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Prospects of intertextual relations between *Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita* and *Saundarananda* rhetorical-stylistic forms and epic sources

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Contents

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	4
ABBREVIATIONS	5
INTRODUCTION	6
I. The poiesis of Aśvaghōṣa: between epic, rhetoric, and aesthetics	6
I.I Pre-systematic use of analogy forms in the Itihāsa and synchronic analysis of Aśvaghōṣa’s poetic practice.....	9
I.II. Diachronic analysis of the concepts of metaphor and simile and final considerations	15
1. SEARCH FOR INTERTEXTUALITY: HINTS AND EVIDENCE	23
1.1 Premise and Methodological Approach.....	23
<i>1.1.1 Research premise.....</i>	<i>23</i>
<i>1.1.2 Methodological approach</i>	<i>28</i>
<i>1.1.3 Epic topoi present in Aśvaghōṣa’s poems.....</i>	<i>30</i>
1.2 Reworking analogical matrices: tracing back Mahākāvya’s origin?	43
<i>1.2.1 Analogical matrices belonging to divine semantic area</i>	<i>49</i>
<i>1.2.2 Analogical matrices belonging to nature-based semantic area.....</i>	<i>54</i>
1.3 First-hand knowledge of the epics. Direct references and quotations	62
2. EVIDENCE OF A PRIMARY INTERTEXTUALITY: BASIC REUSE OF COMPARATIVE COMPOUNDS	73
2.1 Reuse and adaptation of compounded <i>upamās</i> (<i>samāśopamā</i>)	74
<i>2.1.2 Reuse and adaptation of upamānasamāsas and formulas</i>	<i>88</i>
2.2 Reuse and adaptation of compounded <i>rūpakas</i> (<i>samāstarūpaka</i>)	99
3. EVIDENCE OF A MEDIUM LEVEL OF INTERTEXTUALITY: ADAPTIVE REUSE OF UNCOMPOUNDED UPAMĀS AND RŪPAKAS	114
3.1 Strategies targeted at reusing <i>asamasta-rūpakas</i>	115
<i>3.1.1 asamastarūpakas with bhūta- at the end of the compounds.....</i>	<i>115</i>
<i>3.1.2 Aśvaghōṣa’s ability to process sophisticated typologies of rūpakas: the samastavastuviṣaya-rūpaka and the paramparita-rūpaka.....</i>	<i>119</i>

3.2 Strategies targeted at reusing <i>asamasta-upamās</i>	125
3.2.1 Adaptive reuse of <i>upamānas</i> belonging to the divine semantic domain	125
3.2.2 Adaptive reuse of <i>upamānas</i> belonging to a natural semantic domain	135
3.2.3 Adaptive reuse of <i>upamānas</i> belonging to the human semantic domain	150
4. THE REUSE AND ACTIVE MANIPULATION OF THE LOGICAL STRUCTURE OF THE ALAMKĀRA AS A MARK OF A HIGH DEGREE OF INTERTEXTUALITY	157
4.1 Manipulation of <i>upamās</i> and <i>rūpakas</i> by means of <i>śleṣas</i> or to turn them into <i>utprekṣās</i>	158
4.2 The reuse of epic instances interpretable as <i>utprekṣās</i> , and evidence of epic <i>śleṣopamās</i>	162
4.3 Evidence of the <i>bimbapratibimba</i> relation in the adaptive reuse of the logical structure of the <i>upamā</i>	173
4.3.1 <i>upamānas</i> belonging to the human semantic domain	173
4.3.2 Deities employed as the <i>upamānas</i>	177
4.3.2 <i>upamānas</i> belonging to the natural semantic domain	190
CONCLUSIONS	205
I. Final considerations	205
II. Future Perspectives	208
APPENDIX I	211
APPENDIX II	221
APPENDIX III	229
INDEX OF PASSAGES	236
BIBLIOGRAPHY	240
Primary Sources	240
Secondary Sources	242
Sitography	250
INDEX OF NAMES	251

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Abbreviations

AŚ	<i>Atharvaveda-Śaunakīya</i>
BC	<i>Buddhacarita</i>
BhKA	Bhamaha, <i>Kāvyaḷaṃkara</i>
DKA	Daṇḍin, <i>Kavyādarśa</i>
KP	<i>Kāvyaṃprakāśa</i>
MBh	<i>Mahābhārata</i>
NŚ	<i>Nāṭyaśāstra</i>
ṚV	<i>Ṛgveda</i>
Rām	<i>Rāmāyaṇa</i>
SN	<i>Saundarananda</i>

Introduction

I. THE POIESIS OF AŚVAGHOṢA: BETWEEN EPIC, RHETORIC, AND AESTHETICS

In the context of the use of *alaṃkāra* lit. ‘ornament’ and centuries before the classical systematisation that rhetoricians will carry out from the 6th to the 12th century CE onwards, Aśvaghōṣa (1st – 2nd CE) seems to have mastered the expressive forms that more widely distinguish Kāvya art poetry and especially the court epic, i.e., the Mahākāvya.¹ The preferred methodological perspective used in this thesis to investigate the use of *alaṃkāras* in Aśvaghōṣa, particularly those related to analogy such as the *upamā* ‘comparison/simile and the *rūpaka* lit. ‘*metaphora in absentia*’² involves synchronic analysis and a diachronic evaluation to approach the author’s poetic and the traditional poietic praxis.

The synchronic approach foregrounds the dimension of the author’s literary and stylistic self-awareness, making it possible to interpret the use and reuse of the *upamā* and *rūpaka* forms present in the texts.³ Focusing instead on comparative-historical dynamics, I propose a typology of analysis that uses a diachronic approach to examine the sources adopting a two-way criterion.

¹ See Warder 1972; Smith 1985 and Peterson 2003.

² An initial definition of *upamā* and *rūpaka* is offered by Bharata (NŚ 16.57). Gerow (1971: 140, 239) defines the former as “the comparison of one thing with a substantially different thing in terms of a property”, while the latter is classified as “a figure in which the subject of comparison is identified with its object by a specific process of grammatical subordination”. As far as the translation of the Sanskrit *rūpaka* is concerned, here I have chosen to adopt the translation ‘*metaphora in absentia*’ to indicate an implicit logical relationship between the *upameya* and the *upamāna*. See also Gerow (1977: 239): “A figure in which the subject of comparison is identified with its object by a specific process of grammatical subordination”. Another typological-formal definition of ornament – which also concerns the concept of *āropaṇa* ‘superimposition’ (Daṇḍin, *Kāvyaḍarśa* 2.70) – can be found in Porcher (1978: 69-97): “Le *rūpaka* [...], met en relation directe un comparant et un compare ”.

³ As regards the *upamā* in Aśvaghōṣa see Boccali, Pontillo 2010; Kragh 2010; Trynkowska 2019.

I primarily focus on the pre-systematic use of analogy forms in the texts of the epic-literary genre Itihāsa. In fact, special attention is paid to addressing the occurrences of the *alaṃkāra* forms from the perspective of their attestation in both the *Mahābhārata* (henceforth MBh) and the *Rāmāyaṇa* (henceforth Rām). In implementing this programme, the implications of textual and philological criticism linked to the methodological approach of formulaic language and interpolation are also considered.⁴

Secondly, the rhetoricians' theoretical classification is considered by highlighting a selection of the most representative works of the *alaṃkāraśāstra*, the didactic-manual corpus entirely devoted to the study of rhetorical ornaments of sense and sound, distributed over a time span of approximately five centuries (7th-11th century CE).⁵ In the field of Indology, such works are traditionally regarded as canonical, due to the particular reflections on the field of theatre and especially poetry which have contributed to the evolution of aesthetic and poetic literature over the centuries.

Indeed, although the present dissertation intends to situate the discussion concerning the presence of *alaṃkāras* in Aśvaghoṣa's works within the evolution of rhetorical debate and aesthetic reflection, nevertheless, for the sake of intellectual honesty, it should be specified that in no way is it intended to retro-project later theories and practices into a chronologically earlier context. Rather, consulting sources of this magnitude is preparatory to understanding the way in which the tradition has elaborated the main theorisations on the concepts of *upamā* and *rūpaka*, of which Aśvaghoṣa clearly makes wise use.

This thus enables the use of diachrony to address the debate on the theoretical positions of the classical rhetoricians, especially as regards what is also the aesthetic essence of the various forms of *alaṃkāra*. The analysis gives greater prominence

⁴ See Yardi 1986, 1994; Adluri 2013 and Adluri, Bagchee 2018. Brockington 1998; Mehendale 2001.

⁵ The main definitions of *rūpaka* analysed here are from Bhāmaha's *Kāvyaṃkāra* (Sastry 1970); Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaḍarśa* (Belvalkar 1924), and Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaṃprakāśa* (Dwivedi 1966).

to *upamā* and *rūpaka* and refers to the contemporary debate on the cognitive value of metaphor.⁶

This thesis therefore takes the form of a preliminary attempt to further investigate the real extent of the stylistic and rhetorical contribution made by the *Saundarananda* (henceforth SN) and the *Buddhacarita* (henceforth BC), also resting its foundations on the paradigm of intertextuality, with a particular focus on the dynamics of re-use in Indian and Buddhist literature.⁷

⁶ The main works whose reading is preliminary to the present analysis are Black 1962; Levin 1977; Lakoff 1980.

⁷ Reference is made to Freschi, Cantwell 2016 for a focus on reuse in Buddhist texts, and to Freschi, Maas (2017: 11-24) for some recent considerations regarding the dynamics of adaptive re-use. Moreover, an early attestation of the use of ornaments and the Kāvya style can already be found in the Junāgaṛhad inscription of Rudradāman studied by Lassen 1837, which can be placed in 150 CE in the same chronological period as Aśvaghōṣa (Ollett 2017: 42). In the 2nd century CE, we witness the gradual codification of the *alamkāra* as an aesthetic device. In this sense, Ollett (2019) points out how in the 2nd CE prākrit texts produced in the Kuṣāṇa (North Indian) and Sātavāhana (South Indian) empires respectively, ornaments become characteristic of two different approaches to textual aesthetics by the Kāvya.

I.I PRE-SYSTEMATIC USE OF ANALOGY FORMS IN THE ITIHĀSA AND SYNCHRONIC ANALYSIS OF AŚVAGHOṢA’S POETIC PRACTICE

In the context of epic attestations of ornaments conveying the sense of analogy, a prime example are both Gonda’s (1949) analysis of the evidence for similarity in Indian literature and Porcher’s (1978) structural and formal examination of style figures in Sanskrit. Moreover Sharma (1988 [1964]) proposes an analysis of the main ornaments found in the MBh, offering a semantic and typological classification according to the type of ornament.

As regards the Rām, Brockington (1977: 442) notes a predilection for the *śabdālaṃkāra*,⁸ while pointing out that structurally speaking there is an “unsophisticated usage” in the repetition of the same *upamāna* ‘object of comparison’ in similes close to each other. On the contrary, he highlights the fact that there is no lack of attestations where the *upameya* ‘subject of comparison’ and the *upamāna* are interchanged.⁹ Similarly, Vassilkov (2002: 29) detects a somewhat unrealistic structural derivation of the *upamā* of the natural realm from mythological imagery in the MBh, which the bard would have reused and adapted. This seems to be concentrated in a dramatic-emotional context and/or employed with a formular function.

Cosi (2007) has recently contributed to discerning this narrative context, studying it in relation to the function of the simile employed therein and demonstrating a textual stratification in both the Rām and the MBh. In the latter, the scholar notes how the presence of *upamās* serves to reinforce an idea present throughout the narrative plan, to such an extent that one may assume that their consistent use depends on the very correlation between the two works. Instead, a categorisation of the most frequent *upamāna* clearly shows an undeniable

⁸ See for instance Mazzarino’s (1983: VIII) definition: “(*śabdālaṃkāra*) [...] puntano sull’aspetto meramente esteriore, o fonico, dell’espressione (schemi allitterativi o di rima, ecc.)”. Brockington (1977: 442) also translates the term *alaṃkāra* as ‘figures of speech’; however, following a remark by Sylvain Brocquet on the need to be faithful to Sanskrit, here I prefer to adopt the translation ‘ornament’, since the term ‘figures of speech’ conveys a Western concept.

⁹ In the comparison, the *upamāna* literally is ‘the object with which something is compared’, while the *upameya* is ‘that which is compared’ (cf. also Gerow 1971: 55).

predilection for deities. The *upamānas* pertaining to the ritual and sacrificial semantic area are also present, though in smaller numbers, while as far as the natural semantic area is concerned, fire occupies a prominent place among the *upamānas* mentioned in the Rām (Brockington 1977: 445-446) – especially when the common property (*sādhāraṇadharmā*) of *upameya* and *upamāna* is ‘splendour’. In addition to the *upamā*, other ornaments are present, but in a much smaller proportion,¹⁰ especially the *rūpaka*, which is mostly found in the classical epithetic form of the *karmadhāraya* compound of the *puruṣavyāghra*- type.¹¹ The sea is also often the favourite *upamāna* for identification with *śoka*- ‘pain’, an icastic image also variously attested in the MBh, in the Pāli canon and reiterated by Aśvaghoṣa, as Pontillo, Rossi’s (2003) study of occurrences shows.

Moreover, Kachru underlines Aśvaghoṣa’s reuse of zoomorphic similes of epic flavour for the characterisation of Sundarī, the bride of Nanda (Siddhārtha/Buddha’s brother); Yaśodharā, Siddhārtha’s bride and Gautamī, his putative mother (2019: 14).¹² As far as the *rūpaka* is concerned, Boccali, Pontillo (2010) recently studied its evolution by focusing on the complex metaphor, the *samastavastuviṣayarūpaka*, already present in Vedic texts. Scholars have also selected attestations in the MBh (2010: 111), which Aśvaghoṣa skilfully reiterates as part of a broader mythological, linguistic, textual and cultural reach (Rossi 2019; Falqui 2019). From a methodological point of view, the study of the dynamics of the reiteration of imagery and textual occurrences can be placed within the framework of studies on the origins of the Mahākāvya in verse (*sargabandha* lit. ‘chapter-construction’), the literary genre to which the BC and SN belong. Indeed, studies by Boccali (1999; 2008) and Sudyka (2011) have demonstrated the

¹⁰ See Brockington (1977: 449) for a detailed list in order of frequency of other *alamkāras* which includes alongside the *rūpaka*, the *utprekṣā*, the *atiśayokti* – not specified whether recurrent in the sense of hyperbole or *metaphora in absentia* – and the *śleṣa*.

¹¹ For a detailed and innovative discussion on the reading and interpretation of this type of compounds, see Mocci, Pontillo 2019.

¹² In Rām 6.23.3 Sītā is compared to a *kurarī*, a female predatory hawk, since she gives voice to her agony at the sight of her husband’s lifeless body, just as the bird would do on seeing its companion become prey. Likewise, Yaśodharā and Sundarī’s heartbreaking cry on realising that they have been abandoned by their beloved is compared to the shriek of a female *cakravāka* in BC 8.60 and SN 6.30, and of a *kurarī* in BC 8.51. For a refined and accurate excursus on the evolution of the poetic motif related to the image of the *cakravāka* in Sanskrit literature, see Pieruccini 2002.

existence of a continuum between Itihāsa and Mahākāvya. The latter, in fact, will reach a level of elaboration and refinement over the centuries, represented at its peak by the communicative effectiveness of the *muktaka* (Boccali 1999: 259).

Beginning with the first Western language translation of the first chapter of the *Buddhacarita* by Sylvain Levi (1892) followed by Cowell's (1893) critical edition of the same, countless studies have been devoted to Aśvaghoṣa. These tend to be set within a philosophical-historical and literary framework that is as all-encompassing as possible, often emphasising the philosophical-religious dimension.¹³ However, much remains to be studied of the dimension of literary self-awareness and the dynamics of stylistic-literary framing, which qualify Aśvaghoṣa as unique in the early days of Kāvya art literature (Hiltebeitel 2006: 233-235; Olivelle 2008: XVII-XXIII). His peculiar status as a Brahmin convert to Buddhism (Johnston 1984: XIII-XXIV) made him a privileged observer of the epic-literary heritage that preceded him and an eclectic promoter of the new Buddhist ideology through hermeneutical, linguistic, and rhetorical tools known to a learned public.

Lienhard defines Aśvaghoṣa's works "as a device for religious propaganda" (1984: 165) and Olivelle (2008: 396), together with Eltschinger (2013a: 169), interprets the BC as an apologia for philosophical debate – a characterisation also shared by Salomon (2009: 190) for SN. It is also true that, in the Mahākāvyas BC and SN, the Buddhist belief is proposed as a continuum of Brahmanical ideology, a self-professed successor that goes beyond. In fact, the doctrine is never presented directly, but via the *exempla* of the life of the founder himself and the conversion of his brother. Moreover, for the message to be better understood by his erudite courtly audience, Aśvaghoṣa superimposes the ideals of topical kingship embodied by the champions of Brahmanical Dharma, such as the heroes of the MBh, on the essentially ascetic image of Siddhārtha/Buddha (Hiltebeitel 2006; 2011; Pontillo 2013a; Brocquet 2015).

¹³ After conducting an in-depth study of Aśvaghoṣa's canonical sources, Eltschinger (2013ab, 2019) finally concludes that, although it is impossible to correctly identify the Buddhist school of affiliation of the proto-Mūlasarvāstivāda *milieu*, the BC must be considered a pioneering work, on account of certain philosophical themes it deals with.

The interpretative paradigm adopted here to establish the author's degree of self-awareness is offered by Tubb, Bronner (2008). They present the retrospective of 16th-century Indian rhetoricians in relation to the great models of the *alaṃkāraśāstra*, affirming the importance of the creative poetic *ratio* in relation to the guidelines of the past. They also highlight that a correct historical-literary interpretation must essentially be able to distinguish between what is radically new and what is only so at the normative level. In defining the methodological approach implemented, Tubb and Bronner therefore make use of the notion of self-awareness (2008: 630-632). In fact, the diachronic reading offered in relation to the dialogue between a new generation of rhetoricians and the previous one proposes a starting point for the analysis that we intend to conduct here.

In a way, Aśvaghōṣa can assume the status of a self-aware poet, precisely because of the specificity of the genre within which his works are inscribed. Indeed, the formal distinctiveness of the Mahākāvya and, above all, the *sargabandha* lies precisely in the intent of the two poems, intrinsic to the genre itself from the very beginning (Sudyka 2011: 29-30). The first *discrimen* that characterises the Mahākāvya within the broader Kāvya movement is its belonging to a very precise, unique, and unrepeatable historical-cultural dimension in Indian literary history, namely the varied and fertile dimension of the court epic.¹⁴

¹⁴ Note also Daṇḍin's own authoritative definition of the genre at the beginning of the treatise (DKA 1.14-18): *sargabandho mahākāvyaṃ ucyate tasya lakṣaṇam | āśīr namaskriyā vastunirdeśo vāpi tanmukham || itihāsakathodbhūtam itarad vā sadāśrayam | caturvargaphalāyattam caturodāttanāyakam || nagarārṇavaśailartucandrārṅkodayavarṇanaiḥ | udyānasalilakrīḍāmadhupānaratotsavaiḥ || vipralambhair vivāhaiś ca kumārodayavarṇanaiḥ | mantradūtaprayāñjīnāyakābhyudayair api || alaṃkṛtam asaṃkṣiptam rasabhāvanirantaram | sargair anativistīrṇaiḥ śravyavṛttaiḥ susaṃdhibhiḥ ||* 'Composition-in-Cantos is a long poem (Mahākāvya) and its definition is being given [now]: Its opening is a benediction, a salutation, or a naming of the principal theme; It springs from a historical incident or is otherwise based upon some fact; it turns upon the fruition of the fourfold ends and its hero is clever and noble; By descriptions of cities, oceans, mountains, seasons, and risings of the moon or the sun; through sportings in garden or water, and festivities of drinking and love; Through sentiments-of-love-in-separation and through marriages, by descriptions of the birth-and-rise of Princes, and likewise through state-counsel, embassy, advance, battle, and the hero's triumph; Embellished; not too condensed, and pervaded all through with poetic sentiments and emotions; with cantos none too lengthy and having agreeable metres and well-formed joints'. (tr. Belvalkar 1924). See also Smith (1985: 14) and Peterson (2003: 1).

Peterson (2003) identifies the competency functions of the Mahākāvya genre and its direct and indirect dialogue with the traditional epic, of which a prominent feature is the aesthetic purpose realised through the *alamkāra*. In dealing – from a purely logical point of view – with the rhetorical implications of the term, Gerow (1971: 17) states that in the tradition of Indian technical literature, the concept of poetry came into being closely linked to that of poetic use, bound once and for all to the expressive form rather than to the content. Thus, the repeated use of rhetorical figures responds to the Mahākāvya’s secondary intent: the celebration of royal glory, the *śrī* that is to be exalted and made constantly relevant, a reminder to loyal subjects of the monarch’s socially active role. In this sense, one can recognise in the BC the declination in the Buddhist sense of the topical motifs celebrating the royal power of the Mahākāvya that capture the ‘royal milieu’ (Peterson 2003: 12) pervading the entire poem, which Smith, on the contrary, defined as an ‘anti-court epic’ (1985: 25).¹⁵

Thus, Aśvaghōṣa would seem to fulfil both the paradigmatic criteria set forth by Tubb and Bronner to be identified as an innovative poet, insofar as he reworks traditional epic material in a Buddhist key, skilfully using an active manipulation of language on a rhetorical-formal level, and the typological premises of Indian culture itself.¹⁶ Furthermore, taking into account the historical-textual premises regarding the attestations of the *upamā* and *rūpaka* in the epic sources on which Aśvaghōṣa contextually draws, especially with regard to the values of Dharma and

¹⁵ Smith defines the poem in this sense due to the presence of the motif of the Buddha’s abandonment of duties and renunciation of the kingdom, which would be symptoms of a cultural contrast that Aśvaghōṣa would thus be denouncing. However, Hildebeitel 2006 and Pontillo 2013a interpret Siddhārtha’s renunciation of the kingdom in antithesis to his father rejecting such a choice as Aśvaghōṣa’s actual response to his contemporary socio-cultural context.

¹⁶ Torella (2008: 19-20) employs the eloquent expressions of “eterno presente spazializzato” and “sincronica stratificazione di presenti” which account for the absence of dynamism in the evolution of ancient Indian epistemology and the “apparente rifuggire dall’innovazione” that constitutes an existential condition of the broader Indian mentality. The relationship with innovation in the Indian world has always been seen as undermining the omniscience and authoritativeness of the ancient source, in fact India “verrebbe a patti con la storia attraverso la sua virtuale negazione”, defining the speculative moment represented by the *śāstra* as a fundamental step in the transmission of knowledge. The phenomenon of exegesis is nominally limited to offering a reading that adapts the texts over time, but also actually updates them for the benefit of the contemporary reader.

Brahmanism,¹⁷ he knows how to make himself a knowledgeable medium by employing conceptual metaphors to convey Nanda's conversion dynamic, as demonstrated by Covill (2009). The scholar gives an account of an interpretation of the metaphors present in the SN, which she calls "root metaphors" (2009: 6), that is rhetorical mechanisms bound to the linguistic plane which are paradigmatic of Nanda's vocational journey, as it is represented icastically throughout the entire poem.

The use of the *rūpaka* as a tool for structural manipulation of the text is one of the rhetorical devices typical of the Mahākāvya and especially of the *sargabandha*, as it permits the superimposition of two referents, the *upameya* and the *upamāna*. Moreover, from a narrative point of view, the Mahākāvya and *sargabandha* share one quality, namely the extensive use of lyrical-descriptive digression. The metaphorical mechanism is a highly productive poetic phenomenon which helps to expand the narrative out of proportion for literary and, in Aśvaghōṣa's case, for didactic-moral purposes. In Aśvaghōṣa, the metaphor is an established and fruitful stylistic feature, of the kind Covill calls "conceptual metaphors" (2009: 282),¹⁸ emphasising an almost "coercive" function underlying its masterly use, contributing to touch the chords of the intimate feeling of faith, effectively awakened in its contemporary audience.

¹⁷ I refer to Tokunaga's 2006 and, later, Hildebeitel's 2006 notes on the structural parallels between some *adhyāyas* of MBh 12 and the BC. I also refer to Eltschinger 2018 for similar considerations focused on the figure of Śuddhodana.

¹⁸ Applying Lakoff and Johnson's cognitivist theory (1980).

I.II. DIACHRONIC ANALYSIS OF THE CONCEPTS OF METAPHOR AND SIMILE AND FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Let us now take a motivated jump over a few centuries and perform a diachronic analysis of how the rhetoricians enucleated the technical definitions of the *alaṃkāras* in question. However, it should be emphasised that there is absolutely no intention to retro-project later theories into an earlier historical context.

Starting from Bharata (NŚ 16.57), let us note how *upamā* and *rūpaka* gradually come to be defined on the logical and textual level of use.

svavikalpena racitaṃ tulyāvayavalakṣaṇam |
kiñcitsādrśyasampannaṃ yad rūpaṃ rūpakaṃ tu tat ||
 ‘That which is produced by the poet’s imagination in a form characterised by comparable parts and endowed with partial similarity, this is the *rūpaka*’.

Notably, in this first delineation of what a *rūpaka* actually is, Bharata emphasises the concept of a *rūpa*, a ‘form’ or ‘representation’ created (*racitaṃ*) from parts (*avayava*) that are *tulya* ‘comparable’ and which combine to create a certain similarity (*kiñcitsādrśya-*). In this case, the denotation of a logical relationship without any formal consideration is manifest. The proponents of the different interpretations of the logical and rhetorical role of *rūpaka* are also the first authors of the classical era who initiated reflection and theorisation on the same. In fact, Bhāmaha (c. 6th century CE) and Daṇḍin (c. 7th century CE) provide a broader perspective of what should be included, *a posteriori*, in the Mahākāvya genre and what, from a rhetorical point of view, should be identified as *alaṃkāra* – still not objectively divided into *śabdālaṃkāra* and *arthālaṃkāra*. With the critical reflection of the two rhetoricians, the great season of the Kāvyaśāstra began, culminating with Rudraṭa (mid-9th century CE).¹⁹

Long before Rudraṭa’s formal delineation of the principles of *śāstra* and proceeding backwards beyond Uḍbhata (Bhāmaha’s main commentator) and

¹⁹ See Smith (1985: 29) for an appraisal of Rudraṭa’s role in the conceptual evolution of the Mahākāvya genre: “[...] Rudraṭa gives what amounts to a generalised picture of the *mahākāvya* as known to him. His prescriptive account relates to what he calls ‘invented’ [...] as distinct from ‘non-invented’ or true, historical *mahākāvya*”.

Vāmana (8th CE), Bronner (2012; 2016) has attested, not without question, a temporal gap that exists between the first lights of the Mahākāvya genre – represented by the works of Aśvaghōṣa – and the need, on the part of Indian scholars, to order and systematise future norms to be followed for the use and consumption of a court art literature.²⁰ This is the context in which he places Bhāmaha’s *Kāvyaḷamkāra* (henceforth BhKA) and Daṇḍin’s *Kāvyaḷarśa* (henceforth DKA), the two works to be considered as true manuals for a *kavi* ‘poet’, that is the two masterpieces of the genre in its early days. Although both treaties are defined by Gerow (1977: 227) as “remarkably similar in point of view, content and purpose”, from a qualitative rather than formal point of view, the DKA, stands out as the most comprehensive treatise in the tradition of Indian rhetoric, dealing with a timely discrimination of over thirty different types of *upamā* and about a dozen *rūpakas* (Covill 2009: 13; Bronner 2010: 228). This inventory is at times so slavish and subtle in its enumeration of the different types that the subtle difference between one type and another, so foreign to the Western taste for synthesis, sometimes goes unnoticed.

The material is presented according to a different structuring, especially with regard to the anteriority between *upamā* and *rūpaka*; in fact, Bhāmaha begins his treatise in a manner more in keeping with the indigenous tradition, starting with *rūpaka* and ending with a discussion of the *upamā*, with the simile conceived and considered as a supersession of metaphor but also as one of its derivatives:

²⁰ Gerow (1977: 29) highlights the rhetorical-stylistic quality of some passages in Aśvaghōṣa, centuries before Kālidāsa, and points out how, surprisingly, one must wait some six centuries before a codification of the stylistic elements.

BhKA 2.21

*upamānena yat tattvam upameyasya rūpyate |
guṇānām samatām dṛṣṭvā rūpakam nāma tad
viduḥ ||*

‘The fact that the essence of the subject of comparison is transformed by means of an object of comparison, after perceiving the similarity of qualities, this is known as *rūpaka*’.²¹

DKA 2.66a

upamaiva tirobhūtabhedā rūpakam ucyate |

‘The *upamā* [in which] difference is set aside is called *rūpaka*’²²

Daṇḍin works against the tide and in a somewhat innovative manner, gives the *upamā* the status of a new-fangled ornament²³ and then treats the *rūpaka* as a rhetorical mechanism of recent acquisition (Gerow 1977: 230). Moreover, he takes the *upamā* as a model, although he addresses the thematic discourse on *rūpaka* at the end of his discussion, where he offers an extremely precise definition of it as a device.²⁴

Candotti, Pontillo (2017), looking at the text through the lens of technical grammatical literature, note that Daṇḍin’s reading of *rūpaka* corresponds, from an analytical and logical point of view, to Pāṇini’s *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 2.1.56 rule.²⁵ This

²¹ The translation of *rūpyate* is consistent with Pontillo’s statement (2015: 164): “in this [ed. buddhist] linguistic-speculative context [...] we could also perhaps advance the hypothesis that the verbal form *rūpyate* [...] actually had the Buddhist sense of “to be overwhelmed, to be changed into”.

²² The concept of *bheda* ‘difference’ is taken up centuries later by Mammaṭa, whose enunciation of the *rūpaka* enunciates how the principal quality of metaphor is in essence the *abheda* ‘non-difference’ between the *upameya* and the *upamāna* (KP 10.139): *tadrūpakam abhedo ya upamānopameyayoḥ | atisāmyāt anapahnutabhedayoḥ abhedah ||* ‘The *rūpaka* consists in the non-difference between the object and the subject of comparison; the non-difference [consists] in an extreme similarity between two objects whose difference is not negated’. For further considerations on Mammaṭa’s poetics, see Divekar 1927; Gerow (1977: 271-274) and, more recently, Cummins 2018.

²³ In any case, from a logical point of view, the similarity forms the basis of the two ornaments of the *upamā* and the *rūpaka*.

²⁴ See Bronner (2010: 215) who notes that the fact that Daṇḍin focuses primarily on similarity in comparison to any other *alaṅkāra* is paradigmatic. Also, Candotti, Pontillo (2017: 353): “[...] Daṇḍin seems to re-use part of Bhāmaha’s terminology, in order to consider the opposition between compounded (*samasta-*) and un-compounded (*vyasta-*) *rūpakas*, and since he puts both kinds of example in parallel, it is self-evident that he analyses the former as endocentric compounds (namely *tatpuruṣas* of the *karmadhāraya* type)”.

²⁵ See Candotti, Pontillo (2017: 367): “A 2.1.56 *upamitaṃ vyāghrādibhiḥ sāmānyāprayoge*. ‘[A nominal *pada*] denoting an object which is estimated combines with a nominal *pada* of the list beginning with *vyāghra*, provided that no nominal *pada* denoting a generic property is used, [to derive a *tatpuruṣa karmadhāraya* compound]”.

prescribes the formation and use of the comparative compound type, involving a subject of comparison measured and compared with another element. In Daṇḍin's case, the hand (*pāṇi-*) and the lotus flower (*padma-*) represent the first and second terms of comparison. Indeed, the very type of *pāṇipadma* -compound,²⁶ which Daṇḍin treats as a derivative of the *upamā*, is instead described in Pāṇini's grammar as a *karmadhāraya* in which the two elements are co-referent with each other.

However, it is relevant to point out that Daṇḍin's definition already attests to the earliest examples of the types of compounds that are also present in Pāṇini and thus plausibly ancient. Furthermore, the rhetorician takes a further step forward in his reflection on *rūpaka*, as he spontaneously and precisely distinguishes between uncompounded and compounded *rūpaka* (*asamastarūpaka* and *samastarūpaka*).

The essential difference in Daṇḍin's contribution to the more traditional view embodied by Bhāmaha lies in the concept of *āropaṇa* (*ā-√ruh-*), lit. 'to superimpose'. The *rūpaka* is thus interpreted through the image implied by the superimposition of the object of comparison on the subject. At the same time, his contribution is also most conservative, as he combines examples derived from the earlier commentary tradition²⁷ using a different terminology to that employed by Bhāmaha, who does not differentiate between compound and non-compound types of *rūpaka* (Bronner 2016: 93).

Although Bhāmaha adopts an expository procedure that in some respects mirrors Daṇḍin's, he imprints a reasoning according to a more traditional procedure, in line with the Vedic tradition. Moreover, his definition of *rūpaka* focuses on grasping the *tattva*²⁸ the 'essence of the *upameya*, and, while he devotes much time to the

²⁶ The compound can traditionally be interpreted as *pāṇir eva asau padmaḥ* (*adaḥ padmam*) lit. 'this lotus indeed are hands' and *vice versa*.

²⁷ Reference is made to the examples of identification in the form of a syntagma and that of a compound, which is more concise but more effective from the point of view of the imagery and figurative communication typical of Kāvya.

²⁸ Also 'reality'. According to Black (1962), one cannot conceptualise language as a mirror of reality, but rather as something that conforms to one's experience of reality from time to time. A cognitivist reading of the technical passages of the rhetoricians of the classical *śāstra* epoch can be useful for a timely diachronic analysis and bring into focus the long-standing interpretative knot of the conceptual polarisation of the discrimination between *upamā* and *rūpaka*.

exemplification of comparative compounds, nevertheless “no comment on the specific typology of these compounds is hinted at” (Candotti, Pontillo 2017: 352).

Pontillo (2015: 164-168) has recently proposed an interpretative reading of the cultural context of Buddhist influence, represented by the attestation of the verb *rūpyate*, of which no trace seems to appear before Bhāmaha. Indeed, the scholar does not believe that the rhetorician could have been influenced by the NŚ in intuiting such a definition due to conceptual differences. Instead, focusing attention on the Buddhist heritage would demonstrate similarities in hermeneutic perspectives. Above all, the reflection on *tattva* proves to be productive in enucleating a biunivocal concept of *rūpaka*. Finally, Gerow (1971: 25) recognises Bhāmaha as inferior, if not primitive, when compared to Daṇḍin, because he interprets his attempt to systematise the mechanisms of figuration as simply an intent to make a collection of them.

As regards the cognitive moment, Covill (2009: 20) on the level of poetic praxis and then Pontillo (2013b: 15) in terms of poetic theory have pointed out that cognitive linguistics theories on metaphor can be consistently and fruitfully used within the broader *śāstrin* debate on *rūpaka*. This is especially relevant to the typology of the conceptual metaphor (Covill 2009: 20; Pontillo 2013b: 15).

One can apply cognitivist theories to the philosophical speculation advocated by Daṇḍin’s *Kāvyaḍarśa*, through the exemplification of the concept of *samādhi* (DKA 1.100), i.e., a “superimposition of the attributes of one object on another” (Pontillo 2013b: 18), where the attributes concern an action (*kriyā*). The rhetorician does not deal with *samādhi* in the section on *alaṃkāra*, but includes this device among the qualities (*guṇas*) that must govern good poetic composition. This is consistent with the application of Lakoff’s (1989) cognitivist concept of “source-to-target-mapping”, i.e., correspondences proper to the metaphorical expression that pertain to the domain of the subject of comparison (source domain) and the domain of the object of comparison (target domain) respectively. Thus, given the value of the ‘metaphorical/ordinary use’ of *samādhi*, it can be argued that this is not only a *guṇa* but also a stylistic device that becomes “a mark of good poetry, according to the *alaṃkāra-śāstra*-authors” (Pontillo 2013b: 21) and attests to a *continuum* between the creative and conventional use of metaphor.

To conclude the present reflection on the role of metaphor as an active participant in the cognitive moment and, above all, the interpretation of this value offered by the technical-rhetorical works of the earliest authors since the genre's beginnings, the exemplification of the question is considered as being preparatory to the understanding of how far Aśvaghoṣa's use of *rūpaka* can be coherently framed within these theoretical assumptions.

Indeed, it is also believed that the proposed observations may help to demonstrate that he was an active precursor in using rhetoric not only as an expedient, but above all as a means of knowledge (*pramāṇa*). In this regard, Covill (2009) has already shown how in the SN the metaphors used are geared towards creating a network that follows the thread of Nanda's conversion. Even more so, it is believed that the cataloguing of the *samastarūpaka* in the BC rightly confirms Aśvaghoṣa's precise will to place the three lines of grammatical,²⁹ rhetorical and conceptual/doctrinal use³⁰ in a three-dimensional plane. The aim would therefore be to connote the figure of Siddhārtha/Buddha by alluding to the epic cultural substratum of the ascetic-warrior.³¹

To sum up what we have seen so far, it is not far-fetched from a literary-historical point of view to read Aśvaghoṣa as a poet who was well-aware of the semantic potential of analogy-related ornaments. In fact, his works contain the epic model *reworked* on the level of genre in a poetic key (reduction of the number of verses and digressions typical of the great ancient poems with an encyclopaedic function)

²⁹ Johnston is sceptical about Aśvaghoṣa's absolute and intentional adherence to Pāṇini's rules, but does not rule out the possibility of a direct relationship with the source (1936: LXVII): "We do not know on what grammar he relied, but if it is not surprising to find that as an Easterner he does not adhere strictly to the principles of Pāṇini, different grammars can only differ in minor matters, such as whether certain variant forms or constructions are allowable or not, and consequently when he parades his knowledge of abstruse rules of grammar, we can often find them in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*".

³⁰ See Boccali, Pontillo (2010: 117-118): "As A. K. Warder (*ibid.*) states, and as in part we have already mentioned, the two *mahākāvya*-s of Aśvaghoṣa contain numerous examples of *samasta* and of other very interesting forms of complex metaphors (and of similes [...]). [...] Of extreme interest, we would say, to broaden the subject, are two examples of *alamkāra* that we found which constitute a form of transition, or perhaps rather of fusion, between the *samastaviśaya*- (*upamā*) and the true *śleṣa*".

³¹ Consider, for example, the comparison between the *samastarūpaka* *siṃhagati*- 'lion's gait' in BC 1.15 and the recurring cross-references in MBh 1.180.20 and 2.68.23 (Falqui 2019: 41-42).

and *adapted* in a functional manner – on the level of content – to the narration intended to convey the Buddhist message. Moreover, it has been *manipulated* in terms of language, because an intertextual link is clearly established with the context of the MBh and the Rām through the rhetorical use of metaphor, in order to set up a dense network of allusive games, capable of stimulating the audience’s interest and ‘challenging’ them to remember and associate ideas and images.³²

³² In this regard, see the comparison between the *samastarūpaka bāṣpapratodābhīhata-* in BC 9.1 and the similarly structured compound *vākyapratodābhīhata-* in MBh 142*.4 after 1.2.156, a verse excised from the Critical Edition. (Falqui 2019: 49).

1. Search for intertextuality: hints and evidence

1.1 PREMISE AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

1.1.1 Research premise

The present dissertation postulates and tries to demonstrate the intertextual relationship between Aśvaghoṣa's Mahākāvya and the epic poems belonging to the Itihāsa genre. This was achieved not without difficulty and change of plans. The initial underlying hypothesis was directed towards the application of Genette's 1982 category of hypertextuality³³ to Aśvaghoṣa's BC and the MBh, postulating that the author must have been familiar with a certain contemporary written version of the epics, nearer to the archetype. However, the roots of such a hypothesis lie in the unsolid ground of MBh *traditio*,³⁴ and thus far beyond the scope of a three-year long PhD. In fact, the hypothesised intertextual relationship was hinged on two preliminarily stated questions:

- a) which version of the MBh text was Aśvaghoṣa reading at his time, and whether it was possible to reconstruct this MBh version through the systematic comparison of cross-references between the BC/SN and MBh texts;
- b) whether this version could be significantly chronologically close to the MBh archetype.

³³ The structuralist theory of hypertextuality postulates a relationship of absolute dependence of a text B (hypertext, i.e., the BC) on a preceding text A (hypotext, i.e., the MBh), see Genette 1982.

³⁴ A disclaimer must be made regarding my use of Latin and sometimes Ancient Greek herein. For instance, by using the noun *traditio* (from the compounded verb **trans-dō* > *trādo* 'to transmit/pass on') I imply the philological and textological issues that a text undergoes during its transmission in time and space.

The second of the two points involving the backdating of the MBh proved to be trickier to put into practice, since it rests on an ambiguous theoretical background relating to the long-standing question of its dating³⁵ which regards:

- 1) the level of the historical reconstruction of the text due to the so-called Northern and Southern Recensions, and the consequent difficulty of examining an immense quantity of MBh manuscripts;
- 2) the philological and critical dimension that questions the operational logic which caused the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute [BORI] to sometimes excise very large portions of the text and, ultimately, adopt one particular recension at the expense of another in key sections of the work.

Furthermore, from a methodological point of view, the basic interpretative paradigm was reconsidered. As a result, the ambition to reconstruct and backdate the MBh has been drastically reduced. This has been done with the more realistic intention of placing more emphasis on the multifaceted literary and cultural reconstruction of the relationship between the SN/BC and the epic. Specifically, the current field of research on the intertextual relationships between the epic genre (Itihāsa) and the Kāvya and Mahākāvya genres, supported by the Polish and Italian schools of Indology, was considered in the development of the research. Hence the need to incorporate theoretical perspectives from the major works of rhetorical and aesthetic literature (*alaṃkāraśāstra*). These have traditionally been regarded as canonical because of their special reflections on the sphere of theatre and on poetry. They are also preparatory to understanding how the tradition has worked out the main theories of analogy, which are *in nuce* in Āsvaghōṣa's work.

While this study did not achieve the goal of reconstructing a contemporary version of the MBh, as tentatively stated in its earlier stages, there was some

³⁵ Dating epic sources is indeed a delicate matter. Biardeau (1999: XXXIII, II-III) has suggested that the MBh should be dated after Aśoka (200 BCE), while the Rām is dated “around 100 BCE after the conversion of the law to Buddhism” (Hiltebeitel 2001: 19 fn73). Furthermore, Hiltebeitel (2001: 18) suggested that “the *Mahābhārata* was composed between the mid-second century B.C. and the year zero”. See recently Brodbeck (2023: 10), who summarises as follows: “[The MBh and the Rām] are usually dated to roughly the same period: the last few centuries BCE and the first few centuries CE. The earliest recoverable documents of these stories may have developed out of pre-existing texts and narrative traditions”.

evidence that a core of MBh and Rām books could be identified from which Aśvaghōṣa may have drawn most. This is achieved and demonstrated through analysis of the books to which the selected cross-references belonged:

Table 1 Diagram showing which MBh books Aśvaghōṣa refers to most often.

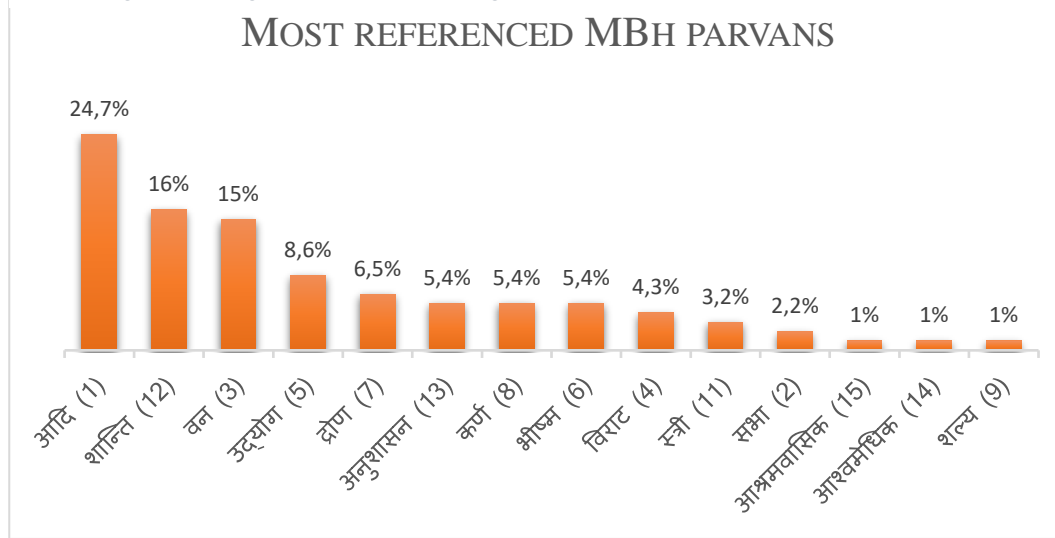
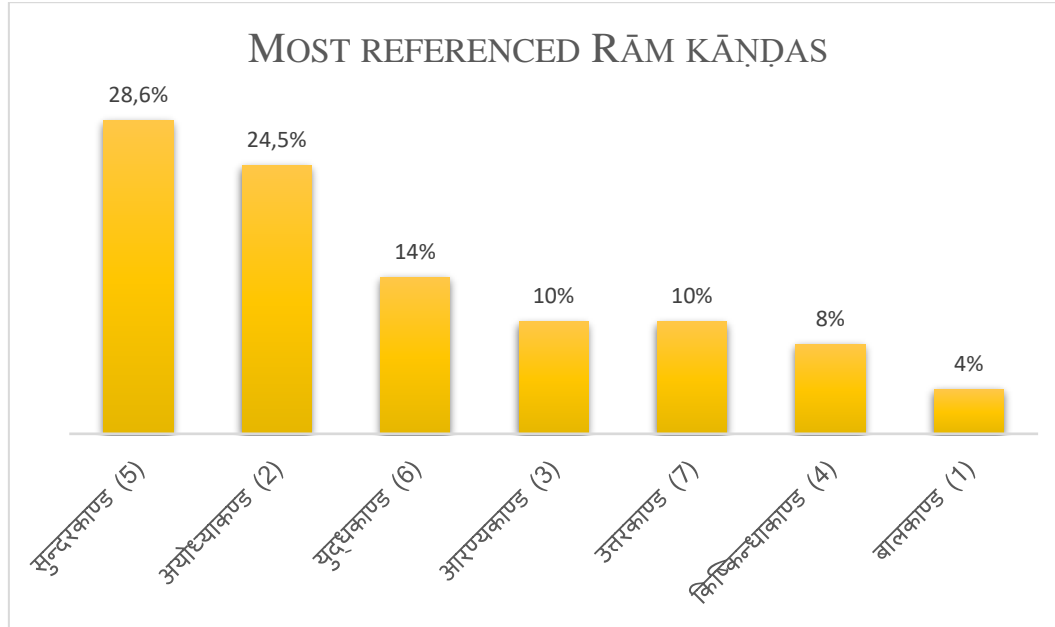


Table 2 Diagram showing which Rām kāṇḍas Aśvaghōṣa refers to most often.



In practice, this means starting with the total number of cross-references to the MBh and Rām, sorted by the number of books in which the cross-references occur, and finding the books from which the author can be shown to have drawn the most.³⁶ For example, with regard to the MBh, the books from which Aśvaghoṣa seems to have drawn most frequently are the *Ādīparvan* (24.7% of occurrences), the *Śāntīparvan* (16%) and the *Vanaparvan* (15%).

This analysis provides linguistic, textual and statistical evidence in support of the scholarly contention that Aśvaghoṣa was indeed influenced by some sections of the *Śāntīparvan* only in terms of narrative and contents.³⁷ More importantly, in addition to Tokunaga's considerations which already contradicted Johnston's (1936: XLVII) assessment that "despite the many parallels we cannot establish that Aśvaghoṣa knew any part of the epic in the form in which we now have it", the present analysis definitively refutes it.³⁸ It also provides further evidence that other books were crucial among Aśvaghoṣa's sources of influence, not only for doctrinal and didactic purposes, but also for a certain perception of the use of *alamkāras*. For example, the *Ādīparvan*, which contains passages from the book that the BORI had excised, but with which he was in fact familiar.

³⁶ The total number obviously refers to all the references cited in this study, as they can be found in the corresponding index of passages.

³⁷ On the matter see Byodo (1930: 560), and Brockington (1998: 485): "Interestingly, the destruction of the Vṛṣṇis and Andhakas also figures as a moral warning in Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* but the author probably took it directly from the *Mahābhārata* (and definitely draws on the *Śāntīparvan*), although he also refers to a story [...] which is not found in the extant epic, so he may have had other sources". See also Tokunaga (2006: 136): "Byodo summarizes the results of his study under five heads: (1) myths, (2) Sāṃkhya teachers, (3) the topic "younger people sometimes supersede older in achievement," (4) thought-historical, rhetorical, linguistic correspondences, and (5) the relationship between the *Buddhacarita* and the *Mokṣadharmaparvan* (pp. 543-564). Upon the investigation of these topics he concludes that Aśvaghoṣa was influenced by the *Mokṣadharmā* in his account of the Buddha's life (p.560)". Hildebeitel (2006: 268-269) also adds some supporting arguments to the matter of Aśvaghoṣa's familiarity with the twelfth book: "It would seem likely to be a question not only of elements of the *Mokṣadharmā* and the *Buddhacarita* drawing on some common sources, but of a reading of the *Śāntīparvan* in some state of "extant" totality", and Eltschinger (2018: 311-314) provides a useful overview of the *status quaestionis*.

³⁸ See Tokunaga (2006: 136): "However, Byodo's argument is not sufficient because it is also possible to assume that the two texts borrowed parallel elements independently from a common source, as pointed out by E. H. Johnston [...]. Johnston's judgment is not convincing, either, for he is not aware of a clear correspondence in the structure of the story between the chapters 9-10 of the *Buddhacarita* and the *Śāntī* opening".

Similar considerations can be made regarding the chart that shows the most referenced *kāṇḍas* of the Rām. Over the course of more than a century, scholars have been increasingly inclined to recognise an influence of the Rām in the work of Aśvaghoṣa, and some positions more than others can be regarded as crucial in acknowledging his intimate acquaintance with the epic source (e.g., Gawroński 1914, 1919; Gurner 1927b). Analysing the data included in the present study ultimately supports such positions and opens up new considerations.

For example, as first noted by Cowell (1893: xi), the above chart confirms that the *Sundarakāṇḍa* is undoubtedly the most common book of the Rām from which Aśvaghoṣa drew. In fact, it accounts for almost 30% of the total cross-referenced verses. The second most referenced book is in fact the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, which accounts for 24.5% of the total references. This confirms the earlier findings of Gawroński (1919) and Gurner (1927b: 363-366), who also first noted the similarities between the *alaṃkāras* used by Aśvaghoṣa and those involved in the second *kāṇḍa*. In addition, to the best of my knowledge, the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* has not been the focus of intensive research into the relationship between the epics and the Kāvya. As a matter of fact, the data show that this book appears as the third most frequently referenced book (14% of the cross-references). Furthermore, Johnston (1936: XLIX) suggested that Aśvaghoṣa had no knowledge of the *Bālakāṇḍa* “as we now have it”, and indeed the data confirm that it has the least number of references (only 4%). However, in the light of the present analysis, which shows that 10% of the cross-references belong to the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, his remark that there is “no reason to suppose that the poet knew any part” of this *kāṇḍa* might be objected to.

What is clear from these diagrams is that Aśvaghoṣa clearly had knowledge of these parts of the epic texts. Thus, we now know that Aśvaghoṣa was mainly familiar with the narrative content of *parvans* 1 and 12 of the MBh and *kāṇḍas* 5 and 2 of the Ram, and this demonstration is based on a narratological rather than a stylistic approach, although if Gawroński (1919) and Gurner (1927b) have already addressed this issue, but quite briefly. Now that we have discussed the narrative material that Aśvaghoṣa knew from the epics, what can be said about the presumed influence and intertextuality on the stylistic material? Based on these assumptions, this thesis aims to answer this question.

1.1.2 Methodological approach

Furthermore, from a methodological point of view, the basic interpretative paradigm was reconsidered. However, in the light of realistically attainable results, I opted for the adoption of the more generic intertextual criterion, since the application of the Genettian theory presupposes a solid aprioristic knowledge of the historical-cultural and philosophical-religious conditions in which the hypertext was composed, conditions that this research can only postulate and not concretely demonstrate.³⁹ In the end, the aim of the present research was to compare Aśvaghōṣa's Mahākāvya with the epic sources, i.e., the MBh and the Rām, to demonstrate a formal, rhetorical and semantical, intertextual relationship between the aforementioned works.

In the first stage of the research, all the tentatively selected *upamā* and *rūpaka* in Aśvaghōṣa's Mahākāvya were filed. The figures were then tentatively catalogued according to three different semantic macro-areas (i.e. divine, natural, and human – the latter referring to human life and material culture)⁴⁰. The cross-references were then compared with the epic sources on a case-by-case basis by scanning the online *corpora* (DCS, GRETIL and TITUS). If the reference referred to a passage in the MBh that cited a *lectio* that had been excised from the Critical Edition, I consulted the relevant appendices.

³⁹ For instance, if one takes for granted that Aśvaghōṣa could indeed have lived in the first half of the 1st century CE (Hiltebeitel 2006: 234) then, one could postulate that the MBh would have been sufficiently widespread at his time, also because of Yardi's (1986) assumption that one lakh of MBh *śloka*s were well-known in South India in 50 CE. However, if we endorse Eltschinger's (2013) proposal for dating Aśvaghōṣa between the 1st and the 2nd century CE, his Mahākāvya could consequently become more chronologically distant from the epic archetype.

⁴⁰ As far as the human semantic category is concerned, I maintain the categorisation of Sharma (1988 [1964]: 103, 112). However, I am grateful for Professor Stefania Cavaliere's suggestion to qualify the human semantic category as 'cultural' according to Vassilkov's (2002: 15) mention of Olga Freidenberg's 1946 classification of Homeric similes as referring to "everyday life and work processes" (cf. Freidenberg, Olga (1946) "Proiskhozhdenije epicheskogo sravnenija (na materiale "Iliady)", in: *Trudy jubilejnoj nauchnoj sessii. Sektsija filologičeskikh nauk*, Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Leningradskogo universiteta, 104-115).

The study was then formally revised and expanded. Particular attention has been paid to the translation of each example from both the Mahākāvya and the epic sources, with the aim of facilitating structural, syntactic and rhetorical understanding of the material under study. In addition, the present research also aims to provide an overview of the material covered in each chapter, thus facilitating its elaboration. It was therefore deemed appropriate to subordinate the semantic division of the chapters to a more formal one reflecting the rhetorical classification of the *alaṃkāras*.

The selected stanzas are followed by a literal translation. This is favoured over a more elegant and poetic translation, to better focus on the logical structure of the *alaṃkāras* that express an analogy. Whenever an *upamā* or a *rūpaka* are involved – be they *samasta* or *a-samasta*⁴¹ – the logical structure is made as clear as possible through an explanatory chart that seeks to explain the logical relationships within the *alaṃkāra*, highlighting each time the *upameya*, the *upamāna* and, whenever possible, the *sādhāraṇadharmā*, i.e. the common property.⁴² Then, the stanza from the Mahākāvya is followed by a commentary that discusses the evidence of intertextuality with passages from the epics and a literal translation whose lexical choices underline any possible similarities with Aśvaghoṣa’s texts.

As per the classification, I relied on a formal subdivision concerning the type of *alaṃkāras*, organised according to their complexity level from the perspective of intertextual reuse, namely from a more common type of reuse (e.g., formulas), to a more complex one entailing the same structure (e.g., *bimbapratibimba* relation, *utprekṣās* etc.). Furthermore, in the subdivision of certain paragraphs, I organised the *alaṃkāras* according to the semantic area to which the *upamānas* belong, considered as an useful heuristic tool.

The first chapter focuses on Aśvaghoṣa’s use of analogical matrices in the epic (§ 1.2), demonstrating his textual knowledge through almost direct quotations (§ 1.3). The second chapter highlights the intertextual strategy of reusing *upamās* (§ 2.1) and *rūpakas* in compounds (§ 2.2), identified here at a first level of rhetorical

⁴¹ There is no chart for an *utprekṣā* since this ornament envisages the context as the *upameya*.

⁴² The common property is often alluded to and thus any clarification would defile the rhetoric purpose of the *alaṃkāra*.

complexity. The aesthetic and rhetorical sophistication of Aśvaghoṣa's implementation of intertextual and intratextual strategies in relation to epic texts is discussed in the third chapter. In presenting the selected examples, the primary distinction consists in cataloguing the three semantic domains of the divine (§3.2.1), the natural (§3.2.2), and the human (§3.2.3).

The same main semantic subcategorisation is partially adopted in the presentation of the fourth chapter, which aims to discuss in detail how Aśvaghoṣa does not limit himself to a 'sterile' reuse of *alaṃkāra*. Indeed, in reusing *alaṃkāras*, he interpretively reshapes the logical structure of the *upamā* (e.g., the *bimba-pratibimba* relation § 4.3), reveals his poetic vision (e.g., the *utprekṣā*, § 4.1), and manifests an understanding of linguistic-allusive dynamics (e.g., the *śleṣa*, § 4.2).

