and borrows from – the *Raghuvamśa*, but at times he gleans from both poems, as in the following case.

In all three poems the scene of the women hurrying to the windows to look at the handsome hero parading in the street is preceded by an introductory verse. In the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi*, this verse (*Pad.* 4.55) combines elements taken from its counterparts in both Kālidāsa's poems (*Ragh.* 7.5 and *Kum.* 7.56) and also from the stanza of the *Raghuvamśa* that opens the gallery of pictures describing the anxious behaviour and attitudes of the princes waiting for Indumatī to begin her *svayaṃvara* (*Ragh.* 6.12):

tasmin muhūrte kapilāṅganānām
kumāranidhyānaparāyaṇānām /
saudheṣu saudheṣu samudbabhūvuh śṛṅgāraceṣṭā
madanopadiṣṭāḥ // Pad. 4.55 //
tatas tadālokanatatparāṇām saudheṣu
cāmīkarajālavatsu /
babhūvur itthaṃ purasundarīṇām tyaktānyakāryāṇi
viceṣṭitāni // Ragh. 7.5 //
tasmin muhūrte purasundarīṇām
īśānasamdarśanalālasānām /
prāsādamālāsu babhūvur itthaṃ tyaktānyakāryāṇi
viceṣṭitāni // Kum. 7.56 //
tām praty abhīvyaktamanorathānām mahīpatīnām
praṇayāgradūtyaḥ /

¹⁸ For the relationships between the wedding passages in the two poems, see Tubb (*The Relative Priority of the Wedding Passages in the Kumārasaṃbhava and the Raghuvamśa*, op. cit.). Tubb comes to the conclusion that the verses of the *Kumārasaṃbhava* were composed first and served as the model for those in the *Raghuvamśa*.

*pravālaśobhā iva pādapānām śṛṅgāraceṣṭā vīvidhā
babhūvuh // Ragh. 6.12 //*

The similarity between the first half of the stanza of the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi* and that of the *Kumārasaṃbhava* stands out conspicuously. The incipit is identical (*tasmin muhūrte*) and the following two compounds in the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi* are the result of the necessary adaptation to a different context of the ones in the *Kumārasaṃbhava*. Thus “the beautiful women of the city, eager to get a good view of Lord Śiva” (*purasundarīṇām īśānaśaṃdarśanalālasānām*) was replaced with “the beautiful women of Kapila, totally engaged in looking at the prince” (*kapilāṅganānām kumāranidhyānaparāyaṇānām*). On the other hand, in the second half of the stanza, Buddhaghōṣa borrows the word *saudheṣu* from the *Raghuvamśa* (7.5), preferring it to *prāsādamālāsu* of the *Kumārasaṃbhava*.¹⁹ The connection between *Pad.* 4.55 and *Ragh.* 6.12 is looser but significant: they share the somewhat infrequent compound *śṛṅgāraceṣṭā(h)*, and they are analogous in that they both introduce a gallery of poetic portrayals, some of which can moreover be paired on the basis of their similarity.²⁰

In conclusion, it is clear that Kālidāsa’s poems – especially the *Raghuvamśa* – served as a source of inspiration for Buddhaghōṣa. Nonetheless, in spite of the considerable influence the *Raghuvamśa* exerted on the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi*, the latter is far from being a pastiche of the former, by virtue of Buddhaghōṣa’s creative skill and of his ability in recasting what he took from Kālidāsa. However, it is precisely this ability in melding and transmuting poetic material that makes it difficult to discern the borrowed elements in Buddhaghōṣa’s poetry, and makes the study of the correspondences between the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi* and other poems a particularly complex job.

¹⁹ However, *prāsādamālāsu* occurs in *Pad.* 1.19, a verse extolling the beauty of the city of Kapila, where “women are engaged in playing on lines of golden palaces” (*prāsādamālāsu hiraṇmayīṣu prārabdhalīlāḥ pramadāḥ*).

²⁰ E.g., see above for the comparison between *Pad.* 4.71 and *Ragh.* 6.17, and the relevant note.

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