1.1.3 Epic *topoi* present in Aśvaghoṣa's poems

The following section deals with some of the stanzas from BC and SN that I left aside, catalogued here according to the *upamāna*'s semantic area. These were initially considered relevant (and therefore translated) but discarded at a second reading. Others were matched by some epic reference but were considered as being not relevant in terms of intertextuality.

By including them in my thesis, I attempt to show the methodological process I used in order to distinguish between the passages from the Mahākāvya, which comply with criteria of strict comparison and those which instead are only vaguely similar. Thus, the stylistic process Aśvaghoṣa as a *kavi* used when composing according to epic inspiration will be made to reemerge. This is particularly consistent with theories regarding the origin of the Mahākāvya as being deeply rooted in the Itihāsa genre. For the complete list of the left-aside passages from both BC and SN, see Appendix I/II.

1.1.3.1 INDRA AS UPAMĀNA

As a matter of fact, Aśvaghoṣa reiterates the epic *topos* of identifying a hero – be he prince or king – with Indra, a widespread formulaic comparison used in the epics,

as well as in Vedic sources. Therefore, since the god Indra employed as an *upamāna* belongs to a wide imagery that transcends the aims of the present inquiry, all the occurrences in the BC and SN were omitted since they had no relevance for intertextuality. They merely demonstrate a common background of Vedic heritage from which Aśvaghōṣa draws. The comparisons are mainly operated through *samāśopamās* or *upamās*, sometimes with a *bimbapratibimba* relation (§ 4.3).

For instance, Siddhārtha is compared to Indra by means of the *samāśopamā indrakalpa-* ‘equal to Indra’ in BC 5.45, where the concubines entertain him, before he finally decides to leave. The compound is well-attested,⁴³ occurring 24 times in the MBh and 5 in the Rām (2.81.23; 5.46.1, 16; 6.60.30; 6.84.29). Similarly, it is employed again in BC 9.5, this time referred to Śuddhodana, whereas Siddhārtha is compared to Indra’s son Jayanta in a symmetrical *samāśopamā*, e.g., *jayantakalpa-* ‘equal to Jayanta’.⁴⁴ Moreover, Siddhārtha is once again compared to Indra in BC 5.22 through the *samāśopamā indrasama-* (see also the discussion concerning SN 17.20 in §2.3), which is also registered as *upamānasamāsa* involving the main qualities of the *upameya* at least 47 times in the MBh and 10 in the Rām, equally distributed at the end of *pādas* a, b, and d.

As regards the *upamās* with a *bimbapratibimba* relation, BC 10.19 Śreṇya approaching Siddhārtha, acknowledged as the future Buddha, is compared to Indra – mentioned as Śakra – approaching Svayambhū. To the best of my knowledge, only one epic occurrence is registered for a similar *upamā*, that is when Kumbhakarṇa beholds his brother Rāvaṇa seated on the throne, just as Indra (*śakraḥ* 4d) saw Svayambhū (Rām 6.50.4). Although this is an extremely interesting comparison because it has the same *bimbapratibimba* relation, this is however not

⁴³ A generic search through the DCS corpus of ‘Indra’ + ‘like’ as semantic concepts (synset) shows more than 750 occurrences, in both the MBh and the Rām, involving comparison markers as second constituents of the compound. For instance, the results regard at least 188 comparison markers meaning ‘resembling/similar to’ (e.g., *upama-*, *saṃnibha-*, *sama-*, *sadrśa-*, *nibha-*, *ābha-*, *tulya-*, *pratīma-*, *samāna-*, *kalpa-*, etc.); for both the MBh and the Rām ; 107 occurrences for markers meaning ‘equal (in amount)’ (e.g., *samāna-*, *sāmya-*), and finally 466 for syntactical indeclinable comparison markers such as *iva* or *yathā*.

⁴⁴ To the best of my knowledge, the *upamā* involving *jayanta-* as an *upamāna* seems to be a *hapax*, whereas it occurs as a proper noun 5 times in the Rām and 4 in the MBh.

a proper match, because the *sādhāraṇadharmā*, namely the action of *drś-* ‘looking at = beholding’, differs from that employed in the BC example.

1.1.3.2 SUN AS UPAMĀNA

If for divine semantic areas a god like Indra is the preferred *upamāna* for epic heroes, the sun is the favoured choice for a nature-based semantic area. Aśvaghoṣa does the same, and we can find this *upamāna* variously involved in *alaṃkāras*, be it a *samāśopamā* or a *rūpaka*, always referred to Siddhārtha/Buddha as an *upameya*.

For instance, in BC 1.13 it is said that Siddhārtha causes blindness ($\sqrt{\text{muṣ-}}$) *bhāskaravat* ‘like the sun’. The MBh attests only 5 occurrences for the *samāśopamā* made up of ‘sun’ + the *thaddita* affix *-vat*, namely *āditya*^o (MBh 1.3.140c; 5.92.32b); *arka*^o (MBh 12.208.23d; 12.209.16b), and *sūrya*^o (MBh 13.110.126b). Unfortunately, none of these references are relevant to intertextuality and there is no attestation of Aśvaghoṣa having used the synonym *bhāskara-* lit. ‘light-maker’ + *-vat*. Thus, by extending the search in DCS corpus to references including the semantic concept (synset) ‘sun’ + ‘like’, I managed to find an outstanding result of more than 200 occurrences for the MBh and at least 80 for the Rām.

This ultimately invalidates the purpose because, like Indra, the sun as an *upamāna* is both a Vedic and an epic *topos*, and thus irrelevant for the intertextuality hypothesis. Indeed, Aśvaghoṣa could have employed it hinting at both Vedic and epic imageries, and not directly at the epic source.

As regards the *upamā* with a *bimbapratibimba* relation, in BC 1.35 Siddhārtha is described as shining among the kings of the earth, just as the sun shines among the planets (*prakāśaḥ graheṣu sarveṣu raver vibhāti*). Once more, there are no epic attestations of such an analogy involving the sun among the planets (*graha-*), but the epic sources register many examples of analogies involving the moon instead. This could lead to the assumption that Aśvaghoṣa applies to the sun an idea that the epic usually attributes to the moon, i.e., the moon shining among the planets, and constitute further evidence of the *kavi* Aśvaghoṣa’s particular literary style.

In BC 12.117 the divine Snake Kāla utters an eulogy for Siddhārtha, who sitting at the foot of the banyan tree, compares his appearance to the sun’s.

yathā mune tvaccaraṇāvapīditā muhurmuhur niṣṭanatīva medinī |
yathā ca te rājati sūryavat prabhā dhruvaṃ tvam iṣṭaṃ phalam adya bhokṣyase ||
 ‘O wise man, because the earth, while it is pressed by your foot, seems to roar again and again, and because your splendour shines **like the sun**, surely you shall now enjoy the fruit that you desire’.

From the point of view of the logical structure of the *samāśopamā*, *te prabhā* ‘your splendour’ is the *upameya* while the *sādhāraṇadharmā*, which here is explicit, is *rājati* ‘shines’.

As a matter of fact, no relevant epic cross-references for this *alaṃkāra* were found, and the only one for the *samāśopamā sūryavat-* is however referred to a *vimāna* ‘divine chariot’ as the *upameya* (MBh 13.110.126). Other instances regard similar compounds with a different common property, but referred to the newly risen sun (i.e., *taruṇasūryavat* Rām 4.1.27). Such references demonstrate that *sūryavat* is more or less common in the epic and that it exists as an independent word which Aśvaghoṣa simply reuses.

In BC 5.43 Siddhārtha is twice compared to the sun, as he prepares to renounce his duties.⁴⁵ First, his blazing beauty is compared to the sun with an *upamā* (*vapuṣā sūrya iva pradīpyamānaḥ* 43a) apparently matched by two epic instances irrelevant to intertextuality, which involve the blazing sun as the *upamāna* (Rām 7.67.14; MBh 7.138.23). Secondly, he ascends to the palace like the sun rises over Mount Meru, with an *upamā* with a *bimbapratibimba* relation (*ravir udyann iva merum āuroha* 43d), which again finds no relevant matches in the epic, apart from the fact that the sun rising over mount Meru could be a *topos* (Rām 6.15.1; 6.48.50).

Moreover, Aśvaghoṣa employs the rising sun as an *upamāna* twice in BC 2.20 and 1.12. In the latter, Siddhārtha as a child is likened to the rising sun (*bālaḥ raviḥ*) descending to earth (*avatīrṇaḥ bhūmim*), with *sādhāraṇadharmā* being expressed

⁴⁵ It is importantly to note that for this stanza the *pāda* c involves a *śleṣopamā*. Namely, Aśvaghoṣa says that Siddhārtha appears *timiraṃ vijighāmsur ātmabhāsā* anxious to ‘dispel the darkness with the splendour of his self’ (tr. Johnston 1936). As regards the logical structure of the *alaṃkāra*, the *pāda* can be interpreted as the *sādhāraṇadharmā* of the *upamā*. In the case of the sun, i.e., the *upamāna*, it means ‘eager to win against/annihilate darkness, with its splendour’, however, with respect to the *upameya*, i.e., Siddhārtha, darkness acquires the meaning of ‘ignorance’ (see Passi 2011 [1979] who explicitly makes the *śleṣa* ‘tenebra dell’ignoranza’). However, because we are only in the fifth canto and Siddhārtha has yet to acquire his mental clarity, one could apply, the concept of *dhvani* here, albeit anachronistically. This would thus be a *śabdaśaktimūladhvani* because it implies a double meaning.

by the act of shining ($\sqrt{rāj}$ -).⁴⁶ Aśvaghoṣa seems to reuse a well-established *topos* of comparing a hero as a child⁴⁷ with the newly risen sun: Yudhiṣṭhira (MBh 1.107.10)⁴⁸, Hanumān (Rām 7.35.24⁴⁹; 7.36.20), and other characters are mentioned (i.e., Vasumanas MBh 5.114.19; Śibi MBh 5.116.20, and Kārttikeya MBh 13.84.76).

This *upamā* occurs mainly as a *bahuvrīhi* compound – sometimes including a *sādhāraṇadharmā* – with other *upameyas* that are not necessarily children, primarily in *pāda* b, secondarily in other *pādas*, but never in *pāda* c.⁵⁰

On the contrary, Aśvaghoṣa also compares Siddhārtha to a sun so bright that it is unapproachable (*durdharṣa*-), after the minister and the chaplain have failed to

⁴⁶ *dīptyā ca dhairyēṇa ca yo rarāja bālo ravir bhūmim ivāvāṭṛṇaḥ | tathātidīpto 'pi nirīkṣyamāṇo jahāra cakṣūṃṣi yathā śaśāṅkaḥ ||* ‘And he shone with his brightness and steadiness **like the newly risen sun descending to earth**, like an extremely blazing one, though when he is looked at, he certainly captivates [all] eyes, like the hare-marked (moon)’. The *pādas* cd could technically be interpreted as a *virodha*, since *jahāra* has two meanings. The first, ‘destroyed’, is not contradictory, but the second, ‘seduced’, does. At the same time, this *virodha* is half grounded in a *śleṣa*, because one can avoid the contradiction with a third sense: a young sun does not burn the eyes like a midday (= ‘mature’) sun, still pleasant to look at and free from danger. In fact, Aśvaghoṣa seems to support this idea since Siddhārtha, i.e., the *upameya*, is ultimately compared to both the sun and the moon (the second *upamāna*) – which does not cause discomfort when looked at. Unfortunately, I have not been able to find an epic counterpart to the *upamā* (i.e., *yathā śaśāṅkaḥ*). In one instance, both the sun and the moon occur in the same *samāsopamā*, which also includes the lotus as a third *upamāna* (i.e., *bālādityāmbujendūnām tulyarūpāṇi* MBh 7.26.25). In one passage there is the idea of colour change, not the idea of seduction (*taruṇādityavarṇaiś ca śaśigauraiś ca vānaraiḥ* Rām 4.38.13). However, in *Garuḍapurāṇa* 1.64.4 the sun and the moon are combined in the depiction of a girl whose face is a full moon (*pūrṇacandramukhī*) and whose radiance is that of the newly risen sun (*bālasūryasamaprabhā*). This shows that the idea of seduction conveyed by the moon and the newly risen sun, as opposed to the midday sun, is present in Sanskrit poetry.

⁴⁷ See Feller (2012) for a detailed survey of epic heroes’ childhood.

⁴⁸ *śrutvā kuntīsutam jātam bālārkasamatejasam | udarasyātmanaḥ sthairyam upalabhyānvacintayat ||* [...] ‘Having heard of the birth of Kuntī’s son (Yudhiṣṭhira), **whose radiance was like that of the rising sun**, [Gāndhārī], realising the immutability of his own womb, became anxious’.

⁴⁹ *bālārkaḥbhīmukho bālo bālārka iva mūrtimān | grahītukāmo bālārkaṃ plavate 'mbaramadhyagaḥ ||* ‘The child (Hanumān), who was like the rising sun incarnate, with his face turned towards the rising sun, wishing to grasp the rising sun, leapt and went to the middle of the sky’.

⁵⁰ *bālasūryasamaprabhā*- (MBh 3.155.82; 7.80.10; 7.83.11; Rām 5.44.34; 7.1.9); *bālasūryapratikāśa*- (MBh 13.109.59); *bālasūryodayatanu*- (Rām 4.23.23); *bālasūryābha*- (MBh 7.131.41; 7.150.10, 43); *bālasūryasama*- (Rām 5.51.8); *bālādivākaraprabha*- (Rām 5.45.26); *bālārkasamadyuti*- (MBh 3.214.23); *bālārkasadrśadyuti*- (MBh 3.150.27); *bālārkaḥkāravājin*- (MBh 8.7.7); *bālārkasamnibha*- (Rām 4.49.22); *bālārkasadrśa*- (Rām 4.14.4); *bālārkasamavarcasa*- (MBh 8.6.11); *bālādityavapuḥprakhya*- (MBh 13.95.15); *bālādityasamadyuti*- (MBh 14.8.7).

bring him back to his father (BC 9.8)⁵¹. In the *upamā*, the common property that Siddhārtha shares with the *upamāna* is that he cannot be looked at (*draṣṭuṃ na*).

The image of the unapproachable sun appears in the epics once to describe the luminosity of the circle of an ashram (*durdharṣaṃ* [...] *sūryamaṇḍalam* Rām 3.2.1), and once to refer to Yudhiṣṭhira's power in battle (MBh 5.140.8ab,9)⁵², although the *sādhāraṇadharmā* is the torment ($\sqrt{\text{tap-}}$) that Yudhiṣṭhira/the sun inflicts on his enemies. However, as the *upameya*, Arjuna shares the same *sādhāraṇadharmā* with the sun as he advances through the enemy ranks, as in the BC, even though the sun is not mentioned as *durdharṣa-* (MBh 8.57.55)⁵³.

Similarly, Siddhārtha is again compared to a young sun in BC 10.15⁵⁴, where he is also called as *nṛsūrya-* in the *pāda* c. One can interpret the compound as a *samastarūpaka*, in the sense of 'a sun which is a man' (*nṛ eva asau sūryaḥ*), otherwise it is a *tatpuruṣa* compound meaning 'sun of humanity' (*ṛṇām sūryaḥ*). Either way, the epics record two occurrences of *nṛsūrya-* (MBh 7.96.5; 11.23.16), though not the same combined image of the young sun as in the BC.

⁵¹ *tatsnehād atha nṛpateś ca bhaktitas tau sāpekṣaṃ pratiyayatuś ca tasthatuś ca | durdharṣaṃ ravim iva dīptam ātmabhāsā taṃ draṣṭuṃ na hi pathi śekatur na moktum ||* 'Then those two, having regard because of their affection for him and because of their devotion to the king, drew back and stood still; indeed, they could not to look at him, who was shining with his own splendour **like the unapproachable sun**, nor could they leave (him) on the road'. Moreover, *ātmabhāsa-* conveys a double sense, which is matched in MBh 1.78.6 (*ojasā tejasā caiva dīpyamānaṃ ravim yathā*).

⁵² *yadā drakṣyasi saṃgrāme kuntīputraṃ yudhiṣṭhiram | [...] ādityam iva durdharṣaṃ tapantaṃ śatruvāhinīm | na tadā bhavitā tretā na kṛtaṃ dvāparaṃ na ca ||* 'When you see Yudhiṣṭhira, Kuntī's son, on the battlefield [...] tormenting the host of enemies, like the unapproachable sun, there will be no more Tretā (yuga), nor Kṛta, nor Dvāpara'. From a rhetorical point of view *pādas* cd include an *atiśayokti* an ornament similar to the western hyperbole.

⁵³ *śarārciṣaṃ gāṇḍivacārumaṇḍalaṃ yugāntasūryapratimānatejasam | na kauravāḥ śekur udīkṣituṃ jayaṃ yathā ravim vyādhitacakṣuṣo janāḥ ||* 'The Kauravas could not bear the sight of Jaya with the beautiful disc of the Gāṇḍiva bow, with the light of the arrows, **with his splendour, which is the image of the sun at the end of the yuga, as people whose eyes are sick (cannot bear) the sun**'.

⁵⁴ *tasminn avau lodhravanopagūḍhe mayūranādapratipūrṇakuñje | kāṣāyavāsāḥ sa babhau nṛsūryo yathodayasyopari bālasūryaḥ ||* 'On that mountain, covered with *lodhra* woods, its bower filled with the cry of peacocks, he, the sun of humanity, in a brown-red dress, shone **like a young sun on the eastern mountain**'. In the epic instances (cf. *supra*) many of the compounds are often *bahuvrīhi*, meaning 'having the same splendour as the young sun/rising sun', the idea is the same as in the BC, but the *upameya* is *prabhā-*, whereas in Aśvaghōṣa the *upameya* is Siddhārtha. It is interesting that in some of these examples we have *prabhā-* in the compound, whereas in Aśvaghōṣa we have the same root in the verb *babhau*.

To sum up, a *rūpaka* in BC 1.69 identifies Siddhārtha with a sun made of knowledge (*jñānamayo hi sūryaḥ*) which illuminates the darkness. To the best of my knowledge, no such *rūpaka* is attested in the epic, however the image of the sun that dispels darkness, just as knowledge eliminates ignorance is quite common. It is therefore a *topos* which Aśvaghoṣa simply reuses, elevating a mere simile into an identification and enriching the *alaṃkāra*, to better serve his doctrinal purposes.

1.1.3.3 MOUNTAINS AS UPAMĀNAS

If Indra and the sun are employed as *upamānas* to highlight the high moral status of prominent characters, the mountains, as earthly elements, are often employed as the *upamāna* of monstrous physical appearances, but also of qualities, such as greatness.

For instance, in BC 2.30 Śuddhodana's royal palace (*bhavana*) is compared to Mount Kailāsa through the *samāśopamā kailāsavat-* (30d), with the *sādhāraṇadharmā* of being resplendent ($\sqrt{\text{raj-}}$):

*kalair hi cāmīkarabaddhakakṣair nārīkarāgrābhihatair mṛdaṅgaiḥ |
varāpsaronṛtyasamāś ca nṛtyaiḥ kailāsavat tad bhavanam rarāja ||*
'Indeed, the palace was resplendent like Mount Kailāsa, with kettle-drums – whose edges were girded with gold – softly beaten by the women's fingertips, and with dances similar to the dances of the most excellent Apsarases'.

Moreover, the image of the palace is enriched by another *samāśopamā* where the *nṛtya-* 'dances' that take place therein are compared to those of the Apsarases – which could also be interpreted as part of the *sādhāraṇadharmā*. In fact, Kailāsa is a very high mountain, inhabited by gods, and perhaps, a place where music accompanies the dance of the Apsaras.⁵⁵

As far as the epic occurrences are concerned, Kailāsa is often compared to a king's palace, such as Varuṇa's house (Rām 7.23.16), Yudhiṣṭhira's mansion (MBh 12.44.13), and the house built by Purocana (MBh 1.134.12). However, the

⁵⁵ See Mani (1975: 365): "The devas come to [ed. Kailāsa] daily and return. It is mentioned in Sabha Parva, Chapter 141, that in the place where Kubera lives on Kailāsa there live a large number of Yakṣas (demi-gods), Rākṣasas (giants) Kinnaras (heavenly musicians), Garuḍas (hawks) Mātāṅgas (elephants) and Gandharvas (semi-gods)".

comparison with the epic references shows that the Kailāsa as an *upamāna* conveys the image of the satisfaction felt on entering a semi-divine place that befits eminent characters or even gods. Apart from these occurrences, Kailāsa is the preferred *upamāna* for unassailable warriors,⁵⁶ weapons (e.g., Bhīma's mace MBh 6.58.30, 6.90.22) and large animals (e.g., the elephant Airāvata MBh 3.43.36).

Furthermore, the epics contains numerous instances regarding other parts of Mount Kailāsa which are also employed as an *upamāna*, i.e its summit (*śikhara-*, *śṛṅga-*).⁵⁷ The brightness of Kailāsa's summit's (*prabhā-*) is often the most common *sādhāraṇadharmā*,⁵⁸ and so it is the stability (BC 10.41).⁵⁹

Aśvaghoṣa therefore seems to manipulate an epic *topos* for the *upameya*, adapting a *sādhāraṇadharmā* which in the epic sources is attributed more to the summit than to the entire mountain. He likely plays with an erudite audience capable of catching the alluded epic imagery.

In BC 5.37 Siddhārtha in a vehement and loud voice expresses his refusal to return to the palace to the king for the second time. His voice is then compared to Mount Meru by means of a *śleṣopamā merugururgurum* (37a). In fact, the *sādhāraṇadharmā*, *guru-* has two meanings, namely one for the *upameya* 'vehement', qualifying Siddhārtha's unyielding will, and the other for the *upamāna* 'heavy, great' well-suited to the description of Mount Meru.⁶⁰

Moreover, in BC 5.42 the 'white colour' *avadāta-* of Siddhārtha's complexion is compared to that of the golden mountains through an *upamānasamāsa* that is *kāñcanaparvatāvadāta-*.

⁵⁶ Arjuna (App. 1, no. 114.379 after MBh 1.200.9ab); Bhīma (MBh 9.11.2-3; 9.32.36; 9.55.27); Rāma Jāmadagnya (Rām 1.73.17).

⁵⁷ °*śikharopama-* (MBh 5.92.30; 7.10.31; 5.154.18); °*śṛṅgapratima-* (Rām 6.62.30).

⁵⁸ °*sadrśaprabha-* (Rām 2.13.24); °*śikharaprakhyā-* (5.2.23).

⁵⁹ *ity evaṃ magadhapatir vaco babhāṣe yaḥ samyag valabhid iva bruvan babhāṣe | tac chrutvā na sa vicacāla rājasūnuḥ kailāso girir iva naikacitrasānuḥ ||* 'Thus did the lord of Magadha speak, speaking just as the destroyer of Vala spoke. On hearing this, the king's son did not move, **like Mount Kailāsa**, whose peaks are speckled'.

⁶⁰ From a narrative and stylistic point of view, it is interesting to note how previously, in BC 2.34, as Siddhārtha answers his father for the first time, his voice is described as lovely and friendly and identified with the *kalaviṅka* cuckoo by means of an *upamānasamāsa*. Instead, the second time, his voice changes as he affirms his will. In both cases, Aśvaghoṣa shows his innovative writing and poetic skills.

However, the epics only registers occurrences for the compound *kāñcanaparvata-*, once in an *upamā* involving a mountain landscape, as a *bahuvrīhi* compound referring to the *upamāna* and not the *upameya* (the Himālayas' golden peaks in Rām 6.57.23), or in a descriptive passage (Rām 6.18.34). Elsewhere it occurs as a *tatpuruṣa* compound (MBh 12.29.89; 13.101.6).

Moreover, in BC 13.41 Māra attacks Buddha, hurling his fearsome *bhūtas*, i.e., evil creatures at him. An *upamā* with a *bimbapratibimba* relation serves to describe one of these *bhūta* warrior as he lets loose a rain of charcoal from the sky to hit the Buddha, just as Mount Meru erupts at the end of a *kalpātyaya-* lit. 'a fabulous period of time, a day of Brahmā'.

kaścij jvalann arka ivoditaḥ khād aṅgāravarṣaṃ mahad utsasarja |
cūrṇāni cāmīkarakandarāṇāṃ kalpātyaye merur iva pradīptaḥ ||
 'Someone, blazing like the risen sun, let loose a great rain of charcoal from the sky, **like Mount Meru, flaming forth at the end of a Kalpa, (let loose) the powders of its golden caves**'.

The logical structure is clear:

1. *kaścit* (= 'someone' i.e., the *bhūta*) *upameya* / *meruḥ upamāna* = agents of the action conveyed by the verbal form *utsasarja* 'let loose';
2. *aṅgāravarṣaṃ* 'a rain of charcoal' *upameya* / *cūrṇāni* 'powders' *upamāna* = objects of the action conveyed by the verbal form *utsasarja* "let loose";

The *sādhāraṇadharmā* is the action of letting loose (*ut-√sṛj-*) that regards both the first *upameya* and the *upamāna*.

Unfortunately, even if there are images of the final conflagration, none of them matches the logical structure of the BC stanza. And thus, this may be considered as one of Aśvaghoṣa's original ideas.

Mount Mandara is the *upamāna* in BC 6.13, and Siddhārtha, who had just stripped himself of his jewellery to give it to his faithful charioteer Chandaka, is the *upameya*. The *sādhāraṇadharmā* is *bhāsvara-* 'shining', in fact, Siddhārtha shines just as Mount Mandara glimmers under the sun.

The epic sources certainly attest numerous *upamās* with Mount Mandara illuminated by the sun as the *upamāna* (Rām 5.45.17; MBh 3.220.22; reverse idea, i.e., 'like the sun on the Mandara' 8.26.15). However, since Aśvaghoṣa conveys the

idea that Siddhārtha still shines despite being stripped of his jewels, the epic context is different and does not match the BC. More importantly, the logical structure of the *upamās* is not the same, the epic references are thus irrelevant to the intertextuality.

Finally, in SN 3.7 the *adrirāja*- the ‘king of mountains’, i.e., the Himālaya is the *upamāna* in the *samāsopamā adrirājavat*-, and the Buddha is the *upameya* in a passage where the story of his enlightenment is recounted.

upaviśya tatra kṛtabuddhir acaladhṛtir adrirājavat |
mārabalam ajayad ugram atho bubudhe pādamaṁ śivam ahāryam avyayam ||
 ‘Sitting down there with his resolved mind, immovable **like the king of mountains**, [Buddha] conquered the ferocious army of Māra. Then, he awakened to the auspicious path [which is] not to be removed, nor liable to change’.

In particular, since the Buddha sits down at the foot of the sacred tree, he shares the property of being *acaladhṛti*- ‘immovable’ with the mountain.

No matching form is found in the epic sources, and the only occurrence primarily selected regards the *adrirāja*- as an *upamāna* in an *upamā* whose *upameya* is Kumbhakarṇa (Rām 6.53.24).⁶¹ However, since the *sādhāraṇadharmā* is different, namely the fact that Kumbhakarṇa shines (*√raj*-) like the mountain, the epic reference is therefore irrelevant to the intertextuality.

To conclude, King Śreṇya’s qualities are compared to various *upamānas* in BC 10.17, in particular his size is likened to that of a mountain by means of an

⁶¹ *sa kāñcanaṁ bhārasahaṁ nivātaṁ vidyutprabhaṁ dīptam ivātmabhāsā | ābadhyamānaḥ kavacaṁ rarāja saṁdhyābhraṣaṁvīta ivādrirājaḥ ||* ‘Wearing his shock-resistant, impenetrable, golden armour, which was shining like lightning, as if it were glowing with its own splendour, (Kumbhakarṇa) shone **like the king of mountains armoured with thunder-clouds at sunset**’.

upamānasamāsa (i.e., *śailasamānavarṣman-*)⁶². In reference to Karṇa, a similar *upamānasamāsa* occurs (MBh 7.154.9)⁶³.

1.1.3.4 LOTUS AS UPAMĀNA

As Sharma noted, the lotus qualifies as “the [...] favourite *upamāna* for everything is charming” (1988 [1964]: 86). Other secondary sources that deal with the lotus as an *upamāna* are Brockington (1977), who mentioned it while surveying Rām usage of *alaṃkāras*. More recently, both Smith (2002) and Pieruccini (2004) provided an overview of lotus imagery as well as several Itihāsa and Kāvya usages of the compound. As regards the BC and SN, Aśvaghōṣa often employs the word, and thus all the usages of lotus as an *upamāna* in both the BC and SN are summarised in the following chart:

⁶² *sa pāṇḍavaṃ pāṇḍavatulyavīryaḥ śailottamaṃ śailasamānavarṣmā | maulīdharah śiṃhagatir nṛsimhaś calatsaṭaḥ śiṃha ivāruroha ||* ‘He (king Śreṇya), whose courage was equal to the Pāṇḍavas, **with a size equal to a mountain**, bearing a crown, lion-gaited, a lion-man, climbed Mount Pāṇḍava, the highest mountain, like a lion whose mane is trembling’. Technically, the stanza is a *samsṛṣṭi*, i.e., a combination of different *alaṃkāras* (see Appendix III), namely two *upamās* in *pādas* cd, three *upamānasamāsas* in *pādas* abd, and a *samastarūpaka* in *pāda* c, as the chart shows (as per *śiṃhagati* see BC 1.15 in Falqui 2019: 41-42, the compound is also expressed differently in BC 5.27 *mṛgarājagati-*):

Upameya	Upamāna	Alaṃkāra
<i>maulī-</i>	<i>-saṭaḥ</i>	<i>upamā</i>
<i>saḥ</i>	<i>śiṃhaḥ</i>	
<i>tasya vīryam</i>	<i>pāṇḍavavīryam</i>	<i>upamānasamāsa</i>
<i>tasya varṣman</i>	<i>śailavarṣman</i>	
<i>tasya gatih</i>	<i>śiṃhagatih</i>	
<i>saḥ</i>	<i>nṛsimha</i>	<i>samastarūpaka</i>

⁶³ *tad uddhataṃ śaila ivāprakampyo varṣaṃ mahac chailasamānasāraḥ | vidhvamsayām āsa raṇe narendra vaikartanaḥ śatruṅaṇāvamardī ||* ‘O Indra of a man, (Karṇa) the Sun’s son, whose firmness **is equal to that of a great mountain**, the destroyer of the enemies’ troops, dispersed [the enemies] on the field of battle, as an unwavering mountain (disperses) the heavy rain’. This passage is part of a section in which Karṇa kills Ghaṭotkaca, the son of Bhīma (MBh 7.150.4-103, cf. McGrath 2004: 206).

Table 3 List of compounds involving the lotus as the upamāna

‘LOTUS-EYES’				
LOCUS	ALAMKĀRA	UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA
SN 5.11		<i>-netra-</i>	<i>puṣkara-pattra-</i> ‘lotus’ leaves’	-
BC 4.36	<i>samastarūpaka</i>	<i>-locana-</i>	<i>padma-</i>	-
BC 5.84		<i>ayata-akṣa-</i>	<i>-pañkaja-</i>	<i>vimala-</i> ‘bright’
BC 12.111		<i>vikasa-locana-</i>	<i>-utpala</i>	-
BC 12.118		<i>-akṣa-</i>	<i>kamala-</i>	-
‘LOTUS-FACE’				
BC 3.19	<i>samastarūpaka</i>	<i>mukha-</i> ‘(women’s) face’	<i>-pañkajā-</i>	
BC 4.36		<i>-vaktra-</i> ‘(a concubine’s) face’	<i>padma-</i>	
BC 5.53		<i>mukha-</i> ‘(a concubine’s) face’	<i>-padma-</i>	
OTHER BODYPARTS				
SN 5.12	<i>samāsopamā</i>	<i>kara-</i> ‘(Nanda’s) hands’	<i>padmopama-</i>	
BC 4.2		<i>kara-</i> ‘(women’s) hands’	<i>padma-kośa-nibha-</i>	
BC 5.29		<i>añjali-</i> ‘(Śuddhodana’s) hands’	<i>kamala-pratimā-</i>	
BC 5.50	<i>upamānasamāsa</i>	<i>bhuja-</i> ‘(concubine’s) arms’	<i>nava-puṣkara-garbha-</i>	<i>-komala-</i> ‘tender’
BC 5.74		<i>kara-</i> ‘(Siddhārtha’s) hands’	<i>kamala-ābha</i>	
BC 5.81	<i>samāsopamā</i>	<i>karāgra-</i> ‘(Yakṣa’s) fingertips’	<i>kamala-nibha-</i>	
BC 8.28		<i>kara-</i> ‘(women’s) hands’	<i>kamala-upama-</i>	
BC 8.55	<i>upamānasamāsa</i>	<i>caraṇa-</i> ‘(Siddhārtha’s) feet’	<i>bisa-puṣpa-</i> ‘lotus’ fibre’	<i>-komala-</i>

As regards BC 3.19, the *samastarūpaka* is included in a stanza centred on the lotus as the *upamāna*. The women, citizens of Kapilavastu, are looking out of the window curious to see prince Siddhārtha:

vātāyanebhyas tu viniḥsṛtāni parasparāyāsita kuṇḍalāni |
strīṇām virejur mukhapaṅkajāni saktāni harmyeṣv iva paṅkajāni ||
 ‘But the **lotus-faces** of the women, looking out of the windows, with their earrings tinkling against each other, shining forth like lotuses clinging to the mansions’.

From a rhetoric point of view, there is an *upamā* involving the moving lotus-faces of the women leaning out of the windows (*upameya*: *vātāyanebhyaḥ + viniḥsṛtāni*), which resemble lotuses clinging to the mansions (*upamāna*: *harmyeṣu + saktāni*). This stanza certainly leaves some details to the readers’ imagination, such as the entity of the *sādhāraṇadharmā* to better understand the superimposition (*aropaṇa*) of the lotus on the women’s moving faces.⁶⁴ Furthermore, one could interpret it as a suggestion, which Anandavardhana many centuries later will come to call a *dhvani*.

As for the epic references, I found the *samastarūpaka* twice, although they are not relevant for the intertextuality. First, in a passage excised from the MBh Critical Edition, this ornament appears as an attribute of kings (*1833.3-4 after MBh 1.178.15-17)⁶⁵ and then of Bharata (Rām 2.93.36).⁶⁶

In summary, this shows that comparing the warrior faces to the lotus was a *topos* in the epic, which seems to have been imprinted on the Mahākāvya genre and wisely employed by Aśvaghoṣa, later becoming a consecrated image of classical Kāvya.

⁶⁴ It is uncertain whether it is the wind that is making the lotuses move or whether Aśvaghoṣa is talking about the lotus petals, since he has already identified the women’s faces with the flower.

⁶⁵ < *evaṃ karṇe vinirdhūte dhanuṣānye nṛpottamāḥ | cakṣurbhir api nāpaśyan vinamramukhapaṅkajāḥ* > ‘Indeed, when the ear was shaken by the bow [string], the other excellent kings, whose **lotus-faces** were looking down with their eyes, did not even see’.

⁶⁶ *ity evaṃ vilapan dīnaḥ pravinnamukhapaṅkajāḥ | pādāv aprāpya rāmasya papāta bharato rudan ||* ‘Then, Bharata, whose sweat-daubed face is a lotus, afflicted for not being able to reach Rāma’s feet, fell down weeping’.

1.2 REWORKING ANALOGICAL MATRICES: TRACING BACK MAHĀKĀVYA'S ORIGIN?

In the previous paragraph I explained the chosen methodological approach to discuss the intertextuality hypothesis. As I attempted to show, not every stanza was included in the final survey.

Similarly, by scrutinising both of Aśvaghōṣa's Mahākāvya, I had the chance to detect the different stylistic dynamics that Aśvaghōṣa seemingly adopted in his composition process, which are also evidence of his independent work as a *kavi* composing Mahākāvya. This is the case of some *alaṃkāra* patterns with a more articulated structure that I preliminarily categorised as follows:

1. according to logical dynamics:
 - a. *alaṃkāras* for which the epic registers a different *sādhāraṇadharmā*;
 - b. *alaṃkāras* that involve a reversal of ideas.
2. According to the adaptation of epic matrices:
 - a. to convey religious and Buddhist themes;
 - b. analogical matrices belonging to the divine semantic area;
 - c. analogical matrices belonging to the nature-based semantic area.

Of these two main categories (1) and (2a) fall within the conclusive section regarding future perspectives since they closely concern the genre dynamics which are only touched on the present dissertation, and which will be deepened in future dedicated studies.

In particular (1a) regards various stanzas that are irrelevant for the intertextuality hypothesis, according to the criteria stated in the premise. However, they are evidence of the way Aśvaghōṣa perceives the *alaṃkāras* involved in the epic model which he knowingly resumes – sometimes maintaining, sometimes slightly modifying the logical structure – changing the *sādhāraṇadharmā* into a different one. There are attested cases where Aśvaghōṣa employs the same *upamāna* as in the epic model, however, he changes the logical structure and the *sādhāraṇadharmā*. This is the case of BC 4.103 where Śuddhodana, who was sorely afflicted by Siddhārtha's departure, is compared to an elephant struck by arrows. In

fact, the most frequent epic *upamāna* is an elephant pierced with hooks, or javelins, – but never by arrows – often employed as an *upamāna* for mighty heroes wounded on the battlefield.⁶⁷ For instance, when a monk instructs Nanda about the various kinds of inebriation, the *dhātavaḥ* ‘elements’ (i.e., earth, water, air and fire and ether) are compared in SN 9.12 to *viṣamāḥ uragāḥ* ‘terrible/hostile snakes’. Although *uraga-* as an *upamāna* is mostly attested in formulas in the epics and often occurs in various case forms, the *sādhāraṇadharmas* that are involved do not concern the semantic field of hostility.⁶⁸

Similarly, in SN 9.14⁶⁹ the snake is once again the *upamāna* for the *śarīra*-‘body’, which does not allow any transgression (*vyatikrama-*), otherwise it will become enraged (*pra-√kup-*), *mahāśīviṣa-vat*, ‘like a great poisonous snake’.⁷⁰ Nonetheless, the stanza involves philosophical and doctrinal themes and this is indicative of how Aśvaghoṣa reuses similes which are attested as formulas in the epics, changing their reference structure (i.e. *upameya*, *upamāna* and, in this case, *sādhāraṇadharmas*), in order to adapt them to the framework of the Mahākāvya and Buddhist doctrine. From a rhetorical point of view, *mahāśīviṣavat* could be interpreted as a *dhvani*, namely a *śabdaśaktimūla-dhvani* (see fn. 45, 158, 280), since it is activated and works through a *śleṣa* that resonates in the mind of the reader both philosophically and doctrinally from the point of view of the Buddhist background.

Although there is evidence of almost the same adverbial compound, e.g., *āśīviṣavat* (MBh 7.1.45) in the epics, no direct comparison can be made with the logical structure of the *upamā*, that is, in the relationship between its elements. For instance, raging *nāgendrāḥ*, elephants ridden into battle, are *āśīviṣopamāḥ* ‘like venomous snakes’ (MBh 4.25.5); Kaurava’s princes are said to be *kruddhāśīviṣā-*

⁶⁷ Rām 6.63.14; MBh 6.50.63; 6.57.35; 6.75.16; 6.109.12; 7.107.21; 7.116.9; 7.149.15; 9.10.27.

⁶⁸ Indeed, the most frequent *sādhāraṇadharmas* occurring as attributes of the *upamāna* are trampled, stricken, skin-changing, five-headed, biting or kicked snakes.

⁶⁹ *idaṃ hi śayyāsanapānabhojanair guṇaiḥ śarīraṃ ciram apy avekṣitam | na marṣayaty ekamapi vyatikramaṃ yato mahāśīviṣavat prakupyati* || ‘Indeed, this body, although it has long been held in consideration with secondary elements (such as) a bed, chairs, food and drink, cannot bear even a transgression from this, it rages **like a great poisonous snake**’.

⁷⁰ Aśvaghoṣa once again employs the *samāśopamā āśīviṣa-vat* in BC 13.50 as an *upamāna* for Māra’s demons who attack Buddha.

saṃkāśa- ‘having the appearance of enraged venomous snakes’ (MBh 7.44.28), and the Pāṇḍavas are the *upameya* (*āśīviṣasamān* MBh 7.98.7), Bhīma (*kruddhāśīviṣadarśanaḥ* MBh 9.28.2); Arjuna’s deadly arrows are *kruddhāśīviṣa-saṃnibha-* ‘resembling enraged venomous snakes’ (MBh 7.67.21), and the Kāmbhoja people are the *upameya* (MBh 7.87.48).

Ultimately, the venomous *āśīviṣa* snake – opposed to the *uraga* which can be translated as ‘snake’ but which also indicates the Naga, the semi-divine serpent – is a common *upamāna* which often occurs as a formula in the epics.⁷¹

In BC 7.17 the ascetics, who inhabit the hermitage that Siddhārtha reached, are compared to fish through an *upamā* (*mīnaiḥ samam*), because they have been plunged into water, others are likened to turtles, since their body bears the marks of the severe practices they undergo (*kūrmollikhitaiḥ śarīraiḥ*), as Passi (1979) suggested.⁷² Indeed, it is a common literary *topos* in epics to compare the wise man/ascetic who restrains his senses (*upameya*) to tortoises who can retract their limbs (*upamāna*).⁷³ Nonetheless, there is no attestation of the *sādhāraṇadharmā* of a marked body, similar to the *upamānasamāsa* Aśvaghōṣa employs.

Another case regards SN 17.72.⁷⁴ The stanza recounts the episode in which Nanda is praising the Buddha for having saved him from his previous condition. It

⁷¹ Arrows are the most common *upameya* in the MBh, often recurring in a formula that is variously located within the *pādas* (47 occurrences in the MBh and 9 in the Rām); it is referred to Bhīma’s spear (MBh 6.68.22), Karṇa’s chariot chains (MBh 8.63.65), powerful warriors (MBh 3.34.81; 5.49.39) and ascetics (MBh 13.35.16), people who behave badly (MBh 13.58.14); Duryodhana (MBh 8.46.4) Karṇa and Arjuna (MBh 8.63.15), the Kauravas (MBh 15.16.19). It occurs once as an *upamānasamāsa* referring to the Pāṇḍavas (*āśīviṣasamasparśaiḥ* MBh 8.43.5). Instead in the Rām the monkeys are the *upameya* (Rām 6.18.37), Rāvaṇa (Rām 6.47.131), arrows (Rām 6.58.18, 6.72.11), Rāma’s bow (Rām 6.96.20), and Rāma and Lakṣmana’s deadly weapon (Rām 6.67.39).

⁷² See Passi (*Ibid.* 203 n.5) who disagrees with Johnston, who translates *kūrmollikhitaiḥ* as a *tatpuruṣa* not interpreting it as an *upamānasamāsa*: “Scr. *kūrmollikhitaiḥ* con riferimento al corpo grinzoso di chi sta a lungo immerso nell’acqua la traduzione *graffiato dalle tartarughe adottata dagli altri autori è giustificata dal punto di vista grammaticale, meno forse dal lato semantico”

⁷³ MBh 4.22.2; 6.24.58; 12.21.3 (oddly enough, *śloka* 7 is mentioned by Tokunaga 2006: 141 as corresponding to BC 9.64cd, for both address objections to Śramaṇism, especially the idea that the “efficacy of human efforts is not certain”); 12.84.46; 12.138.24; 12.187.6; 12.239.4, 17; 12.313.39; 14.46.42.

⁷⁴ *tasmāc ca vyasanaparūd anarthapaṅkād utkrṣya kramāśītilaḥ karīva paṅkāt | śānte ’smin virajasi vijvare viśoke saddharme vitamasi naiṣṭhike vimuktaḥ ||* ‘Having pulled (me) out of **this**

includes a *rūpaka* in the first *pāda* (a), *vyasanapara-* ‘awful passion’[which is] *pañka-* ‘mud’, and an *upamā* with a *bimbapratibimba* relation in the second *pāda* (b), where the newly converted Nanda – torn from the passions by the Buddha – compares himself to an exhausted elephant (*kramasithilaḥ karī*) who is pulled out of the mud (*pañkāṭ*). Since there are no attestations in the epics of *upamās* regarding the *sādhāraṇadharmā* of the action as a motion, e.g., being pulled out of the mud, but only as a state, e.g., being *in* the mud.⁷⁵

From these examples we can see how the process shown in (1a) seems to be taken to an extreme in (1b), where the epic model is manipulated by reversing ideas, changing subjects (1b), and adapting Brahmanic images to a Buddhist context (2a). Indeed, in (1b) the basic nucleus of the *alamkāras* appears in reverse order to the epic model. This possibly indicates that Aśvaghōṣa has made an effort to master the ornaments and achieve an original result. Finally, (2a) seems to combine the previous two dynamics into a single purpose, namely, to convey religious and especially Buddhist themes, by adapting epic ornaments employed in various contexts – as demonstrated by Covill (2009).

For instance, in BC 4.70 Aśvaghōṣa apparently alludes, through denial, to the recurring image in the epics of a flowering forest *puṣpitakānana-* (8 times Rām and 4 MBh), while the opposite ‘withered forest’ is not attested. Furthermore, Aśvaghōṣa reiterates a similar concept in BC 11.10, where an *upamā* with a *bimbapratibimba* relation expresses the idea that *kāma-* does not satisfy one’s longing for happiness, just as fuel does not satisfy fire even when it is fanned by the wind. A concept that has a few similar features is only found in MBh 12.199.26

awful passion, which is vile mud, like an elephant whose step lacks energy (is pulled out) of the mud. I am thrown into this true Dharma, which is pacified, free of dust, free of anguish, free of pain, free of darkness, and perfect’.

⁷⁵ It generally appears as a variously expressed formula recurring in the last *pāda* (d): the lemma for ‘elephant’ is attested both in the nominative or the accusative case and occurs together with *pañka-* ‘mud’ often in the locative case or in a *tatpuruṣa* compound (*naḍīpañkam iva dvipāḥ* Rām 3.31.5) followed or preceded by an attributive participle conveying the idea of ‘being plunged into’ (*pañke magnā iva dvipāḥ* MBh 6.96.8; *sammagnaṃ pañke dvipam ivāvaśam* MBh 12.290.58); or 2) a *bahuvrīhi* compound (*pañkamagnā iva dvipāḥ* MBh 7.85.26, 7.99.11; *magnā jīrṇā vanagajā iva* MBh 12.316.30; *pañkalagna iva dvipāḥ* Rām 4.18.45). It occurs once as a more elaborate image, occupying two *pādas* (Rām 3.59.12cd).

where Bhīṣma explains, by means of an *upamā* again with a *bimbapratibimba* relation, that the confused people (*vilobhyamānā*) abandon ($\sqrt{\text{tyaj-}}$) *param* the ‘Supreme Being’, just as the wind abandons the fire crackling in the firewood.

Since the conveyed idea is not the same, this is a case of idea reversion. The more frequent idea, which Aśvaghoṣa endorses elsewhere, is discussed in subparagraph §1.2.2.1, dealing with fire as an *upamāna*.

As regards cases of adapting epic images to the Buddhist context, for instance the *samāsarūpaka saddharma-tāḍa-* included in BC 1.74, as *saddharma-* in a compound is only attested as *°darśin-* ‘the one who sees the good Dharma’ (MBh 3.2.5); whereas *tāḍa-* only occurs in the *tatpuruṣa* compound *uras-°* ‘blow to the chest’. Therefore, Aśvaghoṣa might be employing *tāḍa-* as *lectio difficilior* in place of the more common synonym for the word for ‘blow’ such as *prahāra-* (28 occurrences in the MBh and 17 times in the Rām), or a less frequent one, e.g., *āghāta-* which is however not attested in the Rām.

In BC 3.65 Siddhārtha is the *upameya* to a *navavrataḥ muniḥ* ‘a sage who has recently taken his vow’⁷⁶. First, *navavrata-* as a lexicalised compound does not seem to occur anywhere else in the Sanskrit *corpus* apart from the BC occurrence. Moreover, even breaking up the compound in a multiword query (*nava-* + *vrata-*), it does not give any result. Neither was the search for the semantic concept ‘new’ + the Sanskrit word *vrata* successful, leading to the hypothesis that Aśvaghoṣa could be employing a *hapax* as an epithet of the *upamāna muni-*. Secondly, the search for matching references for *muni-* + the semantic concept ‘like’, that is the search for occurrences of *muni-* as *upamāna* produced three main results, two of these were *samāśopamās* e.g., *munikalpa-* (MBh 1.57.82 Saṃjaya is the *upameya*) and *munivat-* (MBh 3.80.12 Bhīṣma), and the third was an *upamā* (*munir yathā* [...] MBh 7.168.3, Arjuna). However, these references are not even remotely comparable to the complex idea expressed in the stanza in the BC, where an *upamā* with a *bimba-pratibimba* relation is employed with the following matching binomes:

⁷⁶ Cowell (1894: 36) translates it as ‘some devotee who had newly taken his vow’; Johnston (1936: 43) ‘anchorite novice’ and similarly Passi (1979: 47) ‘asceta novizio’; Schotsmann (1995: 49) ‘the newly initiated sage’ and finally Olivelle (2008: 83) ‘novice hermit’.

1. Siddhārtha (*upameya*, pāda a) / Novice (*upamāna* pāda d);
2. Women (*upameya*, pāda a) / Apsarases (*upamāna*, pāda c).

Moreover, Aśvaghōṣa enriches the *upamā* adding as a *sādhāraṇadharmā* the fact that Siddhārtha was led beyond the forest by force (*balāt [...] atinīyate*) just as the novice is taken to Alakā's mansion which is full of Apsarases. However, this verse is doubtful and may be an interpolation.⁷⁷

In BC 7.33 Aśvaghōṣa employs an *utprekṣā* to describe another area of the hermitage where Siddhārtha has chosen to live, comparing the forest swarming with ascetics engaged in different activities to a *karmānta*- 'business' carried out in a city. The search in the DCS *corpus* for the semantic concept of 'business' + the comparison marker *iva*, gives few results for both the MBh and the Rām which, in any case, do not match the BC stanza, suggesting that Aśvaghōṣa's *utprekṣā* is, in fact, original, created by adapting a practical, not so frequent *upamāna* regarding human activities, to an abstract concept, i.e., the Dharma being "crafted" in the hermitage.

Moreover, in BC 7.53 a Brahmin from the hermitage explains to Siddhārtha that *mokṣa*- 'liberation' can be obtained by fighting *rāga*- 'passion' as one fights against a *ripu*- 'a deceiver, enemy', the *upamāna* (*ripuṇa iva*). The enemy is a frequent *upamāna* in both epics, therefore Aśvaghōṣa makes use of an *upamā* belonging to the military semantic domain, transferring it to another semantic context, i.e., doctrinal concepts – as in within śivaism with the idea of "inner enemies".

Given this premise, the following paragraphs will deal mainly with (2b) and (2c) which constitute the first evidence of the intertextuality. In fact, Aśvaghōṣa adopts

⁷⁷ Johnston (1936: 43) doubts that the stanza is genuine: "This verse is of doubtful authenticity. That it is not in C is only a minor point, but it comes in clumsily after the preceding verse. The comparison in the second line is weak and unlike Aśvaghōṣa, and the application of *vighnakātara* to the prince at variance with the next canto. Kahla and Alakā do not occur elsewhere in the poet's works, and *varāpsarovṛtam* is a faulty expression, cribbed perhaps from iv 28, where it is used correctly [...]". A perplexity shared by Passi (1979: 197 n.10): "L'ultima strofe stona con la conclusione naturale del canto (1. 64), ed è probabilmente da ritenersi un'interpolazione antica: si noti infatti come il paragone dell'asceta novizio non tenga conto dello sviluppo ulteriore della vicenda (canto IV), in cui il contegno del futuro Buddha rimane sempre imperturbabile; inoltre, questo *śloka* è assente dalla traduzione cinese, che precede quella tibetana di qualche secolo". Cowell only goes as far as to mention Alakā as a name for Kubera (1894: 36), who Schotsman (1995: 49) acknowledges as the lord of the Alakā mansion.

and adapts *alaṃkāras* that express analogical matrices belonging to the divine and nature-based semantic areas which were well-established in the epic. The passages considered are catalogued according to semantic categories. This is done in order to allow a typological classification, despite the different types of ornaments, as already done by Sharma (1964, see § I.I).

1.2.1 Analogical matrices belonging to divine semantic area

Analogical matrices involving divine and semi-divine entities and mythological characters belong to this semantic area. This serves to support the hypothesis of an intertextual relationship between the Mahākāvyas and the MBh and the Rām.

As far as mythological entities the *upamānas* are concerned, Nanda's mind (*upameya*) is compared to the mind of a celestial being, i.e., the *divaukasa*- 'dweller in heaven' (*upamāna*) in SN 18.44:

*idaṃ hi bhuktvā śuci sāmikaṃ sukhaṃ na me manaḥ kāṅkṣati kāmajaṃ sukhaṃ /
mahārham apy annam adaivatāhṛtaṃ divaukaso bhuktavataḥ sudhām iva //*
'Indeed, after enjoying this shining happiness consisting of peace, my mind does not wish for happiness born from pleasure, just like [the mind] of the dweller in heaven who has enjoyed nectar [does not wish for] even excellent food⁷⁸ which is not palatable to deities'.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA
<i>me manaḥ</i>	<i>(manaḥ) divaukasaḥ</i>	<i>na kāṅkṣati</i>

Speaking in the first person, Nanda focuses on the opposition between the happiness inherent in peace (*śāmika*-) and that which arises from passion (*kāmaja*-). From a rhetorical point of view, the *sādhāraṇadharmā*, i.e., *na kāṅkṣati* 'does not wish' is not alluded to but explicitly stated, allowing a direct logical link to be established between the *upameya* and the *upamāna*.

⁷⁸ Johnston has commented on the divine nectar and proposes a different interpretation for *adaivatāhṛtaṃ* (1928: 114 n.44): "*Sudhā* is the food of the gods in the highest stages of the *kāmadhātu* sphere. *Adaivatāhṛtaṃ* might also mean "that is not offered to the gods"".

Two mentions of *divaukasa-* are found in the Epic.⁷⁹ The more interesting passage is found in the twelfth MBh book, in a didactic section where Yudhiṣṭhira asks Bhīṣma about the prescribed way of donating cows (*gopradāna-* MBh 12.76.2) and why a certain type of cow, i.e., the brown one is preferred (*kapilāpradāna-* MBh 12.76.9). Bhīṣma answers by talking about the origin of the nourishment that sustains creatures, just as the *amṛta-* is the sustenance of celestial beings (MBh 13.76.12):

*yathā hy amṛtam āśrītya vartayanti divaukaśaḥ |
tathā vṛttiṃ samāśrītya vartayanti prajā vibho ||*

‘Like the dwellers in heaven indeed live by depending on nectar, in the same way human beings live, o mighty one, by depending on their livelihood’.

At first, let us note that the location of the *upamā* within the *pāda* is different from that of SN: it occurs in the first place in the MBh (ab), whereas it is last in the SN (d). Furthermore, there are also some syntactical differences: first, different comparison markers are employed, i.e., *yathā* (MBh) and *iva* (Sn) and, second, the *upamāna* in the SN is in the genitive case whereas it is in the nominative in the MBh as the subject. However, from a narrative point of view, the idea is the same. That is, the concept of someone relying on something crucial for life, such as the subsistence for mankind described in the MBh, and the true happiness that comes from peace from Nanda’s perspective.

⁷⁹ Another mention of *divaukasa-* occurs in a locus where the Pāṇḍavas define themselves as celestial inhabitants, criticizing Duryodhana who treats them as his subjects (MBh 3.229.26): *na cetayati vo rājā mandabuddhiḥ suyodhanaḥ | yo ‘smān ājñāpayaty evaṃ vaśyān iva divaukaśaḥ ||* ‘The slow-minded king Suyodhana, who does not pay attention, commands us dwellers in heaven like his subjects’. This *upamā* does not seem directly comparable to the one in the SN, however, one could advance an interpretation where the allusion to a slow-minded (*mandabuddhi-*) person, could in fact be read in antithesis to the SN stanza, where the mind is involved. Nonetheless, this interpretation could also be implausible, because the structure of the *upamā* is not directly comparable. Indeed, the *upameya* in SN is Nanda’s *manas-* ‘mind’ whereas in the MBh the *upameya* is Duryodhana, addressed as *suyodhana-* and also as *mandabuddhi-*. Furthermore, the real *upamāna* in the MBh is the plural accusative *vaśyān* ‘subjects’, attribute of the object *asmān* ‘us’ whereas *divaukaśaḥ* is the apposition of the object.

The image of a celestial entity depending on *amṛta*- is so well-established in the epic imagery that Aśvaghōṣa can adopt it and adapt it to the doctrinal context manipulating the syntax and, of course, enhancing the overall image.

Another example regards this time a deity as *upamāna*, that is the goddess Lakṣmī. Stanza SN 2.49 describes Śuddhodana's queen, Māyā, whom Aśvaghōṣa compares to the goddess, mentioned with the name of Māyā:

*tasya devī nṛdevasya māyā nāma tadābhavat |
vītakrodhatamomāyā māyeva divi devatā ||*

‘At that time, a divine queen, whose name was Māyā, was [wife] of that king, was free from wrath, darkness and deception, **like the goddess Māyā in heaven**’.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA
<i>devī māyā</i> (Queen Māyā)	<i>māyeva devatā</i> (Goddess Māyā)	<i>vītakrodhatamomāyā</i>

From a rhetorical perspective, it is interesting to note that the two *pādas* contain a *lāṭānuprāsa* that plays with the three identities of *māyā*-, namely 1) Māyā, the queen; 2) Māyā, the goddess, and 3) *māyā*- ‘illusion’, ‘deception’, ‘duplicity’.

However, the reader immediately faces a problem in decoding the stanza, that is *pāda* c seems to contain a contradiction: how can the goddess Māyā who is illusion personified be ‘free from [...] deception’? According to Johnston, Māyā is another name for Lakṣmī. Thus, the sentence ‘queen Māyā free from *māyā*’ is perceived by the reader as a contradiction, which means that in order to understand the stanza, one must intend *māyā*- in the sense of Lakṣmī.⁸⁰

In the epics, queens are frequently compared to Lakṣmī by means of an *upamā* with a *bimbapratibimba* relation and, even more often, royal couples, i.e., kings and queens, are compared to divine couples.⁸¹ Thus, in a well-established epic *topos*, if the king or prince is compared to Viṣṇu, the queen/princess he is about to marry is

⁸⁰ According to Ānandavardhana this could be interpreted as a *virodhadhvani*, a suggested *alaṃkāra*, see Gerow (1971: 265): “[ed. translated as] ‘contradiction’, a figure in which contradictory properties are expressed of the same subject; the affirmation of the excluded middle”, and Porcher (1978: 219-226) for a diachronic approach to this *alaṃkāra*'s definitions.

⁸¹ In Brahmanic ideology, the king who respects dharma is the embodiment of good fortune and the lustre of his kingdom.

often compared to Lakṣmī. This is the case of the spouses Draupadī/Pāṇḍavas which figure as *upameyas* in a scene depicting their wedding (MBh 1.191.6-7ab)⁸².

But we also find the same *topos* applied to other famous brides such as Mādhavī (MBh 5.115.7-8a, 10)⁸³, Sītā (Rām 3.52.13) and Guṇakeśī (MBh 5.102.7bc-8). However, there is no trace in the epic of the *alaṃkāra* used by Aśvaghoṣa, leading to the assumption that he must have reused an epic *topos* of the queen/Lakṣmī comparison, whose roots lie in the well-known comparisons to divine couple. He then played with this term, teasing his erudite audience and readers with a second name for the goddess and with the double meaning of the name *māyā*-.

Moreover, it seems clear that Aśvaghoṣa employs the acknowledged analogical matrix to identify the queen with Lakṣmī – this time directly mentioning the goddess – in a similar *alaṃkāra* that one could interpret as a *virodadhvani*, namely SN 6.26:

*sā padmarāgaṃ vasanaṃ vasānā padmānanā padmadalāyatākṣī |
padmā vipadmā patiteva lakṣmīḥ śuśoṣa padmasragivātapena ||*
‘She, whose face is a lotus, whose long eyes were lotus petals, wearing a lotus-coloured dress, **like Lakṣmī, the lotus [goddess], as if she had fallen down and been deprived of her lotus**, dried up like a lotus garland because of the heat’.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA	ALAMKĀRA
-rāgam -ānanā -akṣī	padma-	<i>upamānasamāsa</i> <i>samastarūpaka</i>

⁸² *yathā vaiśravaṇe bhadrā vasiṣṭhe cāpy arundhatī | yathā nārāyaṇe lakṣmīs tathā tvaṃ bhava bhartṛṣu || jīvasūr vīrasūr bhadre bahusaukhyasamanvitā |* ‘Like Bhadrā with regard to Vaiśravaṇa, like Arundhatī to Vasiṣṭha, **like Lakṣmī to Nārāyaṇa**, so [may you] procreate living offspring, procreate heroes with regard to your husbands, o auspicious woman, endowed with much happiness’. Another *locus* where Lakṣmī as an *upamāna* occurs for Draupadī as an *upameya* is MBh 15.32.9.

⁸³ *tathety uktvā dvijaśreṣṭhaḥ prādāt kanyāṃ mahīpateḥ | vidhipūrvaṃ ca tāṃ rājā kanyāṃ pratiḡrhitavān || reme sa tasyāṃ rājarṣiḥ [...] | [...] yathā nārāyaṇo lakṣmyāṃ jāhnavyāṃ ca yathodadhīḥ | yathā rudraś ca rudrānyāṃ yathā vedyāṃ pitāmahaḥ ||* ‘After speaking in such a way that the prominent twice-born offered the maiden to be the king’s wife and in accordance with the rules the king accepted the maiden [...]. The kingly ascetic enjoyed her [...] like Nārāyaṇa, Lakṣmī and the Ocean, the Jāhnavī (i.e., Ganges), and like Rudra, Rudrānī, like the Grandfather (i.e., Brahmā) the Sacrificial Altar’.

The heart of the stanza is the repetition of the word *padma-* with different meanings. There is an *upamānasamāsa*, i.e., *padmaragam* ‘lotus-coloured’, and two *samastarūpakas*, i.e., *padmānanā* ‘lotus-face’ and the *bahuvrīhi padmadalāyatākṣī* ‘whose long eyes were lotus petals’.

However, the mention of the goddess being *vipadmā*, ‘deprived of her lotus’ is extremely relevant for the intertextuality hypothesis. Curiously, in the epics, the concept of Lakṣmī, alluded to by the name *śrī* ‘deprived of her lotus’ is likewise expressed through the compound *padma-hīna-*, recurrent every time as a formula at the end of *pāda* b, and always in the accusative feminine case, as can be seen in the following example found in a passage excised from the MBh Critical Edition, which recounts a digression in the story of Śakuntalā (App. I, no. 48.73 after MBh 1.68.13):

< sarve bruvanti tām dṛṣṭvā **padmahīnām iva śriyam** | >
‘All people speak to her⁸⁴ **as if they had seen Śrī, but for her lotus**’.

Śakuntalā, mentioned by the personal pronoun *tām*, is the *upameya*.

I then found the same formula when Rāvaṇa kidnaps Sītā and praises her (Rām 3.44.14):

*tām uttamāṃ trilokānāṃ **padmahīnām iva śriyam** |*
vibhrājamānāṃ vapusā rāvaṇaḥ praśaśaṃsa ha ||
‘Then Rāvaṇa praised that (woman), (who is) the best of the three worlds, (who is) **like Śrī, but for her lotus**, (and who) dazzles with her magnificent (physical) appearance’.

Similarly, Rāvaṇa reiterates the same formulaic praise much later in the text, in the sixth *kāṇḍa*, before his final encounter with Rāma (Rām 6.27.8).⁸⁵

In summary, the epic shows how the mention of the goddess without her lotus is well-established. Therefore, Aśvaghōṣa seems to incorporate this frequent mention into his style, which he then manipulates and transforms into a powerful hint –

⁸⁴ [*bhāminī* 68b].

⁸⁵ *ānīya ca vanāt sītāṃ **padmahīnām iva śriyam** | kim arthaṃ pratidāsyāmi rāghavaṣya bhayād aham ||* ‘And after abducting Sītā – **(who was) like Śrī but for her lotus** – from the forest, why should I return her out of fear of Rāghava?’.

almost a sort of *aprosdoketon*⁸⁶ – while building up his audience’s expectations through the repetition of the word *padma-* and the identification of the queen Māyā’s whole face with the lotus, that ultimately clashes with the mention of the goddess who has been separated from her lotus.

1.2.2 Analogical matrices belonging to nature-based semantic area

1.2.2.1 FIRE AS UPAMĀNA

Among the natural elements, a rich imagery is used to represent fire, with sacrificial fire being a recurrent *upamāna*. For instance, fire and oblation are *upamānas* in SN 5.23, where Nanda is being initiated to the way of the Buddha, after leaving his beloved wife:

*sādhāraṇāt svapnanibhād asārāl lolaṃ manaḥ kāmasukhān niyaccha |
havyair ivāgneḥ pavaneritasya lokasya kāmair na hi tṛptir asti ||*
‘Restrain your unsteady⁸⁷ mind from the pleasure of desire,⁸⁸ which is common, without strength, similar to sleep! Men cannot reach satisfaction by means of the object of desire, **like [the satisfaction] of a fire, excited by the wind, by means of the oblations**’.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA	SĀDHARAṆADHARMA
<i>lokasya</i> <i>kāmaiḥ</i>	<i>agneḥ</i> <i>havyaiḥ</i>	<i>na tṛptiḥ</i> -

As a matter of fact, Aśvaghoṣa employs an *upamā* with a *bimbapratibimba* relation. There are actually two *upameyas*, i.e., *lokasya* ‘men’/*kāmaiḥ* ‘objects of desire’⁸⁹ in a syntactical relationship that depends on the grammatical subject *tṛptiḥ*. The

⁸⁶ In the *alaṃkāraśāstra* is expressed by the concept of *virodha*.

⁸⁷ The term refers more to the idea of swaying than shaking.

⁸⁸ Here the compound *kāmasukha-* presents two possible interpretations: 1) as a *dvandva* ‘desire and pleasure’, or 2) as a *ṣaṣṭhītatpuruṣa* ‘the pleasure of love’. However, the *pāda* cd explanation is more compelling if one understands the compound as a *ṣaṣṭhītatpuruṣa*.

⁸⁹ As regards the translation of *loka-* I intend it in the sense of ‘men’, following Covill’s 2007 translation as ‘people’. Johnston 1928, and Passi 1985 differ, both adopting the literal meaning ‘world’; ‘mondo’. As for *kāma-*, I chose to translate it here as ‘objects of desire’, differing from Johnston’s ‘love’, Passi’s ‘piaceri’, and Covill’s ‘sensual pleasure’.

upamā implies something, namely, that the *kāma*- increases desire, rather than reducing it.

There are numerous occurrences of the same image in the epic sources which suggests that the *upamā* should indeed be based on an analogical matrix. However, in terms of the intertextuality hypothesis, the most interesting ones regard the identity of both the *upamāna* and the *sādharaṇadharmā*, along with the same *bimbapratibimba* relation.

For instance, the first striking occurrence here listed is part of a didactic passage where Bhīṣma explains the *pratiṣṭhās* ‘points of support = foundations’ of men to Yudhiṣṭhira. One of the several statements is similar to that asserted by the Buddha in the SN stanza (MBh 12.173.25):

*na tṛptiḥ priyalābhe ‘sti tṛṣṇā nādbhiḥ praśāmyati |
saṃprajvalati sā bhūyaḥ samidbhir iva pāvakaḥ ||*
‘There is no satisfaction in obtaining what is dear: thirst is not extinguished by means of water, it blazes up even more, **like the purifying fire by means of firewood**’.

The textual similarities are immediately noticeable. The passage begins in *pāda* a with the expression of the *sādharaṇadharmā na tṛptiḥ asti* ‘there is no satisfaction’, which instead closes *pāda* d in the SN stanza. The following further details on the structure of the verse can be observed for the *upamānas*:

1. MBh: ‘firewood’ (*samidh-*) [**instrumental**, feminine, **plural**] + ‘fire’ (*pāvaka-*) [nominative, masculine, plural] (*pāda* d);
2. SN: ‘oblations’ (*havya-*) [**instrumental**, neuter, **plural**] + ‘fire’ (*agni*) [genitive, masculine, singular] (*pāda* c).

Both *upamās* are grammatically similar, except for ‘fire’ which is in the genitive case in the SN, because of the stanza’s syntactical relation to the subject, i.e., *tṛpti-* ‘satisfaction’. The complement of means is unchanged, in both cases the occurrences are in the instrumental case.

Aśvaghoṣa is certainly a true *kavi*, capable of skilfully interacting with the epic model also on the syntax level.

In summary, we are told that *na tṛptiḥ asti* ‘there is no satisfaction’, but there is no explicit mention of the fact that *kāma* is not nourishment. Hence the recourse to

the analogical matrix helps the reader to understand the true meaning of the *upamā* and is functional to its understanding. This is a case of how one can observe the way that the Kāvya style has been elaborated on the base of the epic and on the literature known at the time Aśvaghōṣa was composing his Mahākāvya.

There are other passages, where the same image of the fire fuelled by offerings occurs as an analogical matrix. These may be of Vedic origin but since they do not possess the same *bimbapratibimba* relationship, they are listed in the chart below:

Table 4 Epic instances of the analogical matrix involving the fire fuelled by offerings

LOCUS	UPAMEYA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	UPAMĀNA		PĀDA
MBh 6.56.24	Abhimanyu	<i>babhau</i> ‘shone’	<i>agniḥ</i>	<i>(mahāmantrahutārcimālī sadoḡataḥ san bhagavān)</i>	cd
MBh 9.16.48⁹⁰	Śalya	<i>abhinanarda</i> ‘raised a noise’			<i>(samyagg hutām ajyadhārām)</i>
MBh 1.155.27	Bharadvāja’s son	<i>dahaty (ājau kṣatram)</i>	<i>analaḥ</i>	<i>(hutāhutiḥ)</i>	b
MBh 2.17.7	Magadha’s son	<i>avardhata</i>			d
MBh 11.18.18	Gāndhārī’s sons’ helmets	<i>dīptāni</i>	<i>pāvakān</i>	<i>(suhutān)</i>	d
Rām 5.35.23⁹¹	Hanumān	<i>prāpayiṣyāmi</i>	<i>analaḥ</i>		cd
Rām 5.40.22	Rāvaṇa	<i>jajvāla</i>	<i>agniḥ</i>	<i>(huta-)</i>	c

Aśvaghōṣa employs the fire as an *upamāna* also in SN 9.20, where Nanda is being instructed to beware of the inebriation of life.⁹²

⁹⁰ This passage involves the same image of the fire fuelled by butter, without the *bimbapratibimba* relation and without the idea of satisfaction of the fire.

⁹¹ Here there is the idea of the fires which conveys the offerings to the gods.

⁹² *balam kurūṇām kva ca tattadābhavad yudhi jvalitvā tarasaujasā ca ye | samitsamidhā jvalanā ivādhvare hatāsavo bhasmani paryavasthitāḥ ||* ‘And what has become of the power of the Kurus at that time? Whose lives, after blazing in war with speed and vigour, were slain and turned into solid ash, like the fire in a Soma sacrifice is lit by means of firewood’. Once again Aśvaghōṣa elaborates a complex *upamā* with a *bimbapratibimba* relation regarding the Kurus (*ye = kurūṇām* 20ab) as the main *upameya*, with a corresponding *upamāna*, e.g., *jvalanāḥ* ‘fires’. Moreover, *tarasaujasā ca* here translated together as ‘power’ is the secondary *upameya*, followed by its corresponding *upamāna* *samidh-* ‘firewood’, in the compound *samitsamidhāḥ*. Finally, the last *upameya* is the locative *yudhi* ‘war’, matched by the *upamāna* *adhvare* ‘Soma sacrifice’ (see Biardeau, Malamoud 1976).

Comparing the *kṣatriya* who dies in combat to a sacrificial victim is an epic *topos* (Biardeau, Malamoud 1976). However, here the warrior is compared to the sacrificial fire itself, of which only ashes remain after the ceremony, just as the warrior’s ashes are left after he has been burnt on the funeral pyre.

Even though fire, as we have seen, is a common *upamāna* as an archetype of splendour, there are however not enough sufficiently interesting references that match the *bimbapratibimba* relation which the SN stanza displays.⁹³

1.2.2.2 LANDSCAPES AS UPAMĀNAS

As far as analogical matrices are concerned, in SN 6.33 Aśvaghōṣa depicts Sundarī’s sorrow because of her husband’s departure, weaving an intricate image where the woman’s physical display of grief is compared to a cave in the mountain which has been hit by a firebolt.

sā sundarī śvāsacalodarī hi vajrāgnisaṃbhinnadarīguheva /

śokāgnināntarḥḍi dahyamānā vibhrāntacitteva tadā babhūva ||

‘Indeed Sundarī, whose belly was trembling because she was panting, **like a cave whose entrance is split by the bolt of fire**,⁹⁴ burning in her heart because of that **fire that is pain**, at that moment became **as if her mind was confused**’.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	ĀLAṆKĀRA
<i>sundarī</i>	<i>guhā</i>	-	
<i>udara</i>	<i>darī</i>	<i>cala-</i>	<i>upamā</i>
<i>svāsa-</i>	<i>vajrāgni</i>	<i>-saṃbhinna-</i>	
<i>śoka-</i>	<i>-agninā</i>	-	<i>samastarūpaka</i>

The stanza contains a *saṃsṛṣṭi*⁹⁵: there is an *upamā* in *pādas* ab, where Sundarī is compared to a *guhā*- a ‘cave’⁹⁶ through an effective *yamaka* due to the repetition of *-da-rī-* in *sundarī* (proper name), *udara*- ‘belly’ which takes the ending of the feminine nominative since it figures in a *bahuvrīhi* compound, and *darī*- ‘entrance’.

⁹³ Various *upameyas*: Pāṇḍavas (MBh 1.183.9; 2.19.36); Sudarśana (MBh 1.17.23);

⁹⁴ At first, the compound *vajrāgni-* could be interpreted as a *samastarūpaka* ‘by the fire which is the bolt’. However, in this case, I interpret the compound simply as a *śaṣṭītatpuruṣa* ‘by the bolt of fire’, included in the *bahuvrīhi* compound referred to *guhā*, i.e., *vajrāgni-sambhinna-darī*.

⁹⁵ See Gerow’s (1971: 311) definition for *saṃsṛṣṭi*: “intermixture: a multiple *alaṅkāra*. The term is often used to signify complex *alaṅkāra* as opposed to compound *alaṅkāra*”.

⁹⁶ I chose to maintain ‘cave’ in accordance with Johnston 1928 and Covill 2007, Passi translates both meanings of the word with ‘segreta grotta’ (see Monier-Williams lexicon ‘hiding place’).

Indeed, *udara-* ‘belly’ is the *upameya* to *darī-* ‘entrance’. In *pāda* c the *samastarūpaka śokāgni-* ‘fire that is pain’ follows, in the instrumental case. Lastly, the stanza ends with the *utprekṣā* in the final *pāda* d, *vibhrāntacittā iva* ‘as if her mind was confused’ which creates a parallelism with the previous *iva* of *pāda* b.⁹⁷

There is no attestation of similarly constructed passages in the epics, nor any comparisons regarding women. Moreover, the *samastarūpaka* does not seem to appear in the epics. However, taken individually the *upamā* of a mountain struck by a lightning is recurrent, mostly in depictions of war, to describe the powerful clash of two factions or two warriors and employed mainly as a formula in the last *pāda*, with slight variations regarding the whole mountain or its summit.⁹⁸ However, only once does it seem to appear as an *upamāna* for an injured war-elephant (MBh 8.13.15)⁹⁹, whereas Sundarī is not suffering on the physical level.

Ultimately, as we have seen, the comparison shows that Aśvaghōṣa seems to implement an epic analogical matrix in a complex structure with two more *alaṃkāras*, which convey the idea of an indestructible entity, i.e., the mountain, overwhelmed and eventually wounded by an unfathomable accident, i.e., the thunderbolt.

Furthermore, if in the epics the *upamā* i.e., an event that everyone can experience, mainly regards extremely visible war scenarios since the clash between two warriors is an element of prowess, Aśvaghōṣa reverses the idea, changing the context. In fact, he does not alter the idea expressed by the matrix, that is a strong

⁹⁷ Indeed, here *iva* is not the comparison marker ‘like/as’ but that of the *utprekṣā* ‘as if’.

⁹⁸ *vajraghātād ivācalāḥ* (App. I, no.78.55 after MBh 1.128.4; MBh 2.42.21); *adrir vajrahato yathā* (*1550.6 after MBh 1.142.30); *vajrāhataṃ śṛṅgam ivācalasya* (MBh 4.60.10); *girīn vajrahātān iva* (MBh 6.58.46); *vajrāhata ivācalāḥ* (MBh 7.25.16); *śailā vajrahātā iva* (MBh 7.68.51); *vajraparvatayor iva* (MBh 7.117.40); *vajrāhata ivādrirāt* (MBh 7.132.15); *vajranunna ivācalāḥ* (MBh 8.9.32); *vajrāhatānīva gireḥ śirāṃsi* (MBh 8.12.60); *vajravaraṣair ivācalāḥ* (MBh 8.17.27); *vajrabhinnā ivādrayaḥ* (MBh 8.33.51); *vajravega ivācalam* (MBh 8.34.39); *vajranunnā ivācalāḥ* (MBh 8.40.54); *vajrāhatānām iva parvatānām* (MBh 8.54.5); *yathā vajrahātā mahācalāḥ* (MBh 8.62.43); *vajrahato yathā giriḥ* (MBh 8.62.45); *yathā vajravidārīto ‘calāḥ* (MBh 8.66.31).

⁹⁹ [dvīpa 14b] *sa vedanārto ‘mbudanisvano nadaṃś calan bhraman praskhalīto ‘turo dravan / papāta rugṇaḥ saniyantṛkas tathā yathā girir vajranipātacūrṇitaḥ* || ‘[The elephant] afflicted by pain, whose sound was that of a cloud, trumpeting, quivering, roaming around, stumbling, running (although it was not) quick, fell down, injured together with its mahout, **like a mountain is pulverised when lightning strikes**’. The image of a mountain stricken by Indra’s thunderbolt is inherited from the RV.

entity (= Sundarī and Nanda’s solid conjugal love for each other) struck by the aforementioned unfathomable accident (= Nanda’s renunciation of marriage and his consequent religious initiation).

Nevertheless, by modifying the epic *upamāna* of the mountain into a cave’s hole (*darī-guhā*), he transforms a very public and openly visible moment into a private and intimate one. Indeed, this is a more suitable *upamāna* for Sundarī, who experiences her grief in the secrecy of her chambers, physically afflicted by the sorrow that tears her belly apart (*sam-√bhid-*).

In fact, the idea of the mountain struck by thunderbolts is an epic *topos*, one that Aśvaghōṣa reiterates in SN 7.34 and in SN 9.17 in an *upamā* with a *bimbapratibimba* relation.¹⁰⁰

This time, the sense conveyed is slightly different, namely the idea is that of a firm vow/mountain jeopardised by love/thunderbolt. After leaving his wife, Nanda tries to adjust to a new life and uses a soliloquy to list several eminent characters who struggled to remain faithful to their vows, because of a woman. Among these, in SN 7.34 he mentions the sage Rṣyaśṛṅga, who *cacāla dhairyāt* ‘deviated from his firmness’ because of his wife-to-be Śāntā, daughter of the Aṅga king Lomapāda.

*niśāmya śāntāṃ naradevakanyāṃ vane ‘pi śānte ‘pi ca vartamānaḥ |
cacāla dhairyān munir rṣyaśṛṅgaḥ śailo mahākampa ivoccaśṛṅgaḥ // SN 7.34 ||*
‘The sage Rṣyaśṛṅga, after noticing Śāntā, the King’s daughter, although he was living in the forest and although he was in peace, deviated from his firmness, **as a mountain with a high summit [does] during an earthquake**’.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA	SĀDHĀRANĀDHARMA ¹⁰¹
<i>rṣyaśṛṅgaḥ</i>	<i>śailaḥ uccaśṛṅgaḥ</i>	<i>cacāla dhairyāt</i>

¹⁰⁰ *kva kārtavīryasya balābhīmāninaḥ sahasrabāhor balam arjunasya tat | cakarta bāhūn yudhi yasya bhārgavaḥ mahānti śṛṅgāny aśanir girer iva ||* ‘Where is this strength of the Kārtavīrya, of the proud of his strength, the thousand-armed Arjuna, whose arms Bhārgava cut off in battle, **as the thunderbolt [cut] the mighty mountain peaks**’.

¹⁰¹ It is interesting to note that the *muni*’s name is a compound where the second constituent is *śṛṅga-* in the sense of ‘horn’, lit. ‘who possesses the antelope’s horn’ and, at the same time, *śṛṅga-* in the sense of ‘mountain’s horn’, therefore, ‘summit’ also figures as an *upamāna*.

Among the various occurrences where *śṛṅga-* figures as the *upamāna*, mainly used for giant-size heroes or eminent characters of a high moral status¹⁰² in one instance the *upamā* recurs in a passage where the *rākṣasa* Alambuṣa – interestingly mentioned by the patronymic Ārśyaśṛṅgi – killer of Arjuna’s son Irāvata, is deeply wounded with golden arrows that make him look like an illuminated mountain peak (MBh 6.96.39)¹⁰³.

This *upamā* is different from the one in the SN, mainly because of the *sādhāraṇadharmā* regarding the splendour of both the golden arrows and the mountain-top, whereas in the SN the *upameya* and the *upamāna* share the difficulty of standing firm in the face of adversity (love for a woman/earthquake).

However, the MBh passage contains a small *yamaka* that, similarly to the one employed in the SN, is located in *pādas* cd, and moreover, even regards a proper noun, i.e., the *rākṣasa*’s name and the mountain top. Otherwise, a *lātānuprāsa*¹⁰⁴ constitutes the main evidence of intertextuality, contained in a lyrical passage of the Rām in which Hanumān in Laṅkā contemplates the moon at night, which figures as the main *upameya* in a *hetūpamā* (Rām 5.4.5):

sthitaḥ kakudmān iva tīkṣṇaśṛṅgo mahācalaḥ śveta ivoccaśṛṅgaḥ |
hasṭīva jāmbūnadabaddhaśṛṅgo vibhāti candraḥ paripūrṇaśṛṅgaḥ ||
 ‘Standing firm like a bull¹⁰⁵, with its sharp horns (*śṛṅga-*), **like a white great mountain with its high peaks** (*śṛṅga-*), like an elephant, with its tusks (*śṛṅga-*) tied with Jambū gold, the moon shone forth with its horn (*śṛṅga-*) fully filled’.

This *upamā* is focused on the repetition of the term *śṛṅga-* four times in all four *pādas*, each with a slightly different meaning. First, it is included in the *bahuvrīhi* compound *tīkṣṇaśṛṅgaḥ* ‘with its sharp horns’ which qualifies the *kakudmat*, bull’s horns; second, it is employed in *pāda* b in the sense of mountain peaks, in the same *upamā* that is reused by Aśvaghōṣa with variants chosen merely for metrical

¹⁰² For instance, Duryodhana and Bhīma (MBh 1.124.30); Jāmadagnya (MBh 5.185.9); Yuyudhāna (MBh 7.93.4); Bhīma (7.143.32), and Kumbhakarna (Rām 6.55.51).

¹⁰³ *sa śaraiś cāpi tapanīyaparicchadaiḥ | ārśyaśṛṅgir babhau rājan dīptaśṛṅga ivācalaḥ ||* ‘Due to the arrows covered with gold all around, Ārśyaśṛṅgi shone, O king, **like a mountain whose summit is illuminated**’.

¹⁰⁴ This is a *lātānuprāsa*, rather than a simple *yamaka*, because it involves the *artha* sense and not just the *śabda* level.

¹⁰⁵ Lit. ‘like the one which possesses a hump’.

reasons,¹⁰⁶ and with the addition of the earthquake that better suits the logic of the *upamā*. Third, in *pāda c* it conveys the sense of the elephant's tusks and, finally, in *pāda d* it indicates the crescent moon. As a result, not only is the *upamāna* comparable with the same adjective, but the wordplay of the different meanings of *śṛṅga-* also reinforces the *sādhāraṇadharmā*, expanding it to the lexical sphere.

This comparison is once again evidence of the style of the Mahākāvya *in fieri*, and of how Aśvaghōṣa sometimes amplifies the *upamā* (e.g., SN 2.49; 6.33; 7.34; 18.44), sometimes reuses epic formulas (e.g., SN 5.23; 6.26), but always aims to echo the epic model by means of both rhetoric and linguistic expedients. It is also a testament to his ability to add new layers to old stylistic features.

¹⁰⁶ *ivoccaśṛṅgaḥ* contains a molossus, i.e., a sequence of three long syllables.

1.3 FIRST-HAND KNOWLEDGE OF THE EPICS. DIRECT REFERENCES AND QUOTATIONS

The following passages do not provide enough evidence for the demonstration of the intertextuality theory. Sometimes, they do not match with any epic reference;¹⁰⁷ however, they do witness Aśvaghōṣa's first-hand knowledge of the epics or his acceptable acquaintance with a certain mythology. For instance, in BC 1.88 king Śuddhodana is compared to the ancient king Bhava, who occurs as an *upamāna* for Rāma but with a different *sādhāraṇadharmā*, i.e., Rāma's splendour (Rām 6.68.28), whereas the BC's *upāma* represents Śuddhodana's and Bhava's satisfaction (*pratīta-*) for the birth of Siddhārtha and Skanda respectively.

Furthermore, Aśvaghōṣa mentions Nalakūbara's birth (BC 1.89)¹⁰⁸ in an *upamā* with a *bimbapratibimba* relation. The god's birth is rarely mentioned elsewhere – or, at least, there is no mention of a city full of Apsaras rejoicing for such an event. However, in MBh 14.69.16-17 a city brimming with life is compared to Kubera's city joyful for his son's birth. (*vaiśravaṇasya puram*). The stanza narrates how the city of Kapilavastu rejoices for the Buddha's birth in the same way that the birth of Nalakūbara, Kubera's son, was celebrated.¹⁰⁹ The episode is not mentioned in the epics, however in MBh 9.46.20-30 it is said that Kubera was granted many boons including in fact a son. In the end, Nalakūbara's name occurs 5 times in the MBh¹¹⁰ and only thrice in the Rām.¹¹¹

Another mention of epic episodes occurs in SN 1.22-23 where, once again, an *upamā* with a *bimbapratibimba* relation draws a comparison between Siddhārtha

¹⁰⁷ This is the case of the following stanzas which deal with epic subjects; however, I could not find any cross-references of interest.

¹⁰⁸ *iti narapatiputranjavarddhyaḥ sajanapadam kapilāhvayaṃ puram tat | dhanadapuram ivāpsaro'vakīrṇaṃ muditam abhūn nalakūbaraprasūtau* // 'And so, the town named 'Kapila' together with the country rejoiced for prosperity in the form of the birth of the king's son, **just like the Wealth-giver's town which was filled with Apsarases [rejoiced] for the bringing forth of Nalakūbara**'. Wealth-giver is an epithet for Kubera.

¹⁰⁹ According to Mani (1975: 519) Nalakūbara is one of Vaiśravaṇa's sons and had a brother called Maṇigrīva. However, there is no mention of his birth.

¹¹⁰ 2.10.18; 3.258.16; 3.264.58; 3.275.32; 9.46.26.

¹¹¹ 7.26.24, 32-33.

and Nanda (*upameyas*), as pupils of the seer Kapila Gautama, and Rāma and Vāsubhadra¹¹² (*upamānas*) who became disciples of Gārgya and Gautama respectively.¹¹³ To search for potential matching references, I looked for mentions of Gārgya, which occurs 7 times in the MBh¹¹⁴ and 6 times in the Rām¹¹⁵ although never as an *upamāna*. Vāsubhadra occurs once when Abhimanyu is said to act as Vāsubhadra (*vāsubhadrānukṛtim* MBh 7.47.39).

At the beginning of the Mahākāvya, a premise recounts the origins of Nanda and Buddha's lineage, together with their ancestors' exploits. For instance, in SN 1.23 it is said that Ikṣvāku's sons, i.e., the *upameyas*, became disciples of the sage Kapila Gautama just as Rāma and Vāsubhadra, i.e., the *upamānas*, had become followers of Gārgya and Gautama respectively.

The MBh registers 7 occurrences for the proper noun *gārgya-*, though with no mention of Rāma and without involving any *upamā*. Similarly, there are 6 occurrences in the Rām. Instead, Vāsubhadra is mentioned once (MBh 7.47.39), and, to the best of my knowledge, apart from the SN mention, this seems to be the only other time he is named in the entire Sanskrit corpus, at least to the DCS. Moreover, mentions of Siddhārtha's lineage are found in the compound *ikṣvākucandrama-* (BC 12.1), which has already been discussed in terms of *ikṣvākumentions* in the MBh.¹¹⁶

¹¹² Name of Kṛṣṇa.

¹¹³ See Passi 1985: 170 n12: “Vāsubhadra è Kṛṣṇa, Rāma suo fratello Balarama. Le fonti ricordano solamente Garga, donde Gārgya, il sacerdote di corte del padre di Kṛṣṇa che officiò ai riti di iniziazione per entrambi i fratelli. Simili divergenze fra la tradizione del Mahābhārata e Aśvaghōṣa sono frequenti e indicative di uno stato in cui l'epica era ancora sufficientemente fluida da ammettere nel mito varianti probabilmente di origine locale”.

¹¹⁴ 2.7.16; 5.187.27; 9.51.3-4; 12.203.19; 13.4.54, 13.18.25.

¹¹⁵ 2.29.22, 26; 7.90.2, 4-5; 7.91.1.

¹¹⁶ See Falqui (2019: 39): “Perhaps even the compound occurring in BC 12.1 *ikṣvāku|candrama-* ‘that moon of [the] Ikṣvāku [-lineage]’ referred to the founder of the Buddha's dynasty might sophisticatedly hint at the phrase *ikṣvākoḥ sūryaputrasya*, used in MBh 12.192.2, to introduce the edifying story of the dispute among Time, Death, king Ikṣvāku and a wise Brahmin, recently linked by Brodbeck (2011: 128; 145) to the so-called *Mahābhārata* «switching from lunar to solar ancestry». In the Pūranic genealogies – as well as in both the epics and in the vedic sources (see Witzel 2005), Ikṣvāku is always referred to as a descendent of the solar line. Thapar (1991: 34) states that the Buddha's presence in the *Sūryavamśa* «was an attempt to subordinate the descent of the Buddha by incorporating it into the line of Rāma». In light of this, one could suggest that Aśvaghōṣa

As regards the Rām, *ikṣvāku-* occurs in similar *tatpuruṣa* compounds (e.g., °*rājyaśrī-* ‘Ikṣvāku’s royal glory’ Rām 2.4.41), employed as appositions referring to prominent characters (e.g., of Sītā °*kulanandinī-* ‘delight of the Ikṣvāku dynasty’ Rām 5.11.57; of Rāma °*nandana-* ‘delight of the Ikṣvākus’ Rām 1.17.6; °*vara-* ‘excellent [descendant of] Ikṣvāku’ Rām 2.37.1; of Vasiṣṭha °*kuladaivata-* ‘divinity of the Ikṣvāku dynasty’ Rām 1.69.14), apposition (of Triśaṅku, °*dāyada-* Rām 1.59.2).

Mentions of mythical creatures that seem to recall epic material are also found in SN 2.50, where Buddha’s conception is described. We learn that queen Māyā saw a white elephant (*upameya*) which is compared to Indra’s elephant Airāvata. However, epic occurrences of Airāvata as an *upamāna* only regard the Pāṇḍavas being pushed back on the battlefield by an enemy, just as the Dānavas were by Indra and his elephant (MBh 7.25.40), or Rāma mounting the huge monkey Hanumān who is compared to Indra on Airāvata (Rām 6.4.15).

In SN 4.10 Nanda and Sundarī rejoicing in each other are compared to, respectively, a *kiṃpuruṣa* and a *kiṃnarī* in an idyllic scenario. A comparison with the Epic shows that Gandharva and Apsarasas are the subject of similar scenes (e.g., the compound *gandharvāpsaras-* is attested 51 times in the MBh and 8 in the Rām), however, to the best of my knowledge, the only occurrence for *kiṃpuruṣa-* as an *upamāna* seems to be MBh 12.163.5 where the ṛṣi Gautama wandering in the forest is the *upameya*.

These data show that if no epic match for the *alamkāra* is involved, Aśvaghoṣa may well have drawn on other sources, or, that he simply reworked existing and familiar characters. He was thus able to craft a situation that serves the purpose both stylistically and rhetorically, which is based on his knowledge of the epics.

On other occasions we find a precise match for some episodes from the epics. This is the case of BC 8.81, where Śuddhodana grieves for Siddhārtha’s departure and asks where he has gone.

adhered to a cultural heritage which envisioned Buddha’s dynasty as a lunar lineage opposed to the solar lineage and that he was interested in emphasising this detail”.

iti tanayaviyogajātaduḥkhaḥ kṣītisadrśam sahaḥ viḥāya dhairyam |

daśaratha iva rāmaśokaśyo bahu vilālāpa nṛpo viśaṃjñakalpaḥ ||

‘Then the king, afflicted by the separation from his son, after setting aside his innate steadfastness which was like that of the earth,¹¹⁷ like Daśaratha, at the mercy of his sorrow for Rāma, wept a lot, almost [falling] unconscious’.¹¹⁸

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA	SĀDHĀRANADHARMA
<i>nṛpa</i> (Śuddhodana) <i>tanaya</i>	<i>daśaratha</i> <i>rāma</i>	<i>vilālāpa</i>

From a linguistic point of view one can observe the *variatio* in the stanza for ‘earth’, whereas stylistically speaking we find two *upamās*, a *samāśopamā* (*kṣīti-sadrśam*) and an *asamasta* (*daśaratha iva*). A key comparison can be drawn if we observe the following Rām śloka, where Hanumān tells Bharata about Rāma’s exile (Rām 6.114.5)

yathā pravrajīto rāmo mātur datte vare tava |

yathā ca putraśokena rājā daśaratho mṛtaḥ || [viditam tava 9b]

‘[You are aware of] how Rāma set off for exile because a vow was made to your mother¹¹⁹, and how King Daśaratha died due to the sorrow for his son’.

I argue that Aśvaghōṣa may have had this verse in mind. From a linguistic point of view, it is also interesting to note that both passages employ the compounded construct [name]+-śoka meaning ‘suffering for someone’.

The Rām uses *putraśoka-* in the instrumental case to express the cause, whereas Aśvaghōṣa employs the *tatpuruṣa* compound *rāmaśoka-vaśya-* which are all read together as a *bahuvrīhi* referring to the subject *daśarathaḥ*, which substitutes the proper noun *rāma-* for the generic one in the epic example.

¹¹⁷ See Johnston (1936: 121 n.81): “The reference is to the element earth, which in Buddhist philosophy provides the qualities of firmness and solidity in all things, defined as *kathinatva* at S., xvi 12”

¹¹⁸ Johnston’s Critical Edition notes that A shows the following *variae lectiones*, e.g., the accusative °*duḥkham* in the *pāda* a.; *dhairyam* in place of *dhairyā* in *pāda* b. and *viśaṃjñakalpaḥ* in *pāda* d. As regards the translations of the *upamā* my translation is close to Cowell’s 1894 “[...] like Dasaratha, a prey to his sorrow for Rāma”, whereas Johnston 1936 has “like Daśaratha dominated by grief for Rāma”, similarly Passi 2011 [1979] “come Daśaratha sopraffatto dal rimpianto er Rāma”, and Schotsman 1995 “just like Daśaratha when he was overcome with grief for Rāma”, whereas Olivelle 2008 proposes “like Dasha-ratha over Rāma, as he succumbed to grief”.

¹¹⁹ Hanumān is talking to Bharata.

Moreover, I consider this specific Rām passage as meaningful in terms of genre dynamics, which could shed new light on the intricacies regarding the Mahākāvya genre and its origins. For instance, Hildebeitel (2005: 476-478) quotes the previous *pāda* (4cd) in his inquiry on the relationships between the two epics and their subtales and narrative structures. As far as the Rām is concerned, Hildebeitel argues that “three terms *kāvya*, *carita*, and *ākhyāna* are woven through the *upodghāta*” (*Ibid.*: 476) and *caritam* is specifically the term employed in the *pāda* 4cd to define Rāma’s ‘adventure’ in the forest. Moreover, *carita* “in contrast to *kāvya* [...] implies that the “movement” [...] of the main narrative” (*Ibid.* 478) can be inscribed according to some observations Hildebeitel made on the previous *pāda* (4cd). Other mentions of Daśaratha as an *upamāna* occur in Rām 2.47.13 and 2.76.12 respectively; however, they do not involve the specific episode from Aśvaghōṣa quoted here.¹²⁰

Another case of a first-hand knowledge of epic passages is represented by BC 9.9, which recounts how one of Urvaśī’s and Vāmadeva’s descendants came to visit Rāma in the forest:

yānaṃ vihāyopayayau tatas taṃ purohito mantradhareṇa sārḍham |
yathā vanasthaṃ saḥavāmadevo rāmaṃ diḍḍkṣur munir aurvaśeyaḥ ||
 ‘Leaving the carriage, the *purohita* approached him together with the counsellor, **like the wise descendant of Urvaśī, wishing to see Rāma, who was abiding in the forest, approached [him] together with Vāmadeva**’.

The stanza refers to the episode mentioned in a section of the *Rāmopākhyāna* (MBh 3.257-276), where Vasiṣṭha and Vāmadeva approach Rāma (MBh 3.261.36)¹²¹:

[*sa* (...) *śatrughnasahito yayau* 35cd]
vasiṣṭhavāmadevābhyāṃ vipraiś cānyaiḥ sahasraśaḥ |
paurajānapādaiḥ sārḍhaṃ rāmānayanakāṅkṣayā ||
 ‘[(Bharata) came accompanied by Śatrughna] together with Vasiṣṭha and Vāmadeva, inspired brahmins by the thousand, and the town’s inhabitants, with the desire to bring back Rāma’.

¹²⁰ See Olivelle (2008: 454): “For the lament of Dasha-ratha when Rāma went into exile, see *Rāmāyaṇa* 11.34”.

¹²¹ The *Rāmopākhyāna* has also been recently the subject of a study by Scharf 2003.

This shows that Aśvaghōṣa is so familiar with the epic that he dialogues with the reader and the audience and alludes to specific episodes by quoting them through both rhetorical and grammatical gimmicks. Moreover, it is further proof that he knew both Vedic and epic literature, because Vāmadeva is no ordinary character.

Therefore, the fact that the MBh mentions Vasiṣṭha's and Vāmadeva's visit to Rāma seems to contradict Johnston's statement on the non-existence of any mention of such an occurrence in the epic text.¹²²

Likewise, Aśvaghōṣa's knowledge of mythology¹²³ involved in the epics is also attested by the frequent employment of the names of renowned sages as *upamānas*. For instance, in SN 1.1-3 the sage Kapila Gautama is the *upameya*:

gautamaḥ kapilo nāma munir dharmabhṛtām varah |
babhūva tapasi śrāntaḥ kākṣivān iva gautamaḥ ||
aśiśrīyad yaḥ satataṁ dīptaṁ kāśyapavat tapaḥ |
āśiśrāya ca tadvr̥ddhau siddhiṁ kāśyapavat parām ||
haviḥṣu yaś ca svātmārthaṁ gām adhukṣad vasiṣṭhavat |
tapaḥśiṣṭeṣu ca śiṣyeṣu gām adhukṣad vasiṣṭhavat ||

'There was a sage whose name was Gautama Kapila, the best among the Dharma-bearers,¹²⁴ exhausted in his ascetic ardour, like **Kākṣivat Gautama**, who always attained burning ascetic

¹²² The correct identification of Urvaśī's son has been the object of much scholarly discussion. Cowell identifies him with Agastya (1894: 93 n.2), but Johnston disagrees (1936: 124-125): "The son of Urvaśī has hitherto been taken to be Agastya, but to make the comparison correct, as Vāmadeva was minister to Daśaratha, the seer must have been his *purohita*, namely Vasiṣṭha. This is confirmed by C's transliteration which gives Vasiṣṭha, and by the fact that in the very rare references to Vāmadeva in the *Rām*. And *MBh.*, in the latter of which he is confused with a *rṣi* of the same name, he is usually coupled with Vasiṣṭha. [...]. The legend of Vasiṣṭha's descent from Urvaśī is alluded to in the *Rigveda*, but had apparently already been lost sight of by the time of the epics. This passage therefore suggests the poet's knowledge of Vedic literature. The epics know of no such visit to Rāma, and the significance of this reference is dealt with in the Introduction". On the same matter, see also Olivelle (2008: 454-455): "Vāmadeva was the minister of Dasharatha, the father of Rama. The identity of Aurvashēya (the son or descendant of Úrvashi) is unclear. Johnston has argued that he is Vasishtha, the chaplain (*purohita*) of Dasharatha; there is early Vedic evidence for Vasishtha being the son of Úrvashi and Varuna [...], even though this was not part of the Vasishtha story in the epics".

¹²³ I refer to the mythological background on which the epic genre is based, and to which Aśvaghōṣa apparently refers.

¹²⁴ Passi discussed the meaning of *dharmā-* as follows (1985: 167 n.1): " 'Legge' rende approssimativamente il termine sanscrito *dharmā*, la Norma giuridica, sociale e religiosa nonché per esteso l'insieme degli insegnamenti di una dottrina particolare, quale quella buddhista. Ma il *dharmā* di Kapila, vissuto prima del Buddha storico, è quello brahmanico fondato sull'asceti, consistente

ardour, **like Kāśyapa**, and after attaining supreme perfection in fuelling it (i.e., ascetic ardour) **like Kāśyapa**,¹²⁵ and who, during the oblations, milked the cow for his own sake **like Vasiṣṭha**, and in the midst of his disciples who were trained in ascetic ardour, he milked the cow of speech **like Vasiṣṭha**’.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA
<i>gautamaḥ kapilaḥ</i>	<i>kākṣīvant</i>	<i>tapasi śrāntaḥ</i>
	<i>kāśyapavat</i>	<i>dīptaṃ [...] tapaḥ</i>
	<i>vasiṣṭhavat</i> (x2)	<i>siddhiṃ [...] parām</i> <i>gām adhukṣad</i> (x2)

Overall, the three stanzas can be rhetorically interpreted as *upamās* of the *mālopanā* type, or as an *ullekhā*, that is when an *upameya* is compared to different *upamānas*, as is shown in the chart. Aśvaghoṣa also employs a *variatio* in building the formal structure of the similes, by means of the comparison marker *iva* for the first *upamā*, whereas the last three are, in fact, compounded, i.e., *samāsopamās*.

The *upameya* is the sage who is first compared to the mythical character Kākṣīvat Gautama, and the common property is that both are *tapasi śrāntaḥ* ‘exhausted in ascetic energy’.¹²⁶ Second, the other *upamāna* involved is the mythical character Kāśyapa – whose identification has been debated¹²⁷ – who shares the *dīptaṃ tapaḥ* ‘blazed ascetic energy’ with the *upameya*. Finally, in the third stanza the last *upamāna* is another mythical sage, i.e., Vasiṣṭha.

principalmente nella mortificazione fisica e nella purità rituale: a questo tipo di disciplina i buddhisti negavano l’efficacia ultima [...]”.

¹²⁵ See Johnston’s considerations on this stanza (1928: 1 n.2): “There may also be a reference in the first line to the fiery heat of Kapila’s gaze which reduced the sons of Sagara to ashes. The use of *śri* in the sense of ‘giving forth’ light, &c., of the sun is Vedic and does not seem to occur elsewhere in classical Sanskrit”.

¹²⁶ I endorse Passi’s translation ‘esausto d’asceti’ (1985), whereas Johnston translates ‘strenuous in ascetism’ (1928), and Covill ‘rigorously ascetic’ (2007).

¹²⁷ Passi provides an interpretation for Kāśyapa (*Ibid.* 167 n.2): “Kāśyapa, patronimico, indica sicuramente il Sole nel primo emistichio, dove *tapas*, “asceti”, riprende anche il suo significato originale di “calore” (cfr. lat. *tepor*); non è chiaro il richiamo nella seconda parte della strofe. Fra i vari personaggi possibili, l’epica conosce per la focosa intransigenza l’asceta Vibhāṇḍaka Kāśyapa, padre di quel Rṣyaśṛṅga le cui vicende vengono ricordate sia nel Saundarananda (VII, 34) sia [...] [ed. nel] *Buddhacarita*, canto IV, 19 [...]”.

The stanza is often considered of difficult interpretation mainly because of the interpretation of *vasiṣṭha-*.¹²⁸ The *sādhāraṇadharmā* is the milking of the cow. Two levels of comparison are made possible by the *śleṣa* of *go-* ‘cow/sky’ and also by the different interpretation of *vasiṣṭha-* as simultaneously a superlative and a proper noun. There is one occurrence of the compounded simile in ṚV 7.96.3, a hymn dedicated to Sarasvatī in which it is said that she is being praised as in the same way she was by Vasiṣṭha:

*bhadrām id bhadrā kṛṇavat sārasyaty ākavārī cetati vājīnīvāt |
gṛṇānā jamadagnivāt stuvānā ca vasiṣṭhavāt ||*

‘Good Sarasvatī will do good. She shows brightly as the unstinting one, rich in prize mares, while she is being hymned as she was by Jamadagni and she is being praised **as she was by Vasiṣṭha**’. (tr. Jamison-Brereton 2014).

However, what is interesting is the reference in ṚV 7.95.2 that Sarasvatī “milked out ghee and milk” (Jamison-Brereton 2014: 1004). Even if Sarasvatī is not the object of the abovementioned *upamā*, we have the concomitance of both *vasiṣṭhavat* and a reference to the act of milking which is the object of comparison. The assumption is that in the SN stanzas, Aśvaghoṣa may be hinting at this Vedic background together with the epic one.

As far as the Epic background is concerned, I found only one occurrence of *vasiṣṭhavat* in the MBh (1.50.14), whereas none could be found in the Rām:

¹²⁸ I refer specifically to Johnston (1928: 1 fn.3), who suggested several hypotheses on the meaning of the third stanza: “Read *havīmṣi* in *a*, as nearer P and as giving the double accusative which *duh* often takes. *Go* has nine meanings (AK, I, 240) but the difficulty in applying them lies in *vasiṣṭha* having no recorded meanings except as a proper name and as an adjective meaning ‘pre-eminent’. For instance, the second line might refer to the sun drawing up moisture from the earth, if *vasiṣṭha* could mean the ‘sun’”. Passi shares the same concerns as Johnston (1985: 168 n.3): “Anche se considerata entro la cornice del primo canto, particolarmente ricco di doppi sensi, la strofe è al limite dell’intelligibilità, se non altro per le cattive condizioni del testo. Partendo dalle congetture di Gawroński [...] e di Johnston [...], l’interpretazione si basa sui diversi significati del termine *go* nei singoli piedi metrici [...], per i quali suggeriamo “vacca”, “cielo”, “parola” e “vacca” con lievi differenze rispetto alle traduzioni precedenti [...]”.

*vālmīkivat te nibhṛtaṃ sudhairyaṃ vasiṣṭhavat te niyataś ca kopah |
prabhutvam indreṇa samaṃ mataṃ me dyutiś ca nārāyaṇavad vibhāti ||*
'Your good firmness is humble like that of Vālmīki,¹²⁹ your wrath is restrained **like that of Vasiṣṭha**,
your lordship is considered the same as Indra's and your splendour blazes like that of Nārāyaṇa'.

As far as Vasiṣṭha is concerned, this is the only occurrence which can be of interest in the present analysis. Here, a comparison is made between Janamejaya's qualities and those of several eminent sages including Vasiṣṭha¹³⁰. As regards the other sages mentioned throughout the epics, Kākṣīvant is mentioned 5 times in the MBh¹³¹, whereas Kāśyapa's name occurs 107 times in MBh and 16 in Rām; finally, references to Kākṣīvat Gautama are only found in the MBh (1.98.26; 2.16.22).

Although it is not the same *alaṃkāra* and the *upameyas* are different, this can however be interpreted as a case of *upamā* of the part, or a *hetūpamā* that is 'simile with a reason'¹³², namely different attributes of the *upameya* are being compared to different qualities of the *upamāna*. Aśvaghoṣa's text can be considered a variation on the MBh passage but the idea expressed is the same.

In summary, I have attempted to show tentatively how Aśvaghoṣa's Mahākāvya mechanism of intertextual reuse works, in terms of analogical matrices. They refer mainly to the use of *upamānas* like Indra, the sun, the mountains and the lotus, which apparently belong to a wider metaphorical background than the MBh and the Rām. Particularly when dealing with a *topos*, Aśvaghoṣa often elevates mere similes into identifications (e.g., BC 1.69). By this means the *alaṃkāra* is enriched to better suit the rhetorical and narrative context and the doctrinal purpose.

¹²⁹ The *taddhita* affix *-vat* is here employed consistently with Pāṇini's rule *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 5.1.116, e.g., *tasya iva* [...].

¹³⁰ Vasiṣṭha is also the *upamāna* in a situation involving his wife Arundatī (MBh 1.191.6) and his powerful son (MBh 1.166.13).

¹³¹ Rejoicing like Kakṣīvant is auspicated when visiting a *tīrtha* (MBh 3.82.89).

¹³² That is, an *upamā* in which the reason for comparison is given, whereas a *malopamā* is a set of *upamās* that have the same *upameya* and several *upamānas*. In the case of the MBh, it is not a true *malopamā* because there are different *upameyas*. Whilst the anachronism is noted, it could be interpreted according to Ānandavardhana (IX CE), therefore, analysing the ornament as a *hetūpamā* with a *dhvani*, i.e., a suggested *malopamā*. See Daṇḍin, *Kāvyaḍarśa* 2.50: *kāntyā candramasaṃ dhāmnā sūryaṃ dhairyēṇa cārṇavam | rājann anukaroṣīti saiṣā hetūpamā matā ||* ' "By thy splendour the Moon, by effulgence the Sun, by courage the Ocean, thou, O king, dost imitate"— This is considered Simile with a Reason'. (tr. Belvakar, 1924: 17)

Nevertheless, Aśvaghoṣa demonstrates his first-hand knowledge of the epic sources by making direct references to the texts in his Mahākāvyas in order to better highlight the differences and similarities between epic and Buddhist characters. This is achieved by reusing the same epic syntactical structure (e.g., BC 8.81), or by adapting the epic image to the doctrinal context (e.g., SN 18.44), or finally by using elaborate puns to tease the educated audience (e.g., SN 2.49).

Conversely, if there is no epic match for the *alaṃkāra* in question, he may well have drawn on other sources, or he may simply have reworked familiar characters, always on the basis of his extensive knowledge of the epics (e.g., BC 1.89).

2. Evidence of a primary intertextuality: basic reuse of comparative compounds

In the present chapter I will show evidence of a first level intertextuality relationship which is either achieved by the simple reuse or adaptation of comparative compounds,¹³³ namely the compounded *upamās* (*samāśopamā*), the *upamānasamāsa*, and finally the compounded *rūpakas*.

Such compounds have been the object of long-term research that involves grammarians (*vayākaraṇas*) and literary theorists (*ālaṃkārikas*). Starting with Pāṇini's rules A 2.1.56, 2.1.72, which were conventionally interpreted as teaching compounds expressing *upamā* and *rūpaka* respectively, the theoreticians indeed gradually distanced themselves from the grammatical model, due to a fatal misunderstanding of the technical terms involved in the rules themselves.¹³⁴

BC and SN instances will be listed according to an increasing order that attempts to account for the reuse spectrum (Freschi, Maas 2017: 14), starting from a simple

¹³³ It must be stated that this is not always the case as far as Aśvaghōṣa is concerned. For instance, Freschi, Maas (*Ibid.* 13-14) define 'simple reuse' as "[...] the resumption of the previous use of an item without a strong change of purpose(s). An item is employed again because it is readily available and can be easily used. Usually the re-user does not want the re-used element to be specifically recognized as having been re-used. To elaborate, simple re-use is the act of "again using" something that had been used earlier. Typically, simple re-use implies no change in purpose". This concept does not apply smoothly to Aśvaghōṣa's style, because, on the contrary, even in the smallest evidence of simple re-use – e.g., comparative compounds regarding Indra as an *upamāna* so broadly attested in the epics – I argue that these are deliberately employed to hint at a MBh or Vedic context. As for adaptive re-use the scholars state that it "[...] is not merely the repetition of a previous use; it implies more than an item just being used again. In adaptive reuse, the reuser expects his or her audience to recognize the reused elements in order to achieve a well-defined purpose, as for example adding prestige, credibility, etc. to the newly created item. Adaptive re-use may involve a more substantial change in the usage". However, they eventually acknowledge that both concepts are not be intended as a true dichotomy: "[...] simple and adaptive re(-)use do not mutually exclude each other. In general, different degrees of adaptation characterize individual cases of re(-)use".

¹³⁴ See Candotti, Pontillo 2017a; 2017b.

reuse of comparative compounds to end with the ones that seemingly involve a more adaptive reuse.¹³⁵

2.1 REUSE AND ADAPTATION OF COMPOUNDED *UPAMĀS* (*SAMĀSOPAMĀ*)

Porcher (1978: 48-57) devoted a paragraph to the compounded *upamā*, i.e., the *samāsopamā* “comparaison en composé”, distinguishing between different kinds of compounds containing or not containing the *upameya*. Moreover, to the best of my knowledge, Bock-Raming’s study (1990) of compounded *upamās* constitutes the first attempt at surveying the use of this *alamkāra* in early Kāvya literature, particularly in Aśvaghōṣa’s BC and SN. Likewise, he classified the instances according to six categories, starting with compounded *upamās* that omit the *sādhāraṇadharmā*, and ending with compounds of the *bahuvrīhi* type¹³⁶ – as Candotti, Pontillo (2017a; 2017b) also state. As regards earlier literary theorists (*ālamkārikas*), at some point they interpreted such compounds as being based on Pāṇini’s *Aṣṭhādhyāyī* 2.1.56.¹³⁷

Given this premise, the first relevant instance which seems to demonstrate a simple reuse regards the *samāsopamā devakalpa-* ‘god-like’ found in BC 10.7,

¹³⁵ Nonetheless, this cataloguing should not be considered in any way as projecting paradigmatic categories onto Aśvaghōṣa’s intention of composition, but merely as a heuristic tool.

¹³⁶ See Bock-Raming (1990: 241) “The *samāsopamās* occurring in Aśvaghōṣa’s *Saundarananda* and his *Buddhacarita* can generally be divided into the following categories: 1. Compounds ending in an adjective like *sama*, *tulya* etc.: they are characterized by the omission of the common property. 2. *tatpuruṣa*-compounds which are constructed according to Panini II,1,55; they include the common property but have no particle of comparison. 3. Compounds of the type *upamāna* + *sama*, *tulya* etc. + *upameya*; these compounds are characterized by the omission of the *sādharmya*, 4. *bahuvrīhi*-compounds with the *upamāna* as the first, the *sādharmya* as the second and the *upameya* as the third member. 5. *bahuvrīhi*-compounds containing the *upamāna* and the *upameya* only. 6. *bahuvrīhi*-compounds constructed according to Katyāyana’s *Vārttika*, in which the three elements of a simile are missing: the *sādharmya*, the particle of comparison and the *upamāna*”.

¹³⁷ As regards the *upamā*, Candotti, Pontillo (2017 b: 351) specifically quote the following compounds: “e.g. *kamalapatrākṣī* ‘a lotus-petal-eyed [woman]’ BhKA 2.32, interpreted as ‘a [woman] whose eyes are like (iva) lotus petals’; *śaśāṅkavadanā* “moon- faced [woman]” BhKA 2.32 and DK 2.61 i.e. ‘a [woman] whose face is like the moon’; *kuvalayadalalocanā* ‘a water-lily-petal-eyed [woman]’ RKA 8.20. that is ‘a [woman] whose eyes are like water-lily petals’”.

where Siddhārtha,¹³⁸ mentioned by the compound *naradevasūnu-* ‘human god’s son (lit. human god)’, figures as the *upameya*:¹³⁹

anyakriyāṇām api rājamārgē strīṇām nṛṇām vā bahumānapūrvam |
taṃ devakalpam naradevasūnum nirīkṣamāṇā na tatarpa dṛṣṭiḥ ||
 ‘Their eyes, gazing with great reverence at this **godlike** human god’s son¹⁴⁰, were not satiated even when women and men were busy doing other things on the king’s road’.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA
<i>naradevasūnum</i> (=Siddhārtha)	<i>deva-</i>

Here, Siddhārtha is identified as the *upameya* whereas the *deva* ‘god’, ‘deity’ is the *upamāna*. According to Bock-Raming (1990), this *upamā* is expressed according to the type *upamāna* + *kalpa-* characterised by the omission of the common property.¹⁴¹

The common property is indeed omitted, but one can assume that it is the hieraticism/solemnity of the Siddhārtha /god. The people might have stared at Siddhārtha as he passed through the street (*atītya BC 10.3*), just as they would stare at a *deva* statue carried in a procession.¹⁴² However, since his passing through the street caused a great deal of astonishment amongst the onlookers (*visismiye BC*

¹³⁸ In passages taken from the Cantos before his enlightenment, I call Siddhārtha by his birthname. After he reached enlightenment in the 13th Canto, and throughout the Sn, he will be mentioned as Buddha.

¹³⁹ The compound is lexicalised in the sense of ‘king’. Passi (1979: 122) translates the compound *naradevasūnum* as ‘divino principe’ whereas Johnston (1936: 142) translates it as ‘son of the human god’. Cowell (1892: 81) speaks of a gloss in the C manuscript correcting *sūnum* with *sūtam*, whereas Johnston (1936: I, 109) reports that A reads *naradevasūtram*, while T reads *narendrasūnum* in Sanskrit translation.

¹⁴⁰ The adopted translation is consistent with the aim of maintaining the pun employed by Aśvaghoṣa, i.e., the *lāṭānuprāsa* or *yamaka*.

¹⁴¹ The *samāśopamā* is included in Bock-Raming’s list (1990: 244, 252). Furthermore, he highlights that this typology of compounded *upamā* is more frequent in the BC than in the SN: “Auch im B. ist der Typus 1 von allen samasopamās am häufigsten vertreten. Darüber hinaus kommt er in dem im Sanskrit überlieferten Teil des Textes mehr als doppelt so oft vor wie im S”.

¹⁴² The hypothesis is consistent with other *loci* of Aśvaghoṣa’s works where Siddhārtha, as the *upameya*, is compared to a god’s emblem carried in a procession, i.e., Indra’s *dhvaja* is the *upamāna* (Sn 4.46). Mentions of a god’s emblem are also made in BC 3.24 where Siddhārtha is compared to god Kāma ‘whose emblem (*ketu-*) is the flower’ (*puspaketu-*). Moreover, let us note that the implicit idea of Siddhārtha walking among commoners and being compared to a god, is also consistent with the epic imagery of a god disguised as a brahman who walks among mortals.

10.3), his presence might also be interpreted as a sort of theophany. Thus, the people whoever they might be (*strīṅāṃ nṛṅāṃ vā* BC 10.7b) were more amazed than they would have been if they had been looking at a *simulacrum*.

As far as epic attestations of this *samāśopamā* are concerned, the MBh registers 22 occurrences, whereas it is only attested twice in the Rām. The compound mainly occurs as an attribute of eminent characters, great warriors, Brahmins, priests and sages and even once as an adjective of abstract concepts (e.g., *atithisatkāram* MBh 13.126.13). Although sometimes the *samāśopamā*'s recipients are indeed sons, as e.g., in the BC passage, the most relevant instances however regard Rāma as the *upameya* in a passage where Lakṣmaṇa and Rāma's mother Kausalyā weeps at his departure for the forest (Rām 2.18.6):

devakalpam rjuṃ dāntaṃ ripūṅāṃ api vatsalam |
avekṣamāṇaḥ ko dharmaṃ tyajet putram akāraṅāt ||
 'Who, having regard for Dharma, could renounce, without a cause, a son **god-like**, honest, self-restrained and even loving¹⁴³ towards [his] enemies?

From a technical point of view, Rāma is mentioned by means of the accusative singular *putram* – the *upameya* – just as Siddhārtha is mentioned by the epithet *naradevasūnuṃ*, in the same grammatical case as the object of the actions conveyed by the verbs, respectively the optative $\sqrt{\text{tyaj-}}$ (Rām) and the passive present participle *nir-√ikṣ-* (BC). Moreover, the *samāśopamā devakalpa-*, here employed as predicate noun, figures at the beginning of a *pāda* in both quotes from the BC (7c) and the Rām (6a). However, it is located far from the noun it qualifies, i.e., *putram*, whereas the BC *pāda* has the structure 'article' + *upamāna* + *upameya*. In both cases, the *upameya* is a famous son who has chosen to renounce his royal duties, although unlike Rāma, in the BC Siddhārtha had already left the forest (9th Canto) and had set his sights on higher destinations.¹⁴⁴ The following table accounts

¹⁴³ Here I translate *vatsalam* literally as 'child-loving', see also BC 8.24 (§3.1.4).

¹⁴⁴ Moreover, there are other mentions of famous sons such as *devakalpa-* in a passage from the MBh where Dhṛtarāṣṭra tells Duryodhana how their ancestor Pratiṣṭha generated three sons, the *upameya*, i.e. Devāpi, Śāmtanu, and Bālhika (MBh 5.147.15). However, the passage is once again part of a broader narrative that deals with heirs to the throne who were forced to renounce their title or, worse, had been disinherited because of bad behaviour or sickness. Another occurrence of the

for a general overview of all the *upameyas* and *upamānas* related to epic instances of *devakalpa*-, together with mentions their grammatical case and their structure within the *pādas*:¹⁴⁵

Table 5 List of Epic upameyas and upamānas, and their grammatical case

	LOCI	UPAMEYA	CASE
RĀM	5.1.5	Yakṣas, Kinnaras, Gandharvas and serpents	Instr. plur.
	1.58.2	<i>mahāratha</i> -	Nom. plur.
	1.89.55		
	5.54.50		
	8.6.13		
	5.147.15	<i>putra</i> - Pratiṅpas' sons	
	1.69.50	<i>mahaujas</i> Heroes	
	13.126.31	<i>tapodhana</i> - Ascetics	
	1.89.54	<i>rājasattama</i> -	
	13.51.3	<i>taṃ</i> [=Cyavana]	Acc. sing.
	13.126.13	<i>atithisatkāram</i>	
	1.69.51	<i>mahābhāga</i> -	Acc. plur.
	7.98.43	<i>mahāratha</i> -	
	13.10.11	<i>munigaṇa</i> - Multitude of sages	
MBH	1.54.9; 5.178.3	<i>ṛtvij</i> Priests	Instr. plur.
	5.62.21	<i>brāhmaṇa</i> - Brahmins	
	5.178.3	<i>purohita</i> - Chaplains	
	13.126.12	<i>tapodhana</i> - Ascetics	
	6.15.2; 6.115.1	Bhīṣma	Instr. sing.
	12.77.9	<i>etebhyo</i> [=Brahmin outcasts]	Dat. plur.
	11.23.25	<i>devavrata</i> [=Bhīṣma]	Loc. Sing.

upamā regards a passage where Janamejaya asks Vaiśampāyana why some *mahārathas* 'great warriors' have been born (MBh 1.58.2). Furthermore, the last selected occurrence regards attestations of *devakalpa* in two sets of *ślokas* where Vaiśampāyana describes the birth of Bharata's lineage to Janamejaya. In one case, *mahaujasa*- are the upameyas (MBh 1.69.50-51). In another case, the *rājasattamas* 'Virtuous Kings' and *mahārathas* 'Great Warriors', i.e., the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas, are the upameya (MBh 1.89.54-55). Both occurrences are registered in the nominative plural case, as subjects of the sentences. The *samastopamā* occupies 54c and 55b respectively, with its first mention located far from its upameya whereas the second *śloka* has the same construction as in the BC, i.e., *upamāna* + *upameya*.

¹⁴⁵ The chart shows that when the *upamāna* follows the *upameya*, the *upamāna* generally plays the role of apposition, predicative or noun predicate.

The status of deity (*deva-*) as an *upamāna* recurs once again in another example of simple reuse, namely the *samāśopamā devavat* in BC 8.43 referring once more to Siddhārtha, i.e., the *upameya*, who is alluded to through the lexicalised compound *nṛdeva-*:

*vigarhituṃ nārhasi devi kanthakaṃ na cāpi roṣaṃ mayi kartum arhasi /
anāgasau svaḥ samavehi sarvaśo gato nṛdevaḥ sa hi devi devavat //*
'O divine princess, you should not blame Kanthaka and you should not be angry with me, consider us both to be without fault, because that divine man, o divine princess, went away **as a divinity**'.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA
<i>nṛdevaḥ saḥ</i> (=Siddhārtha)	<i>deva-</i>

After coming back to the palace, Chandaka addresses Siddhārtha's wife Yaśodharā (*devī-*) telling her the news of Siddhārtha's departure, while the woman weeps and is broken-hearted. Unlike the previous instance where he was referred to as *naradevasūnuṃ* 'the king's son' (BC 10.7c), this time Aśvaghoṣa names Siddhārtha directly, specifying his affiliation to *kṣatriyas*, i.e., *nṛdeva-*, which is literally a lexicalised *karmadhāraya* compound meaning 'man-god' therefore 'king', which can also be interpreted as a *samastarūpaka* 'a man [who is] a god'. I thus chose to use the translation 'divine man' to better highlight the sequence of syllable repetition (*laṭānuprāsa* or *yamaka*) *dev-* in the *pāda* d, which is consistent with Aśvaghoṣa's typical re-enactment of a word's etymological sense.

In the epics, I managed to find several instances of the compound variously referred to prominent male characters.¹⁴⁶ However, in two cases the instances were found in passages where a *pativrata* 'a virtuous wife' is advised to show obedience to her husband, compared with a *deva-* (*deva-vat*). The first case is a didactic section

¹⁴⁶ Other passages where the *samāśopamā* occurs regard various *upameyas*, namely prominent characters, such Kṛṣṇa (MBh 14.67.10); Pṛthā (MBh 3.288.19) or ascetics, like Nārada and Parvata (MBh 12.30.13); unspecified characters such as a brahmin (MBh 3.111.10), a *prājñā-* (MBh 4.4.16); Nahuṣa's son (MBh 1.77.4); Droṇa's son (MBh 7.172.83); a generic man (MBh 12.59.12); Viṣṇu (MBh 12.59.130); a brahmin (MBh 12.60.42); generic men (MBh 12.250.38, 13.133.40); Kṛṣṇa (MBh 14.53.16); sons of Sagara (Rām 1.43.3-4); Rāma (Rām 7.41.16).

where the goddess Umā is discussing women’s *dharmā* with Gaṅgā (MBh 13.134.34-35)¹⁴⁷:

sā bhaved dharmaparamā sā bhaved dharmabhāginī |
devavat satataṃ sādhvī yā bhartāraṃ prapaśyati ||
śuśrūṣāṃ paricāraṃ ca devavad yā karoti ca |
 ‘Let her be devoted to dharma, let her be blessed with dharma, the virtuous one who always looks up to her husband **like a god**, the one who shows obedience and serves (her husband) **as in the presence of a god**’.¹⁴⁸

Secondly, the more interesting reference, regards Rāma’s mother Kausalyā. Sumantra has been ordered by the exiled Rāma to take a message to his parents. In referring to his mother, Rāma recommends that she honours her father Daśaratha, who is referred to as *devavat* (Rām 2.52.14):

[*vācyā* 13] *mātā ca mama kausalyā kuśalaṃ cābhivādanam |*
devi devasya pādaḥ ca devavat paripālaya ||
 ‘And my mother Kausalyā [must be addressed] by questioning her about her health and by respectfully greeting her [by saying to her]: “o divine queen, embrace the feet of my divine lord **as in the presence of a god**”’.¹⁴⁹

It is interesting to note that a similar *laṭānuprāsa* is played in *pāda c*, whereas it is in *pāda d* in the BC stanza, the only difference being that in the latter it appears in a more elaborate form. The context is somewhat like the BC, because here Sumantra is reporting a message from Rāma, just as Chandaka is Siddhārtha’s messenger. Of course, the recipient of the message this time is Rāma’s mother whereas in the BC it is Siddhārtha’s wife, and the advice itself is quite different, namely, that Daśaratha

¹⁴⁷ Hildebeitel (2011: 529) points out how the word *svadharmā* is never used to discuss women’s *dharmā*.

¹⁴⁸ From a syntactical point of view, this example presents two usages of the compound, thereby posing a problem of interpretation depending on the syntactical function of the referent, i.e., the object, *bhartāraṃ* ‘husband’, or the agent of the action (*kartrī*), *sā dharmabhāginī* ‘the virtuous one’, other cases covered by Pāṇini’s rule require the referent to be in the locative and in the genitive cases. In the first case *devavat* ‘like a god’ (34c) is employed in contrast with Pāṇini’s *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 5.1.116, because its reference is in a non-genitive case, i.e., the accusative. Otherwise, the prescription is to understand it as a locative, i.e., ‘as [in the presence of] a god’, when referred to the subject (35b).

¹⁴⁹ Here, Pāṇini’s rule 5.1.116 is applied.

must be honoured and supposedly comforted in dealing with Rāma’s absence, whereas Yaśodharā must accept Siddhārtha’s choice and fate.

Apart from these instances the compound can be found in situations involving other virtuous women who, however, are not in conjugal relationships with the *upameya*.¹⁵⁰

Finally, it is possible to make a comparison between the different contexts in the MBh and the BC. In the BC narrative context, Chandaka is telling Yaśodharā, whom he calls a *devī* ‘a divine princess’, that her spouse, a divine man has indeed gone away like a god. But from a rhetorical perspective, by placing the *upameya*, i.e., *nṛdeva* alongside the *upamāna*, i.e., *deva-* Aśvaghoṣa makes a pun which hints at an apparent contradiction that can be interpreted in two ways.

Indeed, if Siddhārtha is a king, i.e., the lexicalised meaning of *nṛdeva-*, namely one whose *dharma* is to stay and abide, how can he go away, renouncing his *dharma*? Because he is, indeed, a *deva-*, whose *svadharmā* is yet to be fulfilled by his future enlightenment.¹⁵¹ Therefore, his wife should not blame him (*vigarhituṃ nārhasi*) and should behave as a good *pativratā* would.

The next example of simple reuse regards Aśvaghoṣa’s depiction of Siddhārtha’s concubines lying asleep. Their breasts (*payodhara-*) are the *upameya* and likened to a jar of gold (*suvarṇakalaśa-*) in BC 4.35:

cūtaśākhāṃ kusumitāṃ pragṛhyānyā lalambire |
suvarṇakalaśaprakhyān darśayantyah payodharān ||
 ‘Others (concubines) having grasped a branch of the mango tree covered with flowers, leaning on it, showing off their breasts, **which resembled jars of gold**’.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA
<i>payodharān</i>	<i>suvarṇakalaśa-</i>

¹⁵⁰ Such as Draupadī (MBh 14.67.10), Prthā (MBh 3.288.19) or Sṛñjaya’s daughter (MBh 12.30.13).

¹⁵¹ See Hildebeitel (2011: 529-535) on the ones who have *svadharmā*: “*āśramadharmā* can also be *svadharmā*, at least for the first three *āśramas*. But *āśramas*, at least in our classical *dharma* texts, are open only to the three upper *varṇas* and designed pretty much around males. As regards groups, we can quickly grasp that if *jātidharma* is not *svadharmā*, then neither is *kuladharmā* or the *dharma* of those who live in a region (*deśadharmā*) or village (*grāmyadharmā*)”, and more specifically on Aśvaghoṣa’s BC *dharma* themes (*Ibid.*: 625-684).

The *samāśopamā* is found in the fourth Canto which scholars usually acknowledge as deliberately hinting at the Rām's fifth *kāṇḍa*, particularly the section which describes how Hanumān entered Rāvaṇa's harem and then gives a long description of the seductive poses the concubines assumed.¹⁵²

However, it has also been pointed out that Aśvaghōṣa purposely transforms Hanumān's amazement into Siddhārtha's disgust, by twisting images of seduction into grotesque poses.

For instance, the following example offers an almost identical image of a sleeping woman, whose breasts (*suvarṇa-*) are like jars of gold (*kalaśopama-*) (Rām 5.8.43):

pāṇibhyāṃ ca kucau kācit suvarṇakalaśopamau |
upagūhyābalā suptā nidrābalaparājitā ||

'And another woman, having hidden her breasts, **resembling cups of gold**, with her hands, was asleep, overcome by the force of sleep'.

It is notable that if the woman in the Rām sleeps gracefully covering (*kucau*) her breasts with her hands (*pāṇibhyāṃ*), Siddhārtha's concubine, although still awake, unashamedly shows them off (*darśayantyah*).

This comparison thus provides textual and linguistical evidence to substantiate the well-known claim, already speculated on the basis of narrative, that Aśvaghōṣa was familiar with this section of the Rām. Moreover, these examples are significant as they constitute further evidence of a classical Kāvya motif, namely the comparison of a woman's breasts to jars of gold, a comparison that might indeed have been started by Aśvaghōṣa who in turn borrowed and reused it from the epic model.

¹⁵² On this matter, see Passi (2011: 235, n.19): "[...] per il [ed. Rāmāyaṇa] vari studiosi hanno ipotizzato un preciso intento imitativo da parte di Aśvaghōṣa, seppure limitato a singoli episodi. Nel *Buddhacarita* il confronto più singolare è senza dubbio quello tra la scena delle donne addormentate (v, 48-67) e il racconto della visita di Hanumat alle donne di Rāvaṇa (*Sundarakāṇḍa*, XIII, 33 sgg.), in cui la visione delle fanciulle assopite, motivo di meraviglia nell'epica, viene riadattata al contesto della leggenda buddhista in modo da generare un senso di avversione".

A more sophisticated example of adaptive reuse regards the *samāśopamā cakravat* included in BC 14.5, a passage in which, following his defeat of Māra, Buddha acknowledges the obstacles of human nature tied to the rebirth condition.

*kṛtveha svajanotsargaṃ punar anyatra ca kriyāḥ |
atrāṇaḥ khalu loko 'yaṃ paribhramati cakravat ||*

‘After having abandoned their own kinsmen in this world and accomplishing deeds in another existence, certainly men spin **like a wheel** without protection’.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA
<i>lokaḥ</i>	<i>cakra-</i>	<i>paribhramati</i>

The *upameya* is *loka-* literally ‘world’ but it is also employed here as a collective in the sense of ‘men’, which is compared to a *cakra-* ‘wheel’, ultimately conveying the idea of the cycle of birth, death, and rebirth. This is accomplished by means of the *sādhāraṇadharmā* represented by *pari-*√*bhram*, ‘to wander about’ or ‘spin’ as I have translated it here to better highlight the common property.

Interestingly, the same idea is reiterated in the MBh, always in passages dealing with the *samśāra* theme, albeit syntactically different ones,¹⁵³ and as a formula occurring in *pāda* d.¹⁵⁴ For instance, a relevant occurrence is found when Śaunaka teaches Yudhiṣṭhira about various matters, during the period when he and his brothers are in exile in the forest (MBh 3.2.67):

[*kāmena* [...] *viddhaḥ* 65c]

*evaṃ patati saṃsāre tāsu tāsv iha yoniṣu |
avidyākarmatṛṣṇābhir bhrāmyamāṇo 'tha cakravat ||*

‘Thus, [he who is pierced by *kāma*] falls into the cycle of rebirth, here, in these and those wombs, then being whirled around by ignorance, action and thirst, just like a wheel’.

¹⁵³ In *pāda* b *rathacakravat* (MBh 12.9.32 curiously, the *śloka* 33 is mentioned by Tokunaga 2006: 137 as corresponding to BC 9.31cd, since both deal with motives for renunciation, particularly “the hero’s aversion to the mundane world, which is afflicted by old age, illness and suffering”), *pāda* c (MBh 15.10.8), and d (MBh 12.28.40).

¹⁵⁴ The *samāśopamā* + *pari-*√*vṛt* conjugated in the first person *ātmanepada*, i.e., *cakravat parivartate* (MBh 11.7.14; 12.203.11; 12.210.32), also attested in *pāda* c with the variation *cakravat parivartante* (MBh 12.205.17).

The last *pāda* actually includes the root $\sqrt{\text{brahm-}}$, differently conjugated in the present passive without a prefix and together with the *samāśopamā*, referring to someone *kamena viddhaḥ* ‘pierced by *kāma*’ figuring as the *upameya*.¹⁵⁵

This passage has indeed been recognised as “echoing” Buddhist language, even forecasting Buddhist teachings to some extent,¹⁵⁶ since it seems reasonable that this is what Aśvaghoṣa may be hinting at.

Furthermore, the *samāśopamā* is also widely attested with a similar structure that Aśvaghoṣa has been shown to reuse, namely the root *pari-√kram-* (e.g., *parikrāmati saṃsāre cakravat* MBh 3.200.37). However, only one instance includes the same identical construct *pari-√brahm-*, similarly conjugated in the third person singular of the present *parasmaipāda*, together with the *samāśopamā cakravat*, namely in an *adhyāya* where the *devarṣi* Nārada is talking with Vyāsa’s son Śuka about pivotal themes, such as the concept of *ānṛśaṃsaya* the ‘highest *dharma*’ (Hiltebeitel 2001: 211). There, family bonds are cited as being as one of the main causes for “spinning” during transmigration (MBh 12.316.57):

[*mohārtaḥ* 56a]

tato nivṛtto bandhāt svāt karmaṇām udayād iha |

paribhramati saṃsāraṃ cakravat bahuvedanaḥ ||

‘Then, the one oppressed by error, returning to this place because of the (family) bond that arises from his own actions, spins in transmigration, **like a wheel**, (having) many pains’.

From a syntactical point of view, it must be noted that the MBh employs the verbal root in its transitive sense, whereas the BC uses it in an absolute sense, i.e., without an object. Moreover, Aśvaghoṣa “moves” the formula from *pāda* c to the last one, where it assumes a different metrical structure.

Ultimately, the comparison with the epics shows that Aśvaghoṣa borrowed not only the *alaṃkāra cakravat-* but also made use of the syntax of this very formula.

¹⁵⁵ Similarly, *bhramati cakravat* also occurs in *pāda* d and in MBh 12.287.19.

¹⁵⁶ I am referring to Hiltebeitel’s statement (2001: 172) regarding this passage which he also translates: “Considering the echoes of Buddhist language here, it would seem that Śaunaka’s instructions for the forest life combine a preemption and subversion of Buddhist teachings about forest enlightenment and the eightfold path with a strongly Vedic interpretation (or anticipation?) of an eight-limbed yoga”. Moreover, the debate on further dynamics regarding Buddhism and the Sanskrit Epics, particularly the MBh has indeed been going on for centuries. For instance, see Lévi 1918-19; Pisani (1939: 175-176), more recently Walters 2000, and Hiltebeitel 2005.

He also seems to use the same *upameyas* which all belong to human semantics as they refer to people affected by different moral obstacles, i.e., *kāma-* (MBh 3.2.67) and *moha-* (MBh 12.316.57), which Aśvaghōṣa generalises through the collective *loka-*. Even if the BC stanza does not explicitly mention *saṃsāra*, this is also inferred from the periphrasis contained in *pādas* a,b, which provide us with a more sophisticated image of the constant return to this world (*punar anyatra*).

Instead, the following example of reuse regards Nanda as the *upameya*. Here, Buddha takes him away to initiate him (SN 5.51)

ādāya vaidehamunis tatas taṃ nināya saṃśliṣya viceṣṭamānam |
vyayojayac cāśrupariplutākṣaṃ keśāsriyaṃ chatranibhasya mūrdhnaḥ ||
 ‘Then the Sage of Videha, seizing him (i.e., Nanda) – who was struggling while clinging [to the Sage] – took him away, and he removed the majesty of his hair from his (i.e. Nanda’s) head **which looked like a parasol**, and whose eyes were flooded with tears’.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA
<i>mūrdhnaḥ</i>	<i>chattra-</i>

In this passage a reluctant Nanda is being forced to undertake the Path of Liberation by having his hair cut. Aśvaghōṣa as a skillful *kavi* does not directly mention the episode but employs a periphrasis instead, i.e., *keśāsriya-* which can be understood as a *saṣṭhītātpuruṣa*, i.e., ‘the majesty of his hair’, but also as a *samāstarūpaka*, ‘the majesty [which consists in] his hair’. At the same time, this expression also conveys the image of Nanda’s break with his *kṣatriya* status, alluded to by the polysemic word *śrī-*, hence the comparison with the *chattra-* ‘parasol’.¹⁵⁷

I thus managed to find one occurrence of this *samāśopamā*, namely in a passage where Bhīṣma tells Yudhiṣṭhira the story of the ungrateful and ignorant Brahmin named Gautama (!), who after running away from a caravan, hides himself in the shadow of a banyan (!) tree (MBh 12.163.12):

¹⁵⁷ On this matter see Johnston (1928: 30 n.51): “The seat of Śrī, the royal Fortune, is the royal umbrella; also, when his head was shaved, the smooth scalp was like the smooth exterior of an umbrella”. Similarly, Passi (1985: 180 n.11).

[*gautamaḥ* 10d [...] *apaśyat* 11a]
śrīyā juṣṭaṃ mahāvṛkṣaṃ nyagrodhaṃ parimaṇḍalam /
śākhābhir anurūpābhir bhūṣitaṃ chatrasaṃnibham //
‘[Gautama saw] a large banyan tree of circular form, adorned with branches of the right shape,
resembling a parasol’.

Although the *samāsopamā* has a similar construction, i.e., *chatra-saṃnibha-*, the *upameya*, i.e., *mahāvṛkṣa-nyagrodha-*, it is however completely different in this epic example and thus the rhetorical interpretation also differs.

To a certain extent, one might note the affinities between the SN stanza and the MBh, concerning the name of the Brahmin (Gautama) and the mention of the banyan tree (*nyagrodha-*). This might suggest that Aśvaghoṣa is alluding to this passage by reversing the image of a negative epic Gautama with the positive one of Gautama Buddha. This may, however, be nothing more than a coincidence.

Nonetheless, in the MBh, it is only a matter of a visual resemblance, whereas in the SN Aśvaghoṣa overlaps symbolism, i.e., the parasol as a regal element is visually likened to, i.e., Nanda’s head with dense hair. Clearly, the SN stanza required Aśvaghoṣa to elaborate and allude to far more implied meanings than the epic verse. In the SN, the *upamā* and the possible interpretation of the compound *keśaśrī-* as *samastarūpaka*, converge towards the implied meaning regarding the forced renunciation of royal status.¹⁵⁸

This comparison is proof of a sophisticated reuse of a *samāsopamā*, which confirms the poetic-rhetorical power of Aśvaghoṣa as a *kavi*. This process takes on greater significance when placed within the broader discussion of the dynamics of a Mahākāvya composition in relation to the epic model.

The last example also represents the most significant case of adaptive reuse. Once again Siddhārtha is the *upameya* being addressed by some ascetics, after his arrival at the hermitage (BC 7.43):

¹⁵⁸ According to Ānandavardhana, this could be interpreted as a *śabdaśaktimūladhvani*.

*ime hi vāñchanti tapaḥsahāyaṃ taponidhānapratimaṃ bhavantam /
vāsas tvayā hīndrasamena sārđhaṃ bṛhaspater abhyudayāvahaḥ syāt ||*
‘Because those ones desire Your Honour as a companion in austerities, who is the **image of a treasure of austerities**: sojourning in the company of you, who are equal to Indra, would bring prosperity to Bṛhaspati.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA
<i>bhavantam</i> (Siddhārtha)	<i>taponidhāna-</i>

Two *samāsopamās* refer to Siddhārtha, namely *indrasama-* ‘equal to Indra’ (43c) and *taponidhānapratima-* ‘image of a treasure of austerities’ (43b) in a chiasmic position:

1. *pāda* b: *samāsopamā* + *upameya*, both in the accusative case;
2. *pāda* c: *upameya*, i.e., *tvayā* ‘you’ (Siddhārtha) + *samāsopamā indrasama-*, both in the instrumental case.

The stanza is focused on ascetism and the mention of Bṛhaspati, i.e., the prototype of divine ascetism, is functional to establishing a parallelism with Siddhārtha’s persona. Moreover, it is notable that *indrasama-* here is employed together with the *samāsopamā taponidhānapratima-*. Since I have already dealt with the *upamāna* Indra as an analogical matrix for heroes/kings (§1.1.3), I will only focus here on *taponidhāna-* ‘treasure of austerities’ as an *upamāna*.

Curiously, the epics register a fundamental variation compared to the BC. That is, all the occurrences of the *alaṃkāra* are, in fact, *asamasta-rūpakas*, sometimes in compound form, such as *taponidhi-*, sometimes with a *variatio* in a loose form i.e., with the compound’s constituents used as separate words, such as *tapasnidhāna-*, as in a passage belonging to the *Nārāyaṇīya* where Vasiṣṭha is the *upameya* (MBh 12.337.9, 10bc, 47-48a).¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁹ *vaiśampāyana uvāca | vedārthān vettukāmasya dharmiṣṭhasya taponidheḥ | guror me jñānaniṣṭhasya himavatpāda āsataḥ || [...] śuśrūṣāṃ tatparā rājan kṛtavanto vayaṃ tadā || [...] yaṃ mānasam vai pravadanti putram pitāmahasyottamabuddhiyuktam | vasiṣṭham agryam tapasnidhānaṃ yaś cāpi sūryam vyatiricya bhāti || tasyānvaye cāpi tato maharṣiḥ parāśaro nāma mahāprabhāvaḥ | pitā sa te [...] ||* Vaiśampāyana said: ‘When that austerity-treasure of my Preceptor, desirous of knowing the purpose of the Veda, grounded in the knowledge, was sitting at the foot of the Himalayas, [...] thereupon at that time, o King, we, his followers, had performed an act of reverence [...]. Therefore, your father [...] will be the great ṛṣi called Parāśara, endowed with

However, the most relevant occurrence regards a passage where Arjuna praises Kṛṣṇa's deeds and in which he is the *upameya* for *nidhānam tapasām* 'treasure of austerities',¹⁶⁰ in the uncompounded *rūpaka*, (MBh 3.13.15):

kṣetrajñāḥ sarvabhūtānām ādir antaś ca keśava |
nīdhānaṃ tapasām kṛṣṇa yajñas tvam ca sanātanaḥ ||
 'You are the knower of the field, you are the beginning and the end of all beings, o Keśava, o Kṛṣṇa **you are the treasure of austerities**, you are the eternal sacrifice'.

This reference seems to be particularly relevant, because the *śloka* is directly comparable to the BC on several interpretative levels.

First, on merely syntactical grounds, both Siddhārtha and Kṛṣṇa figure in the accusative case, as the object to which the *alaṃkāra* is referred. Then, from a narrative perspective, both references are expressed in the second person singular, i.e., *tvam* (15d) / *tvayā* (43c), since in both cases the recipient Kṛṣṇa/Siddhārtha is being addressed honourably by someone who desires to be in his presence or to be his companion, i.e., Arjuna/ an ascetic hermitage.

Secondly, stylistically speaking, both stanzas convey an ascending *climax*: in the BC the ascetics (*ime* 43a) consider Siddhārtha a *tapasahāya*- 'a companion in austerities', and address him as the image of a treasure of austerities (*taponidhānapratimaṃ*). Finally, the culmination of the comparison is Siddhārtha's assimilation to Indra through the *samāśopamā indrasama*-. The climax is more evident in the MBh, where there is series of identifications, namely Arjuna identifies Kṛṣṇa as a *kṣetrajñā*- 'knower of the field' (i.e., the body),¹⁶¹ the end and the beginning of creatures, a treasure of austerities, and finally the eternal (*sanātana*-) sacrifice.

great might, in the lineage of the one whom they call son of the mind of the great ancestor endowed with a supreme intellect, the foremost Vasiṣṭha **the treasure of austerities** and who shines exceeding the sun'.

¹⁶⁰ The same *rūpaka* is also used to refer to Agastya in Rām 3.11.20: *eṣa lakṣmaṇa niṣkrāmaty agastyo bhagavān ṛṣiḥ | audāryeṇāvagacchāmi nīdhānaṃ tapasām imam ||* 'O Lakṣmaṇa, the holy ṛṣi Agastya is coming forth by means of his magnanimity. I can understand that he is a **treasure of austerities**'.

¹⁶¹ Interestingly, mention of *kṣetrajñā*- is also found in BC 12.64, in Arāḍa's teachings to Siddhārtha, whose proto-*sāṃkhya* motifs are discussed by Sharma 2019.

The adaptive reuse here is ultimately Aśvaghoṣa's active and purposeful manipulation of the structure of a pre-existing *alamkāra*, which is often deliberately used for *ṛṣis* or, in the case of Kṛṣṇa, for divine entities. Indeed, by changing what the MBh registers as a *rūpakas* into an *upamā*, Aśvaghoṣa invalidates the prescribed superimposition (*āropaṇa*) because he goes further, i.e., by comparing Siddhārtha with both Indra and with a treasure of austerities, he is saying that Siddhārtha holds both *tejas* that befit an ascetic and a god respectively.

In fact, even though the *āropaṇa* that allows the complete identification of the *upameya* with the *upamāna* is cancelled by *-pratimā* that marks the compounded *upamā*, the concept conveyed by the culminating comparison with Indra, the God in person, gives Siddhārtha a higher level of relevance.

2.1.2 Reuse and adaptation of *upamānasamāsas* and formulas

Among the comparative compounds, a separate mention must be made of the examples of Aśvaghoṣa reusing well-attested *tatpuruṣa* compounds, occasionally of the *bahuvrīhi* type, which have the *upamāna* as their first constituent, where the *sādhāraṇadharmā* can be present or be omitted.

As per the grammatical perspective, Candotti, Pontillo (2017: 361-363) pointed out how literary theorists have failed to refer to Pāṇini's Rule 2.1.55 (*upamānāni sāmānyavacanaiḥ*)¹⁶² when dealing with the *upamāna* in the dispute over *upamā/rūpaka*. By relying on Pāṇini's *usus scribendi*, the scholars have been able to demonstrate that the author does not in fact use the term *sāmānya-* as a *tertium comparationis* either in 2.1.55 or in 2.1.56 (see above). Ultimately, the required condition must be the co-reference of the compound's constituents.

The first case is BC 5.84 where Aśvaghoṣa reiterates an epic formula to compare Siddhārtha's roar to that of a lion:

¹⁶² The scholars translate (2017b: 361): “[*padas* i.e. inflected words that denote] standards (= something that measures) combine with [inflected words that are co-referent and denote] something generic [to optionally derive a *tatpuruṣa karmadhāraya* compound]”.

*atha sa vimalapañkajāyatākṣaḥ puram avalokya nanāda siṃhanādam /
jananamaraṇayor adṛṣṭapāro na puram ahaṃ kapilāhvayaṃ praveṣṭā ||*

‘Once he looked towards the city, he, whose elongated eyes [are indeed] stainless lotuses, roared a **lion’s roar**: “I will not enter the city named after Kapila, until after I have seen the shores of birth and death’.

I have already dealt with this example in another paper in which I acknowledged that it also has a Buddhist background (Falqui 2019: 39-41). Therefore, at a second reading I am now interpreting it as a *upamānasamāsa*, i.e., *siṃha-nāda*- ‘a roar [which is like that of] a lion’.¹⁶³

A further comparison with the epics shows that there is widespread use of the *figura etymologica* (accusative of internal object) involving the *upamānasamāsa* accompanied by the cognate root \sqrt{nad} -.¹⁶⁴ Furthermore, it is clear that this formula sometimes occupies an entire *pāda* when a copulative particle is involved (e.g., *ca*, *atha*) – which Aśvaghōṣa omits for metrical reasons. Similarly, the *upamānasamāsa* is often employed as an epithet in both epic sources.¹⁶⁵

Moreover, the lion is again the *upamāna* in SN 1.19, where the narrative concerns the deeds of Nanda’s and Buddha’s ancestors, the sons of Ikṣvaku, before founding their city:

*suvarṇastambhavarṣmāṇaḥ siṃhoraskā mahābhujāḥ /
pātraṃ śabdasya mahataḥ śrīyāṃ ca vinayasya ||*

‘(Ikṣvaku’s sons) **whose height is that of a golden column, whose chests are those of lions**, having mighty arms, (they were) a receptacle of great speech, splendour and discipline’.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA
<i>(aikṣvakūnām) varṣma</i> <i>(aikṣvakūnām) urāmsi</i>	<i>suvarṇastambha-varṣma</i> <i>siṃhasya uraḥ</i>

¹⁶³ Indeed, as far as a *samastarūpaka* is concerned, the first constituent of the compound should be the *upameya*. It can therefore be analysed traditionally as an *upamānasamāsa* (*siṃhasya nādaḥ iva nādaḥ*), but also as a lexicalised compound in the sense of ‘roar’ which could be interpreted as an *atiśayokti*, i.e., a *metaphora in absentia*.

¹⁶⁴ MBh 3.18.22; 6.49.27 ; 6.84.10 ; 8.43.9 ; 6.97.48.

¹⁶⁵ App I. no.3.9 after MBh 1.1.214; MBh 1.63.4; 1.213.22; 1.213.29; 1.219.21; 3.21.26; 3.146.58; 3.146.72; 3.216.7; 3.221.51; 3.230.5; 7.65.11; 9.3.19; Rām 3.23.20; 4.30.35; 6.45.9; 6.48.31.

Their physical qualities such as height (*varṣma-*) is compared to a golden column while their chests (*uras-*) (*suvarṇa-stambha-*) are likened to that of a lion.

Although I cannot find any epic reference for the first *upamānasamāsa*, which ultimately proves Aśvaghoṣa's originality as a *kavi*, *siṃhoraska-* is however very frequent and almost lexicalised. In the epics it is often accompanied by other *upamānasamāsas* which make a comparison between heroes' qualities and various animals, as archetypes of the description of a hero.¹⁶⁶

Animal qualities are the subject of another relevant example of Aśvaghoṣa reuse of epic *upamānasamāsas*, namely, in SN 2.58, Nanda's shoulders (*aṃsa-*) and gaze (*ikṣaṇa-*) are compared to the lion and the bull respectively:

dīrghabāhur mahāvakaṣāḥ siṃhāṃso vṛṣabhakṣaṇaḥ |
vapuṣāgryeṇa yo nāma sundaropapādaṃ dadhe ||

‘[Nanda] with his long arms, broad chest, **leonine shoulders**, and **taurine gaze**, who due to his exceptional beauty bears ‘the Handsome’ as a nickname indeed’.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA
(<i>yasya</i>) <i>aṃsāḥ</i> (<i>yasya</i>) <i>īkṣaṇe</i>	<i>siṃhasya aṃsāḥ</i> <i>vṛṣabhasya īkṣaṇe</i>

Moreover, Nanda's physical description matches conventional epic motifs for describing the physical appearance of warriors. For instance, Duḥṣanta is the *upameya* in a passage excised from the Critical Edition (*587.3-4 after MBh 1.65.3):

< [*pūjyam* *587.1b]

sā tam āyatapadmākṣaṃ vyūḍhorakaṃ susaṃhitam |
siṃhaskandhaṃ dīrghabhujam sarvalakṣaṇapūjitam | >

‘Śakuntalā [having honoured] Duḥṣanta whose elongated eyes are (petals of) lotus, broad-chested, well-built,¹⁶⁷ **leonine-shouldered**, long-armed, endowed with all qualities’.

¹⁶⁶ MBh 1.105.6; 1.115.26; 3.61.12; 5.149.22; Rām 3.16.6; 4.17.11.

¹⁶⁷ Lit. ‘well-united’.

Although there is no mention of a taurine gaze, the same *upamānasamāsa* regarding a synonym for *aṃsa-* is however involved.¹⁶⁸ Interestingly, allusions to the breadth of Duṣṣanta’s chest and the length of his arms constitute further evidence of a direct reuse of an epic motif. This involves the use of terms that belong to the semantic domain of zoology to describe the body. Further examples are the physical descriptions of Rāma (Rām 3.54.3cd-4),¹⁶⁹ and Arjuna. Arjuna, in particular, is likened to an elephant with his shoulders raised in the manner of a lion walking (*siṃhonnatāṃsaḥ* MBh 15.32.7)¹⁷⁰.

As per the *upamānasamāsa* where the eyes are compared to those of a bull (*vṛṣabhekṣaṇaḥ*), is much rarer and occurs in contexts which do not deal with physical description, employed merely as an epithet, such as Śaṃtanu (*govṛṣabhekṣaṇa* MBh 1.93.14)¹⁷¹ or Arjuna (MBh 4.62.1).¹⁷²

Ultimately, the comparison with the epics demonstrates how Aśvaghōṣa maintains the epic motif of comparing a hero’s shoulders to the lion’s but how he juxtaposed it to the *upamānasamāsa* comparing his eyes to the bull’s, which in the epics is very rare and never employed in physical description, where the lotus is the preferred *upamāna* for the eyes.

¹⁶⁸ One could also translate *skandha-* as ‘trunk = torso’.

¹⁶⁹ [*rāmaḥ* 3a] *dūrghabāhur viśālākṣo daivatam sa patir mama || ikṣvākūṇām kule jātaḥ siṃhaskandho mahādyutiḥ | lakṣmaṇena saha bhrātrā yas te prāṇān hariṣyati ||* ‘[Rāma], long-armed, wide-eyed, a god, he is my lord, born in the lineage of Ikṣvāku, **lion-shouldered**, whose splendour is great, together with his brother Lakṣmaṇa (he is) the one who will take away your¹⁶⁹ vital breath’.

¹⁷⁰ *yas tv eṣa pārśve ‘sya mahādhanuṣmāñ śyāmo yuvā vāraṇayūthapābhaḥ | siṃhonnatāṃso gajakhelagāmī padmāyatākṣo ‘rjuna eṣa vīraḥ ||* ‘But the one (standing) by his (i.e., Wolf-bellied’s) side, that mighty archer, dark of complexion, young, resembling a leader of elephants, **whose shoulders are raised like those of a lion**, whose gait is trembling like that of an elephant, whose elongated eyes are a lotus, this hero is Arjuna’.

¹⁷¹ [*ekasya tu bhāryā vai vasor* 13a] *sā vismayasamāviṣṭā śīladraviṇasampadā | dive vai darśayām āsa tāṃ gām govṛṣabhekṣaṇa ||* [*vasiṣṭhasya muneḥ* 13e] ‘[The wife of one of the Vasu], full of awe, endowed with a good disposition and abundance, **O bull-eyed one**, showed this cow [belonging to Vasiṣṭha] to Dyaus’.

¹⁷² *vaiśampāyana uvāca | tato vijitya saṃgrāme kurūn govṛṣabhekṣaṇaḥ | samānayām āsa tadā virāṭasya dhanam mahat ||* Vaiśampāyana said: ‘So, after defeating the Kurus in battle, at that time, **the bull-eyed one**¹⁷² brought back the great booty of Virāṭa’.

Similarly, Aśvaghōṣa reiterates the same epic motif, this time to describe Buddha's appearance, in recounting the events that led to the enlightenment (SN 3.6):

*sa suvarṇapīṇayugabāhur ṛṣabhagatir āyatekṣaṇaḥ /
plakṣam avaniruham abhyagamat paramasya niścayavidher bubhutsayā ||*
'Buddha whose arms are like a yoke, golden and thick, **bull-gaited**, elongated eyes, approached the sacred fig-tree with the desire for the attainment of supreme resolution'.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA	ALAMKĀRA
<i>sa (= Buddha) tasya gatih</i>	<i>suvarṇapīṇayuga- ṛṣabhasya gatih</i>	<i>samāśopamā upamānasamāsa</i>

From a rhetorical perspective, there are two *alamkāras* involved in describing the Buddha, first a *samāśopamā* that compares his arms to a yoke, which is an object that is often used to imply the length of something, second an *upamānasamāsa* that once again involves the bull as an *upamāna*, which this time is its gait. Notably, the most relevant epic occurrence regards a detailed description of Bhīma (MBh 3.157.26-28):

*siṃharṣabhagatiḥ śrīmān udāraḥ kanakaprabhaḥ /
manasvī balavān drpto mānī śūras ca pāṇḍavaḥ ||
lohitākṣaḥ pṛthuvyaṃso mattavāraṇavikramaḥ /
siṃhadamṣtro brhatskandhaḥ śālapota ivodgataḥ ||
mahātmā cārusarvāṅgaḥ kambuḡrīvo mahābhujah /
rukmaḡṛṣṭham dhanuḥ khaḡgaḡ tūṇāḡś cāpi parāḡṛṣat ||*
'The Pāṇḍava (i.e., Bhīma) grasped the golden-tipped bow, the scimitar and also the quivers. His **gait was that of a bull-like lion**, he was glorious, noble, his splendour was that of gold, he was a strong, wise man, self-confident, highly honoured and a hero, red-eyed, he was broad-shouldered, his courage was that of an excited elephant, he had teeth like a lion, he was broad-chested like the base of a wide *śāla* tree, his soul was great, all his limbs were pleasing to the eye, he had a shell-like neck and large arms'.

The description starts with a relevant instance of *bahuvrīhi* referring to Bhīma, ultimately formed by combining a *karmadhāraya* compound, namely *siṃharṣabha-* 'a bull of a lion, i.e., a bull-like lion' as its first constituent, with *gati-* 'gait' as the second one.

This MBh passage is quite elaborate since in *pāda* b there is another *upamānasamāsa*, i.e., *kanakaprabha-* '[whose] splendour is [that of] gold'. Moreover, the author continues by giving more details and more *upamānasamāsas*, such as the courage of an elephant (*vāraṇavikrama-*) – which Aśvaghōṣa also

reiterates (e.g., *dviparājavikrama-* BC 8.12,¹⁷³ and *gajarājavikrama-* 12.116) – and the teeth of a lion (*siṃhadamaṣṭra-*). Other recipients of the *upamānasamāsa* are Śaṃtanu, in another passage excised from the Critical Edition (*964.1 after MBh 1.94.14),¹⁷⁴ and Arjuna (MBh 7.59.16).¹⁷⁵

This epic reference also matches perfectly another Siddhārtha’s description through a *mālopamā* (BC 8.53)¹⁷⁶ whose characteristics are more that of a warrior than of a Brahmin. This constitutes further evidence of how Aśvaghoṣa adheres to epic motifs of hero descriptions, while also adapting some iconic *upamānasamāsas* to a Mahākāvya context. Aśvaghoṣa’s authorial creativity in the use of more ‘conventional’ *upamānas*, such as the bull,¹⁷⁷ or less common ones, such as the yoke, for the elaboration of physical comparisons is therefore evident here.

Another physical description is found in BC 11.17, where the untamed hair of an ascetic is compared to snakes:

¹⁷³ *athocur adyaiva viśāma tadvanam gataḥ sa yatra dviparājavikramah | jijīviṣā nāsti hi tena no vinā yathendriyāṇām vigame śarīriṇām ||* ‘Then they said: “Let us enter now that forest where he, **whose pace is that of an elephant king** has gone. Since without him there is no desire to live on our part, as on the part of corporeal beings when the senses withdraw’. The stanza involves an *upamāsamāsa* in *pāda* b whose *upameya* is Siddhārtha, and an *upamā* with *yathā* as the comparison marker in *pāda* d, whose *upameya* are the kingdom’s subjects (*no*). To the best of my knowledge, there is no epic precedent for the *upamā*, although there are for the *upamānasamāsa* (e.g., *gajendra*^o- Rām 6.41.13; MBh 3.61.51; 1.93.17; 4.10.3; *nagendra*^o- MBh 12.31.32; *gajarāja*^o- MBh 14.51.54. ¹⁷⁴ < *cakoranetras tāmrāsyah siṃharṣabhagatir yuvā* | > ‘The young man (Śaṃtanu) had eyes like those of the Cakora bird, red lips and a **gait of a bull-like lion**’.

¹⁷⁵ *sa yuvā vṛṣabhaskandho dīrghabāhur mahābalaḥ | siṃharṣabhagatiḥ śrīmān dviṣatas te haniṣyati ||* ‘(Arjuna) young, bull-shouldered, long-armed, of mighty strength, with the gait of a lion and a bull, glorious, he will destroy those who hate you’.

¹⁷⁶ *pralambabāhur mṛgarājavikramo maharṣabhākṣaḥ kanakojjaladyutiḥ | viśālavakṣā ghanadundubhisvanas tathāvidho ‘py āśramavāsam arhati ||* ‘He of pending down arms, **whose pace is that of the king of beasts, whose eyes are that of a big bull, whose splendour is that of luminous gold**, broad-chested, **whose deep voice is like the sound of drums**, moreover, being in such condition, is dwelling in a hermitage fit for him?’. Here is underlined the Brahmanical concept of how strange it is for a young man renouncing his life and going to a hermitage prematurely.

¹⁷⁷ Such as the *bahuvrīhi* compound *rṣabhavikrama-* ‘[whose] courage is [that of] a bull’ (BC 7.13) referred to Siddhārtha as an epithet, which has an epic counterpart, e.g., *vṛṣabhaśreṣṭhavikrama-* (Rām 4.3.8).

*cīrāmbārā mūlaphalāmbubhaksā jaṭā vahanto 'pi bhujāṅgadīrghāḥ /
yair nānyakāryā munayo 'pi bhagnāḥ kaḥ kāmasaṃjñān mrgayeta śatrūn ||*
'Who would seek the enemies called "passions", which broke even the wise, though (having) bark
as clothes, consuming roots, fruit, and water, with matted hair, **long as snakes**, (and) averting them
from any other task?'

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	ALAMKĀRA
<i>śatrūn</i>	<i>kāma-saṃjñā</i>		<i>upamā</i>
<i>jaṭā</i>	<i>bhujāṅga-</i>	<i>-dīrghāḥ</i>	<i>upamānasamāsa</i>

The stanza contains two *alamkāras*, namely a *samāśopamā* involving the enemies (*śatru-*) as *upameyas* which are called pleasures (*kāmasaṃjñā-*).¹⁷⁸ Such feature combined with the *upamānasamāsa bhujāṅgadīrgha-* containing the *upamāna bhujāṅga-* 'snake' + the *sādhāraṇadharmā dīrgha-* 'long' appear to be unique to Aśvaghoṣa, since they have no epic counterpart.

Unexpectedly, I only managed to find a single occurrence of a similar construction, namely a passage where Sītā's braid is compared to a snake (Rām 5.13.24):

[*dadarśa* 18e] *nīlanāgābhayā venyā jaghanam gatayaikayā |
sukhārhām duḥkhasaṃtaptiām vyasanānām akovidām ||*
'[Hanūman saw] (Sītā), with a single braid **resembling a black snake** that descended to her hips,
who was worthy of comfort, aflame with suffering, unaware of disaster'.

Although the example has different synonyms for the *upamāna (nāga-)* and the comparison marker (*ābha-*), and more importantly the *sādhāraṇadharmā* is the snake's colour (*nīla-*) and not its length, it is seemingly relevant since it constitutes the only evidence of this kind of comparison for hair.

Besides, one could say that Aśvaghoṣa borrows the *alamkāra* which the epic model attributes to a pleasant woman and "parodistically" reverses it by referring to an emaciated ascetic, changing the common property to better highlight the ascetic's physical appearance.

¹⁷⁸ I must mention that *saṃjñā-* in *fine compositi* with the meaning 'called, named' does not figure in Daṇḍin's list of comparison markers. However, I interpret similar compounds built with *saṃjñā-* *ifc.* as *samāśopamās*, by considering it as a synonym of enclitic markers such as *kalpa-*, *sadrśya* etc.

The next example regards a case of adaptive reuse. That is, the *upamānasamāsa* regarding the world being as insubstantial (*durbala-*) as a water-bubble (*toyabudbuda-*) in SN 15.63:

niḥsāraṃ paśyato lokaṃ toyabudbudadurbalam |
kasyāmaravitarko hi syād anumattacetasaḥ ||
 ‘Who, whose mind is not insane, would conjecture immortality, seeing the world unsubstantial, deprived of strength **like a bubble of water**?’

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA
<i>lokam</i>	<i>toyabudbuda-</i>	<i>-durbalam</i>

The *upamānasamāsa* is involved in a speculative context when Nanda’s conversion is almost at an end. Indeed, the *alamkāra* conveys the notion of impermanence.

This is more obvious in the relevant MBh reference found in a section where Vyāsa is teaching Yudhiṣṭhira about transient reality (MBh 12.27.28):

saṃyogā viprayogāś ca jātānāṃ prāṇināṃ dhruvam |
budbudā iva toyeṣu bhavanti na bhavanti ca ||
 ‘The union and separation of living creatures are constantly there and are not **like bubbles in the waters**’.

The epic occurrence presents an *upamā* in *pāda* c instead of the *upamānasamāsa* found in the SN stanza. Here, the *sādhāraṇadharmā* is not etherealness but impermanence, existence and non-existence, i.e., the fact that human bonds exist one moment and cease to exist a moment later (*bhavanti na bhavanti ca*).

The concept seemingly returns in another *locus*, namely a *śloka* where Subhadrā utters her grief for losing her son (MBh 7.55.16):

hā vīra dr̥ṣṭo naṣṭaś ca dhanam svapna ivāsi me |
aho hy anityam mānuṣyam jalabudbudacañcalam ||
 ‘O you (Abhimanyu), hero, seen and lost, you are to me¹⁷⁹ like wealth in a dream, indeed human nature is not constant, **an unsteady bubble of water**’.

Interestingly, this *upamānasamāsa* has a structure similar to that of the SN. It even involves a *sādhāraṇadharmā* which refers to the same semantic domain, i.e.,

¹⁷⁹ Subhadrā, Abhimanyu’s mother, is speaking.

cañcala- ‘unsteady’, and it recurs at the end of *pāda* d, whereas the SN has it at the end of *pāda* b, almost in the same metrics.

From a conceptual perspective, it makes sense that the water-bubble is associated to something impermanent, however, these are the only two references in the epic sources. Aśvaghoṣa has supposedly reused an *alaṃkāra* which is a *topos* for impermanence, attested twice in different forms, i.e., once as an *upamā*, once as an *upamānasamāsa*, and it is possible that he may have the aforementioned passage in mind. Moreover, he adapted the *upamānasamāsa* slightly changing the *sādhāraṇadharmā*.

The concept of impermanence is again expressed through a *malopamā* in SN 9.6, where the fragility of the body is compared to the fragility of foam (Rossi 2019: 95-96), by means of an *upamānasamāsa*:

idaṃ hi rogāyatanaṃ jarāvaśaṃ nadītaṭānokahavaś calācalam |
na vesi dehaṃ jalaphenadurbalaṃ balasthatāṃ ātmani yena manyase ||
 ‘You do not know that this body,¹⁸⁰ **weak as foam on the water**, is home to diseases, under the force of old age, movable and immovable¹⁸¹ [at the same time] like a tree on the riverbank, that is why you think there is in you a force firmly rooted’.

Upameya	Upamāna	sādhāraṇadharmā
<i>dehaṃ</i>	<i>phena-</i> <i>-anokaha-</i>	<i>-durbala-</i> <i>calācalam</i>

Nanda is being instructed in the Buddha’s teaching, and the concept of the body being weak is explained by a small *māloṣopamā*. This consists of the *samāśopamā* built with the *taddhita* affix *-vat* in the *pāda* b (*nadītaṭānokahavat* ‘like a tree on the riverbank’), and the *upamānasamāsa* on which I will concentrate here, i.e., *jalaphenadurbala-* ‘weak as foam on the water’.

The passage is matched by a MBh instance where the *upameya* is the same as the SN stanza, i.e., *deha-* ‘body’, in a *śloka* where Vyāsa gives instructions to his son Śuka (MBh 12.309.6):

¹⁸⁰ Gawroński (1922: 23) notes that *deha-* usually masculine, here is neuter.

¹⁸¹ Johnston (1928) translates the compound *calācala-* as ‘insecure’, however its literal meaning is ‘that which is [at the same time] stable and unstable’. The idea is of something wavering.

*phenapātropame dehe jīve śakunivat sthite |
anītye priyaśaṃvāse katham svapiṣi putraka ||*

‘O dear son, since the body is **similar to a leaf cup of foam**, since life is stable like a bird, since living together with loved ones is impermanent, why do you sleep?’.

Seemingly there is the typically Buddhist idea of the body as a container, which in the MBh is compared to a leaf cup in which there is foam (translated as such because of the locative placed to the right). Ultimately, the leaf used as a cup to hold the foam, all of which is doomed to destruction, conveys the concept of an absolute fragility.

Furthermore, the foam occurs as an *upamāna* for all that is impermanent, i.e., the senses (*indriya-*), which are said to be like the foam in the ocean (*phenā iva mahārṇave* MBh 12.290.82), the world, which is *phenopama-* (MBh 12.290.57), or something useless, such as ineffective weapons, which are *phenavat* (MBh 1.158.24).

The last example of adaptive reuse regards a *locus amoenus* description (SN 17.2):

*tatrāvākāśaṃ mṛdunīlaśaṣpaṃ dadarśa śāntaṃ taruṣaṇḍavantam |
niḥśabdayā nimnagayopagūḍhaṃ vaiḍūryanīlodakayā vahantya ||*

‘There, (Nanda) saw a place, with fresh tender blue shoots, quiet, with a group of trees, hidden by a silent flowing mountain stream, whose blue waters were (of the colour) of **cat’s eye gem**.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA
<i>udakasya (citraḥ)</i>	<i>vaiḍūryasya (citraḥ)</i>	<i>nīla-</i>

The epic references for *vaiḍūrya-* as an *upamāna* pertain to the whole Rām and mainly regard vegetation as an *upameya* which share the common property of being of a dark-blue colour (*nīla-*), such as *śādvāla-* places abounding with grass (*nīlavaiḍūryasaṃnibha-* Rām 2.85.26), *yavasa-* ‘pasturage’ (*nīlavaiḍūryavarṇāṃś* Rām 2.85.73), and flowers (*nīlavaiḍūryavarṇāś* Rām 4.49.21). Finally, it occurs once in a *śloka* dealing with the description of vegetation near some water, although it is not an *upamāna* (Rām 4.42.39).

As we have seen, in no case does the *upameya* for the mentioned *upamānasamāsa* refer to water as it does in the SN.

However, one can say that in all the passages where the *vaiḍūrya-* is employed as an *upamāna* the descriptions in both texts are always of pleasant places. It can be said that Aśvaghoṣa takes up the motif of the description of *loci amoeni* where earthly elements (meadows and plants) are compared to cat's eye gems because of their colour, and seemingly adapts it to the water as the *upameya*.

Since water is usually clear and never dark, the implied image could be that of a stream in the shade of trees, made dark like a cat's eye gem precisely because of its shade. Moreover, the adjective *nīla-*, which in the epics often precedes precious stone nouns as its referent, is attributed to water in the SN. Ultimately, *vaiḍūrya-* is an archetypal *upamāna* for the *nīlatva-* the essence of blue.

2.2 REUSE AND ADAPTATION OF COMPOUNDED *RŪPAKAS* (*SAMĀSTARŪPAKA*)

The last paragraph of this chapter is devoted to surveying evidence of a primary level of intertextuality in Aśvaghoṣa that pertains to a spectrum of simple reuse that sometimes leads towards an adaptive one (Freschi, Maas 2017). The target of this last section will be compounded *rūpakas*, i.e., the *samastarūpakas* interpreted according to Daṇḍin DKA 2.66-68:

upamaiva tirobhūtabhedā rūpakam ucyate |
yathā bāhulatā pāṇipadmam caraṇapallavaḥ ||
aṅgulyaḥ pallavāṇy āsan kusumāni nakhārciṣaḥ |
bāhū late vasantaśrīs tvaṃ naḥ pratyakṣacāriṇī ||
ity etad asamastākhyam samastam pūrvarūpakam |
smitam mukhendora jyotsnety samastavyastarūpakam ||
“The simile where the differences are set aside is called *rūpaka*, such as ‘arms/creepers’, ‘hand/lotus’, ‘foot/sprout’; your fingers were sprouts indeed, the rays from your finger-nails, flowers. ‘Your arms are two creepers’ ‘Your magnificent appearance is Spring which walks under our eyes’. Thus, this latter [*rūpaka*] is called *asamasta* and the former one is called *samasta*. [When you say] ‘A smile of a moon which is indeed a face is a moonlit night’ this is a *samastavyastarūpakam*.” (tr. Candotti, Pontillo 2017: 353)

Indeed, Daṇḍin emphasises the opposition between compounded (*samasta-*) and un-compounded (*vyasta-*) *rūpakas*. Moreover, he analyses the former as endocentric compounds, namely *tatpuruṣas* of the *karmadhāraya* type.¹⁸²

When dealing with this specific type of compounds that recurrently possess a mighty animal as the second constituent of the compound (e.g., *puruṣavyāghra-*, *ṛṣabha-* and synonyms), I do not interpret them according to their lexicalised meaning of ‘best or most excellent of men’, but follow Mocci, Pontillo’s (2019) reading based on Pāṇini’s *Aṣṭhādhyayī* 2.1.56 which predicates the condition of the two constituents being co-referential.¹⁸³

¹⁸² For a technical distinction between *samasta-* and *a-samasta-rūpaka* see Gerow (1971: 239-243); Pontillo (2013b: 26); Candotti and Pontillo (2017: 353).

¹⁸³ See (2019: 17-18): “Pāṇini renounces any suggestion of a sound input for *puruṣavyāghra* because a linguistic string, able to comply with all three constraints of A 2.1.56, simply does not exist in the Sanskrit language. But if [...] he really does not have in mind a perfectly equivalent source-sentence for *puruṣavyāghra-* when he teaches the constraints contained in A 2.1.56, then we have to explain

For instance, this is the case of *naraṣabha-* whose referent (*upameya*) is Siddhārtha, after he has listened to Arāḍa’s speech (BC 12.11)¹⁸⁴ and *kṣatriyapuṅgava-* for Ikṣvaku’s sons during their initiation in the forest by the sage Kapila (SN 1.27).¹⁸⁵ Both *samastarūpakas* mainly occur in the MBh. There are 14 occurrences of *kṣatriyapuṅgava-*,¹⁸⁶ whereas *naraṣabha-* is much more frequent in both the MBh (181 total occurrences) and in the Rām (29). The MBh registers 32 occurrences in the nominative masculine singular, as in the BC example,¹⁸⁷ whereas the Rām only has 8.¹⁸⁸

This interpretation also applies to compounds formed with ethnonyms as first constituents together with *ṛṣabha-* as the second constituent. This ultimately produces an epithet, such as *śākyaṛṣabha-* (BC 13.28)¹⁸⁹ referring to the Buddha as an *upameya*, during the war with Māra, which Aśvaghoṣa also employs with a

what criteria he used for saying that *puruṣaḥ* (in *purusavyāghra-*) fulfils the syntactic function of *upasarjana*, and plays the semantic role of *upamita* [ed. a synonym for *upameya*]. [...] Pāṇini is able to say that *purusa-* is the measured object (*upamita*) by merely relying on his linguistic intuitions, [...] [ed. the sentence] «that tiger of a man» [...] is able to denote a man endowed with some properties typical of tigers, but not a tiger endowed with some properties typical of humans. [...]. In other words, tiger is a standard or *upamāna* with respect to man, and man is a measured object or *upamita* with respect to tiger. Moreover, the *upamita* tiger and the *upamāna* man are co-referential in «that tiger of a man» (in the sense that both tiger and man predicate something the property of being a tiger and that of – being a man respectively – about the same referent)”.

¹⁸⁴ *iti vākyamarāḍasya vijñāya sa naraṣabhaḥ | babhūva paramaprītaḥ provācottaram eva ca ||* ‘**That bull of a man** (=Siddhārtha), having listened to Arāḍa’s speech became supremely pleased, and thus replied’.

¹⁸⁵ *tad vanaṃ muninā tena taiś ca kṣatriyapuṅgavaiḥ | śāntāṃ guptāṃ ca yugapad brahmakṣatraśriyaṃ dadhe ||* ‘The forest assumed the majesty of both brahman and (military) supremacy, pacified and defended by the sage and **those bulls of kṣatriyas**’.

¹⁸⁶ MBh 1.112.20; 2.13.63; 3.131.18; 5.120.6; 7.43.11; 7.44.5; 7.55.36; 7.68.30; 9.30.42; 9.48.7; 12.39.48; 12.49.66; 13.120.14.

¹⁸⁷ MBh 1.2.223; 1.61.5; 1.63.16; 1.118.21; 1.163.10; 2.26.4; 2.28.11; 4.6.7; 4.6.16; 5.8.2; 5.163.17; 5.164.14; 5.164.26; 5.167.5; 5.197.5; 6.50.52; 6.56.8; 6.73.17; 7.1.34; 7.48.5; 7.50.45; 7.92.40; 7.96.6; 7.114.85; 7.134.51; 7.165.100; 7.170.4; 7.171.35; 9.56.55; 10.8.52; 10.8.139; 14.77.43.

¹⁸⁸ Rām 1.10.18; 1.41.10; 2.8.9; 2.20.2; 2.46.75; 2.55.16; 2.84.1; 7.45.6.

¹⁸⁹ *taṃ prekṣya mārasya ca pūrvarātre śākyaṛṣabhasyaiva ca yuddhakālam | na dyauś cakāṣe pṛthivī cakampe prajajvalus caiva diśaḥ saśabdāḥ ||* ‘And having observed in the first part of the night that time of war between Māra and **that bull of a Śākya**, the sky was not brilliant, the earth shook, and the regions, sounding, began to burn’.

variatio (e.g., *śākyakula*^o- BC 8.8). Indeed, the epics register various ethnonyms followed more or less often by *ṛṣabha*- as second constituents.¹⁹⁰

This ultimately demonstrates that Aśvaghōṣa operates a simple reuse of a well-established *samastarūpaka* to address both prominent chieftains (Pontillo, Sudyka 2016), and powerful tribes, and in the latter case, he adapts the structure to the *śākyā*- ethnonym to better fit the context of Siddhārtha/Buddha's lineage.

Another case of simple-reuse regards the description of Kapilavastu in SN 3.1, where crowds (*saṃkula*-) of horses (*haya*-), elephants (*gaja*-), and chariots (*ratha*-) are identified with a stream (*ogha*-) :

tapase tataḥ Kapilavastu hayagajarathaughasaṃkulam |
śrīmad abhayam anuraktajanam sa vihāya niścītanā vanam yayau ||
 'Then (Siddhārtha), having left behind Kapilavastu, whose people loved (him), which was full of **streams of horses, elephants and chariots**, prosperous, safe, went into the forest determined to perform tapas'.¹⁹¹

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA
<i>hayagajaratha-</i>	<i>-ogha-</i>	<i>-saṃkulam</i>

The epics shows a single attestation of the constituents albeit out of compound,¹⁹² namely in a depiction of war in which the heroic deeds of Karṇa's son Vṛṣasena are told (MBh 7.15.5):

[*vṛṣasenaḥ* 1d]
hayaughāṃś ca rathaughāṃś ca gajaughāṃś ca samantataḥ |
apātayad raṇe rājañ sataśo 'tha sahasraśaḥ ||
 'Everywhere in the conflict [Vṛṣasena] destroyed **streams of horses, streams of elephants and streams of chariots**, o king, in their hundreds then in their thousands'.

¹⁹⁰ In order of recurrence: *pāṇḍava*^o (20 occurrences in the MBh) ; *dānava*^o- (MBh 1.61.4, 37 ; 3.240.25 ; 4.39.1 ; Rām 4.45.9 ; 4.50.10) ; *nairṛta*^o- (Rām 5.43.7 ; 5.45.3 ; 6.48.56 ; 6.55.98 ; 6.57.10 ; 6.58.1) ; *kaurava*^o- (3.46.24 ; 3.187.55 ; 15.34.19) ; *yādava*^o- (MBh 3.21.8 ; 6.102.58) ; *haihaya*^o- (MBh 13.140.3), and *sātvata*^o- (MBh 7.122.32).

¹⁹¹ Passi suggests a double sense for the *pāda* c ' <i> cui abitanti erano allietati da uomini venerabili e mansueti >' (1985: 174 n.1): "Il doppio senso, che si riferisce agli animali dei bo- schi, mi è stato suggerito da Carlo Della Casa; dividere *śrīmad abhayam anuraktajanam* in *śrīmad-abhaya-manu- raktajanam*".

¹⁹² The other is found in a *locus* excised from the Critical Edition, which is seemingly a parallel (App. I, no. 78.62-63 after MBh 1.128.4ab)

The comparison ultimately demonstrates that Aśvaghoṣa borrows almost two *pādas* from the epic model in which instead the identifications can be found out of the compound. He combines them in a *samastarūpaka*, which reflects the order of the element as it is in the MBh reference.

This is clear textual evidence of intertextuality, accomplished by means of a simple reuse.

Another example of reuse is represented by SN 12.20 where Nanda's senses (*indriya-*) are identified with stallions (*vājin-*):

ciram unmārgavihrto lolair indriyavājibhiḥ |
avatīrno 'si panthānaṃ diṣṭyā dṛṣṭyāvīmudhayā ||
 'So long having been made to stray from the right path by the restless **senses which are stallions**, you have [now] descended the [right] road through the direction, with unconfused gaze'.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA
<i>indriya-</i>	<i>-vājibhiḥ</i>	<i>lolaiḥ</i>

I will not dwell on the conceptual implications of the present metaphor, which have already been discussed by Covill (2009),¹⁹³ but I must mention that the *sādhāraṇadharmā lola-* 'restless' is made explicit here. Likewise, Aśvaghoṣa frequently re-employs the same identification with a *variatio* for the name of the horse, e.g., *indriyāśva-* (BC 2.34,¹⁹⁴ 5.22 and SN 10.41), always in doctrinal and didactic contexts referring to Siddhārtha and Nanda.

¹⁹³ See (2009: 266): "The metaphorical horses by which Nanda is pulled along correspond in this instance to his senses (*indriya*) rather than to his wishful thinking, referring to his constant desire for pleasurable sensory experience. As has already been noted, a fall from the right path or travel along the wrong path is frequently associated with restless motion; here too the wayward sense horses are qualified as fidgety (*lola*). Nanda's recent arrival on the Buddhist path is attributed in this verse to clear vision (*dṛṣṭyā avimudhaya*), which stands of course for unclouded judgement. Nanda's volte-face is the result of his greater wisdom".

¹⁹⁴ This stanza belongs to a section regarding Śuddhodana's moral qualities as *upameyas*. For instance, in BC 2.34a it is said that the king is not affected by *kāmasukha-* as a foolish man would be (*adhīravat*) – a *samastopamā* which has no match in the epic sources, but which is original. Secondly, in 2.37ab Śuddhodana purifies himself physically by bathing at a *tīrtha*, but also spiritually *guṇāmbubhiḥ* 'with the waters which are his qualities', this time portrayed through the

This image appears in the MBh – I did not manage to find any attestations of it in the Rām – as a versatile *alamkāra*, that is it can occur as an *upamā* (MBh 3.202.23) but also as an *asamasta-rūpaka* (MBh 3.202.21; 5.34.57).

In two instances it occurs as a proper *samastarūpaka*,¹⁹⁵ and in the most relevant of these instances it conveys a similar concept, namely the *rākṣasa* Sumālin being taken away figuratively by the senses/horses (Rām 7.7.27):

tair aśvair bhrāmyate bhrāntaiḥ sumālī rākṣaseśvaraḥ |
indriyāśvair yathā bhrāntair dhṛtīhīno yathā naraḥ ||

‘Sumālin, lord of the Rākṣasas, was diverted by those diverting horses, just as a man deprived of steadiness (is diverted) by the diverting **horses that are the senses**’.

Apart from stylistic considerations regarding the polyptoton of the root $\sqrt{\text{brahm-}}$ in *pāda* a, and the compound’s position at the beginning of *pāda* c, which differs from the SN stanza where it appears at the end of *pāda* b, it is interesting to note how Aśvaghōṣa seemingly borrows the less common form of this *alamkāra*, i.e., the *samastarūpaka*, along with the conceptual context involved.

use of an original *samastarūpaka* which, again, does not match any epic reference. Furthermore, in 2.40b Aśvaghōṣa employs a sort of allegory, implying that Śuddhodana is a bountiful king, because he gifts those in need with his *deyāmbubhiḥ* ‘waters which are his gifts’, in the same way as he punishes his enemies *ybris* by means of his *vṛttaparaśvadha*- ‘the axe [which is] his conduct’ (40c). There are 25 occurrences in the MBh for *paraśvadha*- ‘axe’ in a compound, and 10 in the Rām. It mostly occurs in multi-member *dvandva* compounds, usually with other names of weapons. Aśvaghōṣa might have taken the image from the epics, given that the noun is frequently used in typical war narratives. He thus transfers a standard depiction of a classical warrior scene into a metaphorical identification of the Buddha’s future redemptive actions, as if he were a warrior overcoming the weak human beings in the world. He therefore hints at a *kṣatriya* king’s moral qualities by employing a *samastarūpaka* which is not used in the epic model. Finally in 2.52 Śuddhodana’s dutiful behaviour towards his kingdom is compared to the behaviour of a father towards his sons. However, *pitr-* is a quite common *upamāna* used in the epics to depict heroes and kings performing their duty, i.e., Yudhiṣṭhira (MBh 2.5.113; 3.24.7; 3.24.9; MBh 13.8.28); Mātali (MBh 3.161.25); Lomaśa (MBh 3.137.21); king Saṃvaraṇa (MBh 1.162.5); Drupada (MBh 5.149.16); Kṛṣṇa (MBh 6.33.44); Bhīṣma (MBh 7.2.3); a king (12.25.13, interestingly, *śloka* 6 has been mentioned by Tokunaga 2006: 142 as corresponding to BC 9.65, for both deal with objections to Śramaṇism, and in particular both convey the idea of repaying debts, cf. footnotes 74 and 154); Śaunaka (MBh 12.147.9); Viśvāmitra (Rām 1.61.6); Rāma (2.2.28); Daśaratha (Rām 5.49.4). Perhaps the more relevant occurrences are the ones regarding Yudhiṣṭhira, Drupada and Daśaratha; whatever the case, Aśvaghōṣa certainly re-uses an epic *topos*.

¹⁹⁵ The other being MBh 12.280.1.

Moreover, if in the Rām the image regards someone being ultimately possessed by the senses and therefore being carried away by them, since their steadiness (*dhṛti-*) is missing, on the contrary, in the SN, Nanda has managed to overcome this unpleasant state because he has acquired clarity (*vimūḍha-*).

Firmness is a concept reiterated in SN 10.54, where Nanda asks Buddha to help him avoid temptation (Covill 2009: 161) and to give him his ambrosia (*mṛta-*) that is identified with Buddha’s words (*vāc-*):

*prasāda sīdāmi vimuñca mā mune vasundharādhairya na dhairyam asti me |
asūn vimokṣyāmi vimuktamānasa prayaccha vā vāgamṛtaṃ mumūrṣave ||*
‘Please be kind to me, I am sinking (in distress), free me, o sage whose firmness is that of the gift-giver,¹⁹⁶ there is no firmness in me; I will free my life, o you of freed mind, otherwise give me, who am a dying man, **the ambrosia of your words**’.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA	ALAMKĀRA
<i>yasya dhairyaḥ vāk-</i>	<i>vasundharasya dhairyaḥ -amṛtam</i>	<i>upamānasamāsa samāstarūpaka</i>

The stanza contains two *alaṃkāras*, namely an *upamānasamāsa* where Buddha’s firmness (*dhairya-*) is compared to that of the earth mentioned by an epithet (*vasundhara-*), and a *samāstarūpaka*, in which Buddha’s *vāc-* is the *upameya* and the *amṛta-* is the *upamāna*. Both ornaments occur at the end of the *pāda*, in chiasmus with the verbal forms:

1. *pāda* b: *alaṃkāra* +verbal predicate (*√as-* in the sense of ‘exist’, denied by the negative particle);
2. *pāda* d: verbal predicate (the imperative *pra-√yam-*) + *alaṃkāra*.

To the best of my knowledge, the following represents the only epic occurrence for this *samāstarūpaka*. In this reference, Vidura is using allegories to explain to Dhṛtarāṣṭra the concept of rebirth (MBh 11.7.1):

¹⁹⁶ Name of the earth.

dhṛtarāṣṭra uvāca |

aho 'bhīhitam ākhyānaṃ bhavatā tattvadarśinā |

bhūya eva tu me harṣaḥ śrotuṃ vāgamṛtaṃ tava ||

Dhṛtarāṣṭra said: 'Ah! The tale was told by your lordship who sees the truth, however, on my part, there is excitement to hear again **the ambrosia of your words**'.

Vidura's words serve to soothe Dhṛtarāṣṭra's grief over the murder of his son and are thus liberating. Likewise, Nanda aspires to immortality (*pāda c*) because he is still a prisoner of illusion, whereas he should aspire to liberation. Moreover, from a speculative perspective, one could say that Nanda is halfway between the Brahmanical and Buddhist visions, beginning to abandon the former but yet to fully attain the latter.

The comparison shows how Aśvaghōṣa's use is seemingly adaptive, even more so because there is no attestation in Vedic sources of the compound *vāgamṛta-*,¹⁹⁷ showing the pivotal influence of the epic sources on the author.

The following example concerns a *samastarūpaka* conveying a conceptual concept, that is Arāḍa welcoming Siddhārtha into his hermitage and manifesting surprise at Siddhārtha's choice (BC 12.8):

idaṃ me matam āścaryaṃ nave vayasi yad bhavān |

abhuktvaiṣa śriyaṃ prāptaḥ sthito viṣayagocare ||

'Your honour, this is considered by me as a wonder, [that you] in your youthful vigour, standing in the **pasture-ground which is the senses**, arrived here without having experienced (royal) glory'.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA
-gocare	viṣaya-

Aśvaghōṣa wants to say that Siddhārtha has achieved the state of being a hermit even though he had not been a hermit before.

The argument is based on the common idea in Brahmanism that a man can (and perhaps should) become a hermit and seek *mokṣa*, but only after he has lived his earthly life, i.e., the duty he must devote to his *varṇa*. This theme is central to the BC: what Siddhārtha does is normal, but he does it at the wrong time and right timing is part of the Brahmanical *dharma*.

¹⁹⁷ The Viṣṇusmṛti reports the compound with its constituents inverted, e.g., *amṛtavāc-*.

The only epic occurrence of the *samastarūpaka* that seems to fit this perspective perfectly is when Yayāti's asked Pūru for his youth. In return, Pūru will be the founder of a dynasty (MBh 1.80.6):

*sa rājā siṃhavikrānto yuvā viṣayagocaraḥ /
avirodhena dharmasya cacāra sukham uttamam ||*
'This King (Yayāti) whose courage is that of a young lion, [being] in **the pasture that is the senses**, through the harmony of Dharma enjoyed supreme happiness'.

The compound occurs here in *pāda* b and is employed as a *bahuvrīhi* compound referring to the subject (*sa* = Yayāti) in the nominative case, while in the BC it is placed in *pāda* d and occurs independently in the locative. Both stanzas include a reminder of the *upameya* being young, i.e., *yuvan-* referred to Yayāti in the MBh and *nava-* referred to Siddhārtha in the BC.

However, the similarities stop here, in fact, Yayāti lives his renewed youth in harmony with *dharma* (*avirodhena dharmasya*), literally staying in the pasture of the senses (*viṣayagocara-*) for the required time, to then come back and anoint Pūru.

Instead, Siddhārtha, who only figuratively finds himself in the pasture of senses – as he could be experiencing all that life has to offer him – disowns his youth, and since he has become a hermit before the prescribed time, there will be no anointment for him.

Once again Aśvaghōṣa borrows and reuses an epic *samastarūpaka*, maintaining its conveyed sense and adding another more subtle meaning that alludes to deeper concepts. This clearly shows how his Mahākāvya does not simply limit itself to a sterile reuse and to a mere textual influence. There is also evidence of the adaptation of the epic model by means of new concepts which are expressed through pre-existing forms of analogy.

The following example regards the *samastarūpaka* that involves a sword (*asi-*) as an *upamāna* for the knowledge (*prajñā-*) Nanda should use in cutting the bonds that prevent him from attaining liberation (SN 17.57):

*ciccheda kārtsnyena tataḥ sa pañca prajñāsinā bhāvanayeritena |
ūrdhvaṅgamāny uttamabandhanāni samyojanāny uttamabandhanāni ||*
‘Then (Nanda) completely severed the five supreme bonds [preventing him from] going to heaven, and the five supreme bonds that are the causes of rebirth, **with the sword of knowledge** set in motion by meditation’.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA
<i>prajñā-</i>	<i>-asinā</i>

The text has been interpreted as ambiguous when it comes to the concept of earthly constraints.¹⁹⁸ Moreover, the expression *ūrdhvaṅgama-* lit. ‘going upwards’ refers to *bandhana-* ‘bond’; it is apparently used in the sense of ‘that which prevents’ Nanda from going to heaven.

I managed to find a similar *samastarūpaka* e.g., *jñānāsi-* in the MBh, in a section of the *Bhagavadgīta* that deals with the *yoga* and in which Kṛṣṇa calls Arjuna to action (MBh 6.26.42):

*tasmād ajñānasambhūtaṃ hṛtsthaṃ jñānāsinātmanaḥ |
chittvainam saṁśayaṃ yogam ātiṣṭhottistha bhārata ||*
‘Therefore, after cutting through this hesitation produced by ignorance, which resides in the heart of your *ātman*, **with the sword that is knowledge**, o Bhārata, practise *yoga* and stand up!’.

It is notable that although the *samastarūpaka* is constructed with a synonym of *prajñā-*, it does however occur in the same case, that is the instrumental. In both cases, the sword of knowledge is the means to attain a superior condition – that is performing *yoga* and action for Arjuna,¹⁹⁹ and liberation for Nanda – by moving on

¹⁹⁸ See Passi (1985: 201-202 n.16): “Il testo è sospetto nel secondo emistichio, dove *uttamabandhanāni* viene ripetuto due volte. I vincoli (passione per i paradisi nei quali sussiste forma corporea, passione per i paradisi incorporei, accidia, presunzione e ignoranza) sono detti «superiori» perché legano comunque a rinascite paradisiache”, also Covill (2009: 373): “Nanda destroys the last five of the ten fetters (*samyojana*) which tie beings to the cycle of rebirth”.

¹⁹⁹ See Malinar (2007: 107) on the meaning of *yoga* in this *śloka*: “[...] the chapter ends by asking Arjuna not to renounce his duty, but rather to use the ‘sword of knowledge’ (*jñāna-asi*) to destroy his doubts, which are caused by ‘ignorance’ (*ajñāna-sambhuta*). The chapter ends by calling Arjuna to action: ‘Practise this *yoga* and stand up!’, which can also be rendered, ‘Yoke yourself and get up!’ (*yogam atisthottistha*; 4.42). By playing on the polyvalence of the word *yoga*, not only is the ascetic character of heroic action indicated, but also the heroic nature of *yoga* itself. The word *yoga* in the epic is used not only in the sense of traditions of asceticism, of the acquisition of extraordinary powers and liberation, but regularly in the sense of ‘yoking’, ‘harnessing’ and preparing for battle”.

from an obstructive situation, i.e., hesitation produced by ignorance (*ajñānasambhūtaṃ hr̥sthaṃ*) in Arjuna’s case and the supreme bonds for Nanda.

Despite the structural parallelism, the SN stanza is however a statement of what Nanda has achieved, whereas in the MBh Arjuna has yet to undertake his path towards the right choice. Thereby, by re-employing the same *samastarūpaka* that conveys the same sense, Aśvaghoṣa takes a step forward on the Buddhist concept of liberation, even though the ideological milieu is the same as in the *Bhagavadgīta*.

Another conceptual *samastarūpaka* concerns the *sneha-* ‘bond, affection’, identified with the mud (*pañka-*) in SN 5.18:

nandaḥ sa ca pratyayaneyacetā yaṃ śisriye tanmayatām avāpa |
yasmād imaṃ tatra cakāra yatnaṃ taṃ snehapañkān munir ujjihṛṣan ||
 ‘And Nanda, whose conscience was to be guided by faith, obtained to be absorbed in him on whom he had leaned; this was because on that occasion the sage had made this effort, wishing to take him away from the **mire of affection**’.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA
<i>sneha-</i>	<i>-pañkān</i>

Similarly, Aśvaghoṣa repeats and amplifies the reflection on *sneha-* later in the text, namely in SN 5.28,²⁰⁰ where *sneha-* is compared with many things that have a destructive power by means of a *mālopamā* in order to better highlight its negativity.

In the epics, the concept of *sneha-pāśa-* ‘bond which is attachment’ often appears as a *samastarūpaka* in a formula.²⁰¹ The same concept appears in BC 9.51 in the *samāśopamā paśam gr̥habandhusaṃjñam* ‘the bond similar to home and family’, where Siddhārtha explains his choice to his father.

²⁰⁰ *snehena kaścīn na samo ‘sti pāśaḥ sroto na tṛṣṇāsamam asti hāri | rāgāgninā nāsti samas tathāgnis tac cet trayam nāsti sukhaṃ ca te ‘sti ||* ‘There is no **bond equal to (family) attachment**; there is no destructive current equal to desire; there is no fire equal to the fire of passion: if this triad did not exist, joy would be yours’.

²⁰¹ *snehapāśa-* (MBh 5.167.10; 12.287.33); *snehāyatanabandhana-* (MBh 12.308.52); *snehapāśabaddha-* (MBh 15.44.41).

As far as the bond compared with mud is concerned, there is an epic reference in a long section (MBh 12.290.60-69) where some *sāṃkhya* notions are dealt with by the means of a long *samastavastuviṣyarūpaka* (MBh 12.290.62):

*tato duḥkhodakaṃ ghoraṃ cintāśokamahāhradam |
vyādhimṛtyumahāgrāhaṃ mahābhayamahoragam
tamaḥkūrmaṃ rajomīnaṃ prajñayā saṃtaranty uta |
snehapañkaṃ jarādurgam sparśadvīpam arimḍama ||*

‘And then the terrible water of sorrow, the great lake of anxiety and suffering, whose crocodiles are sickness and death, its great serpents are the Great Danger; whose turtles are the *tamas*, whose fishes are the *rajas*, **whose mud is the affection**, whose impervious ground is old age, whose island is the sense of touch, yet [the followers of the *sāṃkhya*] (traverse it) by means of wisdom, O conqueror of foes’.

This may be evidence, as Kent (1982) has already pointed out for the BC, that Aśvaghōṣa was familiar with a similar philosophical context.

The next relevant example regards Aśvaghōṣa changing a well-attested epic *samastarūpaka* that occurs as a formula, into a new one befitting of Buddhist themes.

For instance, in SN 12.26 the fire (*agni-*) is the *upamāna* for passion (*raga-*):

*anarhasaṃsārabhayaṃ mānārhaṃ te cikīrṣitam |
rūgāgnis tādrśo yasya dharmonmukha parāṇmukhaḥ ||*

‘O (you), who turn your face towards the Dharma, despite the obstacles put in your way **by the fire of your so intense passion**, the fear of the unworthy *saṃsāra* that you intend to experience²⁰² is [indeed] worthy of honour’.

UPAMEYA

rāga-

UPAMĀNA

-agniḥ

In this passage, Buddha acknowledges Nanda’s worthiness in his moving towards *dharma*, conveyed by the opposition of *anarha-* ‘unworthy’, referring to *saṃsāra* and *arha-* ‘worthy’ referring to *bhaya-* ‘fear’. That is, Nanda’s fear of *saṃsāra* is

²⁰² Johnston (1936) and Passi (1979) intend *cikīrṣitam* as the subject and *anarha-saṃsāra-bhayaṃ* its adjective. However, I interpret *cikīrṣitam* as an adjective in the accusative case, as the object of a word which means ‘feeling a sentiment’, and with *anarha-saṃsāra-bhayaṃ* as its subject. In this case, an interpretive translation was preferred. The aim was to highlight the sophisticated use of the lexicon.

the necessary condition for him to move forward on the path to liberation, and this fear is made more worthy since his passions avert (*parānmukha-*) him, who is pursuing *dharma* (*dharma-unmukha-*) – a concept expressed with the aid of a pun.

The epics do not register *rāgāgni-* but only similar compounds with *krodha-* ‘wrath’ as an *upameya* e.g., *krodha*^o- and *kopa*^o-. For instance, *krodha*^o- as the archetype of the feeling which drives men mad, is referred to Aurva burning the world with his fire (MBh 1.171.18), powerful ascetics (MBh 3.197.25), Arjuna (MBh 4.57.14) and the Pāṇḍavas (MBh 3.195.26; 7, 16, 13), Bhīma (MBh, 7, 112, 42), Rudra (MBh, 12, 330, 61, as an *upamāna* for Rāvaṇa (Rām 6.80.17), Droṇa (MBh, 7, 93, 35.2). The characters to which *kopa*^o- refers are Yudhiṣṭhira (MBh, 7, 124, 20.1), Aurva (MBh, 13, 56, 5.1), deities (MBh, 13, 136, 17.2) and Lakṣmana (Rām, Ki, 30, 13.1).

To sum up, *raga-* is far more important in Buddhism than *krodha-*. Indeed, all passions are dangerous, whereas in the Brahmanical sphere the danger comes from anger, especially in the context of war, because anger causes the ascetic ardour (*tapas*) to be discharged and the warrior’s virtue is to control his *krodha-*.²⁰³

Therefore, Aśvaghoṣa ultimately reworks and generalises a Brahmanical *samastarūpaka* (fire/wrath) and turns it into a Buddhist concept (fire/passions).

In the last example, the Buddha urges Nanda to begin the path of conversion (SN 5.40):

saṃsārakāntāraparāyaṇasya śive katham te pathi nārurukṣā |
āropyamāṇasya tam eva mārgam bhraṣṭasya sārthād iva sārthikasya | ‘Why, being devoted to **the wilderness that is saṃsāra**, don’t you have the desire to ascend the good path on your part? Like a merchant, lost away from the caravan, placed right on the [right] path’.

UPAMEYA
samsāra-

UPAMĀNA
-kāntāra-

²⁰³ See Hara (1977-1978) on how subsiding to wrath causes the *tapasvinī* to discharge *tapas*.

The stanza contains an uncompounded *upamā* (*pāda* d)²⁰⁴ and a *samastarūpaka* (*pāda* a). Here we see a recurrent process in Aśvaghoṣa, which is the fact that the *rūpaka* provides one of the elements of the *upamā*, namely the *saṃsāra*- (isotopy of Buddhism), and the wilderness (*kāntāra*-, isotopy for the merchant), both of which have *parāyaṇa*- as their common complement.

In the epics, only the *samastarūpaka* recurs. That is why this stanza has been catalogued among the compounded *rūpakas*. For instance, it is used to describe the condition of ascetics (MBh 12.205.14)²⁰⁵, or people of limited intellect (*alpabuddhi*- MBh 11.3.16)²⁰⁶. Finally, it is also present as *asamastarūpaka* in Vidura's words (MBh 11.6.4-5).²⁰⁷ Aśvaghoṣa repeats the image in SN 18.32 and in BC 1.72.

In summary, in this chapter I have attempted to demonstrate a primary level of intertextuality that can be inferred from the use of compounded *alaṃkāra* i.e., *upamās*, *upamānasamāsas*, and *rūpakas*.

²⁰⁴ As per the *upamā saṃsārakāntāraparāyaṇasya* is the *upameya*, and *bhraṣṭasya* is its *upamāna*, whereas *pādas* bc can be interpreted as the *sādhāraṇadharmā* (*śive* [...] *pathi nāruruṅṅā āropyamāṇasya tam eva mārgam*). In Nanda's case the sense of the common property is figurative, while in the merchant's case it is the proper sense. Indeed, *mārga*- is a very important word referring to the Eightfold Path of Liberation, but in a usual metaphorical sense and almost lexicalised. Moreover, *śiva*- too can be understood both in a philosophical sense and in a usual one.

²⁰⁵ *tadvat saṃsārakāntāram ātiṣṭhañ śramatatparaḥ | yātrārtham adyād āhāraṃ vyādhitō bheṣajam yathā* || 'Thus, those who are totally dedicated to austerity, who stand **in that wilderness of the saṃsāra**, should eat food for the purpose of livelihood, like the sick person (should take) medicine'.

²⁰⁶ *evam saṃsāragahanād unmajjananimajjanāt | karmabhogena badhyantaḥ kliṣyante ye 'lpabuddhayaḥ* || 'Thus, those who are endowed with a limited intellect are afflicted by the [continuous] emersion and immersion in **that impenetrable darkness of the saṃsāra**, being tied by body and action'. This is another *rūpaka*, with a different *upamāna* but very similar to Aśvaghoṣa's, *saṃsāragahana*- is indeed an epic formula (*saṃsāragahanaṃ* MBh 11.4.1; 11.5.2; 11.7.5). The sense of *gahana*- is very close to that of *kāntāra*-, to the extent that *gahana*- can designate a dense and impenetrable forest.

²⁰⁷ *vidura uvāca | upamānam idaṃ rājan mokṣavidbhir udāhṛtam | sugatiṃ vindate yena paralokeṣu mānavah || yat tad ucyati kāntāraṃ mahat saṃsāra eva saḥ | vanaṃ durgam hi yat tv etat saṃsāragahanaṃ hi tat* || Vidura said: 'O king, this is cited by the knowers of liberation as the object of comparison, through which a man finds happiness in the other worlds. **That which is referred to as wilderness, indeed is the great saṃsāra**, this inaccessible forest indeed **is the abyss of the saṃsāra**'.

Aśvaghoṣa seemingly reuses these ornaments in a spectrum of simple and adaptive reuse, demonstrating a good degree of experience in navigating the rhetorical tools at his disposal, such as re-enacting the etymological sense of a word (e.g., *nrdeva-*). At times he elaborates and alludes to meanings that are far more far-reaching than those implied in the epic verse (e.g., SN 5.51). This is evidence of a sophisticated reuse of the *alaṃkāra*, which is a testament to the poetic-rhetorical power of Aśvaghoṣa as a *kavi* – for example, the paradoxical reversal of epic imagery (e.g., BC 11.17). Indeed, this process takes on greater significance when placed within the broader discussion of the dynamics of a Mahākāvya composition in relation to the epic model.

Moreover, some examples are significant because they provide further evidence of a classical Kāvya motif (e.g., BC 4.35) that Aśvaghoṣa may indeed have begun, borrowing, and reusing from the epic model. On the other hand, he sticks to epic motifs of describing heroes, while also adapting some iconic *alaṃkāras* to a Mahākāvya context.

3. Evidence of a medium level of intertextuality: adaptive reuse of uncompounded *upamās* and *rūpakas*

In this chapter, I will take a closer look at evidence of the intertextual and intratextual strategies²⁰⁸ used by Aśvaghōṣa, particularly at the adaptive reuse of *asamasta-rūpakas* (§ 3.1) and *asamasta-upamās* (§ 3.2). This will be achieved by first considering metaphors that have *bhūta-* at the end of the compound. Then I will discuss Aśvaghōṣa’s ability to handle sophisticated typologies of *rūpakas* (the *samastavastuviṣaya-rūpaka* and the *paramparita-rūpaka*).

Finally, I will highlight his rhetorical strategies aimed at reusing *asamasta-upamās*.

²⁰⁸ Sferra (2022: 106-107) employs the concept of intertextual and intratextual strategies focusing on Buddhist *tantras*: “Intertextual strategies aim to produce further meaning by placing a passage, *sutta/sutra*, or chapter in a specific context. Accordingly, they relate particularly to the development and tuning of a narrative framework and horizon of meaning, namely the sequence of texts or narrative blocks, as they are arranged within a collection or book. [...] Intratextual strategies, instead, aim to bring out further meaning solely through elements internal to the text, and therefore relate to the form itself of the text, that is to say its inner structure, the typology and sequence of the formulas utilized, the use of key or evocative words and quotations (which can be unattributed or attributed) or paraphrases of passages from other works, etc. In fact, the internal structure of a text can echo similar structures in other works and thus, especially in the case of scriptures, can work as a way to make cross-references. The use of formulas in particular and sometimes also other devices (e.g. the repetition of similar sequences of formulas or similar sets of stanzas) reflects, at least in some cases, even a narrative strategy with precise semiotic intentions-its function cannot be reduced to merely being an aid for the memorization and transmission of texts, it also plays a significant role in the construction of meaning. The inclusion of keywords in a text can better illuminate the scope of its teaching and in some cases even its original context”. I will partially make use of these categories in trying to understand Aśvaghōṣa’s compositional process.

3.1 STRATEGIES TARGETED AT REUSING ASAMASTA-RŪPAKAS

3.1.1 *asamastarūpakas* with *bhūta-* at the end of the compounds

Compounds with *bhūta-* as a second constituent *in fine compositi* deserve separate mention. Although they can function as comparative compounds, they can also be interpreted as uncompounded *rūpakas*, since *bhūta-* literally means ‘become’, i.e., not a member of the comparison.

For example, in BC 9.33, an *asamastarūpaka* with *bhūta-* *in fine compositi* expresses the concept of identifying human unions (*samāgama-*, i.e., the *upameya*) with dreams (*svapna-* i.e., the *upamāna*), and thus with something transitory:

maddhetukaṃ yat tu narādhipasya śokaṃ bhavān āha na tat priyaṃ me /
yat svapnabhūteṣu samāgameṣu saṃtapyate bhāvini viprayoge ||
‘But your honour has said that I am the cause of the king’s pain: I do not like [the fact] that he is tormented, because **unions are dreams**, separation is inevitable’.

This compound occurs twice, first when Duryodhana is given a prophecy by the Dānavas about the coming war (MBh 3.240.29)²⁰⁹, and second when Brahmā lists the many worlds that a Brahmin can reach (MBh 13.72.3cd-4)²¹⁰.

Another instance of an *asamastarūpaka* conveyed by *bhūta-* at the end of the compound is BC 3.57, which refers to the body of a dead man that Siddhārtha sees while he is walking on the King’s road. This is one of the many signs that will make him aware of the reality of human life:

²⁰⁹ *gatāyām atha tasyām tu rājā duryodhanas tadā | svapnabhūtam idaṃ sarvam acintayata bhārata | vijesyāmi rane pāṇḍūn iti tasyābhavan matiḥ ||* ‘Then, after (Kṛtyā) had left, King Duryodhana thought that **all this had been like a dream**, o Bhārata: his thinking was [such, that he said to himself]: “I will defeat (the sons of) Pāṇḍu in battle”’. This passage comes from a section attributed to the heroes (*āveśa*) possessed by demons like Duryodhana, Karṇa, Droṇa, and Bhīṣma (Hiltebeitel 2001: 220; 2011: 439; Smith 2006: 281).

²¹⁰ [...] *saśarīrā hi tān yānti brāhmaṇāḥ śubhavṛttayaḥ || śarīranyāsamokṣeṇa manasā nirmalena ca | svapnabhūtamś ca tāṃ llokān paśyantiḥāpi suvratāḥ ||* ‘[...] Indeed, the Brahmins, whose conduct is splendid, go (to those worlds) along with their bodies, through liberation from death and a spotless mind, and as if they were in a dream, those very virtuous ones see those worlds there too’.

buddhīndriyaprāṇaḡunair viyuktaḡ supto viṣaṡjñas tṛṇakāṣṡhabhūtaḡ |
saṡvardhya saṡrakṡya ca yatnavadbhiḡ priyapriyais tyajyata eṡa ko 'pi ||
 ‘This (man) is someone, deprived of intelligence, senses, vitality and qualities, (who) **becomes a straw or a piece of wood**, asleep and unconscious, someone (who) is abandoned by all his dear ones, who have worked so hard to raise and protect him’.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA
<i>eṡa (= a man)</i>	<i>tṛṇakāṣṡha-</i>	<i>vīyuktaḡ buddhīndriyaprāṇaḡunair suptaḡ viṣaṡjñah</i>

This particular image recurs in the epics as a state attained through the performance of severe *tapas*, such as the *tapas* performed by the three Āptyas Ekata, Dvita and Trita (MBh 12.323.20)²¹¹, or the *tapas* of brahmins and ṛṡis (MBh 12.327.41)²¹².

On one occasion, the compound *tṛṇabhūta-* is used in a situation that resembles the episode in the BC, where the *rākṡasa Daśagrīva* is explaining to Rāma that all creatures can be identified with grass because they all come to an end (Rām 7.10.18, see Hildebeitel 2011: 414 n.6):

na hi cintā mamānyeṡu prāṇiṡv amarapūjita
tṛṇabhūtaḡ hi me sarve prāṇino mānuṡādayaḡ ||
 ‘Truly, o (you) honoured by the immortals, there is no thought on my part concerning other beings, indeed, in my opinion, all beings, starting from men have **become grass**’.

Just as can be observed in Aśvaghōṡa’s examples, here too *tṛṇa-* denotes or compares a worthless thing and *kāṡṡha-* is a being that remains motionless or lacks feelings or consciousness.

Thus, Aśvaghōṡa’s originality lies in his use of a *dvandva* compound that combines both *upamānas*, and from a contextual standpoint, his application of this idea to the nobler image of immobility and unconsciousness, that is, death.

²¹¹ [vayam 19a] *taptvā varṡasahasrāṇi catvāri tapa uttamam | ekapādashitāḡ samyak kāṡṡhabhūtaḡ samāhitāḡ ||* ‘[We], having practised a supreme *tapas* for four thousand years, standing on one foot, completely **becoming wood**, concentrated’.

²¹² [brahmaṇā sārddham ṛṡayaḡ 39a] *ūrdhvaṡ dṛṡṡtir bāhavaś ca ekāgraṡ ca mano 'bhavat | ekapādashitāḡ samyak kāṡṡhabhūtaḡ samāhitāḡ ||* ‘Sight and arms were pointing upwards and mind became fixed on a point, [the brahmans and the ṛṡis] were standing on one foot, completely **becoming like wood**, concentrated’. In particular, this *adhyāya* deals with the merits of the *dharma* concerning *pravṛtti* and those of *nivṛtti* (Hildebeitel 2011: 257).

BC 7.40, where sacred fords (*tīrtha-* i.e., the *upameya*) are likened to stairs (*sopāna-* i.e., the *upamāna*) leading to the firmament (*nabhastala-*), is the penultimate instance of this type of *asamastarūpaka*:

*tīrthāni puṇyāny abhitas tathaiva sopānabhūtāni nabhastalasya |
juṣṭāni dharmātmabhir ātmavadbhir devarṣibhiś caiva maharṣibhiś ca ||*
‘There are all around sacred fords that **have become stairways to the firmament**, frequented by divine ṛṣis and great ṛṣis *dharm*-minded, and self-possessed’.

In particular, the idea of a staircase that leads to something higher is also present in the MBh, when Vyāsa explains the higher purpose of human nature to his son Śuka (MBh 12.309.79):

*sopānabhūtaṃ svargasya mānuṣyaṃ prāpya durlabham |
tathātmānaṃ samādadyād bhraśyeta na punar yathā ||*
‘After attaining human nature that is difficult to attain, (this) became the ladder to paradise; thus, one should place one’s self (on it), so that one cannot fall off (of it) again’.

Both passages mention a stairway to heaven, but in the BC these are identified with the sacred fords. In this case, bathing in these waters guarantees the attainment of a higher state, whereas in the MBh the ladder to paradise is reached after one has achieved perfection.

The final example of the *asamastarūpaka* can be found in BC 7.15. Here several types of ascetism (*tapoviśeṣa-* 13b) are described:

*uñchena jīvanti khagā ivānye trṇāni kecin mṛgavac caranti |
kecid bhujaṅgaiḥ saha vartayanti valmīkabhūtā vanamārutena ||*
‘Some live **like birds** through gleaning, others move through the grass **like deer**; still others spend (their life) together with snakes, **becoming anthills** in the forest wind’.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	ĀLAMKĀRA
<i>anye</i>	<i>khagāḥ</i>	<i>jīvanti</i>	<i>upamā</i>
<i>kecit</i>	<i>mṛga-</i>	<i>caranti</i>	<i>samāśopamā</i>
<i>kecit</i>	<i>valmīka-</i>		<i>rūpaka</i>

Since this stanza contains an *upamā* (*pāda* a), a *samāśopamā* (*pāda* b), and an *asamastarūpaka* (*pāda* d), it formally constitutes a *samsrṣṭi* from a rhetorical point of view.

The *asamastarūpaka*, in particular, has an epic reference, in a passage describing Cyavana’s severe ascetism (MBh 4.20.7). It reads as follows:

*sukanyā nāma śāryātī bhārgavaṃ cyavanaṃ vane |
valmīkabhūtaṃ śāmyantaṃ anvapadyata bhāminī ||*
‘Śāryātī’s beautiful daughter whose name is Sukanyā, was looking after Cyavana in the forest, a descendant of Bhrgu, who, remaining motionless (as an ascetic), had **become an anthill**’.

The idea of staying still is the same as in the BC stanza, which adds the element of the blowing wind to the epic image. In fact, it is hard to remain still when the wind is blowing. Aśvaghōṣa must have been aware of this passage because *valmīka*-seems to be an archetype of immobility.

As with the other *alamkāras*, there is no evidence in the epic of the *samāśopamā mrgavat-* (also repeated by Aśvaghōṣa in BC 7.2). As for *khaga-* ‘bird’ as an *upamāna*, Aśvaghōṣa uses the very same *upamāna*, this time in a *samāśopamā* in BC 5.21²¹³ where the *upameya* is an ascetic who manifests himself to Siddhārtha, who has just set out on the path to liberation.

I have indeed managed to find two references to the *samāśopamā khagavat-*, but neither of them is relevant to intertextuality. The first of these refers to Karṇa’s son, who almost seems to be swimming rapidly (*poplūyamānaḥ*, derived from the intensive form of the verb √*plu-*) through the soldiers on the battlefield is the *sādhāraṇadharmā* shared with a bird (MBh 8.62.23, cf. McGrath 2004: 190). This suggests a movement parallel to the ground, whereas in the BC stanza the *sādhāraṇadharmā* is a perpendicular movement upwards, i.e., *gaganam gate* ‘gone to the sky’.

The final occurrence again involves a war scene, in which King Nīla as the *upameya* is likened to a bird, using the *samāśopamā patatrivat-* ‘the winged one = bird’ (MBh 7.30.24). Once again, the common property is not the same as in the BC, in that it is a compound verb of √*plu-*, e.g. *utplutya*, this time conjugated in the absolutive, and prefixed by the particle *ud-*, which conveys the sense of moving

²¹³ *gaganam khagavad gate ca tasmin nīvaraḥ saṃjagr̥ṣe visismiye ca | upalabhya tataś ca dharmasaṃjñām abhiniryāṇavidhau matiṃ cakāra ||* ‘And when he had gone to heaven **like a bird**, the best of men was thrilled and amazed; and having acquired a clear knowledge of Dharma, he set his mind to the action of leaving the house again’.

from below to above and gives the verb the meaning of ‘emerging from somewhere’.²¹⁴

This finally shows how Aśvaghoṣa uses a much more original way of distinguishing the bird as an *upamāna* from the imagery of the epic model – that is, by comparing the grace of the animal’s movement with experienced and formidable warriors – and he seems to associate it with the image of common sense.

3.1.2 Aśvaghoṣa’s ability to process sophisticated typologies of *rūpakas*: the *samastavastuviṣaya-rūpaka* and the *paramparita-rūpaka*

Furthermore, there is no lack of evidence in Aśvaghoṣa of the substantial development of another form of the *rūpaka*, namely the complex metaphor i.e., the *samastavastuviṣaya-rūpaka*.

The background to this *alaṃkāra* has already been reconstructed by Boccali, Pontillo (2010),²¹⁵ who argued that the latter may have originated in technical and speculative literature (2nd century BCE). The scholars finally conclude that the Kāvya literature refined the aesthetics of this ornament. They also shed some light

²¹⁴ This root belongs to the semantic field of actions that take place in water, I managed to find another occurrence conjugated again in the intensive root and referring to a *haṃsa* ‘goose/swan’, i.e., an animal whose habitat is water (*poplūyamānam* Rām 5.2.55). Furthermore, it is registered in the present participle referring to *khacara*- which can be translated as ‘bird’ but also means anything semantically connected to the idea of floating through the air (e.g., clouds, the air, *etc.*). Therefore, one can imagine that the cultural *milieu* to which the MBh author belonged perceived rapid movement through water and through the air in exactly the same way and that both the heroes involved as *upameyas*, i.e., Karṇa’s son and Nīla –especially as he jumps down from his chariot – are considered as being skilled enough in the art of war so that they can easily move rapidly, as if they were birds.

²¹⁵ As per the definitions, see Bhāmaha in BhKA 2.2: *samastavastuviṣayam ekadeśavivartim ca / dvidhā rūpakam uddiṣṭam etat taccocyate yathā* || ‘And what is taught in two ways, i.e., that which concerns all things taken as a compounded entity’ and ‘that which only involves one part’. (tr. Boccali, Pontillo 2010: 110). Moreover, Daṇḍin (DKA 2.69-70) acknowledges a *sakalarūpaka* ‘a total *rūpaka*’ which consists in a superimposition (*āropya*-) of the nature of the *upamāna* upon that of the *upameya*. On this matter see also Gerow (1971: 241).

on Aśvaghōṣa’s use of this *alamkāra*, which is employed in several instances, for example in BC 13.65.²¹⁶

Moreover, in SN 10.55, where we find a complex identification between the god Kāma (*manmatha-*) and a snake (*ahī-*), there is another example of a *samastavastuviṣaya-rūpaka*:

anarthabhogena vighātadr̥ṣṭinā pramādadaṃṣṭreṇa tamoviṣāgninā |
ahaṃ hi daṣṭo hṛdī manmathāhinā vidhatsva tasmād agadaṃ mahābhiṣak ||
‘For I am bitten to the heart **by the snake that is the god of love – whose coils are wickedness, whose sight is destruction, whose fangs are madness, whose poisonous fire is mental darkness** – therefore O great physician grant me an antidote’.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA
<i>manmatha-</i>	<i>-ahinā</i>
<i>anartha-</i>	<i>-bhogena</i>
<i>vighāta-</i>	<i>-dr̥ṣṭinā</i>
<i>pramāda-</i>	<i>-daṃṣṭreṇa</i>
<i>tamas-</i>	<i>-viṣāgninā</i>

The identification, also repeated in SN 10.56 (*madanāhī-*), is pursued by means of five *samastarūpakas*, each of which continues to superimpose (*āropaṇa*) the physical characteristics of the serpent, i.e., the *upamāna*, on those of Manmatha, i.e., the *upameya*, namely the serpent’s coils/Manmatha’s wickedness, its sight/his destruction, its fangs/his madness, the fire caused by its venom/the mental darkness that obscures the mind.

In the epics, the same *samastarūpaka* identifying the god of love with the serpent is found in the *Tapatī-Upākhyāna* (Hiltebeitel 2005: 467, 481) when King Saṃvaraṇa complains to Tapatī, whom he wishes to marry with a *gandharva* rite (MBh 1.161.9):

grastam evam anākrande bhadre kāmamahāhinā |
sā tvam pīnāyataśroṇi paryāpnuhi śubhānane ||
‘Thus, o you, blessed one, may you who are not protected, you with full and wide hips, with a splendid face, put an end to (me) being held in the jaws of **the great serpent that is love**’.

²¹⁶ I have already discussed its similarity to the epic metaphorical matrix of the tree as an *upamāna* for something analysed in all its parts, e.g., MBh 1.1.65-66 (Falqui 2019: 47).

In the case of the MBh, there is no complex metaphor. However, the passage is strikingly suggestive of the threat posed by love. Indeed, while Saṃvaraṇa in the MBh appears to be in the clutches of the serpent that is love, Nanda in the SN must beware of the serpent/love and wishes to be freed from it.

In this way, Aśvaghōṣa seems to be reusing an epic identification and enhancing it with a rhetorical flourish, but he also proves to be a forerunner in the use of a type of *rūpaka* that would be analysed aesthetically about a millennium later, namely the *paramparitarūpaka*. According to Mammaṭa (KP 10.145), this metaphorical ornament involves constructing resemblance and not simple perception:

niyatāropanopāyah syād āropaḥ parasya yaḥ |

‘The superimposition of another object may be a means of effecting the intended superimposition’.²¹⁷

Although this definition is brief and puzzling, it means that in order to achieve the desired (*niyata*) comparison, that is a conventional or common analogy, one can use a less common or even strange comparison, i.e., the superimposition (*āropa-*) of another object (*parasya yaḥ*). In fact, in his example Mammaṭa explains this *alaṃkāra* (*str.* 426) by means of an *asamastarūpaka* where the King’s arm (*rājan [...] te bhujah*) is the *upameya* and the pole (*ālāna-*) to which an elephant is tied is the *upamāna*.

It is true that this comparison is unnatural and unexpected for the reader, but the more natural, expected, and current *samastarūpaka jayakuñjara-* ‘an elephant [which is indeed] the victory’ (*jayah eva asau kuñjarah*) makes it easier to understand. The latter, therefore, is the *upaya-* ‘expedient’ which reveals the comparison between the *bhujah-* ‘arm’, i.e., the *upameya*, and the *ālāna-* ‘pole’, i.e., the *upamāna*. Without it, the whole *rūpaka* relating to the identification of the king’s arm with the pole would be difficult to decipher.

²¹⁷ Porcher (1978: 75) provides the following definition: “ La ressemblance exprimée par le *rūpaka* peut être construite plutôt que simplement perçue: nous avons alors affaire au *paramparitarupaka*. Selon la définition de Mammaṭa, « la surimposition d’un autre (objet) peut être le moyen (d’opérer) la surimposition recherchée » ”.

Aśvaghoṣa often seems to make use of this type of *rūpaka* even though its technical definition will not be worked out until Mammaṭa.

For example, in BC 12.9, Arāḍa uses a *paramparitarūpaka* to urge Siddhārtha to continue his journey:

tad vijñātum imaṃ dharmam paramam bhājanam bhavān |
jñānāplavam adhiṣṭhāya śīghram duḥkhārṇavam tara ||
‘Therefore, your honour is a perfect vessel for understanding this very *dharmā*. After boarding **the boat of knowledge**, you must quickly cross **the ocean of suffering!**’

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA
<i>jñāna-</i> <i>duḥkha-</i>	<i>-plavam</i> <i>-arṇavam</i>

There are two *samastarūpakas*: the first that identifies knowledge (*jñāna-*) with a boat (*plava-*) is unexpected, while the second in which the ocean (*arṇava-*) is likened to suffering (*duḥkha-*) is instead well-established and known to Aśvaghoṣa’s connoisseurs, as the epic examples show.²¹⁸

²¹⁸ On this matter see Pontillo, Rossi’s (2003) survey on all the images of the sea in the Pāli-Canon, the MBh and pre-Kāvya sources. Aśvaghoṣa employs again the same image of the ocean identified with sorrow in BC 9.24: *śokāmbhasi tvatprabhava hy agādhe duḥkhārṇave majjati sākyarājah | tasmāt tam uttāraya nāthahīnam nirāśrayam magnam ivārṇave nauḥ ||* ‘Indeed, the king of the Śākya drowns in the deep **ocean that is suffering**, which is caused by you, that has sorrow as its water. So, rescue him, who is deprived of a protector, like a ship (rescues) one who is deprived of any shelter and drown in the ocean’. This is an *upamā* with a *bimbapratibimba* relation, as it is shown below:

Upameya	Upamāna	sādhāraṇadharmā	alamkāra
<i>duḥkha-</i>	<i>-arṇave</i>		<i>samastarūpaka</i>
<i>śoka-</i>	<i>-ambhas</i>		
<i>tam</i> (= Śuddhodana)	<i>nirāśrayam</i>		<i>Uttāraya</i>
(Siddhārtha)	<i>nauḥ</i>		

In fact, the minister and the chief priest speak to Siddhārtha and *tam* = *śuddhodanam*. The elements of the *upamā* are: *tam* (= *śuddhodanam*) / *magnam*, **tvam* (included in the verbal ending = *siddhārthah*) / *nauḥ*. Moreover, it also identifies it with the *jñeya-* ‘knowledge’ in BC 7.56: *spasṭocaghonaṃ vipulāyatākṣaṃ tāmrādharauṣṭhaṃ sitatīkṣṇadamṣṭram | idaṃ hi vaktraṃ tanuraktajihvaṃ jñeyārṇavam pāsyati kṛtsnam eva ||* ‘Indeed, this face of yours, whose nose is straight and high, whose eyes are wide and elongated, whose lips are coppery, whose teeth are white and sharp, whose tongue is thin and red, will certainly drink **the ocean of what is to be known**’.

In fact, the *samastarūpaka* of the ‘boat [which is] knowledge’ is attested twice (*jñānaplava-* MBh 6.26.36;²¹⁹ 12.229.1), and once it occurs uncompounded (*jñānam plavaḥ ihocyate* MBh 12.313.23). The *samastarūpaka* is also recorded with a variation, namely *buddhinau-* ‘the boat [which is] intelligence’, which is also the focus of a *samastavastuviṣaya-rūpaka* (MBh 12.316.39).²²⁰

In particular, a very similar image which can also be interpreted in accordance with Mammaṭa’s definition of *paramparitarūpaka*, is a passage in the MBh where Arjuna praises Kṛṣṇa (MBh 8.49.116):

*tvadbuddhiplavam āsādya duḥkhaśokāṅṅavād vāyam /
samuttīrṇāḥ sahāmātyāḥ sanāthāḥ sma tvayācyuta ||*
‘O Acyuta! Since we reached **the boat of your intelligence**, we have come forth from **the ocean of grief and sorrow** together with our ministers and allies thanks to you’.

Here, the less commonly used image of the boat of intelligence is combined with the more familiar ocean of sorrow, which is thus the *upaya-* ‘expedient’ used to decipher the previous identification.

Therefore, Aśvaghōṣa appears to be reusing an *alamkāra* that is already present in the epic sources but is not recognised and named until much later (11th century). All in all, it is clear that in the epics the image is the exact opposite of the one proposed by Aśvaghōṣa: the boat is sinking in the ocean of sorrow and there is always the hope that someone will come to rescue it.²²¹

It is therefore easy to assume that Aśvaghōṣa’s inversion of the image is proposing Buddhist doctrine as an anchor of salvation, a means of escape from a situation from which the Brahmanic imagery, on the contrary, saw no escape. There

²¹⁹ See Malinar (2007: 107) on this passage: “The purifying nature of this fire is emphasised by pointing out that even the worst among all evil-doers can use the ‘boat of knowledge’ (*jñānaplava*; 4.36)”.

²²⁰ See Hildebeitel (2001: 299 n. 64) on this set of *ślokas*: “Nārada’s instructions, and indeed the whole story, make frequent reference to the *buddhi* functioning in a proto-Sāṃkhya fashion, e.g., just before this passage, ‘Having renunciation as the wind and buddhi as the boat, one may cross the swift-pathed river (*tyāgavātādhvagām sigrām buddhinava nadim taret*)’ (12.316.39cd), and after the next quote, Śuka, ‘possessing the highest buddhi,’ has still not yet ‘reached resolve’ (318.46: *niscayam again*)”.

²²¹ Rām 5.17.4; 3.53.4; 5.15.3; 5.17.4; MBh 2.65.4; 7.2.3; 7.165.95; 8.1.43.

is salvation from the ocean of sorrow, and the ship is not at sea. The ship, rather than sinking, rescues the drowning.

3.2 STRATEGIES TARGETED AT REUSING ASAMASTA-UPAMĀS

This section will consider the evidence for intertextual and intratextual reuse of *upamās* outside the compound. Due to the great number of examples, I have divided them into the three semantic domains to which each *upamāna* belongs: divine, natural, and human.

3.2.1 Adaptive reuse of *upamānas* belonging to the divine semantic domain

In BC 2.29, the great palace (*harmya-*) where Siddhārtha lives is likened to the palaces of the gods (*vimāna-*) – an *upamāna* that Aśvaghoṣa also repeats in BC 3.64 (*vimānavat*):

tataḥ śarattoyadapāṇḍareṣu bhūmau vimāneṣv iva rañjiteṣu /
harmyeṣu sarvartusukhāśrayeṣu strīṇām udārair vijahāra tūryaiḥ ||
‘Then (Siddhārtha) spent his time with the excellent musical instruments of the women in the palaces, which were white as autumn clouds, illuminated²²² **like divine palaces on earth**, and endowed with comfort in all seasons’.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	ĀLAMKĀRA
<i>harmyeṣu</i>	<i>śarattoyada- vimāneṣu</i>	<i>-pāṇḍareṣu rañjiteṣu</i>	<i>upamānasamāsa upamā</i>

The stanza is an example of a *samsrṣṭi*. In fact, it contains two *alamkāras*, viz., the first is an *upamānasamāsa* in *pāda* a which compares the pale white colour (*pāṇḍara-*) of the mansions, i.e., the *upameyas*, with that of the autumnal clouds (*śarat-toyada-*). No relevant cross-references have been found for this *alamkāra*.²²³

²²² I have chosen to translate *rañjita-* as ‘illuminated’ because ‘the common property may refer to the illumination of the buildings and that of the *vimāna-* which can be flying cities as well as simple chariots.

²²³ Autumnal clouds are the *upamāna* for monkey screams (*śaradabhrapratīkāśāḥ* ‘resembling autumnal clouds’ MBh 3.267.11); Rāma’s mother is annihilated by sorrow (*śaradgato megha ivālpatoyaḥ* ‘like a cloud with little water when autumn comes’ Rām 2.39.16); Rāma and his monkey army are useless (*yathā śaradi toyadāḥ* ‘like rainclouds in autumn’ Rām 6.36.16).

The second is the *upamā* in *pāda* b, where the common property shared by the mansion and the *vimāna*- is the fact that they are both illuminated (*rañjita*-).

There is an epic cross-reference where the royal palaces (*śibira*-) at Kurukṣetra are the *upameya* for the *vimānas* (MBh 5.149.77):

*śibirāṇi mahārḥāṇi rājñāṃ tatra pṛthak pṛthak /
vimānānīva rājendra niviṣṭāni mahītale ||*

‘The very precious royal residences of the kings there (at Kurukṣetra) one by one were **like divine fortresses**, o Indra of a man, **descended to the surface of the earth**’.

To the best of my knowledge, this is the only instance where the *upameya* is a palace, as in the BC example. In particular, the idea of the *vimānas* descending (*niviṣṭāni*) to earth (*mahītale*) is repeated in *pāda* d, which conveys the same idea of movement echoed in the BC. Finally, especially when the *upamā* occurs at the end of the *pāda*, this idea often seems to be associated with the *vimāna* as the *upamāna* (e.g., *vimānam iva bhūtale* MBh 9.13.9).

In the transition from the divine abode to symbolism in the ritual sphere, a sacred object associated with the divine is the *dhvaja*- ‘flagstaff’ which is usually carried in a procession.

In BC 8.73, Śuddhodana (*upameya*) who falls to the ground upon hearing of Siddhārtha’s departure is likened to the toppling of Indra’s flagstaff:

*niśāmya ca chandakakanthakāv ubhau sutasya saṃśrutya ca niścayaṃ sthiram /
papāta śokābbihato mahīpatiḥ śacīpater vṛtta ivotsave dhvajaj ||*

‘After perceiving both Chandaka and Kanthaka and hearing the firm conviction of his son, the lord of the earth fell down stricken with pain, **like the flagstaff of Śacī’s lord (i.e., Indra) at the end of the festival**’.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA	SĀDHĀRANĀDHARMA
<i>mahīpatiḥ</i> (Śuddhodana)	<i>śacīpateḥ</i> [...] <i>dhvajaj</i>	<i>papāta</i>

Aśvaghoṣa often uses the *dhvaja*- of a god as an *upamāna* for Siddhārtha/Buddha. For instance, when he walks among the citizens of Kapilavastu, they bow to him as

they would do to the flagstaff of a god (BC 3.12)²²⁴, or in a similar way when Nanda observes the Buddha walking on the road (SN 4.46).²²⁵ Otherwise Siddhārtha is also compared to god Kāma (*puṣpaketu-* ‘[the one who has] the flower [as his] emblem’ BC 3.24) when he walks down the street and catches the eye of his female subjects.²²⁶

Indra’s flagstaff is a well-recognised *upamāna* in the epic sources,²²⁷ where especially the image of the falling flagstaff is often compared to wounded warriors falling in battle, as shown in the diagram below:

²²⁴ *niḥsṛtya kubjās ca mahākulebhyo vyūhās ca kairātakavāmanānām | nāryaḥ kṛṣebhyaś ca niveśanebhyo devānuyānadhvajavat praṇemuḥ* || ‘The humpbacks and the multitudes of Kirāta people and dwarves after going out from the noble families’ [houses] the women [after going out] from their poor houses, [they all] bowed down as **[they would] to the flagstaff in the god’s procession**’. See Passi’s (1979: 196 n.1) note on the mentions of hunchbacks, Kirātas, and dwarves in *pāda* ab: “Gobbi, nani e montanari Kirāta vengono abitualmente menzionati come attendenti del gineceo a partire dall’*Arthaśāstra* di Kauṭilya”.

²²⁵ *atha sa pathi dadarśa muktamānaṃ piṭṛnagare ‘pi tathāgatābhimānam | daśabalam abhito vilambamānaṃ dhvajam anuyāna iva indram arcyamānam* || ‘Then, he saw on the road the one liberated from arrogance even in his father’s city proud of [being] the Thatāgata, Daśabala lingering on both sides, **as the flagstaff of Indra [lingers] when he is honoured in a procession**’.

²²⁶ The epithet occurs only once in MBh 3.265.7.

²²⁷ Inanimate things can also be the *upameya*, such as wood-logs (Rām 6.15.18); mountains (MBh 3.61.36); Śalya’s banner (MBh 6.16.31), Droṇa’s emblem (MBh 7.7.23), and Arjuna’s banner (MBh 9.3.18).

3. Evidence of a medium level of intertextuality: adaptive reuse of uncompounded upamās and rūpakas

Table 6 List of epic instances involving the falling of the flagstaff, indicating the upameya, upamāna and sādharmaṇadharmas

	LOCI	UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	CASE
	3.25.8d	Dūṣaṇa's mace	<i>śakradhvaja-</i>	\sqrt{pat} (b)	nom. sing.
RĀM	6.35.17c	Rāma/Lakṣmana	<i>dhvaja- mahendrasya</i>	<i>pra-√kamp-</i> 'to tremble'	nom.
	2.71.24d	Sumantra/ Śatrughna		<i>pariklinna-</i> (c) 'made wet'	dual
	4.16.27d	Vāsava's son		<i>kṣitim gata-</i> 'went down'	
	6.114.84c	Bhīṣma	<i>indrardhvaja-</i>	<i>utsrṣṭa-</i> 'abandoned'	nom.
7.68.65c	Ambaṣṭha	\sqrt{pat} - (d) 'to fall'		sing.	
9.16.52d	Madras' king	<i>ni-√pat- bhūmāu</i>			
MBH	6.114.84c	Bhīṣma		\sqrt{pat} (a)	
	9.11.23d;	Bhīma/ Śalya		\sqrt{pat} (c) 'to fall'	nom.
	7.14.29d				dual
	9.8.21d	Soldiers' arms	<i>śakradhvaja-</i>	\sqrt{pat} (c)	instr. plur.

Other occurrences of *dhvaja-* as *upamāna* concern various *sādharmaṇadharmas*, which at times are expressly mentioned,²²⁸ at others only implied,²²⁹ or even omitted (e.g., MBh 7.81.40; Rām 1.17.13; 2.55.7).

In a few instances, however, falling is caused by grief rather than by injury, as in the BC. This is the case of King Saṃvaraṇa who fell to the ground after his betrothed Tapatī had left him (MBh 1.162.2),²³⁰ or Bharata who wept on seeing his father Daśaratha's funeral pyre (Rām 2.71.9).²³¹

²²⁸ Such as splendour (\sqrt{subh} - MBh 1.64.12), width (*suvipula-* MBh 3.146.60), the act of standing up (*ucchrita-* MBh 7.63.7; Rām 5.1.57), or rising (*udyata-* MBh 7.68.64; *ut-√pat-* Rām 4.33.3)

²²⁹ Height (App. I, no. 103.182 after MBh 1.192.7), magnitude (MBh 7.149.22; Rām 5.8.13; 6.36.5)

²³⁰ *amātyaḥ sānuvātrās tu taṃ dadarśa mahāvane | kṣitau nīpatitaṃ kāle śakradhvajam ivocchritam* || 'His minister with his retinue indeed saw him in the great forest after he had fallen to the ground, like Indra's erected flagstaff in its season [falling]'.
like Indra's erected flagstaff in its season [falling]'.

²³¹ *sa tu drṣṭvā rudan dīnaḥ papāta dharaṇītale | utthāpyamānaḥ śakrasya yantrardhvaja iva cyutaḥ* || 'When he (i.e., Bharata) saw [the funeral pyre], the afflicted, weeping, fell on the surface of the earth, like the support of the erected flagstaff of the mighty (i.e., Indra) when it is blown away'.

However, only one reference, the description of Bharata’s grief after his father’s death, appears to be a striking case of intertextuality (Rām 2.68.29). The similarities between the the *śloka* in the Rām and in the BC are as follows:

Rām 2.68.29

*saṃraktanetraḥ śithilāambaras tadā
vidhūtasarvābharaṇaḥ paraṃtapah |
babhūva bhūmau patito nṛpātmajaḥ
śacīpateḥ ketur ivotsavakṣaye ||*

‘Then, that destroyer of foes, whose eyes were red, whose clothes were loosened whose jewellery was tinkling, the king’s son (i.e., Bharata) fell to the ground, **like the emblem of Śacī’s lord when the festival is over**’.

BC 8.73

*nīsāmya ca chandakakanthakāv ubhau
sutasya saṃśrutya ca niścayaṃ sthiram |
papāta śokābhīhato mahīpatiḥ
śacīpater vṛtta ivotsave dhvajaḥ ||*

‘After perceiving both Chandaka and Kanthaka and hearing the firm conviction of his son, the lord of the earth fell down stricken with pain, **like the flagstaff of Śacī’s lord at the end of the festival**’.

Both passages have the same metrical structure in *pādas* c/d, i.e., two *pādas* of 12 (c) and 11 (d) syllables, and they are almost syntactically identical, namely both *pādas* (c) contain the *karṭṛs* (Rām: *nṛpātmajaḥ* / BC: *mahīpatiḥ*) and the actions (Rām, $\sqrt{bhū-}$ *patita-* *bhūmau* / $\sqrt{pat-}$).

Moreover, from a rhetorical point of view, the two *pādas* (d) almost overlap and are structured with the following similarities and differences: both use the same epithet for Indra, i.e., *śacīpati-* at the beginning of the *pāda*, and the comparison marker *iva*, whereas the differences concern the *upamāna*:

- as regards the word ‘emblem’ the Rām has *ketu-* which is more like an ‘emblem’ printed on a flag, whereas the BC has *dhvaja-* ‘flag/flagstaff’, that is the distinctive *ketu* and the flagpole which is more solemn than the image of a simple flag/emblem falling down.
- According to the grammatical construction of the phrase ‘when the festival is over’, the Rām uses a complement of time realised through the *tatpuruṣa* compound *utsava-kṣaya-* at the end of the *pāda*, which has the meaning of ‘end (*kṣaya-*) [of the] festival (*utsava-*)’, whereas the BC uses an uncompounded construction of two co-referential nouns, i.e., *vṛtṭe* (out of *sandhi*) *utsave* li. ‘[when the] festival [is] finished/completed’.

All in all, Aśvaghōṣa clearly recalls the epic *topos* of a wounded warrior falling in battle, but slightly alters the grammatical construction using a similar syntaxis to

convey the same *upamā*, albeit with a unique purpose. The *upamā* seems to be enriched by the image of the whole flagstaff being toppled. This is more impressive than a mere emblem falling down.

Indeed, he reverses the *upameyas* and hence the context: in the Rām it is Bharata, a prince = a mere *ketu*-‘emblem’ of a royal dynasty, who suffers for the natural death of his father, i.e., the king, whereas in the BC it is king Śuddhodana, the backbone = *dhvaja*- ‘flagstaff’ of the royal lineage who suffers for the unnatural loss of his son.

Once again the process by which the Mahākāvya style implements epic features is shown by comparison with the epic model.

Another *upamāna* belonging to the ritual sphere is the *sraja*- ‘garland’.

In BC 12.7 the sage Arāḍa, who is speaking to Siddhārtha, compares the proper time according to Brahmanic law for a *kṣatriya* to leave the *śrī*- (*upameya*) to his heirs and go into the forest, with a garland (*sraj*- i.e., the *upamāna*) that has been used:

nāścaryaṃ jīrṇavayaso yaj jagmuḥ pāṛthivā vanam |
apatyebhyaḥ śriyaṃ dattvā bhuktochchiṣṭām iva srajam ||
‘It is no wonder that kings of advanced age have gone to the forest, having bestowed their majesty on their children, **like a used then leftover garland**’.

In fact, garlands are ritual objects made specifically for festivals and/or religious events and when the event is over, the *sraj*- is put aside.

In the epics, the garland is a common *upamāna* for several concepts, such as something transient, like youth or beauty.²³² Otherwise, the idea of a used (*bhukta*-) garland being abandoned recurs as an *upamāna* when Tarā encourages her husband Vālin to abandon his anger towards his brother Sugrīva (Rām 4.15.7):

sādhu krodham imaṃ vīra nadīvegam ivāgatam |
śayanād utthitaḥ kālyam tyaja bhuktām iva srajam ||
‘Come on, O hero! Abandon this wrath, (which is) like the power of a river that comes, **as one who has just risen from bed at dawn (abandons) a consumed garland**’.

²³² MBh 4.13.11; 6.53.20; 8.16.37; 8.68.34; 11.25.5; 12.29.138; 12.47.13;

Here the idea conveyed is that of something to be got rid of, such as anger. Similarly, the used (*bhukta-*) garland is the *upamāna* for something to be put aside (Rām 6.36.37).

Nevertheless, the idea of abandoning the *śrī-* as a used garland present in the BC stanza, is ultimately matched by a passage in which Droṇa reprimands Bhīṣma (MBh 5.137.12):

*vāsa eva yathā hi tvam prāvṛṇvāno 'dya manyase |
srajaṃ tyaktām iva prāpya lobhād yaudhiṣṭhirīm śriyam ||*
'Just as if you chose a robe, (Bhīṣma) today you think you have obtained, due to impatience, the royal glory of Yudhiṣṭhira, **like an abandoned garland**'.

In the BC stanza, the used (*bhukta-*) and leftover (*ucchiṣṭa-*) garland represents the *śrī-* that is naturally passed on to a king's heirs, whereas in the MBh, Yudhiṣṭhira's *śrī-* 'royal glory' seems to be misappropriated by Bhīṣma.

Aśvaghoṣa, therefore, reuses a less common *upamāna* and adapts it to the context of his Mahākāvya.

As far as the use of deities as *upamānas* is concerned, Nanda and his wife Sundarī are compared to deities on two occasions in SN 4.6. Firstly, Sundarī is referred to as a *devatā-* walking in Nandana's garden (which occurs as an *upamāna* in BC 3.64 too). Secondly, both are described as having been created by the creator of beings (*bhūtadhātra-*):

*sā devatā nandanacāriṇīva kulasya nandījananaś ca nandaḥ |
atītya martyān anupetya devān sṛṣṭāv abhūtām iva bhūtadhātrā ||*
'She (Sundarī), **like a divinity walking in the divine garden Nandana**, and Nanda, who brought happiness to [his] family,²³³ **as if [they had been] created by the creator of beings**, transcended mortals without attaining the status of a god'.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA	ALAMKĀRA
<i>sā</i>	<i>devatā nandancāriṇī</i>	<i>upamā (pāda a)</i>
<i>sā / nandaḥ</i>	<i>abhūtām bhūtadhātrā</i>	<i>utprekṣā (pāda d)</i>

²³³ Passi (1985: 177 n. 4) notes the semantic pun with the name of Nanda: "Il Nandana qui in allitterazione con Nanda e *nandījanana*, «fonte di gioia» - è il giardino di delizie del paradiso di Indra (cfr. canto x)".

As the table shows, the stanza contains a *saṃsṛṣṭi* consisting of an *upamā*, in which the *sādhāraṇadharmā* is omitted, and an *utprekṣā*. Both are in a chiastic position. The *upamā* (*pāda* a) relates to Sundarī as the *upameya*, who is referred to with the pronoun *sā*. In the *utprekṣā* (*pāda* d), she and Nanda are both the *upameyas*.

These relevant *alaṃkāras* do not occur together in the epic sources. However, a reference in the Rām, where Ahalyā, the wife of the ṛṣi Gautama, is the *upameya*, matches the *upamā* used in the SN (Rām 1.48.14):

[*dadarśa mahābhāgāṃ* 13a]

prayatnān nirmīṭāṃ dhātrā divyāṃ māyāmayīm iva |
dhūmenābhiparītāṅgīm pūrṇacandraprabhām iva ||

‘[Rāma] saw that eminent woman who **was like a divine woman consisting of illusion fashioned with great effort by the creator**. She was like a woman whose splendour is that of a full moon and whose limbs are seised by mist’.

The comparison highlights the use of verbal roots which have the same semantic meaning, i.e., in the SN \sqrt{srj} - in the sense of a creative force “unleashed” from a being that creates, ultimately producing something perfect, and in the Rām *nir-* $\sqrt{mā}$ - in the sense of concretely producing something like an artwork.

Furthermore, both passages assume that since the *upameya* is a perfect being, it transcends basic human nature. This is accomplished by the fact that in the Rām Ahalyā is said to be an illusion (*māyāmayī-* 14b), while in the SN Nanda and Sundarī are described as transcending mortals without becoming gods (*atītya martyān anupetya devān* 6c).

The Nandana Garden, on the other hand, often appears in the Itihāsa as an *upamāna* for forests,²³⁴ or even for the royal palace of Rāvaṇa (*bhavane nandanopame* MBh 3.264.41). Furthermore, epic characters are often compared to deities in the Nandana through a formula that recurs at the end of the *pāda*, consisting of the *upamāna* + the comparison marker *iva* together with *nandane* in the locative case.²³⁵

²³⁴ °*pratīma-* MBh 1.63.13; °*upama-* MBh 3.155.36; 6.7.29; Rām 5.39.9; 5.59.7; 6.30.8; °*oddeśasadṛśa-* MBh 12.163.7; °*saṃkāśa-* Rām 3.69.23; 5.13.3.

²³⁵ Bharata’s soldiers (Rām 2.85.75); Kākutṣtha is like Kubera in the Nandana (Rām 2.92.9); Sugrīva (Rām 4.28.), and Vibhīṣaṇa’s mind (Rām 7.10.9).

However, the *upameya* can be a couple or just one partner, although in the *Anugīta* Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna are compared to divine entities walking in the Nandana Garden (MBh 14.15.4)²³⁶. For instance, the *rākṣasas* Vibhīṣaṇa and Saramā (Rām 7.12.25)²³⁷, or Nala and Damayantī, with Nala being the *upameya* (MBh 3.78.3)²³⁸. The most relevant example, however, is that of Sītā in Rāvaṇa’s harem who is being watched by Hanumān (Rām 5.28.2). This can be compared with the first verse of the SN as follows:

Rām 5.28.2

*avekṣamāṇas tāṃ devīm devatām iva nandane |
tato bahuvīdhāṃ cintāṃ cintayām āsa vānarah ||*
‘And so, the monkey (Hanumān) observing that
divine princess who was **like a divinity in the
Nandana Garden**, his mind wandered in many
directions’.

SN 4.6ab

*sā devatā nandanacūriṇīva
kulasya nandījananaś ca nandaḥ | [...]*
‘She (Sundarī), **like a divinity walking in
the divine garden Nandana**, and Nanda,
who brought happiness to [his] family, [...]’.

The *upamā* in the Rām corresponds to *pāda* a of the SN and also contains the same *upamāna* i.e., *devatā-*, accompanied by the *upameya devī-* ‘divine princess’ in a *yamaka*, which I have tried to retain in the translation.

Finally, in the SN stanza, Aśvaghoṣa implements the *topos* of the epic character of a beautiful and virtuous wife compared to a deity walking in the Nandana Garden. This is achieved through a combination with the less common image of epic figures also walking in the garden who are likened to divine creatures. Moreover, he also makes a deliberate use of linguistic and rhetorical devices that serve not only to reuse epic formulae, but also to adapt them to the sophisticated structures of the Mahākāvya, such as the crafting of the *bahuvrīhi* compound

²³⁶ [vāsudevadhanaṃjayau 2d] *śaileṣu ramaṇīyeṣu palvaleṣu nadīṣu ca | caṅkramyamāṇau
saṃhr̥ṣṭāv aśvināv iva nandane ||* ‘Vāsudeva’s son and the Wealth-winner, were walking thrilled
on the pleasant tops of the mountains, and on the rivers, **like the two aśvins in the Nandana
Garden**’. The *Anugīta* is a summary of the *Bhagavadgīta* that Kṛṣṇa tells Arjuna to help him
remember the latter (Adluri, Bagchee 2011: 319).

²³⁷ *evaṃ te kṛtadārā vai remire tatra rākṣasāḥ | svām svām bhāryām upādāya gandharvā iva
nandane ||* ‘In this way, the married *rākṣasas* enjoyed themselves in that place, each together with
his own wife, **like the gandharvas in the Nandana garden**’.

²³⁸ *āgatāyām tu vaidarbhyām saputrāyām nalo nṛpaḥ | vartayām āsa mudito devarād iva nandane
||* ‘At the arrival of the princess of Vidarbha with her children, king Nala spent his time delighted,
like the king of the gods in the Nandana garden’.

nandanacāriṇī- and the *yamaka*, which echoes the epic sentence (*sr̥ṣṭāv abhūtām iva bhūtadhātrā*).

Furthermore, SN 2.56 recounts the Buddha’s birth and refers to him as Dharma in corporeal form. (*vigrahavat*):

samayayau yaśaḥketuṃ śreyahketukaraḥ paraḥ |
babhrāje śāntayā lakṣmyā dharmo vīgrahavān iva ||
‘The Supreme One, who made the highest good his banner, met with him whose banner [is his] fame²³⁹ he who is **like Dharma in bodily form** shone with the appeased majesty’.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA
<i>paraḥ</i> (Buddha)	<i>dharmo vīgrahavān</i>

Surprisingly, the same *upamā* always appears as a formula in *pāda* d, where Yudhiṣṭhira is indicated as the *upameya* (MBh 2.30.44-45):

dīkṣitaḥ sa tu dharmātmā dharmarājo yudhiṣṭhiraḥ |
jaḡāma yajñāyatanaṃ vṛto vipraīḥ sahasraśaḥ ||
bhrātrbhir jñātibhiś caiva suhr̥dbhiḥ sacivais tathā |
kṣatriyaiś ca manuṣyendra nānādeśasamāgataiḥ |
amātyaiś ca nr̥paśreṣṭho dharmo vīgrahavān iva ||
‘Then, o human Indra, the consecrated sacrificer, the Dharma-minded, King of the Dharma, Yudhiṣṭhira arrived in the sacrificial arena surrounded by inspired brahmins in their thousands, by brothers, by relatives, friends as well as ministers, warriors and councillors gathered from many countries: he was an excellent king **like Dharma in bodily form**’.

²³⁹ There is a *lātānuprāsa* of the word *ketu-* which has two different senses, namely *ketukara-* meaning ‘he who kindles the flame’, whereas *yaśaketu-* means ‘banner of glory’. Indeed, *śreyaketukaraḥ* can be interpreted as a *asamastarūpaka* of Vedic background, since the opposition *śreyas/preyas* ‘that which is agreeable’ is found in the *Katha Upaniṣad* 2.1.2 as well as in the AŚ 5.50.10, where the war-drums are praised: *śréyahketo vasujít sáhīyānt samgrāmajít sámśito bráhmaṇāsi | amśún iva grāvādhiśávane ádrir gavyán dundubhé’dhi nr̥tya védaḥ ||* ‘O [war-drum] **whose banner is the highest good**, you win goods, you are the most powerful, you win battles, you are sharpened by brahman like the pressing stone on the [soma-] stalks in the final pressing, wishing for cattle may you dance, o war-drum, on the wealth’. Ultimately, this *hapax* demonstrates how Aśvaghoṣa’s eloquence is also based on learned quotations. There is a similar compound in the MBh 12.187.2: *bhīṣma uvāca | adhyātmam iti mām pārtha yad etad anuprechasi | tad vyākhyāsyāmi te tāta śreyaskarataram sukham ||* ‘Bhīṣma said: O Son of Pr̥thā, you question me about what the adhyātma is. I will explain it to you, dear: it is the joy which secures **that which is the highest good**’.

This comparison is also applied to Parikṣit, Janamejaya’s father (MBh 1.45.7)²⁴⁰, and to Arjuna (MBh 3.78.20cd-21).²⁴¹ Aśvaghoṣa repeats this concept in BC 10.6.

3.2.2 Adaptive reuse of *upamānas* belonging to a natural semantic domain

It has already been noted that the fifth canto of the BC is quite similar to the Rām *sarga* in which Hanumān is astonished at the sight of Rāvaṇa’s women (§2.1).

Thus, in a series of descriptive details that enrich the *upamāna*, a sleeping concubine is compared to a river (*nadī*-) in the following passage that comes from the fifth canto (BC 5.49):

vibabhau karalagnevur anyā stanavisrastasitāmśukā śayānā |
rjuṣatpādapaṅktijuṣtapadmā jalaphenaprahasattaṭā nadīva ||
‘Another, who lay clutching her flute with her hands²⁴², with her white robe descending to her chest, was **like a river**, whose aligned lotuses are enjoyed by swarms of insects, and whose bank is smiling with foam’.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA
<i>anyā</i>	<i>nadī</i>

²⁴⁰ *cāturvarṇyaṃ svadharmasthaṃ sa kṛtvā paryarakṣata | dharmato dharmavid rājā dharmo vighrahavān iva ||* ‘After making the four classes based on their own Dharma, he protected [them] according to the Dharma, as a Dharma-knowing king, **like Dharma in bodily form**’.

²⁴¹ *na tathā drṣṭapūrvō ‘nyaḥ kaścid ugratapā iti || yathā dhanamjayah pārthas tapasvī niyatavrataḥ | munir ekacaraḥ śrīmān dharmo vighrahavān iva ||* ‘No one endowed with such terrible ascetic ardour has ever been seen before like Dhanamjaya son of Pṛthā, an ascetic of strict vows, a silent ascetic, wandering alone, glorious **like Dharma in bodily form**’.

²⁴² The image of a woman asleep with her musical instrument is quite common in Aśvaghoṣa, as well as in the epics. For instance, in BC 5.56 a woman sleeping with her kettle-drum (*paṇava*-) is compared to a woman hugging her lover: *paṇavaṃ yuvatir bhujāmsadeśād avavisraṃsitacārupāśam anyā | savilāsaratātātāntam ūrvor vivare kāntam ivābhīnīya śīśye ||* ‘Another young woman slept, having dropped her *paṇava* between her thighs, its beautiful strings falling from her shoulder and arm, **like a lover fatigued, at the end of playful sexual enjoyment**’. Women are depicted asleep with their instruments in Rām 5.8.35, 38-41, but it is the lover that returns as an *upamāna* in Rām 5.8.45: *ātodyāni vicitrāṇi pariṣvajya varastriyaḥ | nipīḍya ca kucaih suptāḥ kāmīnyaḥ kāmukān iva ||* ‘Those excellent women, having embraced their colourful musical instruments, and having pressed them against their breasts, fell asleep, **as shy women (embracing) their lovers**’.

Although the rhetorical structure of the *upamā* is quite simple, using an *upameya* (*anyā*- ‘another concubine’) and its *upamāna* (*nadī*- ‘river’), the two *bahuvrīhi* compounds referring to the *upamāna* add refinement to the syntax:

anyā [...] *iva nadī*- ‘another is [...] like a river’

- ‘whose aligned (*ṛju*-) lotuses (*padma*-) are enjoyed (*juṣṭa*-) by swarms of insects (*ṣaṭpāda*- lit. ‘hexapods’);
- ‘whose bank (*taṭa*-) is smiling (*prahasat*-) with foam (*jalaphena*-)’.

Through the use of these compounds, Aśvaghoṣa shifts the focus to two different idyllic scenes that could be implicitly superimposed on the *upameya*, so that the woman is identified with the river; the flute could be the lotuses, and her robe that reveals her body could be the foam on the riverbank. However, the double meaning is only speculative as this interpretation is not supported by the text.

In the epics, *nadī*- as the *upamāna* occurs a total of ten times in the nominative case. It is often used referring to an army or its factions as an *upameya* in battle depictions.

In three instances, however, women are referred to as the *upameya*, i.e., Kṛṣṇā (MBh 3.12.17) and Rambhā (Rām 7.26.31), and insects are never involved as happens in the BC portrayal. The third example is a striking demonstration of intertextuality, where a woman belonging to Rāvaṇa’s harem is compared to a river by a *samastavastuviṣaya-rūpaka* (Rām 5.7.48):

*kiṅkiṅjālasaṃkāsās tā hemavipulāmbujāḥ |
bhāvagrāhā yaśastīrāḥ suptā nadya ivābahuḥ ||*

‘Those women, whose little bells resemble nets and whose many golden ornaments are lotuses, being asleep, shone **like rivers**, whose crocodiles are their appearance, whose banks are their fame’.

Although there is no mention of insects, a different *alaṃkāra* is involved here, and the *upameya* is in the nominative plural compared to the singular in the BC.

However, the image conveyed is equally detailed, and the technique of focusing on several elements of the *upamāna* is analogous to that employed by Aśvaghoṣa.

Thus, although the comparison of the woman with a river is common in the later Kāvya, this is not the case for the epics. Altogether, the comparison shows that Aśvaghōṣa's work inherits a less current epic image of the woman as a river and consecrates it in a comparison that will later become a *topos*.

Now let us move from the earthly to the heavenly realm.

In BC 10.18 Siddhārtha (*bodhisattva*- i.e., the *upameya*) is compared to the moon (*śaśāṅka*- lit. 'the hare-marked') with which it shares the quality of being luminous (*virocamāna*-):

*tataḥ sma tasyopari śṛṅgabhūtaṃ śāntendriyaṃ paśyati bodhisattvam |
paryāṅkam āsthāya virocamānaṃ śaśāṅkam udyantam ivābhrakuñjāt ||*
'Then he looked at the Bodhisattva on that (mountain), who became a mountain-top, whose senses were calmed, staying in the squatting position (of meditation), shining forth **like the hare-marked one rising from the cloud's bower**'.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA
<i>bodhisattvam (āsthāya)</i>	<i>śaśāṅkam (udyantam)</i>	<i>virocamānaṃ</i>

Although the common property is the same, nevertheless the state of the *upameya* (Siddhārthā) and the *upamāna* (the moon) are in opposition: indeed, Siddhārtha shines when he is seated (*āsthāya*) while the moon shines as it is rising (*udyantam*).²⁴³

In the epics, the image is usually of the sun rather than the moon, often expressed with similar²⁴⁴ or different²⁴⁵ *sādhāraṇadharmas*, although the attributes of the *upamāna* are subject to change.

In one epic reference the god Śiva is the *upameya* (MBh 13.14.149):

²⁴³ Perhaps one could interpret this as a kind of *vyatireka*: while the moon must move in order to shine – meaning that its splendour is not constant – Siddhārtha shines by being motionless. The idea that the moon is imperfect because it is subject to change or because it has a blemish, i.e., the mark of the hare, occurs quite frequently and is common in later Sanskrit poetry.

²⁴⁴ The sun as the *upameya* (MBh 3.218.31), the moon as the *upameya* (MBh 3.42.14).

²⁴⁵ The *upamāna* is the moon and the *sādhāraṇadharmas* is the act of emerging from something (Rām 2.14.21; MBh 3.198.58; in an *upamā* with a *bimbapratibimba* relation (App. I, no. 114.402-403 after MBh 1.212.1cd; MBh 12.243.8; Rām 6.57.77), the moon is covered by the clouds (MBh 4.6.4).

teṣāṃ madhyagato devo rarāja bhagavān śivaḥ |
śaradghanavinirmuktaḥ pariviṣṭa ivāṃśumān |
tato 'ham astuvaṃ devaṃ stavenānena suvratam ||
'The blissful god Śiva, went among them, shining **like the sun surrounded by a halo, freed from the autumn clouds**'.

At first sight, this passage seems to be the only one in the epics that repeats the same antithesis of the BC: Śiva stands among other deities (*madhya-gataḥ*), shining as the sun does (*amśumat-*) from the clouds (*vinirmukta-*). In particular, *gata- in fine compositi* could be interpreted as 'situated' which is consistent with Siddhārtha's immobility.

In another passage, Draupadī is the *upameya* (MBh 4.15.37)

śuśubhe vadaṇaṃ tasyā rudantya virataṃ tadā |
meghalekhāvinirmuktaṃ divīva śaśimaṇḍalam ||
'At that moment, the resigned face of she who was weeping, shone **like the disc of the hare-marked one in the sky, freed from the horizon of clouds**'.

The *upamāna* (= *śāśimaṇḍala-* 'the disc of the hare-marked moon') and the common property (*śubh-*) are the same, but there is no contrast with immobility, since a few verses earlier Draupadī is described as running away.

Overall, Aśvaghoṣa uses an image which is almost a *topos* and enriches the comparison by alluding to the moon's imperfection as compared to Siddhārtha's perfection, since he can shine even without moving.

In BC 1.37 a young Siddhārtha is compared to five *upamānas* by a *malopamā*. The five *upamānas* are listed as being the best of their categories:

yathā hiraṇyaṃ śuci dhātumadhye merur girīṇāṃ sarasāṃ samudraḥ |
tūrāsu candras tapatāṃ ca sūryaḥ putras tathā te dvipadeṣu varyaḥ ||
'As gold is the most resplendent among the elements, Meru among the mountains, the ocean among the lakes, the moon among the stars, and the sun among things that emanate heat, so your son is the best among two-legged beings'.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA
<i>putraḥ te</i> (=Siddhārtha)	<i>hiranyam</i> (a)
	<i>meruḥ</i> (b)
	<i>samudraḥ</i> (b)
	<i>candraḥ</i> (c)

The *mālopaṃā* occupies three *pādas* (a, b, c), namely:

- *pāda* a only involves the comparison with gold (*hiranya-*);
- *pāda* b contains two *upamānas*, i.e., Mount Meru and the ocean (*samudra-*) in a chiasmic position (*upamāna* + genitive partitive, i.e., mountains / genitive partitive + *upamāna*, i.e., lakes);
- *pāda* c contains the moon (*candras-*) and the sun as *upamānas* coordinated by the copulative particle *ca*, with a *variatio* compared to the previous *pādas*.

Aśvaghōṣa uses a *mālopaṃā* in a similar way in BC 2.20, where Siddhārtha's upbringing is compared to several *upamānas*, for instance the sun (*pāda* a), the fire driven by the wind (*pāda* b), and the kenning *tārādhipa-* 'the lord of stars = moon' (*pāda* d). Once again, he reuses epic *topoi*.

Only twice do they have the same *sādhāraṇadharmā* (*√vardh-*), such as the wind-powered fire (MBh 3.225.18), or the fullness of the moon every month (MBh 5.34.53), and he incorporates them into a much more complex *alamkāra* to convey the sense of Siddhārtha's perfect coming of age.

I managed to find a *mālopaṃā* in the epics in which Bhīṣma is asked to become the lord of the army of the Kauravas, just as several *upamānas* are masters of their domain. Here, broadly speaking, the idea is similar to that of the BC stanza (MBh 5.153.12-13):

[*bhavan* [...] *naḥ senāpatir bhava* 11a]
raśmīvatām ivādītyo vīrudhām iva candramāḥ |
kubera iva yakṣāṇām marutām iva vāsavaḥ ||
parvatānām yathā meruḥ suparṇaḥ patatām iva |
kumāra iva bhūtānām vasūnām iva havyavāt ||

'[Your honour [...] be our armies' lord], as Ādītya is of the suns, the moon of the herbs, Kubera of the Yakṣas, Vāsava of the Maruts, Mount Meru of the mountains, Suparṇa of the flying ones, Kumāra of the *bhūtas*, the Oblation-bearer²⁴⁶ of the Vasus'.

²⁴⁶ Name of Agni.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA
<i>bhavat</i> (=Bhīṣma)	<i>ādityaḥ</i> (12a)
	<i>candramāḥ</i> (12b)
	<i>kuberaḥ</i> (12c)
	<i>vāsavaḥ</i> (12d)
	<i>meruḥ</i> (13a)
	<i>suparṇaḥ</i> (13b)
	<i>kumāraḥ</i> (13c)
	<i>havyavāṭ</i> (13d)

Let us note the rhetorical structure of the *ślokas*:

śloka 12:

- *pāda* a: genitive partitive (suns) + *upamāna* (sun) / *pāda* b: genitive partitive (herbs) + *upamāna* (moon), in asyndeton;
- *pāda* c: *upamāna* (Kubera) + genitive partitive (Yakṣas) / *pāda* d: genitive partitive (Maruts) + *upamāna* (Vāsava), in a chiasmus;

śloka 13:

- *pāda* a: genitive partitive (mountains) + *upamāna* (Meru) / *pāda* b: *upamāna* (Suparṇa) + genitive partitive (flying entities), in a chiasmus;
- *pāda* c: *upamāna* (Kumāra) + genitive partitive (Bhūtas) / *pāda* d: genitive partitive (Vasus) + *upamāna* (fire), in a chiasmus.

There is a *variatio* in the composition of the verses which change each time, except for *pādas* 13cd, whose construction is mirrored in 12cd. As for comparisons, Mount Meru and the sun are also used, since they are a *topos* – as was already shown in Chapter One (§§ 1.1.3.2-3).

If in the MBh Bhīṣma is compared to several *upamānas*, all of whom are leaders in their field, Aśvaghōṣa goes beyond a mere idea of the leader and compares Siddhārtha to the best of things.

3.2.2.1 ANIMALS AS UPAMĀNAS

Aśvaghōṣa often uses animals which are recurring *upamānas* in the epics, for example snakes and elephants.

For instance, he chooses to use snakes as an *upamāna* to convey different concepts. That is, he uses it in relation to Ikṣvaku’s sons to describe how they felt great grief on seeing their hermitage devoid of the ascetics (SN 1.38):

tatas tad āśramasthānaṃ śūnyaṃ taiḥ śūnyacetasaḥ |

paśyānto manyunā taptā vyālā iva niśāsvasuḥ ||

‘Then [those] whose minds whose minds were empty,²⁴⁷ seeing that place where the *āśrama* was empty of them (=the ascetics), afflicted with grief, (and) they hissed **like vicious serpents**²⁴⁸ inflamed with rage’.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA	SĀDHĀRANADHARMA	ALAMKĀRA
[<i>ikṣvākavaḥ [...]</i> <i>rājaputrāḥ</i> 18c] the princes	<i>vyālāḥ</i>	<i>niśāsvasuḥ</i>	<i>upamā</i>

The *upameyas*, i.e., the princes who are Ikṣvaku’s sons are implicit in the verb ending *paśyantaḥ*, and the common property which compares them to the *vyāla*- ‘snake’ is the action of hissing (*niśāsvasuḥ*). Moreover, *pāda* c contains a *śleṣopamā* conveyed by *manyunā taptā*, which has two meanings: one for the *upameya* (*manyu*- ‘sorrow’) and the other for the *upamāna* (*manyu*- ‘rage), as the following chart shows:

MEANING FOR THE UPAMEYA	ŚLEṢOPAMĀ	MEANING FOR THE UPAMĀNA
‘afflicted with grief’	<i>manyunāḥ taptāḥ</i>	‘inflamed with rage’

As Sharma (1988: 66-69) has noted, the snake in the epics “primarily symbolises terror” and the most common *upameyas* for it are arrows. In particular, the word *vyāla*-, which connotes the snake as a vicious animal, recurs as an *upamāna* for arrows that suddenly injure heroes, almost with a “deceitful” behaviour, which is of course like that of a snake.

For instance, the *upamā vyāla iva* accompanied by *śvas*- or compounded roots is often employed as a formula to describe someone being suddenly harmed, (e.g., Bhīṣma MBh 5.185.11)²⁴⁹, but it also occurs in the rhetoric form of a *samāsopamā* combined with the *taddhita* affix *-vat*, to convey the image of enraged warriors who

²⁴⁷ Aśvaghōṣa often employs words that refer to Buddhist philosophy in a “mundane” sense, to foreshadow the conversion which every man should undergo. For instance, *śūnya*- is an important Buddhist word, although in this case it does not have the philosophical sense of emptiness.

²⁴⁸ The word *vyāla*- ‘snake’ also has the meaning of ‘vicious’.

²⁴⁹ *sa vakṣasi papātograḥ śaro vyāla iva śvasan | mahīṃ rājams tataś cāham agacchaṃ rudhirāvilāḥ ||* ‘That terrible arrow fell on my chest **like a vicious hissing snake**, and then, O king, I fell to the ground filthy with blood’.

are preparing themselves for action (e.g., the Pāṇḍavas MBh 3.253.22)²⁵⁰. Ultimately, this shows that Aśvaghoṣa often elaborates the epic model and reuses formulas whose rhetorical structure is frequently altered. In fact, in the SN stanza he creates a *śleṣopamā* whereas the epic model only has *upamās*.

Furthermore, Aśvaghoṣa employs the snake as an *upamāna* for wrong conjectures (*asadvitarka-*) that must not be harboured, just as snakes (*bhujamga-*) must not be allowed to stay in one's house (SN 16.82):

te ced alabdhapratipakṣabhāvā naivopaśāmyeyur asadvitarkāḥ |
muhūrtam apy aprativadhyamānā gṛhe bhujamgā iva nādhivāsyāḥ ||
'If these wrong conjectures, to whose existence no opponent can be found, do not cease; one must not harbour them,²⁵¹ never ceasing even for a moment to repel them, **like snakes in the house**'.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA
<i>asadvitarkāḥ</i>	<i>bhujamgāḥ</i>	<i>na adhvāsyāḥ</i>

The word chosen for snake is *bhujamga-*, whose etymology conveys a more physical quality, that is the image of a snake crawling on his chest, rather than the moral idea implied by *vyāla-*. The common property of the *upameya* and the *upamāna* is that they cannot be allowed to settle in the intimate sphere of the *ātman* or in the intimacy of a home.

The main idea of being in a frightening situation is conveyed in the epics by the image of a snake in the house, as an *upamāna* of a dangerous and harmful thing or person, or even an enemy. One example is Bharata's mother Kaikeyī who banished Rāma and plotted to set her son Bharata on the throne (Rām 2.38.3)²⁵².

²⁵⁰ *vaiśampāyana uvāca | etāvad uktvā prayayur hi śīghram tāny eva vartmāny anuvartamānāḥ |*
muhur muhur vyālavad ucchvasanto jyāṃ vikṣipantaś ca mahādhanurbhyaḥ || Vaiśampāyana said:
'After speaking in such a way, indeed (the Pāṇḍavas) set off quickly following those chariot ruts,
over and over again hissing **as if they were vicious snakes**, they drew the string on their great bows'.

²⁵¹ The root *adhi-*√*vas-* lit. means 'inhabit', 'settle down', which gives rise to the causative *adhivāsayati* 'make (somebody) inhabit' or 'make settle down', from this the adjective of obligation *adhivāsyā-* lit. 'to be made to settle down', or 'allowed to settle down' is ultimately formed.

²⁵² Rāma's mother Kauśalyā utters this lament: *vivāsyā rāmaṃ subhagā labdhakāmā samāhitā |*
trāsaiṣyati mām bhūyo duṣṭāhir iva veśmani || 'After having exiled Rama, the fortunate (Kaikeyī),

It is a common image and serves as a basis for creating formulas in the locative or ablative case at the end of *pāda* b or d.²⁵³

Aśvaghōṣa uses this *upamā* as a comparison for the bad thoughts that must be banished when one is seeking health. However, he does not retain the formula, as it is structured differently and does not fill an entire *pāda*. This ultimately shows a different use in the Mahākāvya of something that exists as a formula in the epics.

Instead, the elephant is used as the *upamāna* for Ikṣvaku’s sons in SN 1.34:

*tataḥ kadācit te vīrās tasmin pratigate munau |
babhramur yauvanoddāmā gajā iva niraṅkuśāḥ ||*
‘Then, at some point, those heroes, after the sage had left, wandered **like unbridled young elephants not spurred by a hook**’.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA
<i>vīrāḥ</i>	<i>gajāḥ (niraṅkuśāḥ)</i>	<i>babhramuḥ</i>

The stanza could initially be interpreted as an *upamā* with a *bimbapratibimba* relation. This is because the relationship between (*nir*)*aṅkuśāḥ* and the *upamāna* seems to be mirrored in (*pratigate*) *munau* and the *upameya*.

The parallelism, however, is speculative and not syntactical. In fact, the *upameya* is in the locative absolute, whereas the *upamāna* has the function of an adjective. There is no real *bimbapratibimba* relation although the logical structure is similar to that of a *bimbapratibimba*, because the elements are not in the same case. Aśvaghōṣa uses the *upamā* to convey the idea of the young princes being lost without the support of their preceptor, i.e., the *aṅkuśa*- ‘hook’.

In the epics, the image of an elephant being pierced by a hook is well-known and often “symbolises the vigour used in wielding a weapon” (Sharma 1988: 63). The image of an agitated elephant (*matta*-) being restrained is also common.²⁵⁴

love-struck, composed, will further frighten me **as a dangerous/evil snake in the house (would frighten me)**’.

²⁵³ *sarpād veśmagatād iva* (MBh 3.29.21; 3.222.11; 12.123.16, 12.138.15; 12.254.31; 5.70.60); *sasarpa iva veśmani* (MBh 5.38.37; 5.70.60); *antaḥsarpa ivāgāre* (MBh 12.83.50)

²⁵⁴ E.g., MBh 9.10.27; in the sense of taming a wild elephant (MBh 7.116.9; Rām 2.68.28).

In a cross-reference, there is the same SN image of losing support, that is, the image of the *kṣatriyas*' power diminishing without the brahmins, just as an elephant loses its strength without its mahout (MBh 3.27.15).²⁵⁵

In SN 18.61 a female elephant is the *upamāna* for Nanda, who is finally converted and leaves the Buddha. Nanda is freed from his pride as a female elephant is no longer in heat (*vimada*-):

*ity arhataḥ paramakāruṇikasya śāstur mūrdhnā vacaś ca caraṇau ca samaṃ grhītvā |
svasthaḥ praśāntaḥṛdayo vinivṛttakāryaḥ pārśvān muneḥ pratiyayau vimadaḥ karīva ||*
'Thus, having grasped the words in his mind and at the same time the feet of his venerable, exceedingly compassionate Master, [Nanda] (being) self-reliant, his heart pacified, having fulfilled his task, departed from his master's side (free from pride), **like a female elephant freed from the madness of being in heat**'.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA
(Nanda)	<i>karī/karīn-</i>	<i>vimadaḥ,</i>

It is interesting to note that the *sādhāraṇadharmā vimada*- actually has two meanings, one for the *upameya* (Nanda), i.e., 'free from pride' and one for the *upamāna* (the female elephant), i.e., 'free from being in heat.

I found the same comparison in the epics. However, in this case, the *upameya* are clouds and the *upamāna* are elephants, whose gender is not specified (Rām 4.29.24):

*nīlotpaladalaśyāmaḥ śyāmīkṛtvā diśo daśa |
vimadā iva mātṅgāḥ śāntavegāḥ payodharāḥ ||*
'Having darkened the ten directions, the clouds dark like the petals of blue lotuses, whose power is [now] quenched, are **like elephants free from excitement**'.

Rāma speaks to Lakṣmaṇa in exile, thinking that Sītā is dead. Since the *upameya* are the clouds, the second sense of *vimada*- is lost here, but it is recovered in the SN stanza.

²⁵⁵ *kunjarasyeva saṃgrāme 'parigrhyāṅkuśagraham | brāhmaṇair viprahīṇasya kṣatrasya kṣyate balam ||* 'The strength of the warrior's power if it is abandoned by the Brahmins goes to ruin, like (the strength) of an elephant on the battlefield, if it has failed to carry its mahout'.

This means that Aśvaghōṣa has reworked the ornament and given it a greater semantic richness through the *śleṣa* that is conveyed by *vimāda-*. Here, the difference between the epic example and the Kāvya can be noted. Perhaps for Aśvaghōṣa, being a Mahākāvya writer means having a very good knowledge of the epics and using this knowledge adaptively at higher level. It is not a matter of invention, but rather the reuse of an *alamkāra* that is made more ornate, which is quite remarkable considering that the Rām is actually recognised as the *adikāvya*.

Another animal used by Aśvaghōṣa is the deer, which does not however seem to be involved in formulas like those for the elephant and the snake.

For instance, in BC 5.41, King Śuddhodana is determined to make Siddhārtha stay and thus he surrounds him with concubines:

*calakuṇḍalacumbitānanābhir ghananiśvāsavikampitastanībhiḥ /
vanitābhir adhīralocanābhir mṛgaśāvābhir ivābhyudīkṣyamāṇaḥ //*
'(Siddhārtha) was being observed by the women, whose eyes were confused, **like young fawns**, whose faces were kissed by tinkling earrings, whose breasts were shaking with deep sighs'.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA
<i>vanitābhiḥ</i>	<i>mṛgaśāvābhiḥ</i>	<i>adhīralocanābhiḥ</i>

The women (*vanitā-*) are described by Aśvaghōṣa as being young fawns (*mṛgaśāva-*) in the act of curiously watching Siddhārtha (*adhīra-locana-*) i.e., the *sādhāraṇadharmā*.

In the Rām there is one occurrence where Sītā is described as a young fawn (Rām 5.15.28):

*tāṃ dr̥ṣṭvā hanumān sītāṃ mṛgaśāvānibhekṣaṇām /
mṛgakanyām iva trastāṃ vīkṣamāṇām samantataḥ //* [lebhe 31a]
'Hanumān, having seen Sītā **whose gaze was like that of a young fawn**, trembling and looking all around like a small fawn, [caught her]'.

The passage contains the same comparison, albeit expressed with an *upamānasamāsa* as a *bahuvrīhi* compound referring to *sītā-*, i.e., the object of the action of the verbal root $\sqrt{dr̥s-}$. In the BC, this action is represented instead by the present passive of the root *abhy-ud-√īkṣ* (referring to Siddhārtha), that is, the *karman* of the passive clause whose *kartṛs* are the women.

In the Rām, however, the situation is reversed; indeed Hanumān, the *karṭṛ* of the action is a male character, and the *upameya* is the object, i.e., Sītā – who does not seem to realise that she is being watched, just as a fawn, as the prey, would not know if something was watching it. In the BC, however, there is a change: indeed, the *upameyas*, i.e., the *karṭṛs* of the action are females, who not only share the wide-eyed gaze of fawns but also their curiosity, whereas Siddhārtha, the *karman* is a male.

Aśvaghoṣa takes the epic model as a reference and then goes beyond it, as the comparison with the epic source clearly shows. In fact, he adds a detail to the gaze (*īkṣaṇa-*) of the women in the epic *sādhāraṇadharmā*, that is the wide eyes of the fawns, seemingly conveying the idea of curiosity. This could ultimately lead to a literary *topos*.

Another *upamāna* Aśvaghoṣa employs for women as the *upameyas* is the cow (BC 8.23):

*nirīkṣya tā bāṣpaparītalocanā nirāśrayaṃ chandakam aśvam eva ca /
viṣaṇṇavaktrā rurudur varāṅganā vanāntare gāva iva rṣabhōjjhitāḥ ||*
'Having seen Chandaka and the horse without shelter, those precious women with beautiful limbs, whose eyes were filled with tears, whose faces were sorrowful, lamented **like cows being left behind by the bull in the middle of the forest**'.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA
<i>tā</i>	<i>gāva</i>	<i>rurudur</i>

The women of Kapilavastu without Siddhārtha are compared to cows left behind by the bull (*rṣabha-ujjhita-*). The *upamā* further reinforces the idea that the citizens are left without support, just as the bull's presence guarantees the stability of the herd.

This idea is also present in the epics, particularly in a section of the Rām where the view of the city of Ayodhyā at night without Rāma, is compared to various situations, such as that of a cow left behind by her bull (Rām 2.106.2, 9)

[*ayodhyāṃ bharataḥ* [...] *praviveśa* 1b | [...] *timirābhyāhatām* 2a]
goṣṭhamadhye sthitām ārtām acarantīm navaṃ tṛṇam |
govrṣeṇa parityaktām gavām patnīm ivotsukām ||

‘[Bharata entered the city of Ayodhyā, [...] affected by the darkness,] (which was) **like a restless cow-wife** standing in the middle of the herd, grieving, with no appetite for fresh grass, **abandoned by her bull-husband** among the cows’.

The *upamā* takes up the entire *śloka* and constitutes the only occurrence of this image in the entire epic *corpus*. In fact, although we often find the opposite image of a bull surrounded by cows, one in which the bull abandons the cows is extremely rare. Nonetheless, in both cases, the context is a city or its citizens being deprived of their point of reference, i.e., Rāma/Siddhārtha/the bull.

A female buffalo which has lost her calf is employed as an *upamāna* for Siddhārtha’s putative mother Gautamī (BC 8.24) – an image which Aśvaghoṣa also repeats in BC 9.26:

tataḥ sabāṣpā mahiṣī mahīpateḥ pranaṣṭavatsā mahiṣīva vatsalā |
pragr̥hya bāhū nīpāpāta gautamī vilolaparṇā kadalīva kāñcanī ||

‘Then, Gautamī, the anointed queen of that lord of the earth, with tears, **like a loving female buffalo whose child is lost**, after raising her arms, fell down, to the ground like a golden banana tree/plantain whose leaves are swaying’.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA
<i>gautamī</i>	<i>mahiṣī</i> <i>kadalī</i>	<i>sabāṣpā</i> [...] <i>vatsalā</i> -

The stanza contains a small *mālopanā*, that is in *pāda* b, Gautamī, having lost her son who has gone away, is compared to a *mahiṣī*- ‘a female buffalo’ who has lost her calf. Secondly, in *pāda* d, because she is depicted grieving with her arms raised in waving, she is compared to a tree whose leaves are shaking.

However, since the latter *upamā* has no epic cross-reference, I will only discuss the former here. It can in fact also be interpreted as a *śleṣopamā*, since *pranaṣṭavatsā*- has two meanings, one for the *upameya*, i.e., ‘who has lost her child’, and one for the *upamāna* ‘who has lost her calf’. Indeed, *vatsa*- means ‘calf’, but it is also used as a nickname for a child. This is an etymological mechanism

peculiar to Aśvaghoṣa's style, that is he often takes a common word – or a lexicalised compound – and reactivates its etymological sense.²⁵⁶

In the epics, a mother without her calf is a common *upamāna* (e.g., *gaur iva naṣṭavatsā* 13.90.39; *baddhavatsā iḍā iva* MBh 5.134.4). Kausalyā having lost Rāma is the *upameya* in Sītā's words (Rām 6.23.11):

sā śvaśrūr mama kausalyā tvayā putreṇa rāghava |
vatseneva yathā dhenur vivatsā vatsalā kṛtā ||
'O Rāghava, you deprived my mother-in-law Kausalyā of her son, just **like a child-loving milk cow is deprived of her calf**'.

It is thus clear that there is an analogy between the mother who has lost her son and the cow who has lost her calf. The Mahākāvya takes the concept of the cow as the archetype of *vātsalya*- 'maternal tenderness', as suggested by its etymology.

The last two mentions of female animals as *upamānas* refer to birds, i.e., a *kurarī* and a *cakravakā*. Both embody situations of extreme grief suffered by a female character.

For instance, Gautamī grieving over Siddhārtha's departure is compared in BC 8.51 to a *kurarī* 'osprey' which has lost her chick (*pranaṣṭapota*-)²⁵⁷, and she will utter a lament for his leaving later in the text (BC 8.58).²⁵⁸ To the best of my

²⁵⁶ Bréal's (1897) is one of the first pivotal works on how a word's double meaning can be realised.

²⁵⁷ *viśādapāriplavalocanā tataḥ pranaṣṭapotā kurarīva duḥkhitā | viḥāya dhairyam virurāva gautamī tatāma caivāśrumukhī jagāda ca ||* 'Then Gautamī, whose eyes were agitated with depression, **pained like an osprey whose young (chick) is lost**, having abandoned her firmness, cried and gasped for breath, and so, her face [covered] with tears, she spoke'.

²⁵⁸ Even if this passage does not involve any *alamkāra*, it can still be considered pivotal for the intertextuality hypothesis, since Gautamī's lamentation for Siddhārtha abandoning the pleasures of the royal life, echoes Draupadī's as she sees Yudhiṣṭhira adjusting to exile in the forest (MBh 3.28.10, 11ab). Moreover, it also resembles Mandodarī's lament over Rāvaṇa's death which appears in an excised passage (App. I, no. 68, 46-47 after Rām 6.99.20). In this case we find a mention of the bed on which the hero used to sleep (i.e., *śayane* BC 8.58a; *śayanam* MBh 3.28.10a; *śayaneṣu* Rām 47a), which is recurrent in the first *pāda*, followed by the memory of his lost wealth (i.e., Siddhārtha used to wake up to the sound of musical instruments in verse 58b and Yudhiṣṭhira is *sukhocitam* in verse 10d), the lament ultimately concludes with the mention of his present condition which clashes with the hero's status (i.e., Siddhārtha deliberately sits on the ground separated from the soil only by a *paṭa*- 'a cloth' in verse 58d; Yudhiṣṭhira in exile sits on *kuśabr̥ṣī* 'a *kuśa* grass' cushion' in 11a, and Rāvaṇa's dead body lies *dharanyām* on the ground in verse 47d).

knowledge, the image of a female osprey losing her chick does not exist in the epics, yet the mourning (*duḥkhita-*) osprey is indeed a recurring formula, for example, for Dānava women grieving over the destruction of their city (MBh 3.170.55-56)²⁵⁹, and especially, to represent the grief of Rāvaṇa's wife (Rām 6.98.26)²⁶⁰. Moreover, the image is also repeated with another *sādhāraṇadharmā*, i.e., the screeching sound of the *kurarī* (MBh 14.60.24; 15.21.11).

A few stanzas later Yaśodharā is compared to the female of a *cakravāka* bird when she learns that Siddhārtha has gone (BC 8.60)²⁶¹, by 1) a *yamaka* in *pāda* a playing on her name (*yaśodharā-*) and the fact that she has fallen to the ground (*dharāyām*), 2) an *anuprāsa* in *pāda* c that reinforces the image of her grief (*vilalāpa/viklavā*). The word *cakravākā* for the female of this bird does not seem to be recorded in the epics, but there are instances where a *cakravākī* abandoned by her mate is the *upamāna*, for instance to describe King Janaka's daughter (Rām 5.14.30)²⁶².

Finally, Aśvaghoṣa shows that he reuses the rarely found images of female animals without their mates to better express the idea of female characters deprived of their partner or son. He even combines the two images of the female bird and the female elephant in the episode when the chaplain and the minister are trying to persuade Siddhārtha to return to his wife who is actually depicted as both as a goose

²⁵⁹ *vidhvaste 'tha pure tasmin dānaveṣu hateṣu ca | vinadantyaḥ striyaḥ sarvā niṣpetur nagarād bahiḥ || prakīrṇakeśyo vyathitāḥ kurarya iva duḥkhitāḥ | petuḥ putrān pitṛn bhrātṛñ śocamānā mahītale ||* 'Then, after the city was destroyed and the Dānava were killed, all the women, shouting, rushed out of the city. With dishevelled hair, trembling **like a grieving osprey**, they fell to the ground in violent pain for their sons, fathers and brothers'.

²⁶⁰ *vilepur evaṃ dīnās tā rāksasādhipayoṣitaḥ | kurarya iva duḥkhartā bāṣpaparyākulekṣaṇāḥ ||* 'Thus the wives of the Rāksasas's king, afflicted, their eyes filled with tears, wailing in pain **like kurarīs**'.

²⁶¹ *Tato dharāyām apatad yaśodharā vicakravākeva rathāṅgasāhvayā | śanaiś ca tat tad vilalāpa viklavā muhur muhur gadgadaruddhayā girā ||* 'Then Yaśodharā fell to the ground and moaned, **like the bird who is called after a part of the chariot [when] separated from her (fellow) cakravāka**, tenderly, desperately, about this and that, from time to time in broken babbling words'.

²⁶² *himahatanalinīva naṣṭaśobhā vyasanaparamparayā nipīḍyamānā | sahararahiteva cakravākī janakasutā kṛpaṇām daśām prapannā ||* 'The daughter of King Janaka, whose beauty is lost, being oppressed by a succession of disasters, like a lotus killed by winter, has fallen into a miserable condition **like a cakravākī abandoned by her mate**'.

and an elephant without their respective male companions (*haṃsena haṃsīm iva viprayuktāṃ tyaktāṃ gajeneva vane kareṇum*).

3.2.3 Adaptive reuse of *upamānas* belonging to the human semantic domain

The various means of transport that Aśvaghōṣa uses as an *upamāna* certainly fall within the semantic domain of the human world.

For instance, in BC 1.21, the earth is shaken by Siddhārtha’s birth, just as a boat is shaken by the wind.

yasya prasūtau girirājakīlā vātāhatā naur iva bhūś cacāla |
sacandanā cotpalapadmagarbhā papāta vṛṣṭir gaganād anabhrāt ||
‘Upon his birth, the earth, whose pivot is the king of mountains, **trembled like a ship struck by the wind**. A rain of sandalwood and filled with blue water-lilies and lotus flowers, fell from the cloudless sky’.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA
<i>bhūḥ</i>	<i>nauḥ</i>	<i>cacāla</i>

The *upameya* shares the common property of trembling ($\sqrt{cal-}$) with the *upamāna* and Aśvaghōṣa uses the *upamā* in this stanza to signify an event so powerful that it can shake the earth.

There are two instances in the epics of the image of a boat being struck by the wind, for example in a war scene when the Pāṇḍava army is so frightened at the sight of Bhīṣma that they start to tremble (MBh 6.45.48):

tam udyatam udīkṣyātha maheṣvāsam mahābalaṃ |
saṃtrastā pāṇḍavī senā vātavegahateva nauḥ ||
‘The Pāṇḍava army, having caught sight of (Bhīṣma), that tall, mighty archer, of mighty strength, trembled all over, **like a ship struck by the wind**’.

This *śloka* has the same *sādhāraṇadharmā* as the BC, i.e., *saṃtrasta-* ‘trembling with fear’. In another passage, Sītā, who is being held captive by Rāvaṇa’s women, utters her misery (Rām 5.23.14):

eṣālpapūnyā kṛpāṇā vinaśisyāmyanāthavat |
samudramadhye nauḥ pūrṇā vāyuvegair ivāhatā ||
‘Like this miserable (woman) of little virtue, with nobody to protect me, I shall perish, like a laden ship in the middle of the ocean overturned by the attacks of wind’.

In this case, however, the *sādhāraṇadharmā* is the idea of perishing ($\sqrt{śiṣ}$ -), and the overall sense is of being left alone, with no way out in a hostile place, like a ship stranded in the middle of the ocean (*samudramadhya*-).²⁶³

Another image of travel is found in SN 18.41, where Nanda (the *upameya*) compares himself to a person (*akṛtārtha*- i.e., the *upamāna*) who have dropped out of the caravan if he had not been rescued by his family:

bhrātrā tvayā śreyasi daiśikena pitrā phalasthena tathaiva mātṛā |
hato 'bhaviṣyaṃ yadi na vyamokṣyaṃ sārthāt paribhraṣṭa ivākṛtārthaḥ ||
'I would have been destroyed, had I not been freed by you, who are my brother, a guide toward the supreme good, by my father, who is in the fruit, and finally by my mother, **like an unsuccessful person falling down from the caravan**'.

In the epics,²⁶⁴ a traveller who has been left behind by his caravan is a common *upamā* for the idea of being beyond help (Rām 3.58.31; 4.66.43) or trying to find a way out of a situation (MBh 9.63.34). A similar idea to that of the SN stanza is expressed by Kausalyā, as she laments over the body of her husband (Rām 2.60.4):

²⁶³ Similarly, another occurrence where the ship is the *upamāna* regards a small *malopamā* included in a passage where Śiśupāla tells Bhīṣma that the Kauravas have no chance of winning (MBh 2.38.3): *nāvi naur iva sambaddhā yathāndho vāndham anvīyāt | tathābhūtā hi kauravyā bhīṣma yeṣāṃ tvam agrāṇīḥ ||* 'Like a ship attached to another ship, or like a blind man following another blind man, indeed such is the nature of the Kauravas, o Bhīṣma, of whom you are the leader'. There are two *upamānas* that convey the idea of a situation with no way out: first, the abovementioned ship which is imagined this time in the condition of being unable to move, second, a blind man who cannot be guided by another blind man. In particular, the latter *upamāna* is matched by BC 9.74, where Siddhārtha is arguing with the minister and the chaplain, who are trying to get him to return to the palace: *na me kṣamaṃ saṃśayajam hi darśanam grahītum avyaktaparāspāhatam | budhaḥ parapratyayato hi ko vraje jano 'ndhakāre 'ndha ivāndhadeśikaḥ ||* 'Indeed, it is not appropriate for me to accept a doctrine, born of uncertainty, indiscriminately and mutually rendered null. Indeed, what person awakened by faith could walk from the firm conviction of another into darkness, **like a blind man whose leader is a blind man**?'. Aśvaghōṣa seemingly combines two separated *upamās* that convey the same image of man's inability to change the present situation and adapts them variously for use in his Mahākāvya.

²⁶⁴ Feller (2018) recently devoted a study to the notion of travel in the MBh.

*vihāya mām gato rāmo bhartā ca svargato mama |
vipathe sārthahīneva nāhaṃ jīvitum utsahe ||*
‘After leaving me, Rāma went away and my husband went to heaven, **like a person who has been abandoned by his caravan on a wrong path**, I cannot bear to live (any longer)’.

Although the *upameya* and the *upamāna* are the same, the concept is reversed. Indeed, if Kausalyā is lost because her son is exiled, her husband is dead and no one can save her, Nanda instead acknowledges the exact opposite, that without his family and especially his brother, he would have been lost.

In the final example, by comparing a woman’s womb to an unclean lake, the Buddha reflects on the condition of human beings (BC 14.31):

*ime’nye narakaprakhye garbhasaṃjñe ‘śucihrade |
upapannā manuṣyeṣu duḥkham archanti jantavaḥ ||*
‘These other living beings produced in **the impure lake called womb, resembling naraka hell**, go towards pain amongst men’.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA
<i>garbha-</i>	<i>-hrade naraka-</i>	<i>aśuci-</i>

The stanza contains an *upamā* in *pāda* b which compares the womb (*garbha-*), i.e., the *upameya*, to a pool of water (*hrada-*) i.e., the *upamāna* with which it shares the property of being impure (*aśuci-*), by means of *saṃjñā-* at the end of the compound – which I interpret as a comparative marker. The *upameya* is also compared to a second *upamāna* which is *naraka* hell (*narakaprakhyā-*).

Although these *upamās* are not recorded together in the epics, there are separate occurrences.

For instance, *naraka* hell is the *upamāna* for the mouth of the demoness Surasā, who wants to eat Hanumān (Rām 5.1.150):

*tad dr̥ṣṭvā vyāditam tv āsyaṃ vāyuputraḥ sa buddhimān |
dīrghajihvaṃ surasayā sughoraṃ narakopamam
sa saṃkṣipyātmanaḥ kāyaṃ jīmūta iva mārutiḥ ||*
[(...) *babhūvāṅguṣṭhamātrakaḥ* 151d]
‘But that intelligent Wind’s son (i.e., Hanumān), having seen Surasā’s mouth wide-open, endowed with a long tongue, most terrible, **resembling naraka hell**, the Māruti, similar to a cloud, compressed his own body [(...) becoming the size of a thumb]’.

Whereas in MBh 13.117.27-28 the womb seems to be considered a repulsive place:

*jātijanmajarāduḥkhe nityaṃ saṃsārasāgare |
jantavaḥ parivartante maraṇād udvijanti ca ||
garbhavāseṣu pacyante kṣārāmlakaṭukai rasaiḥ |
mūtraśleṣmapurīṣāṇāṃ sparśaiś ca bhr̥śadāruṇaiḥ ||*

‘Living beings always wander about in that ocean of the *saṃsāra* and they are frightened by death, constantly [living] in the sorrow which is birth, existence, old age. They grow to maturity in **those abodes which are wombs**, with acidic, salty and pungent liquids, (together) with urine, mucus and faeces, with frequent and rough caresses’.

Ultimately, Aśvaghōṣa once again combines two images that are not linked in the epics and creates a new one that enhances an already familiar context, namely the Buddhist concept of rebirth as a condition to be overturned, a concept that is also present in Brahmanism.

On the other hand, as regards the human sphere par excellence, i.e., the city, in SN 1.42-43 a *saṃsṛṣṭi* describes the founding of the city of Kapilavastu:

*[puram 41] saridvistīrṇaparikhāṃ spaṣṭāñcitamahāpatham |
śailakalpamahāvapraṃ girivrajaṃ ivāparam ||
pāṇḍurātṭāla-sumukhaṃ suvibhaktāntarāpaṇam |
harmyamālāparikṣiptaṃ kuḥṣiṃ himagīrera iva ||*

‘[The heroes founded a city], whose moat is broad like a river,²⁶⁵ whose highway is fine and straight,²⁶⁶ whose great rampart is equal to a mountain, which looked like another Girivraja, whose white watchtowers are spectacular, whose market is well-distributed, encircled by a garland of mansions, like the valley of mount Himālaya.²⁶⁷

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA	SĀDHARAṆADHARMA	ALAMKĀRA
[<i>puram</i> v.41]	<i>girivrajaṃ</i>	-	
	<i>kuḥṣiṃ himagīrera</i>	-	<i>upamā</i>
<i>-vapra</i>	<i>śaila-</i>	<i>mahā-</i>	
<i>parikhā</i>	<i>sarita</i>	<i>vistīrṇa-</i>	<i>upamānasamāsa</i>

²⁶⁵ It can mean ‘having a river as a vast rampart’ - in this case there would be no *upamā* – or ‘having a rampart as vast as a river’ as an *upamānasamāsa*. Since we do not know exactly where Kapilavastu was located, it is impossible to say whether it was a river that surrounded the city and acted as a defensive rampart – or whether the river mentioned by Aśvaghōṣa is just an *upamāna* for gauging the size of the rampart. since there are several *upamānas* in the stanza, I interpret it as an *upamānasamāsa*.

²⁶⁶ Indeed, a city with an intricate but easily distinguishable layout. In particular, *spaṣṭa-* means ‘open’, ‘blossomed’ with an obvious metaphorical sense, in fact, all words meaning ‘blossomed’ in Sanskrit can also mean ‘evident’, ‘clear’, and even ‘distinguishable’.

²⁶⁷ Johnston (1928) and Passi (1895) propose a double sense for this last *pāda*.

In depicting Kapilavastu, Aśvaghōṣa seems to have been inspired by another famous description of a city, namely that of Indraprastha (MBh 1.199.29-36):

[pāṇḍavās 27a (...) nagaraṃ māpayām āsur 28c]
sāgarapratirūpābhiḥ parikhābhir alaṃkṛtam |
prākāreṇa ca sampannaṃ divam āvṛtya tiṣṭhatā ||
pāṇḍurābhra-prakāśeṇa hima-rāśi-nibhena ca |
śuśubhe tat puraśreṣṭhaṃ nāgair bhogavatī yathā ||
dvīpakṣa-garuḍa-prakhyair dvārair ghora-pradarśanaiḥ |
guptam abhra-caya-prakhyair gopurair mandaropamaiḥ ||
vividhair ati-nirviddhaiḥ śastropetaiḥ susaṃvṛtaiḥ |
śaktibhiś cāvṛtaṃ tadd hi dvijihvair iva pannagaiḥ |
talpaiś cābhyāsikair yuktaṃ śuśubhe yodha-rakṣitam ||
tīkṣṇāṅkuśa-śatagnībhīr yantra-jālais ca śobhitam |
āyasaiś ca mahācakraiḥ śuśubhe tat purottamam ||
suvibhakta-mahā-rathyam devatā-bādhavarjitam |
virocamānaṃ vividhaiḥ pāṇḍurair bhavanottamaiḥ ||
tat triviṣṭapa-saṃkāśam indraprasthaṃ vyarocata |
meghavṛndam ivākāśe vṛddhaṃ vidyut-samāvṛtam ||
tatra ramye śubhe deśe kauravyasya niveśanam |
śuśubhe dhana-sampūrṇam dhanādhyakṣa-kṣayopamam ||

‘[The Pāṇḍavas (...) built a city] adorned with moats similar to oceans, endowed with a steady rampart which covered the sky, shining like white clouds and similar to a mass of snow, that prominent city appeared to be Bhogavatī, it was protected by means of snakes, by two-side gates that resembled Garuḍa (with its two wings), by doors with a frightful appearance which looked like a multitude of clouds, by manifold, extremely isolated town-gates equal to Mount Mandara, furnished with weapons and kept most secret indeed, that excellent city appeared to be surrounded by spears like double-tongued snakes and provided with more and more upper storeys, guarded by warriors resplendent with sharp hooks and śatagnīś and with multitudes of devices, (the town-gates) appeared to be endowed with great wheels made of iron [it was] well-proportioned and fit for great chariots, excluded from the molestation of deities radiant with manifold white excellent mansions, this [city] that resembled Triviṣṭapa was as famous as Indraprastha, full-grown like a mass of clouds in the atmosphere, enveloped by lightning. There, in that splendid region, is where the dwelling-place of the Kauravas appeared to be, filled with wealth, equal to the abode of the Overseer of treasure (i.e., god Kubera)’.

Some of the elements in this *kulaka*, i.e., a combination of *ślokas* that contains a long sentence, appear to be a *topos*. For instance, the comparison of the city’s moats with oceans or rivers, the city wall, or better its size with a mountain.

This comparison provides evidence of an intertextual relationship with the SN stanza that is both rhetorical and stylistic: rhetorical because of the repetition of similar *alaṃkāras*, and stylistic because of the way the stanza is structured.

In summary, in this chapter I have attempted to show a more sophisticated level of intertextual and intratextual dynamics that occurs between Aśvaghoṣa's Mahākāvya and the epic sources. That is, Aśvaghoṣa's intervention in the reworking of the epic model involves rhetorical strategies aimed at reusing *asamasta-rūpakas* and *asamasta-upamās* that simultaneously explicitly allude to the epic model while creating something new.

As far as the *alaṃkāra* is concerned, this regards the *upamā* far more than the *rūpaka*, since there are significantly more epic cross-references that match the BC and SN stanzas. Furthermore, the variety of *upamānas* used in the epics and reused by Aśvaghoṣa indicates the author's wide acquaintance with the epic background. However, I have also tried to show how in some cases there is striking evidence of rhetorical devices that would not be systematised until much later in the chronology of the Kāvya. This concerns the *saṃsṛṣṭi* in the context of stylistics, and the *samastavastuvīśaya-* and *paramparita-rūpaka-* in the context of rhetoric. The former is in the process of development, while the latter will be almost a millennium away from recognition and systematisation. Yet, the fact that they are present not only in the Aśvaghoṣa but even in the epic text is certainly an important indication of the stage of composition at which rhetorical elaboration may have reached.

4. The reuse and active manipulation of the logical structure of the *alaṃkāra* as a mark of a high degree of intertextuality

In this chapter I will discuss examples where intertextuality with the epic model is realised not only in formal terms, but especially in terms of the logical structure of the *alaṃkāra*. In particular, I will first distinguish those analogies that are already present in the epics as *upamās* or *rūpakas* and which Aśvaghoṣa transforms into *utprekṣās*²⁶⁸ or which are elaborated by means of *śleṣas* (§4.1).

On the other hand, I will discuss those analogies which already existed in the epics as *utprekṣās* and *śleṣas* (§4.2).²⁶⁹ Finally, I will discuss the reuse of the logical structure containing the analogy, namely the *upamās* with a *bimbapratibimba* relation. The latter is crucial and relevant evidence for the intertextuality hypothesis on which this thesis is grounded (§ 4.3).

Indeed, intertextuality is not just a replica of what the epic had already produced, but primarily a mechanism, by which the original is reworked. This demonstrates how the Kāvya literary style was actually based on the epic sources and inspired by them.

²⁶⁸ Porcher's (1978: 101) explanation of the *utprekṣā* is based on the term *sambhāvana* 'supposition': " Il ne s'agit donc pas, dans l'*utprekṣā*, de décrire seulement un fait linguistique, mais aussi de saisir le processus psychologique dont il procède: c'est bien ce qu'implique l'emploi du terme *sambhāvana* ”.

²⁶⁹ Porcher (1978: 45-46) examined the *śleṣa* in particular with regard to the common property that binds an *upamāna* and an *upameya* in an *upamā*: “ Plusieurs *upamā* se caractérisent par la présence d'un *sādhāraṇadharmā* fondé sur un *śleṣa*. En ce cas, la propriété commune n'est pas une qualité appartenant réellement à l'*upameya* et à l'*upamāna*, elle n'existe qu'au niveau du signifiant, porteur de deux signifiés différents. [...] Les possibilités linguistiques qu'offre le *śleṣa* permettent donc au poète d'étendre le champ de l'*upamā*, sans qu'il lui soit nécessaire de faire preuve d'un extrême artifice ”. In this case the *upamā* is called *upamāśleṣa* or *śleṣopamā*.

4.1 MANIPULATION OF *UPAMĀS* AND *RŪPAKAS* BY MEANS OF *ŚLEṢAS* OR TO TURN THEM INTO *UTPREKṢĀS*

Sometimes Aśvaghōṣa is inspired by the epic model and brings his personal poetic vision to it, manipulating an *upamā* or a *rūpaka* and turning it into an *utprekṣā*. At other times, however, he linguistically manipulates the *alaṃkāras* present in the epic model, expanding their meaning by adding a second level of interpretation where the epic source only had one. He does this by means of the *śleṣa*.²⁷⁰

Since the *śleṣa* is a linguistic category, in saying that Aśvaghōṣa elaborates an ornament when he adds or draws on the *śleṣa*, I mean that by drawing on the latter he is adding a reflective dimension about language itself to the simple analogy. Indeed, in the Kāvya literary style this dimension is a way of experimenting with language. One of the purposes of Kāvya is to make it possible to say things that are not self-evident by means of language. On the contrary, the *śleṣa* is not commonly found in the epics since the level of linguistic experimentation had yet to come into being.

For instance, in BC 12.99, before attaining enlightenment, Siddhārtha underwent tremendous penances. These consumed him to the point that his skeleton was visible (*tvagasthiśeṣa-*), even though his moral and spiritual depth remained unaltered (*akṣīṇagāmbhīrya-*), like the depth of the ocean (*samudra-*):

tvagasthiśeṣo niḥśeṣair medaḥpiṣitaṣoṇitaiḥ |
kṣīṇo 'py akṣīṇagāmbhīryaḥ samudra iva sa vyabhāt ||
'He (i.e., Siddhārtha) to whom only his skin and bones were left, because his fat, his flesh and his blood had disappeared entirely, even though he was diminished, shone **like the ocean, both of undiminished depth**'.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA
<i>saḥ</i> (Siddhārtha)	<i>samudraḥ</i>	<i>akṣīṇagāmbhīryaḥ</i>

²⁷⁰ For the theoretical and diachronic issues relating to the *śleṣa*, I draw primarily on Bronner's (2010) comprehensive study of the mechanism of simultaneity "*śleṣa* (embrace), a term that underscores the close merging of two descriptions or narratives in a single poem" (2010: 4). In particular, he highlights the preliminary experimentation with "*śleṣa*-like devices" such as the *yamaka* 'twinning' undertaken by Aśvaghōṣa and his followers (2010: 21).

In this stanza there is a *śleṣopamā*, because *gāmbhūrya-* has two senses, one of which is the figurative sense that applies to the *upameya*, i.e., “depth of personality”, and the other being the proper sense referring to the *upamāna*, i.e., “depth in the physical sense”.

There is another kind of ornament. This is a *virodha* ‘contradiction’. In fact, the stanza conveys a contradiction when it says that Siddhārtha’s fat, skin, and bones have diminished, but that his spiritual depth has not in fact diminished at all.

Unfortunately, the same combinations of ornaments are impossible to find in the epics. In fact, what is a *śleṣopamā* in the BC stanza appears as a simple *upamā* in the epic sources, often repeated as a formula in *pāda* c. This is related to prominent figures such as Bhīṣma (MBh 6.14.8)²⁷¹, Droṇa (MBh 7.166.9), and Rāma (Rām 1.1.16).²⁷²

The ocean is the common archetype for depth. However, when Aśvaghōṣa uses this archetype, he substantially reworks it, or rather uses it within the framework of a very elaborate stanza in terms of Kāvya. He plays with the duality of the actual sense and the figurative sense in particular and achieves a *śleṣa* in terms of depth.

Moreover, in SN 4.8, Nanda and Sundarī making love are compared with analogous situations of extreme contentment through three *utprekṣās*:

kandarparatyor iva lakṣyabhūtaṃ pramodanāndyor iva nīḍabhūtam |
prahaṛṣatsuṣṭyor iva pātrabhūtaṃ dvandvaṃ sahāramsta madāndhabhūtam ||

‘The couple (i.e., Sundarī and Nanda) found delight in each other, as if they were the symbol of Kandarpa and Rati,²⁷³ as if they were a nest of pleasure and joy, as if they were a cup of extreme pleasure and satisfaction – they were blind with excitement’.

²⁷¹ *mahendrasadrśaḥ śaurye sthairye ca himavān iva | samudra iva gāmbhūrye sahiṣṇutve dharāsamah ||* [...] ‘*dya pāñcālyena nipātitaḥ* 9d || ‘[Bhīṣma] similar to the great Indra in heroism and steadfastness like the Himālayas, **like the ocean in depth**, in patience equal to the earth, [...] today he was struck down by the Pāñcāla (i.e., Drupada)’.

²⁷² *sa ca sarvaṅṇopetaḥ kausalyānandavardhanaḥ | samudra iva gāmbhūrye dhairyēṇa himavān iva ||* ‘And he (i.e., Rāma), endowed with all qualities, who enhances the joy of (his mother) Kausalyā, is **like the ocean in depth**, like the Himālayas in steadfastness’.

²⁷³ The god Kāma and his wife Rati, the embodiment of lust, see Johnston (1928: 20-21 n.8): “I can find no reference to explain the pairs, Pramoda and Nandī, and Praharṣa and Tuiṣṭi. The nearest parallel is *MBh.* i, 2596-7, of the three sons of Dharma and their wives, Śama and Prāpti, Kāma and Rati, Harṣa and Nandā. The new Poona edition, i. 60, 32, reads Nandī for Nandā and suggests the

As we have seen above (§3.1), *bhūta-* at the end of the compound is not a comparison marker – as it was in Vedic sources. I also read *madāndhabhūta-* as an *utprekṣā*, since *iva* appears throughout the stanza, except in the last verse, and I thus interpret it as being implied.

Moreover, there is a parallelism between *pramodanāndyor iva nīḍabhūtam* and *madāndhabhūtam* which must be seen as an apposition to *dvandvam*. In fact, *andha-* can refer to one or more people.

In the epics, these compounds are never recorded together. However, *lakṣyabhūta-* and particularly *pātrabhūta-* are followed by the genitive case. For example, the compound *lakṣyabhūta-* appears twice to indicate an animal of prey: once in a passage in the chapter where Arjuna meets Śiva in the form of a *kirāta* (MBh 3.40.22), and once when Arjuna shoots a crocodile during the period when he was one of Droṇa’s disciples (MBh 1.123.46).

Instead, *pātrabhūta-* is used to refer to Viśvāmitra on two occasions, first, when King Ikṣvaku welcomes him (Rām 1.17.34), and second, when Indra showed himself to him (Rām 1.25.19).

Although there is no evidence of the compound *nīḍabhūta-*, I did find an occurrence of *nidhāna*^o in a passage which, from a rhetorical point of view, contains a *malopamā*. This is a *śloka* in which Āstika praises Janamejaya, i.e., the *upameya* (MBh 1.50.15):

[*tvaṃ vā rājā dharmarājo yamo vā* 11d]
yamo yathā dharmaviniścayajnaḥ kṛṣṇo yathā sarvaguṇopapannaḥ /
śriyāṃ nivāso ‘si yathā vasūnām nīdhānabhūto ‘si tathā kratūnām ||
‘[You are king Dharmarāja or Yama], you are like Yama, familiar with the resolution of *dharma*, like Kṛṣṇa you are endowed with every quality, and you are home to prosperity, **you are a treasure-chest** of goods as well as rituals’.

possibility that Prīti should be substituted for Prāpti; these changes bring the parallel closer. Possibly the three pairs symbolize *kāma*, *artha*, and *dharma* respectively, showing the perfection of their love”. Johnston’s particular reference is to MBh 1.60.32, where Dharma and his three sons are listed. The passage is part of a larger section in which Vaiśampāyana tells Janamejaya about the origins of the gods.

Here *nidhāna*^o can be interpreted as an *asamastarūpaka* which ends the verse after a series of *upamās*. In particular, it can be seen how Aśvaghoṣa manipulates a simple *rūpaka* in the MBh, transforming it into an *utprekṣā*, that is the identification of Janamejaya with a kind of treasure (*nidhāna*-). Indeed, to compare a prominent figure with a receptacle or container for something precious is a *topos*. And what could be more precious than Nanda and Sundarī's love for each other?

In this way, Aśvaghoṣa succeeds in reviving metaphorical structures already present in the epics, combining them stylistically into a climax and ultimately displaying his poetic vision.

4.2 THE REUSE OF EPIC INSTANCES INTERPRETABLE AS *UTPREKṢĀS*, AND EVIDENCE OF EPIC *ŚLEṢOPAMĀS*

The first *utprekṣā* to be considered in this survey is the adverbial compound *vayasyavat*, meaning ‘as if to a peer’. It is used in reference to Siddhārtha’s horse Kanthaka in BC 6.54:

jālinā svastikāṅkena cakramadhyena pāṇinā |
āmamarśa kumāras taṃ babhāṣe ca vayasyavat ||
‘With his webbed hands, bearing the mark of the swastika and a wheel in the middle, the prince caressed Kanthaka and spoke to him **as if to a peer**’.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA
<i>tam</i> (=Kanthaka)	<i>vayasya-</i>	<i>babhāṣe</i>

The masculine noun *vyayasya-* is the *upamāna* and appears as the first constituent of the adverbial compound formed with the affix *-vat*.

Technically speaking, the reading of this compound as an *utprekṣā* or as a *samāśopamā* depends on whether it is considered as referring to the object, i.e., Kanthaka, or to the subject, i.e., Siddhārtha, respectively. In fact, Johnston (1936: 88 n.54) relates it to the object, noting that “according to tradition Kanthaka was born on the same day as the Buddha, hence *vayasyavat* is significant”, and representative of the friendly behaviour he shows towards the animal. A familiar relationship, which is further emphasised by the explicit mention of the *sādhāraṇadharmā*, i.e., *babhāṣe* ‘[Siddhārtha] spoke’ ($\sqrt{bhāṣ-}$).

While the Rām does not seem to attest to this ornament, I have been able to find two instances of it in the MBh.²⁷⁴ The reference is specifically to Kṛṣṇa and the

²⁷⁴ *vayasyavat* occurs once more in the *sabhā* context, where the Pāṇḍavas are depicted greeting each other (MBh 5.46.16), although in this case it means ‘according to X age’ and therefore is not relevant. Extending the research to the semantic concept ‘friend’ + *-vat* offers several results, which record two similar compounds, namely *mitravat*, regarding prey and predators playing together as friends (*krīḍanti [...] mitravat* MBh 13.14.42), employed as an *upamā*; and *sakhīvat* referring to Sītā diving into the Mandākinī river as if it were a friend (*sakhīvac ca vigāhasva* Rām 2.89.14), which Pollock translates as an *utprekṣā* (Goldman 1986: 271). Although these references certainly show an interesting usage of such a compound, they are however irrelevant to the intertextuality.

Vṛṣṇis who are bringing a bridal gift to Arjuna and Subhadrā's wedding, and Yudhiṣṭhira who is welcoming them (MBh 1.213.39):

[*dharmarājo yudhiṣṭhiraḥ* 38b]
guruvat pūjayām āsa kāmś cit kāmś cid vayasavat |
kāmś cid abhyavadat premṇā kaiś cid apy abhivāditaḥ ||
'[King Dharma Yudhiṣṭhira] honoured some [of the Vṛṣṇis] as if they were *gurus*, others **as if they were peers**; he greeted some with affection, and others he greeted with respect'.

Again, the ornament is used to refer to the objects (i.e., *kān* in anaphoric repetition in *pādas* a-c). The comparison with the MBh therefore shows that Aśvaghoṣa is simply reusing this ornament, which appears in the epic sources in official public contexts in which one's social role must be displayed.

He also uses it as an attribute of the relationship between Siddhārtha and Kanthaka in an intimate moment rather than a public one, which gives it a deeper meaning.

In the next example, Siddhārtha is surrounded by concubines because his father's intention is indeed to prevent him from renouncing the kingdom. In particular, a woman tries to seduce Siddhārtha by drawing his attention to different kinds of attractive trees, in a series of stanzas which include the following passage (BC 4.45):

aśoko dṛśyatām eṣa kāmīśokavivardhanaḥ |
ruvanti bhramarā yatra dahyamānā ivāgninā ||
'Behold this "Not-causing-pain" tree²⁷⁵ that increases a lover's pain. There, big black bees buzz **as if they were being burnt by fire**'.

The passive imperative in *pāda* a is used anaphorically in its meaning. In fact, $\sqrt{pāś}$ - is used, in stanzas 44 and 47 while $\sqrt{dṛś}$ - is employed in stanzas 45-46. This is indeed a *variatio* of two verbal roots of equivalent meaning, i.e., 'to behold', 'to see', which convey an explicit idea of duty that must be done.

As Johnston (1936: 51 n.45) observes, "the last *pāda* refers to the colour of the flowers, and suggests the fire of love, by which even the bees seem to be burnt".

²⁷⁵ The Aśoka tree. I deliberately chose to translate the indigenous name of the tree to better render the translation of the etymological play *a-śoka/śoka*, which would have been lost, if the original had been favoured.

The same *pāda* occurs in a passage that refers to Karṇa, in a war scene where Yudhiṣṭhira is trying to kill him (MBh 7.158.53):

taṃ dr̥ṣṭvā sahasā yāntaṃ sūtaputrajighāmsayā |
śokopahatasamkalpaṃ dahyamānam ivāgninā |
abhigamyābravīd vyāso dharmaputraṃ yudhiṣṭhiram ||
'After having seen him suddenly move with the intention of killing the sun's son (i.e., Karṇa) whose impulses were affected by pain and was **as if he were burnt by fire**, after having gone to meet him, Vyāsa spoke to Yudhiṣṭhira, Dharma's son'.

The last part of the verse is the same, namely *agni-* in the instrumental case. There is however a difference in the verbal root, i.e., this noun is inflected in the accusative case instead of in the instrumental.

The sense in which the analogy is used is also different. While the MBh alludes to the fire of anger to be unleashed in war, the BC alludes to the fire of love – which for Siddhārtha is indeed a war.

In the fifth hymn Siddhārtha is surrounded by women who wish to seduce him, well-known for its similarity to the section of the Rām in which Hanumān enters Rāvaṇa's harem.

More specifically, Aśvaghōṣa describes the sleeping women as if they were dead (*gatāsukalpa-* BC 5.60):

vyapavidhāvibhūṣaṇasrajo 'nyā visrtāgranthanavāsaso viśamjñāḥ |
animīlitaśuklaniścalākṣyo na virejuḥ śayitā gatāsukalpāḥ ||
'Some did not look well, with their jewellery and garlands cast aside, the knots in their robes untied, lying **as if their breath had been taken away**, their eyes unmoving and with their white showing'.

The interpretation of *gatāsukalpa* as an *utprekṣā* may be a matter of debate. Indeed, according to the literary theoreticians, *kalpa-* at the end of the compound is a mark of comparison, and thus technically recognised as proper to the *upamā*, as noted (§ 2.1). This seems to be an inconsistency.

In truth, the interpretation depends on the nature of *gatāsu-*: if it is understood as an adjective, then it is a *utprekṣā* (i.e., 'as if they were dead'); if instead it is understood as a noun, then it is a comparison (i.e., *gatāsu-*: 'a being whose life has passed away'). In this context, *gatāsu-* can actually be analysed as an adjective.

In the epics, this *utprekṣā* occurs twice: once in the MBh summary of the Rām mentioned above, when Rāma rejects Sītā since he doubts her chastity seeing that she had been abducted by Rāvaṇa (MBh 3.275.16):

*tatas te harayaḥ sarve tac chrutvā rāmabhāṣitam |
gatāsukalpā niśceṣṭā babhūvuḥ sahalakṣmaṇāḥ ||*
'Then all the monkeys, having heard Rāma's speech, together with Lakṣmaṇa became motionless,
as if their breath had been taken away'.

There is also a time when Sītā, who had been abducted and now finds herself in Rāvaṇa's harem, is amazed by the sight of Hanumān (Rām 5.30.3):

*sā taṃ samīkṣyaiva bhṛśaṃ viśaṃjñā gatāsukalpeva babhūva sītā |
cireṇa saṃjñāṃ pratilabhya caiva vicintayāmāsa viśālanetrā ||*
'Indeed, Sītā, having noticed him, fell nearly unconscious **as if her breath had been taken away**
and after a long time, having recovered consciousness, indeed, (she), whose eyes were large, started
pondering'.

It is noticeable that this expression is repeated throughout the epics, mainly to express surprise, freezing the character for a moment and making him/her almost stop breathing for a moment as if he or she were dead. In some cases, this may be due to negative emotions such as those felt by Lakṣmaṇa and the monkeys on hearing of Sītā's disgrace. In other cases, it may be due to positive feelings – as in the case of Sītā herself when she unexpectedly sees Hanumān's kind face.

However Aśvaghōṣa does more than this: in the case of the BC, it is the act of sleeping, and thus of being unconscious, that makes the women resemble a dead body,²⁷⁶ more than any negative or positive emotions.

SN 4.41 depicts moments of marital intimacy between Nanda and Sundarī before he leaves her to embark on his path of conversion and once again provides us with a description of a female body, which in this case is a pleasing one:

²⁷⁶ This is strikingly reminiscent of *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* chapter four, where there is a debate about whether being asleep is the same as being dead. This suggests that Aśvaghōṣa may indeed have been acquainted with such topics.

4. The reuse and active manipulation of the logical structure of the alamkāra as a mark of a high degree of intertextuality

*chātodarīm pīnapayodharorūṃ sa sundarīm rukmadarīm ivādreḥ /
kākṣeṇa paśyan na tatarpa nandah pibann ivaikena jalam kareṇa //*

‘He glanced at Sundarī who was **like a golden mountain crevice**, whose belly <interior> is flat, with plentiful breasts and thighs <heavy like plentiful clouds>, Nanda was not satisfied as [**one is not satisfied**] **drinking water with just one hand**’.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA
<i>sundarīm</i>	<i>-darīm rukmadarīm</i>

The stanza is a difficult and somewhat puzzling one. It actually contains a *śleṣopamā* in which there is a different meaning in the *upameya* (Sundarī) and in the *upamāna* for the former and the other for the latter, as can be seen below:

MEANINGS FOR THE UPAMEYA	EPITHETS	MEANINGS FOR THE UPAMĀNA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA
‘belly’	<i>udarīm</i>	‘cavity’/‘interior’	<i>chāta-</i>
‘breasts’	<i>payodhara-</i>	‘cloud’	
‘thigh’	<i>ūrum / urum</i>	‘large/spacious’	<i>pīna-</i>

Since there is a *śleṣopamā* conveyed by the alliteration (*anuprāsa*) of the syllables *-dara/darī-*, the compounds have two meanings, one for Sundarī, the other for the mountain crevice.

In this case, the general meaning is as follows:

- (1) Sundarī: ‘with plentiful breasts and thighs (*ūru-*)’;
- (2) crevice: ‘made heavy (*uru-*) by plentiful clouds’.

Although there is no evidence that they were combined in the epics, the two ornaments are found separately.

Another commonly occurring image is the idea of the satisfaction gained from drinking expressed by an *utprekṣā*. In one passage, for example, Aṅgiras can drink water as if it were milk, but he never feels satisfied (MBh 13.138.3b-4).²⁷⁷

²⁷⁷ [...] *apibat tejasā hy āpaḥ svayam evāṅgirāḥ purā || sa tāḥ piban kṣīram iva nāṭṛpyata mahātapāḥ | apūrayan mahaughena mahīm sarvām ca pāṛthiva ||* ‘[...] Once upon a time Aṅgiras drank the waters by his (ascetic) splendour. That great ascetic, **as if drinking milk**, was not satiated with them. O ruler, he filled the whole earth with a great stream of water’.

Even more important, however, there is an example that repeats the same idea of dissatisfaction conveyed by the *utprekṣā* in the SN. It is actually Śaṃtanu who delights in observing Gaṅgā, and feels incredibly attracted to her (MBh 1.92.28):

*tām dr̥ṣṭvā hr̥ṣṭaromābhūd vismīto rūpasampadā |
pībann iva ca netrābhyāṃ nāṭṛpyata narādhipaḥ ||*

‘After seeing Gaṅgā, Śaṃtanu’s body hair stood on end, amazed by the perfection of her form, **and as if he were feasting on [her perfection] with his eyes**, that king of men was not satisfied’.

The same verbal construction of the negation *na* accompanied by the verbal root √*trp*- returns, although the idea is slightly different in the SN. Both men are attracted to their respective partners. In Nanda’s case, the *utprekṣā* is more specific and evocative because his dissatisfaction is equivalent to drinking water with just one hand, whereas in MBh it is more of than a hyperbolic remark.

Nevertheless, Aśvaghoṣa uses the same *utprekṣā* as a formula in BC 4.3 (with the root √*pā*- conjugated in the present indicative) and in BC 12.4, showing that he is aware of the image of feasting on a woman’s perfection with the eyes to express dissatisfaction.

The praise of women’s breasts or thighs found in the *śleṣopamā* is common in poetry. What might be more striking evidence of intertextuality is an *upamā* between breasts and thighs as the *upameya* and a crevice in the mountain as the *upamāna*. In actual fact, this *upamā* is original and does not appear in the epic sources.

However, in a verse excised from the MBh Critical Edition, in Draupadī’s description, there is a similarly constructed *śleṣopamā*, but the *upamāna* here is a lotus instead of a mountain (MBh 1.155.41-42):

*kumārī cāpi pāñcālī vedimadhyāt samutthitā |
subhagā darśanīyāṅgī vedimadhyā manoramā ||
śyāmā padmapalāśākṣī nīlakuñcitamūrdhajā |*

< *tāmratuṅganakhī subhrūs cārupīnapayodharā* | > *1697.1 after 1.155.42

mānuṣaṃ vīgrahaṃ kṛtvā sākṣād amaravarṇinī ||

‘And (Draupadī) the princess of the Pāñcalas, rose from the centre of the *vedi*²⁷⁸. She was beautiful, with marvellous limbs, with the centre (of her body i.e., the waist) like the *vedi*, attractive, dark-complexioned, whose eyes are lotus petals, whose hair is [wavy like] a curved lotus, <whose nails

²⁷⁸ Name of the sacrificial altar.

are red and long < are the long [petals of] a red lotus>, with beautiful eyebrows, with plentiful breasts >, with the appearance of an immortal, having manifestly rendered her human form’.

Draupadī’s physical appearance is alluded to in both *ślokas*, the first of which even has a *laṭānuprāsa*:

- In *pāda* 41b the *tatpuruṣa* compound *vedi-madhyāt* in the ablative has the function of a complement of location, that is ‘from the centre of the *vedi* (i.e., the altar)’;
- In *pāda* 41d the same compound *vedimadhyā* is now employed as a *karmadhāraya* hence it is a *bahuvrīhi* in relation to *pāñcālī*, i.e., ‘having a waist similar to the *vedi*’.

In the translation I have tried to do justice to the ornament by making use of the same words.

In conclusion, Aśvaghōṣa once again demonstrates a certain knowledge of the epic model by reworking complex ornaments in terms of the logic of the context, and implicit or explicit double meanings.

Let us now turn to the description in BC 8.37 of the women’s apartments in the palace. Here the grief at Siddhārtha’s departure is translated into the women’s weeping and wailing. It echoes through the rooms as if the palace itself had a voice (*nisvana-*):

*imās ca vikṣiptaviṭaṅkabāhavaḥ prasaktapārāvataḍirghanisvanāḥ |
vinākṛtās tena sahāvarodhanair bhṛśam rudentīva vimānapaṅktayaḥ ||*

‘And these rows of palaces, casting up arms which were their pinnacles, emitting a long lament which was that of doves in love, deprived of him, were **as if they were weeping**, together with the women of the inner apartments’.

The image of mourning is embodied in the building that comes to life as if it were a person in mourning. Indeed, the pinnacles of the palaces are identified with the raised arms of a bereaved person (*vikṣiptaviṭaṅkabāhavaḥ*), and the overall impression is that of tears echoing through the rooms, as if the entire palace itself were crying (*√rud-*). It is obvious that only living beings have a voice, but the illusion that buildings can make themselves heard is created by the crying of the women inside.

The same *utprekṣā* occurs in the epics. It is often associated with the sounds of animals (*rudantīva* MBh 5.136.22), or with pleading for the mercy of an opposing military faction (*rudann iva* MBh 12.103.34). On one occasion it is used to describe Bhīma's irrational behaviour in seeking revenge in the face of possible war (MBh 5.73.10).

But in only two instances is it used in contexts similar to that of the BC: in the first of these, the exiled Rāma speaks to Saumitrī while they are standing on the banks of the Tamasā, (Rām 2.41.3):

paśya śūnyāny aranyāni rudantīva samantataḥ |
yathānilayam āyadbhir nilīnāni mṛgadvijaiḥ ||
'Look (Saumitrī) at the empty forests, **as if they were weeping** all around, with animals and birds, each in its own nest'.

In the second and most relevant example, Sītā has vanished and Rāma is looking around in bewilderment (Rām 3.58.6):

[*dadarśa parṇasālām* 5a]
rudantam iva vrkṣaiś ca mlānapuṣpamṛgadvijam |
śrīyā vihīnam vidhvastaṃ samtyaktavanadaivatam ||
'[(Rāma) saw the dwelling] (which was) **as if it were weeping** with its (rustling) trees, with its vanished birds, animals and flowers, deprived of splendour, it was falling apart, the forest deities had abandoned it'.

Both examples are relevant to intertextuality because they contain an *utprekṣā* conveying the image of the forest, that is, an inanimate object that appears to be crying and is capable of feeling in exactly the same way as a living being does.

Thus, Aśvaghōṣa reuses an idea that was already present in the epics.²⁷⁹

Let us now turn to the verses devoted to Nanda's lamentations as he struggles to adjust to his conversion (SN 7.49):

yo niḥsrtaś ca na ca niḥsrtaḥ kāmarāgaḥ kṣāyam udvahati yo na ca niḥkṣāyāḥ |
pātraṃ bibharti ca guṇair na ca pātrabhūto liṅgaṃ vahann api sa naiva gṛhī na bhikṣuḥ ||
'And he who has departed but whose desire and passion have not departed (from him), **he who wears the brown robe but is not free from the robe of impurities**, and he who carries the

²⁷⁹ This is consistent with the logical aspect of the *alaṃkāra*: the secondary denotation (*lakṣaṇā* Gerow 1971: 44) is imposed when direct denotation (*abidhā* Ingalls 1990: 13) is made impossible.

4. The reuse and active manipulation of the logical structure of the *alaṃkāra* as a mark of a high degree of intertextuality

vessel but has not become a vessel with virtues (inside it), even if he bears the mark, he is neither a householder nor a beggar’.

This is a lexicalisation of the moral sense of *kāṣāya-*. In fact, all the words that mean ‘dirt’ also mean ‘moral impurity’, ‘vice’, ‘passion’. Here it is likely that the two meanings are actualised by means of a *śleṣa*.

But the most important point lies elsewhere: in fact, the word *kaṣāya-*, whose first meaning is ‘yellowish and red’, i.e., the colour of ascetic garments, is synonymous with the adjective *kāṣāya* – here used as a noun. Thus, *pāda* b could be read as ‘[he who] wears the yellow and red garment and is not without the [colour] yellow and red’, but since this would be a repetition, the reader is obliged to look for another sense of the word *kaṣāya* in *niṣ-kaṣāyaḥ*.²⁸⁰

In fact, only one epic passage contains the same *śleṣa* as the one found in the SN verse, although *kāṣāya* occurs eleven times in the MBh and twice in the Rām. This is a passage which has been recognised (Brockington 1998: 241) as containing references to the *sannyasin*, i.e., the renunciant ascetic (MBh 12.18.33):

aniṣkaṣāye kāṣāyam īhārtham iti viddhi tat |
dharmadhvajānāṃ muṇḍānāṃ vṛttyartham iti me matiḥ ||
‘Know that **the brown robe on (a person) unfree from impurities**, in this case it is his purpose: it is for the sake of livelihood of those bald people, who use dharma as their banner – this is my thought’.

Here Arjuna uses the same pun on the word *kāṣāya-* to warn Yudhiṣṭhira not to accept Janaka’s misconduct.

Grammatically speaking, *kāṣāya-* is in the accusative case here as it is in the SN stanza, while the noun *aniṣkaṣāya-* is used in the locative case. The two terms occur in *pāda* a, while in SN they occurs in *pāda* b.

²⁸⁰ One could use Ānandavardhana’s more recent concepts of *śleṣopanitālaṃkāra* and *śabdaśaktimūladhvani*, which concern the descriptive model that makes it possible to describe the etymological pun. So, we could also add that in these verses there is a *virodhadhvani* – which is only implied since there is no *api* – based on a *śleṣa*.

This clearly indicates that Aśvaghōṣa was referring directly to this passage,²⁸¹ reusing the same ornamentation in the same context: Nanda must consider ridding himself of all moral impurity before he puts on the brown robe, that is, before he becomes an ascetic. In a similar way, before Yudhiṣṭhira can conquer the heavenly worlds (MBh 12.18.34), he must conquer his senses.

In the next example, Siddhārtha is about to leave the hermitage which causes confusion among the ascetics. Sensing his ascetic power, they want him to stay with them (BC 7.38):

*tvayy āgate pūrṇa ivāśramo 'bhūt sampadyate śūnya eva prayāte |
tasmād imaṃ nārhasi tāta hātum jījīviṣor deham iveṣṭam āyuh ||*
'After you arrived, the hermitage **became as if it were full**,²⁸² indeed after you left **it will turn into a desert**.²⁸³ Therefore, O dear one, please do not abandon it, no more than desired life [abandons] the body of one who is eager to live'.

UPAMEYA	UPAMĀNA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA
(<i>tvam</i>) (=Siddhārtha) <i>imam</i> (= <i>āśramam</i>)	<i>āyuh</i> <i>jījīviṣor deham</i>	<i>na arhasi hātum</i> -

From a rhetorical point of view, the stanza contains an *upamā* with a *bimbapratibimba* relation that regards a comparison between Siddhārtha, who must not leave the hermitage, and life (*āyuh*), which must not abandon the body of someone who wishes to live (*jījīviṣor deham*). However, there are no epic attestations of this *upamā*.

Instead, the same concept expressed by *utprekṣā* also appears, albeit in a different form, in the cosmogonic text known as the *Śukānupraśna* (Brockington

²⁸¹ Interestingly, Tokunaga (2006: 139) cites MBh 12.18.29-33 as a passage that corresponds to BC 9.18cd, for both deal with the motif of how being a *śramaṇa* “is a fake”, under the broader perspective of objections to Śramaṇism that are common to both the BC and the MBh (cf. also footnotes 36, 73, 153, 194).

²⁸² The passage indicates that Siddhārtha has not yet left, and so the words are spoken in an attempt to persuade him not to go. Thus, the aorist *abhūt* is contrasted with the present *sampadyate*.

²⁸³ Because it is an adjective, *śūnya-* cannot be considered an *upamāna*. Perhaps it could be an *atiśayokti*, not in the sense of metaphor *in absentia*, but in the sense of exaggeration, i.e., a hyperbole. However, this meaning is only suggested, since the hermitage is not really *śūnya-*, for there are other ascetics there.

1998: 306), when Vyāsa is teaching his son Śuka about the qualities of a Brahmin (MBh 12.237.11):

yena pūrṇam ivākāśaṃ bhavaty ekena sarvadā |
śūnyam yena janākīrṇam taṃ devā brāhmaṇaṃ viduḥ ||
‘The one through whom, alone, **an empty space always seems as if it were full (and) through whom a place full of people is made to seem as if it were empty**, the gods recognise him as a Brahmin’.

Reading *śūnyam* as an attribute ‘making a place full of people seem empty’ is central to the parallelism of this *śloka* with the BC. That is, just as in the BC the *āśrama* after Siddhārtha’s departure seems to be deserted even though it is inhabited by hermits, when the Brahmin leaves a place that is full of people that place seems empty. This obviously states exactly the opposite of the BC, but the idea is still the same: the sense of the *pāda* is that a place full of people is empty and vice versa.

Once again, Aśvaghōṣa makes use of a pre-existing epic *utprekṣā*, this time inverting the two central concepts to better suit his rhetoric.

4.3 EVIDENCE OF THE *BIMBAPRATIBIMBA* RELATION IN THE ADAPTIVE REUSE OF THE LOGICAL STRUCTURE OF THE *UPAMĀ*

Let us now concentrate on the main argument of the intertextuality hypothesis, that is, on the *bimbapratibimba* relation as it is applied to the *upamās*. This concept, which focuses primarily on the *sādhāraṇadharmā* shared by an *upameya* and an *upamāna*, was developed by Mammaṭa and analysed in depth by Porcher (1978: 35-38). That is, the common property involves an implicit analogy whereby the property of a pair of *upamānas* (*bimba*, ‘reflected object’) is linked to that of their counterpart, i.e., a pair of *upameyas* (*pratibimba*, ‘reflected image’).²⁸⁴ Indeed, it is this implied and not explicitly stated relation that constitutes the actual *sādhāraṇadharmā*.

Given this necessary technical premise, I will proceed by reviewing the selected examples from Aśvaghoṣa’s *Mahākāvya*s in which such a relation is involved, and which can also be found in the epic cross-references.

4.3.1 *upamānas* belonging to the human semantic domain

In this first example, Chandaka, Siddhārtha’s charioteer, tries to persuade him to return to the palace. He appeals to Siddhārtha’s feelings for his own mother, who would be deeply saddened to learn of his departure (BC 6.32):

²⁸⁴ See Porcher (1978: 35): “ Cette double formulation du *sādhāraṇadharmā* explique la dénomination *bimbapratibimba* attribuée à cette relation (« de reflet à chose reflétée »). Aucun terme explicite ne met en rapport les référents auxquels renvoient les deux expressions. Cependant, l’analogie implicite qu’elles font surgir à l’esprit vient renforcer, au même titre qu’une propriété commune formulée univoquement [...] ”.

4. The reuse and active manipulation of the logical structure of the alamkāra as a mark of a high degree of intertextuality

*saṃvardhanapariśrāntām dvitīyām tām ca mātaram |
devīm nārhasi vismartuṃ kṛtaghna iva satkriyām ||*
‘Please do not forget the queen, your second mother, who exhausted [all her energy] in raising you, **just as an ingrate [forgets] those who have treated him kindly**’.

UPAMEYA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	UPAMĀNA
(Siddhārtha) <i>devīm</i>	<i>vismartum</i>	<i>kṛtaghna</i> <i>satkriyām</i>

The syntactic relationship that links the *upameyas*, namely Siddhārtha as the *karṭṛ* and his mother, the queen, as the object, is perfectly mirrored in the *upamānās*. The two *upameyas* and the *upamānas*, in fact linked by the common property that is the command *nārhasi vismartuṃ* ‘do not forget’: at the same time, Siddhārtha should not forget his mother, just as an ungrateful person (*kṛtaghna-*) should not forget the kind treatment (*satkriya-*) he or she has received.

Similarly in the epic model, in a passage where Sugrīva comforts the grieving Rāma, the same relation appears once again (Rām 6.2.2):

*kiṃ tvam saṃtapyase vīra yathānyaḥ prākṛtastathā |
maivam bhūs tyaja saṃtāpam kṛtaghna iva sauhṛdam ||*
‘Why are you afflicted, o hero, like an ordinary peasant? Do not be like that! Abandon affliction, **just as an ingrate [abandons] friendship**’.

UPAMEYA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	UPAMĀNA
<i>tvam (=Rāma)</i> <i>saṃtāpam</i>	<i>tyaja</i>	<i>kṛtaghna</i> <i>sauhṛdam</i>

The first thing to note is that the formula occupies the same position in *pāda* d in the Rām as it does in the BC, with a variation concerning the word *sauhṛda-* ‘friendship’ instead of *satkriya-* ‘good action’. However, the same metrical rhythm (i.e., *anuṣṭubh*) and, above all, the same syntactic relationship are maintained.

In fact, both passages contain an admonition: in the Rām, Rāma is exhorted to abandon (*√tyaj-*) sorrow, while in the BC, Siddhārtha is warned not to forget (*vi-√smṛ-*) his mother.

In both cases, they are being compared to an ungrateful person, even though the rhetorical result is the opposite. Indeed, while the BC comparison has a negative connotation, i.e., undesirable conduct that must not be imitated (= Siddhārtha *must*

not act like an ingrate), the Rām comparison is positive, i.e., negative behaviour that must be imitated (= Rāma *must* act like an ingrate).

Indeed, an ingrate is a rather inappropriate *upamāna* for Siddhārtha. But a Buddhist reader will certainly be aware of Siddhārtha’s future enlightenment. Chandaka, as a character, cannot possibly have been aware of this at this point in the text. It is therefore possible that Āsvaghoṣa borrowed this image from the epics and turned it into a positive reminder of what is worth emulating in an ingrate.

Siddhārtha responds to Chandaka’s concerns a few stanzas later in the text. He is patient in his explanation of why he has no intention of changing his mind (BC 9.39):

*rājyaṃ mumukṣur mayi yac ca rājā tad apy udāraṃ sadṛśaṃ pituś ca |
pratigrahītum mama na kṣamaṃ tu lobhād **apathyānnaṃ ivāturasya** ||*
‘And the fact that the king is eager to hand over the kingdom to me, this is also a noble thing and fit for a father, but it is not permissible for me to accept (it) due to cupidity, **like food unsuitable for a sick person**’.

UPAMEYA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	UPAMĀNA
<i>rājyaṃ</i> <i>mama</i> (=Siddhārtha)	<i>pratigrahītum</i>	<i>apathyānnaṃ</i> <i>āturasya</i>

The main idea conveyed by this comparison is that Siddhārtha clearly states that he cannot accept the kingdom just as a sick person cannot accept food that is not healthy (*apathya annam* lit. ‘non-edible food’). This is achieved through the *bimbapratibimba* relation between the reflected image, i.e., the *pratibimba* as the pair of *upameyas* (Siddhārtha and the kingdom) and the reflected object (*bimba*) conveyed by the pair of *upamanās* (a sick person and improper food), established through the action of not accepting something (*prati-√grah-*)²⁸⁵.

In the MBh, in a passage where Vidura explains to the Pāṇḍavas how his message to Dhṛtarāṣṭra did not have the desired effect, there is a similar *upamā* with the *bimbapratibimba* relation (MBh 3.6.14):

²⁸⁵ For the intricacies associated with the semantics of acceptance and gift, see Candotti, Pontillo’s (2016; 2019) excursus, which focuses on tracing the ancient Vedic matrix of *pratigraha-*.

4. The reuse and active manipulation of the logical structure of the alamkāra as a mark of a high degree of intertextuality

*param śreyāḥ pāṇḍaveyā mayoktaṃ na me tac ca śrutavān āmbikeyaḥ |
yathāturasyeva hi pathyam annaṃ na rocate smāsyā tad ucyamānam ||*
‘O sons of Pāṇḍu, I said what is the best, and Ambikā’s son did not listen to me. Indeed, **just as proper food is not pleasing to a sick (person)**, neither were these words of mine (pleasing) to him’.

UPAMEYA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	UPAMĀNA
<i>tad ucyamānam asya</i>	<i>na rocate</i>	<i>pathyam annam āturasya</i>

The focus of the *upamā* is that Vidura’s words did not please Dhṛtarāṣṭra, just as healthy (*pathya-*) food does not please ($\sqrt{ruc-}$) a sick person.

So, the idea in the MBh is based on the concept of something that, albeit unpalatable, could be effective if consumed, whereas the notion voiced in the BC verse is slightly different: no matter how desirable the kingdom is, Siddhārtha cannot accept it, just as a sick person cannot succumb to eating something which might harm him or her (*a-pathya-* lit. ‘unsuitable’).

Once again, Aśvaghōṣa reuses the same *bimbapratibimba* relation by repeating its logical and syntactic structure. However, he changes the basic idea by shifting the semantics of the action conveyed by the verbal roots, i.e., (*na*) $\sqrt{ruc-}$ > (*na*) *prati-*/ $\sqrt{grah-}$, and by denying the notion conveyed by the objects, i.e., *pathya-* > *a-pathya-*.

Moreover, in the following passage, a monk instructs Nanda about the different types of intoxication that affect human beings. The monk employs examples of mythical characters and the challenges they faced (SN 9.18):

*kva tad balaṃ kaṃsavikarṣiṇo hares turaṅgarājasya puṭāvabhediṇaḥ |
yam ekabāṇena nijaghnivān jarāḥ kramāgatā rūpam ivottamaṃ jarā ||*
‘Where is this power of Hari, the slayer of Kāṃsa,²⁸⁶ the destroyer of the horse-king’s hooves, whom Jaras struck with a single arrow, just **as gradually coming old-age [strikes] the utmost beauty?**’

UPAMEYA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	UPAMĀNA
<i>jarāḥ (pāda c) yam (Kṛṣṇa)</i>	<i>nijaghnivān</i>	<i>jarāḥ (pāda d) rupam</i>

²⁸⁶ Son of Ugrasena, king of Mathurā, enemy of Kṛṣṇa.

4. The reuse and active manipulation of the logical structure of the alaṃkāra as a mark of a high degree of intertextuality

The monk states that Kṛṣṇa’s power proved ephemeral when he faced the hunter Jara. He did indeed strike Kṛṣṇa, just as age (*jara-*) eventually destroys (*ni-√han-*) beauty (*rūpa-*). The hunter’s name and the word used for ‘age’ form a *laṭānuprāsa*. This effectively concludes the verse.

Almost the same formulation is found in a passage in the MBh where Vidura and Dhṛtarāṣṭra are talking about Dharma and Artha (MBh 5.34.12):

na rājyaṃ prāptam ity eva vartitavyam asāṃpratam |
śriyaṃ hy avinayo hanti jarā rūpam ivottamam ||
 ‘In fact, one should not have the improper thought that “the dominion is attained”; indeed, modesty strikes glory **as old age strikes the greatest beauty**’.

UPAMEYA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	UPAMĀNA
<i>avinaya</i> <i>śriyam</i>	<i>hanti</i>	<i>jarāḥ</i> <i>rupam</i>

In this passage the pairs of MBh *upameyas* are conceptually similar to the *upameyas* in the BC stanza. Even the *sādhāraṇadharmā* is the same, namely the verbal root (*√han-*). The idea that nothing is certain and lasts forever is implicit in the logical relationship that links the *pratibimba*, the reflected image (i.e., the *upameyas*) to the *bimba*, the reflected object (i.e., *upamānas*). The comparison between the two texts, is also facilitated by a similar word order that is mainly due to prosody since Aśvaghōṣa composed his stanza in a different metre.

Ultimately, the use of the juxtaposition of age and beauty in both passages points to the same basic idea of temporary power that cannot be maintained, be it that of a warrior (i.e., *hari-* Kṛṣṇa) or that of glory (i.e., *śri-*). This is Siddhārtha’s final response to Chandaka’s previous arguments. Overall, one might hypothesise that Aśvaghōṣa would have been familiar with such didactic sections of the MBh, since Vidura is the one speaking in both epic cross-references.

4.3.2 Deities employed as the *upamānas*

Let us now move from the domain of human semantics to that of the gods. In this case, the first example is a *bimbapratibimba* relations that intervenes between the

minister and the chaplain – both of whom are trying to get Siddhārtha to return –
and the gods Indra, Śukra and Bṛhaspati (*āṅgīrasa-*), in BC 9.10:

*tāv arcayām āsatur arhataḥ taṃ divīva śukrāṅgīrasau mahendram /
pratyarcayām āsa sa cārhatas tau divīva śukrāṅgīrasau mahendraḥ //*
‘Those two (i.e., the king’s minister and the chaplain) honoured him (Siddhārtha) appropriately, **as
in heaven Śukra and Āṅgīrasa [honour appropriately] great Indra** and he greeted appropriately
as in heaven great Indra [honours appropriately] Śukra and Āṅgīrasa’.

	UPAMEYA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	UPAMĀNA
<i>pādas ab</i>	<i>tāu</i> (= the minister and the chaplain) <i>taṃ</i> (= Siddhārtha)	<i>arcayām āsatur</i>	<i>śukrāṅgīrasau</i> <i>mahendram</i>
<i>pādas cd</i>	<i>saḥ</i> <i>tau</i>	<i>pratyarcayām āsa</i>	<i>mahendraḥ</i> <i>śukrāṅgīrasau</i>

The structure of the stanza is both symmetrical and mirrored:

1. There is symmetry in terms of the stylistic architecture of the *pādas*. Indeed, a and c contain the verb and the subjects (albeit chiastically) while b and d contain the *upāma*. This is perfectly reflected in the position of the *upamānas*, which remain the same even though the syntax is different;
2. From a logical-rhetorical point of view, the image conveyed is specular. This is due to the relation between the *upameyas* and the *upamānas* in the *pādas* ab, which is reversed in the *pādas* cd.

Thanks to the mention of the locative *divi* ‘in the sky’, the similarity is also spatial, albeit implicit. Indeed, the analysis of the BC *upamā* is enabled through the double parallel of the two images, which reflect one another in the ratio of 2:1/1:2:

- *pādas* ab (ratio 2:1) = the minister and the chaplain/Śukra and Bṛhaspati honour Siddhārtha/Indra;
- *pādas* cd (ratio 1:2) = Siddhārtha/Indra honours the minister and the chaplain/Śukra and Bṛhaspati.

A survey of the epic instances of such a comparison has shown that Indra is rarely associated with the pairing Śukra and Bṛhaspati. In two instances, however, the pairing (i.e., Śukra and Bṛhaspati) occurs in a similar comparison actualising the *bimbapratibimba* relation. In the first example, Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa’s battle against

4. The reuse and active manipulation of the logical structure of the alamkāra as a mark of a high degree of intertextuality

Aśvatthāman is compared to Śukra and Bṛhaspati as planets “battling” (i.e., orbiting) the star (MBh 8.12.48)

*tataḥ samabhadra yuddhaṃ śukrāṅgirasavarcaśoḥ /
nakṣatram abhito vyomni śukrāṅgirasayor iva ||*
‘Then, [around Aśvatthāman] those whose splendour was like that of Śukra and Āṅgīrasa, fought a battle **which resembled that [fought by] Śukra and Āṅgīrasa in the sky around the asterism**’.

UPAMEYA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	UPAMĀNA
<i>śukrāṅgirasavarcaśoḥ</i>	<i>samabhadra yuddhaṃ</i>	<i>śukrāṅgirasayor</i>

The relationship here is reciprocal, with the *upameyas*, expressed by the *dvandva* compound, sharing the action of fighting with the *upamānas*, also expressed by a *dvandva*. The *sādhāraṇadharmā* also applies figuratively to the *upamānas*, often identified with the planets Venus (Śukra) and Jupiter (Bṛhaspati) as they orbit around the sun.²⁸⁷ Furthermore, as in the BC, the locative *vyomni* ‘in the sky’ establishes an implicit spatial comparison.

The second example, on the other hand, concerns a context that is very similar to that of the BC, namely Rāma and Śatrughna’s meeting with Sumantra and Guha in the forest (Rām 2.93.40):

*tataḥ sumantreṇa guhena caiva samīyatū rājasutāv araṇye /
divākaraś caiva niśākaraś ca yathāmbare śukrabṛhaspatibhyām ||*
‘The two king’s sons met with Sumantra and Guha in the forest **just as the day-maker and the night-maker** ²⁸⁸[meet] Śukra and Bṛhaspati in the sky’.

UPAMEYA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	UPAMĀNA
<i>sumantreṇa guhena ca rājasutāv (= Rāma and Śatrughna) araṇye</i>	<i>samīyatū</i>	<i>śukrabṛhaspatibhyām divākaraś ca niśākaraś ca ambare</i>

²⁸⁷ Surprisingly, there may be a scientific basis for this kind of antagonism echoed by the comparison. Indeed, according to contemporary astronomical studies about orbital resonance i.e., the dynamic by which orbiting bodies interact gravitationally, Jupiter’s entry into the solar system may have affected Venus’ ability to support life. (See KANE, Stephen R. *et al.* 2020, “Could the Migration of Jupiter Have Accelerated the Atmospheric Evolution of Venus?”, *The Planetary Science Journal* 1(2), 1-10, <https://iopscience.iop.org/article/10.3847/PSJ/abae63> last access 26 January 2023).

²⁸⁸ Epithets for the sun and moon.

In this comparison, the sun (*divākara-*) and moon (*niśākara-*) meeting Śukra and Bṛhaspati in the sky mirrors the image of Rāma and Śatrughna meeting Sumantra and Guha in the forest.²⁸⁹

There is indeed a perfect parallelism in the 2:2 ratio between the *upameyas* and the corresponding *upamānas*. In this case it is completed by the third parallelism between the two locatives (*aranye : ambare*), which is absent in the previous passage and in the BC stanza.

In summary, Aśvaghoṣa first elaborated an established solar image, namely the brightness of Śukra and Bṛhaspati, and added the much more rare and virtually absent Indra to the equation. If we then consider both the MBh and Rām passages, he then worked out the logical relationship between these *upamās* and improved them from the standpoint of the stanza's architecture.

A similar parallel is at the heart of the next passage: after exchanging pleasantries, the minister and the chaplain explain their presence to Siddhārtha (BC 9.12):

*taṃ vrkṣamūlasthaṃ abhijvalantaṃ purohito rājasutaṃ babhāṣe /
yathopaviṣṭaṃ divi pārijāte bṛhaspatiḥ śakrasutaṃ jayantaṃ //*

'The chaplain talked to the king's son who was sitting, blazing forth, at the root of the tree, **just as in heaven Bṛhaspati [talked to] the mighty one's son Jayanta who was sitting by the pārijāta tree**'.

UPAMEYA	SĀDHĀRANADHARMA	UPAMĀNA
<i>purohitaḥ</i>	<i>babhāṣe</i>	<i>bṛhaspatiḥ</i>
<i>rājasutaṃ (=Siddhārtha)</i>	<i>-stham upaviṣṭaṃ</i>	<i>śakrasutaṃ jayantaṃ</i>
<i>rāja- (=Suddhodana)</i>		<i>śakra-</i>
<i>vrkṣa-mūla-</i>		<i>pārijāte</i>

In this stanza, the *bimbapratibimba* relation between *purohita-* and *bṛhaspati-*, centres on the act of speaking ($\sqrt{bhās-}$): i.e., the chaplain addresses Siddhārtha in the same way as Bṛhaspati spoke to Indra's son Jayanta. Similarly, the action of sitting at the foot of a tree (i.e., *stha-* in *fine compositi*, and *upaviṣṭa-* both in the accusative case) is shared by Siddhārtha and Jayanta.

²⁸⁹ Śukra and Āṅgīrasa's luminosity is a common epic *upamāna*. Bṛhaspati in particular is mentioned in MBh 1.214.8; 2.37.1c-2; 3.278.15; Rām 2.5.21.

Although Jayanta is also addressed directly by his name, both are referred to by means of two *bahuvrīhi* compounds. These are formed by *suta-* ‘son’ as the second constituent of the compound, together with the appellative father (i.e., *rāja-* in reference to Śuddhodana and *śakra-* for Indra) as the first constituent.

In fact, another secondary comparison could be identified in the image of Śuddhodana and Indra together, along with the mention of the tree under which Siddhārtha sits and the *pārijāta* tree that refers to Jayanta. However, since they do not share a common property, this is not foreseen within the *bimbapratibimba* relation.

In the epic sources, the pairing of Bṛhaspati and Indra are common *upamanās* in passages where a relationship can indeed be deduced, although not all the cases I was able to find are directly comparable and relevant to intertextuality.

For instance, Śukra appeals to Śarmiṣṭhā’s father Vṛṣaparvan to give his daughter to Devayānī as a slave (MBh 1.75.9)²⁹⁰. However, there is no mention of Jayanta, nor any other concordance, even if Śukra just like Bṛhaspati is a chaplain (the prototypical *purohita-* as can be deduced from a passage in which Vasiṣṭha is the *upameya* MBh 1.164.10ab-11²⁹¹).

The same relation can be inferred from a passage in the Rām in which the seer Pulastya arrives at the court of Arjuna Kārtavīrya (Rām 7.33.7):

*purohito ‘sya gr̥hyārg̥hyaṃ madhuparkaṃ tathaiva ca |
purastāt prayayau rājña indrasyeva bṛhaspatiḥ ||*
‘After taking water and honey, milk to be offered to the guest, the *purohita* advanced in presence of the king **like Bṛhaspati [in the presence of] Indra**’.

UPAMEYA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	UPAMĀNA
<i>purohitaḥ rājña</i>	<i>purastāt prayayau</i>	<i>bṛhaspatiḥ indrasya</i>

²⁹⁰ *prasādyatām devayānī jīvitaṃ hy atra me sthitam | yogakṣemakaras te ‘ham indrasyeva bṛhaspatiḥ ||* ‘Therefore let Devayānī be pleased, my life is in her, I am the author of war and peace **just as Bṛhaspati is the author of Indra’s peace and war**’.

²⁹¹ *purohitavaram prāpya vasiṣṭham ṛṣisattamam | [...] sa hi tāt yājyām āsa sarvān nṛpatisattamān | brahmarṣiḥ pāṇḍavaśreṣṭha bṛhaspatir ivāmarān ||* ‘After obtaining as an excellent *purohita* the best of the ṛṣi Vasiṣṭha, [...] that ṛṣi brahman performed the rites for all those excellent sovereigns, o excellent Pāṇḍava, **as Bṛhaspati for the immortals**’.

In fact, it is the context that is similar this time, although the syntactic relationship between the *upameyas* and the *upamānas* makes this example different from the passage from the BC. In fact, the situation regards a *purohita*- approaching a king, as Bṛhaspati would do in Indra's presence.

In summary, it can be said that Aśvaghoṣa adopts a well-established relationship in which various situations revolve around the couple Bṛhaspati and Indra. They are often employed as reflected objects (*bimba*) of situations often involving a king and his court (i.e., the reflected image, *pratibimba*). He also strengthens the epic image by establishing the logical parallel between Siddhārtha and Jayanta as the *upamāna*, which is a rare occurrence in the epic. All in all, this gives the BC stanza an image of even greater solemnity than that portrayed in the epic model.

Moreover, in SN 1.62 Śuddhodana *parivṛta*- 'surrounded' by his brothers, is compared to Indra (*saṃkrandana*- lit. 'the roaring one') and is similarly *anusṛta*- 'followed' by the Maruts.²⁹²

*ācāravān vinayavān nayavān kriyāvān dharmāya nendriyasukhāya dhṛtātapatrah |
tadbhrātṛbhiḥ parivṛtaḥ sa jugopa rāṣṭram saṃkrandano divam ivānusṛto marudbhiḥ ||*
'Being virtuous, well-behaved, versed in politics, achieving rites, holding the (royal) umbrella for the Dharma not to gratify his senses, he (i.e., Śuddhodana) protected the kingdom surrounded by his brothers, **like the roaring [Indra] followed by the Maruts [protected] heaven.**

The logical structure can be represented as follows:

1. *saḥ* (= Śuddhodana) *upameya* / *saṃkrandanaḥ* (=Indra) *upamāna* = agents
(*karṭṛs*) of the action conveyed by the verbal form *jugopa* 'protect';

²⁹² Similarly, the city abandoned by Siddhārtha is likened by means of an *upamā* with a *bimbapratibimba* relation in BC 8.13. *idaṃ puram tena vivarjitaṃ vanaṃ vanaṃ ca tat tena samanvitaṃ puram | na śobhate tena hi no vinā puram marutvatā vṛtravadhe yathā divam ||* 'This city abandoned by him, is a forest, and this forest frequented by him, is a city. Indeed, without him our city no longer shines, **like heaven without the One accompanied by the Maruts, at the time of the slaying of Vṛtra**'. However, no relevant cross-references for this *upamā* were found in the epic sources, except for the *rūpakas* in *pādas* ab, that is in a Rām passage in which the citizens of Ayodhyā watch Rāma as he leaves (Rām 2.30.19): *vanaṃ nagaram evāstu yena gacchati rāghavaḥ | asmābhiḥ ca parityaktaṃ puram sampadyatām vanaṃ ||* 'Let the forest in whose direction Raghava goes become, indeed, a city, and let the city abandoned by us be absorbed into a forest'.

2. *bhrātr̥bhiḥ* (= Śuddhodana's brothers) *upameya* / *marudbhiḥ upamāna* = agents (*karṭṛs*) of the action respectively conveyed by the past passive participles *parivṛta-* 'surrounded' and *anusṛta-* 'followed';
3. *rāṣṭram* 'kingdom' *upameya* / *divam* 'heaven' *upamāna* = objects (*karman*) of the action conveyed by the verbal form *jugopa*.

The *sādhāraṇadharmā* is explicitly stated and regards the fact that both *upameyas* 'protect' √*gop-* the kingdom and the heaven respectively.²⁹³

Although one occurrence where Arjuna is surrounded by brahmins and hermits in the forest could be at first glance relevant to the SN example (MBh 1.206.4),²⁹⁴ the situation is not the same and, even more importantly, the *sādhāraṇadharmā* is different. In fact, it regards the action of arriving in their midst and does not concern the protection of something.

As we have seen (§1.1.3.1), being compared to Indra is a *topos* for heroes. There are numerous *upamās* with a *bimbapratibimba* relationship, in which the reflected image (*pratibimba*) concerns heroes surrounded by comrades and where the Indra/Maruts trio assumes the logical role of reflected object (*bimba*) in the stylistic form of a formula: for instance, Duryodhana surrounded by the Kurus in a

²⁹³ One could say that even *parivṛta-* and *anusṛta-* could be interpreted as common properties, however, Aśvaghōṣa employs two different past passive participles which convey a slightly different idea. In fact, the participle *parivṛta-* 'surrounded' places Śuddhodhana (the *upameya*) on the same level as his brothers, whereas *anusṛta-* 'followed' referred to Indra (the *upamāna*) implies that the Maruts are subordinate to the god. Aśvaghōṣa thus alludes to the idea that although the *upameya* and the *upamāna* are on the same level, Śuddhodhana in the end is above his brother because he will inherit the kingdom. Obviously, these are considerations only alluded to by the text, and could even be seen as far-fetched.

²⁹⁴ *etaiḥ cānyaiḥ ca bahubhiḥ sahāyaiḥ pāṇḍunandanaḥ | vṛtaḥ ślakṣṇakathaiḥ prāyān marudbhir iva vāsavaḥ* || 'Surrounded by them and other companions with their polished stories, Pāṇḍu's son (i.e., Arjuna) came near, like the chief of the Vasus (Indra) [surrounded] by the Maruts'.

malopamā (MBh 3.226.10)²⁹⁵; Rāma by the Vṛṣṇis (MBh 5.154.17)²⁹⁶; Rāma by his subjects (Rām 2.98.63)²⁹⁷, and Rāvaṇa by his advisers (Rām 3.30.4)²⁹⁸.

But there is one specific epic instance that matches this example and even has the same logical structure. That is, a passage describing Yudhiṣṭhira on his chariot surrounded by his brothers just as Indra was surrounded by the Maruts (MBh 3.34.81):

[*sa bhavān [...] abhiniryātu 80*]
vācayitvā dvijaśreṣṭhān adyaiva gajasāhvayam |
astravidbhiḥ parivrto bhrāṭṛbhir dṛḍhadhanvibhiḥ |
āsīviṣasamair vīrair marudbhir iva vṛtrahā ||
 ‘After causing the best of the twice-born to speak Your honour [...] may you drive out towards the City of Elephants, surrounded by your brothers who are skilled in shooting, with their strong bows, heroes resembling venomous snakes, **like the slayer of Vṛtra [surrounded] by the Maruts**’.

UPAMEYA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	UPAMĀNA
<i>saḥ bhavān bhrāṭṛbhir</i>	<i>parivṛtaḥ</i>	<i>vṛtrahā marudbhir</i>

In terms of style, we note that the epithet chosen to denote Indra, *vṛtrahan-* ‘destroyer of Vṛtra’, is a variation on the more common *vāsava-*, even though it still maintains its position at the end of the verse.

Furthermore, the common property linking the pair of the *upameyas* to that of the *upamānas* is *parivṛta-*, just as it is in the SN, and the syntactic relationship between the *karmans* (i.e., Yudhiṣṭhira/ Śuddhodhana > Indra) and the *karṭṛs* (i.e., Yudhiṣṭhira’s and Śuddhodana’s brothers > Maruts) is also the same.

²⁹⁵ *rudrair iva yamo rājā marudbhir iva vāsavaḥ | kurubhis tvam vṛto rājan bhāsi nakṣatrarād iva* || ‘Like Yama [surrounded] by the Rudras, **like the chief of the Vasus [surrounded] by the Maruts**, you, o Chieftain, surrounded by the Kurus are resplendent like the king of the asterisms (moon)’.

²⁹⁶ *vṛṣṇimukhyair abhigatair vyāghrair iva balotkaṭaiḥ | abhigupto mahābāhur marudbhir iva vāsavaḥ* || ‘The long-armed [Rāma] protected by the chiefs of the Vṛṣṇis who reached him, who were like tigers richly endowed with strength, **was like the chief of the Vasus [protected] by the Maruts**’. This has the same root √*gup-*, but with the prefix *abhi-*, which gives the verbal root the meaning of ‘x protected by y’, so Rāma is the *karman*, not the *karṭṛ*, as in the SN example.

²⁹⁷ *abhiṣiktas tvam asmābhir ayodhyāṃ pālanaṃ vraja | vijitya tarasā lokān marudbhir iva vāsavaḥ* || ‘After being anointed king by us move towards Ayodhyā in order to protect it, after quickly winning the worlds, **like the chief of the Vasus [anointed] by the Maruts**’.

²⁹⁸ *sā dadarśa vimānāgre rāvaṇaṃ dīptatejasam | upopaviṣṭaṃ sacivair marudbhir iva vāsavam* || ‘She (i.e., Śūrpaṅkhā) saw Rāvaṇa on top of his palace, radiant with glory, surrounded by his advisers sitting down near him, **like the chief of the Vasus [surrounded] by the Maruts**’.

Given the high frequency of this ornament and the same logical relationship linking the rhetorical elements involved, it can therefore be argued that Aśvaghoṣa certainly draws on the epic background,

Furthermore, as an experienced poet, he manipulates the epic image and goes beyond it, adopting the syntactic, lexical, and rhetorical subtleties that make the logical structure of his *upamās* more complex and refined than the simple epic formula.

Moreover, Śuddhodana is once again compared to Indra in another *upamā* with the *bimbapratibimba* relation (BC 1.87):

puram atha purataḥ praveśya patnīm sthvirajanānugatām apatyanāthām |
nṛpatir api jagāma paurasaṃghair divam amarair maghavān ivārcyamānaḥ ||
‘After causing the queen to go into the city in front of him, followed by aged women and keeping her son with her, with her son always by her side, the king also entered [the city], praised by multitudes of citizens **like the Munificent [Indra]**²⁹⁹ **[entering] heaven [was praised by] the immortals**’.

UPAMEYA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	UPAMĀNA
<i>nṛpatiḥ</i>	<i>jagāma</i>	<i>maghavat</i>
<i>puram</i>		<i>divam</i>
<i>paurasaṃghaiḥ</i>	<i>arcyamānaḥ</i>	<i>amaraiḥ</i>

In particular, the stanza describes how Śuddhodana’s entrance into his court is compared to Indra’s regal entrance into heaven, surrounded by the royal court of immortals (the reflected object, i.e., the *bimba*).

The God is referred to with the Vedic epithet *maghavat* - ‘the bountiful one’, introducing a variation on the supposed epic model where the qualifier is another well-known Vedic epithet, *vajrapaṇi*-. In fact, I was able to find two examples which show a ruler – Yudhiṣṭhira (MBh 1.134.4) and Bharata (Rām 2.75.13) – that figures as the *upameya* entering his court while Indra is the *upamāna*.

In the first example from the MBh, the Pāṇḍavas, especially Yudhiṣṭhira, are welcomed to Vāraṇāvata, where the Kauravas have prepared their ambush. They

²⁹⁹ Vedic Epithet.

plan to kill their cousins by setting fire to and burning down their wooden house
(MBh 1.134.4):

*tair vṛtaḥ puruṣavyāghro dharmarājo yudhiṣṭhiraḥ |
vibabhau devasaṃkāśo vajrapāṇir ivāmaraiḥ ||*

‘That tiger of a man, Yudhiṣṭhira the Dharma King, surrounded by them (i.e., the citizens of Vāraṇāvata) appeared resembling a god, **like the thunderbolt-wielding Indra [surrounded by] the immortals**’.

UPAMEYA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	UPAMĀNA
<i>yudhiṣṭhiraḥ</i> <i>taiḥ</i> (= the citizens)	<i>vṛtaḥ</i>	<i>vajrapāṇiḥ</i> <i>amaraiḥ</i>

The *upamā* found at the end of the last *pāda* of the *śloka* is constructed with Indra’s name *vajrapāṇi-* inflected in the nominative masculine singular used as the *upamāna*, together with the comitative instrumental plural of *amara-*.

Compared to the more basic *śloka* found in the MBh, the BC verse seems to present a much deeper concept. In fact, Aśvaghōṣa retains the same comparative particle *iva*.

The BC, however, shows a *variatio* using a different epithet (*maghavat*), whereas the MBh simply alludes to the god through the epithet used as a *tatpuruṣa* compound. It also reinforces the concept through the verb conjugated in the present participle *arcyamānaḥ*, whereas the MBh mentions the action only once by means of the verb *vibabhau* – used as an *apokoinou* for both grammatical subjects, i.e., *yudhiṣṭhira-* and *vajrapāṇi-*. The *upamā* also appears to be formulaic, for it is repeated once more at the end of the *pāda*, particularly in a *śloka* describing Atikāya as he stands on his chariot (Rām 6.57.27).

Moreover, in *ślokas* of various contexts, where prominent chieftains as the *upameyas* are always greeted by their own group of companions in a celebration of sodality and to strengthen community bonds, similar comparisons in which Indra appears as the *upamāna* are made.³⁰⁰ For instance, Kṛṣṇa is bidden farewell in a similar manner (MBh 2.2.9):

³⁰⁰ Moreover, as far as other eminent persons are concerned, Kṛṣṇa’s presence is longed for just as Indra is desired in heaven (MBh 5.92.9); Rāma’s departure is greeted by a *munigana* ‘multitude of sages’ in the same way as the immortals bid farewell to Indra (Rām 7.73.15). Like Indra, Yudhiṣṭhira

4. The reuse and active manipulation of the logical structure of the alamkāra as a mark of a high degree of intertextuality

*bhrātr̥ṇ abhyagamad dhīmān pārthena sahito balī |
bhrātr̥bhiḥ pañcabhiḥ kṛṣṇo vṛtaḥ śakra ivāmaraiḥ ||*
'The wise and strong (hero), accompanied by the Pārtha [Arjuna], approached his brothers. Kṛṣṇa was surrounded by the five brothers **just as Śakra was by the immortals**'.

UPAMEYA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	UPAMĀNA
<i>kṛṣṇaḥ bhrātr̥bhiḥ pañcabhiḥ</i>	<i>vṛtaḥ</i>	<i>śakraḥ amaraiḥ</i>

One can see how Aśvaghōṣa has enriched what appears to be a formulaic repetition. Indeed, we often find the formula *vajrapāṇi-* or *śakra- ivāmara-* at the end of the *pāda*. As the following diagram shows, the formulaic *upamā* in all these references shows a pattern whose profile is morphologically interchangeable yet fixed:

Table 7 Epic instances of the grammatical cases of the epithet for the god Indra

EPITHET	NOUN	INSTANCES	TEXT REFERENCES
Nominative	Instrumental	5	Rām 6.57.27; MBh 1.134.4; 2.2.9; 3.235.25; 6.79.55
		9	Rām 2.75.13; 4.25.20; 7.73.15; MBh 5.92.9; 2.42.58; 3.89.2; 6.19.11; 6.58.54
Accusative	Nominative		
Genitive		1	MBh 6.93.25

It seems that the preferred syntactic construction for the *upamāna* is Indra's epithet in the accusative case which acts as the object, while the immortal gods appear in

is extolled as a nourisher of his subjects (*√upa-jīv* lit. 'to exist upon [food]' but also 'to live under [someone]' in a figurative sense MBh 2.42.58) and he is hailed by the ascetics (MBh 3.235.25). The *ṛṣi* Lomaśa is greeted upon entering the Pāṇḍava court as he was by Indra *divi* 'in heaven' (MBh 3.89.2); Bhīma (MBh 6.19.11); Pāṇḍavas (MBh 6.58.54); Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa (MBh 6.79.55; 6.93.25). A syntactic *variatio* in the formula appears in a passage in which the monkey chieftain Sugrīva is consecrated (*√abhi-ṣic*) by his friends (*suhṛd-*) in the same way as the Thousand-eyed Indra (*sahasrākṣa-*) is anointed by the immortals (Rām 4.25.20): *praviśya tv abhiniṣkrāntaṃ sugrīvaṃ vānararṣabham | abhyaṣiñcanta suhṛdaḥ sahasrākṣam ivāmarāḥ ||* 'After going into [those women's quarters], [his] friends consecrated Sugrīva, that bull of a monkey, who was going out, just **as the immortals [consecrated] the Thousand-eyed [Indra]**'. The verbal root *√abhi-ṣic* whose literal meaning is 'to sprinkle water [in order to anoint someone]' often occurs in the epics (79 times in the Rām, 137 times in the MBh) and it is also commonly found in the *brāhmaṇa* texts (94 times in the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*, 67 times in the *Aitareyabrāhmaṇa*). Even though the syntax is different and *upameyas* are the friends while the *upamānas* are the immortals, the context is quite similar.

the nominative case as the subject. Finally, Indra occurring in the genitive case is attested only once.

Second, we have the passive construction in which Indra returns in the nominative, that is, the *karman*, the recipient of the action, whereas the immortals are in the instrumental case, that is, the *karṭṛs*.

Surprisingly, Aśvaghoṣa seems to combine the two constructions. In fact, Indra is first mentioned in the accusative, as the object of the action of being greeted by the immortals, who are the *karṭṛs*. However, the present participle in the nominative case (*ārcyamānaḥ*) gives Indra the grammatical status of subject of the action of entering in the court, so that the centrality and agency of the god is restored at the end of the *pāda*. The god is not a passive recipient of greetings but an active agent.

Furthermore, royal couples, such as Siddhārtha –depicted as both a royal bridegroom and a great ascetic – and his wife enjoying themselves, are compared to Indra and Śacī in an *upamā* with a *bimbapratibimba* relation (BC 2.27):

*vidyotamāno vapusā pareṇa sanatkumārapratimaḥ kumāraḥ |
sārdhaṃ tayā śākyanarendravadhvā śacyā sahasrākṣa ivābhīreme ||*
‘The prince radiant with his wonderful figure, having the appearance of Sanatkumāra,³⁰¹ was pleased in the company of this Śākya King’s³⁰² daughter-in-law just as the thousand-eyed Indra was with Śacī’.³⁰³

UPAMEYA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	UPAMĀNA
<i>kumāraḥ</i> (=Siddhārtha) <i>śākyanarendravadhvā</i> (=Yaśodharā)	<i>abhīreme</i>	<i>sahasrākṣaḥ</i> (=Indra) <i>śacyā</i>

³⁰¹ The beauty (*vapus-*) of Siddhārtha is compared to Sanatkumāra’s beauty by means of a *samāśopamā* of the *bahuvrīhi* type. Sanatkumāra occurs 25 times in the MBh and only 3 in the Rām. However, in only one instance is the *upamāna*. That is, in a long *asamastarūpaka* where Śiva is compared to many characters and gods as the *upameya* (MBh 13.141.59): *sāmavedaś ca vedānām yajuṣām śatarudriyam | sanatkumāro yogīnām sāmkyānām kapilo hy asi ||* ‘You (Śiva) are the Sāmaveda among the Vedas and the Śatarudriya hymn among the Yajurveda prayers, [you are] Sanatkumāra among the Yogins, and indeed Kapila among the Sāmkyā teachers’. This example, however, is not relevant. Although the same rare *upamāna sanatkumāraḥ* is present, the structure is completely different and no reference is made to Sanatkumāra’s beauty.

³⁰² Lit. ‘that Indra of a man’.

³⁰³ It seems that Aśvaghoṣa is making a pun on the paronomasia *śākya-/śacyā*. To the best of my knowledge, this does not seem to correspond to any *alamkāra*.

4. The reuse and active manipulation of the logical structure of the alamkāra as a mark of a high degree of intertextuality

The pair of *upamānas* reflects the syntactic relationship between the *upameyas* (i.e., the *kartṛs* Siddhārtha/Indra + Yaśodharā/Śacī in the instrumental case), both of which are bound in a logical relationship by the action expressed by the verbal root (*abhi-√ram-*).

I was able to find two relevant cross-references in the epics that show the same *bimbapratibimba* relationship when comparing royal couples to Indra and Śacī (i.e., the reflected object, *bimba*), among several other occurrences.³⁰⁴ For example, Arjuna and Subhadṛā are mentioned in a passage excised from the Critical Edition (App. I, no.114.296-298, 381 after 1.212.1):

< *pārthaḥ subhadṛāsahito virarāja mahārathaḥ |*
pārthasyeva pitā śakro yathā śacyā samanvitaḥ | >
 ‘The great warrior, the son of Pṛthā (i.e., Arjuna) together with subhadṛā shone like Pṛthā’s son’s father, **like Śakra accompanied by Śacī**’.

UPAMEYA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	UPAMĀNA
<i>pārthaḥ</i> (=Arjuna) <i>subhadṛā-</i>	<i>virarāja</i>	<i>śakraḥ</i> <i>śacyā</i>

The common quality of being radiant, conveyed by the verbal root *vi-√rāj-*, is shared by the reflected image (i.e., the *pratibimba* expressed by the *upameyas*) and the reflected object (i.e., the *bimba* expressed by the *upamānas*). In terms of syntactic similarity with the BC stanza, this is most evident in the *upamānas*.

The second relevant passage concerns the couple, Nala and Damayantī (MBh 3.54.34):

avāpya nārīratnaṃ tat puṇyaśloko ‘pi pārthivaḥ |
reme saha tayā rājā śacyeva balavṛtrahā ||
 ‘Even the earth-lord Puṇyasloka, after obtaining that jewel of a woman, that king was delighted with her **like the slayer of Bala and Vṛtra with Śacī**’.

UPAMEYA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	UPAMĀNA
<i>rājāḥ</i> (=Nala) <i>tayā</i> (=Damayantī)	<i>reme</i>	<i>balavṛtrahān</i> <i>śacyā</i>

³⁰⁴ Reference is made to Rāvaṇa abducting Sītā just as Indra had left Śacī (Rām 3.38.17): *apakrānte ca kākutsthe lakṣmaṇe ca yathāsukham | ānayaṣyāmi vaidehīṃ sahasrākṣaḥ śacīm iva ||* ‘While Kākutstha and Lakṣmaṇa are away, I shall abduct the princess of Videhas at will just as the thousand-eyed Indra [abducted] Śacī’.

It is here that the comparison with the BC stanza is certainly more effective. Indeed, the same verbal root expressed in a simple form is shared by the *upameyas* (i.e., Siddhārtha-Yaśodharā in the BC / Nala-Damayantī in the MBh) and the *upamānas*.

This is a striking piece of evidence for intertextuality, supporting the hypothesis that Aśvaghoṣa was indeed following the epic model when it came to comparing royal couples. This is particularly true in the first few cantos of the BC, when Siddhārtha has yet to renounce the fulfilment of his *kṣatriya-dharma*.

4.3.2 *upamānas* belonging to the natural semantic domain

Having given an overview of the examples that belong to the divine semantic domain, let us now focus on *upamās* with a *bimbapratibimba* relation, which belong to the natural semantic domain.

For instance, in the first example in SN 15.4 Nanda is taught to rid himself of intrusive thoughts:

*yady api pratisaṃkhyānāt kāmān utsrṣṭavān asi |
tamāṃsīva prakāśena pratipakṣeṇa tāñ jahi ||*

‘Even if you have let go of pleasures through your awareness, abandon them [completely] by means of the opposite side, **as (one abandons) darkness by means of light**’.

UPAMEYA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	UPAMĀNA
<i>kāmān pratipakṣeṇa</i>	<i>jahi</i>	<i>tamāṃsi prakāśena</i>

The exhortation refers to the fact that just as Nanda could abandon darkness by using a light, he must abandon pleasure (*kāma-*) by practising its opposite (*pratipakṣa-*), i.e., a restraint –which is only implied here.

In fact, both *tamas-* and *prakāśa-* together suggest a secondary meaning, that is, someone’s ignorance being dispelled by something that is explained and made clear (see also SN 15.13 *prakāśatamasor iva*).

4. The reuse and active manipulation of the logical structure of the alamkāra as a mark of a high degree of intertextuality

The epics express the same idea of darkness as ignorance to be dispelled with the same logical structure. Namely, in a passage which recounts a conversation between the seer Viśvāmitra and an outcast man (*caṇḍāla-*) (MBh 12.139.63):

*jīvan dharmam carisyāmi praṇotsyāmy aśubhāni ca |
tapobhir vidyayā caiva jyotīṃśīva mahat tamaḥ ||*
'(I, Viśvāmitra) while alive, will observe the Dharma and repel the bad things (about me) just through *tapas* and knowledge, **as the stars (repel) the great darkness**'.

UPAMEYA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	UPAMĀNA
(Viśvāmitra) <i>aśubhāni</i>	<i>praṇotsyāmi</i>	<i>jyotīṃśi</i> <i>mahat tamaḥ</i>

The idea is the same, except that in the MBh the instruments of liberation are ascetic arduour (*tapas*) and knowledge (*vidya-*), and not the light we find in Aśvaghōṣa.

Moreover, in the SN, with Nanda as *karṭṛ* of the action expressed by the verb, the logical parallelism of the relation is achieved by a syntactic structure involving two accusatives (i.e., *kāma-/tamas-*) and two instrumentals (i.e., *pratipakṣa-/prakāśa-*). Instead, the *bimbapratibimba* in the MBh revolves around a promise Viśvāmitra makes to himself to repel bad things, just as the stars do with darkness. The syntax therefore concerns two *karṭṛs* – one of which, Viśvāmitra, is implied in the verb ending – correlated with two accusatives (i.e., *aśubha-/tamas-*).

In the end, reference is made to the *tamas* in both passages, but Aśvaghōṣa uses it with a different syntactic role.

Similarly, the sun is also used as the preferred *upamāna* to compare something that dispels darkness in BC 13.59:

*yo niścayo hy asya parākramaś ca tejaś ca yad yā ca dayā prajāsu |
aprāpya notthāsyati tattvam eṣa tamāṃsy ahatveva sahasraraśmīḥ ||*
'Indeed, such is his conviction and heroism, such is his splendour, and such is his compassion for the people, that this one (i.e., Siddhārtha) will not rise without having attained the truth, **like the thousand-rayed sun without having dispelled the darkness of ignorance**'.

UPAMEYA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	UPAMĀNA
<i>eṣa</i> (Siddhārtha) <i>tattvam prāp-</i>	<i>utthāsyati</i>	<i>sahasraraśmīḥ</i> <i>tamāṃsi han-</i>

4. The reuse and active manipulation of the logical structure of the alamkāra as a mark of a high degree of intertextuality

The conceptual focus of the verse is primarily the comparison between *tattvaṃ prāp-* and *tamāṃsi han-*. This emphasises the implied meaning of the last action that binds the first pair of *upameya* and the *upamāna*, i.e., Siddhārtha and the sun (*sahasra-raśmi-*): indeed, in one of its two possible meanings, *tattvaṃ prāp-* becomes almost semantically related with *tamāṃsi han-*. This shows Aśvaghoṣa's rhetorical mastery, since he repeats the same *upamā* in SN 2.29 again with the *bimbapratibimba* relation.³⁰⁵

There are two cases in the epics that can be compared to the BC stanza. In the first example, Bhīṣma is praised for having driven away his enemies in the same way as the sun drives away darkness (MBh 6.15.7):

yas tamo 'rka ivāpohan parasainyam amitrahā |
sahasraraśmipratimaḥ pareṣāṃ bhayam ādadhat |
akarod duṣkaraṃ karma raṇe kauravaśāsanāt ||
 '[Bhīṣma] destroyer of foes, who, **like the sun repels darkness**, (repelled) the army of enemies, he who is the image of the thousand-rays, instilled fear in the enemies, achieved an arduous feat in war, due to the command of the Kauravas'.

UPAMEYA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	UPAMĀNA
<i>yaḥ (=Bhīṣma)</i> <i>parasainyam</i>	<i>apohan</i>	<i>arkaḥ</i> <i>tamaḥ</i>

Secondly, Rāma's prowess in battle in repulsing his enemies, is likened to the sun dispersing darkness (Rām 7.61.38):

ekeṣupātena bhayaṃ nihatya lokatrayas yāsya raghupravīraḥ |
vinirbabhāv udyatacāpabāṇas tamaḥ praṇudyeva sahasraraśmiḥ ||
 'The prince of the Raghus, having struck the fear into these three worlds by shooting a single arrow, shone, bow and arrow raised, **like the thousand-rays after repelling the darkness**'.

UPAMEYA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	UPAMĀNA
<i>raghupravīraḥ</i> <i>bhayaṃ nihatya</i>	<i>vinirbabhāu</i>	<i>sahasraraśmiḥ</i> <i>tamaḥ praṇudyeva</i>

³⁰⁵ *kulaṃ rājarṣivṛttena yaśogandham avīvapat | dīptyā tama ivādityas tejasārīn avīvapat ||*
 'Through his behaviour as a king-seer, (Śuddhodana) sowed his family whose fragrance is glory. **As the sun (scatters) darkness with its light, he scattered enemies with his radiance**'. A note on the verbal root √vap-. It is clear from Aśvaghoṣa's *usus scribendi* and from translations in circulation that the preferred sense of this verb is 'to sow/spread', which are logically similar: indeed, sowing presupposes that seeds are randomly scattered on the ground and certainly not precisely placed.

4. The reuse and active manipulation of the logical structure of the *alamkāra* as a mark of a high degree of intertextuality

Both examples are from war scenes, and it has already been mentioned that the sun is a common *upamāna* for heroes. Moreover, in one instance the same epithet for the sun (*sahasra-raśmi-*) is used in the same way in Aśvaghoṣa's example. In both cases, however, and especially in the Rām, the parallelism is focused on the repulsion and rejection of something that endangers one's life.

Aśvaghoṣa, on the other hand, takes the image of war to the conceptual level. Moreover, he amplifies the logical level of the *bimbapratibimba* relation through the semantic level, conveyed by the double sense of light-clarity/darkness-ignorance.

To sum up, there is undoubtedly an analogical matrix: *tamāṃsi* + √*han-* (or other verb of the same sense) / *śatrūn* (or other noun) + √*han-* > the hero (*vīra-*) / (*sūrya-*). The enemies are the senses or ignorance in the moral or philosophical sphere. This idea can be found in many types of texts, as well as in later inscriptions of a panegyric nature. Aśvaghoṣa would however be the first poet to have reworked the matrix in this way.

Moreover, Kapilavastu without Siddhārtha is like the sky deprived of the sun (BC 8.5):

*tato vihīnaṃ kapilāvhayam puram mahātmanā tena jagaddhitātmanā |
krameṇa tau śūnyam ivopajagatur divākareṇeva vinākṛtaṃ nabhaḥ ||*
'Then they (Chandaka and Kanthaka) came successively to the city named after Kapila, which was as if it were empty, abandoned by that noble soul, whose soul was destined for the world, **like the sky deprived of the sun.**³⁰⁶

UPAMEYA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	UPAMĀNA
<i>kapilāvhayam puram</i> <i>mahātmanā tena</i> (Siddhārtha)	<i>vihīnam</i> <i>vinākṛtam</i>	<i>nabhaḥ</i> <i>divākareṇa</i>

The city of Kapilavastu, abandoned by Siddhārtha (i.e., the *upameyas*), is like the *nabhas-* 'sky' deprived of the *divākara-* 'sun' (i.e., the *upamānas*). The grammatical structure goes hand in hand with the logical one. In fact, both pairs of

³⁰⁶ Literally, 'the day's maker'.

upameya/upamāna, Kapilavastu/sky and Siddhārtha/sun are neuter gender, the latter pair in the instrumental case.

Although the *sādhāraṇadharmā* conveys a similar idea because of the prefix *vi-*, it is the only *variatio* and bestows a slightly different syntactic relation on the second pair of *upameya/upamāna*. In fact, in *pāda* a *vihīna-* implies Siddhārtha's determination to leave the city, hence *mahātamanā tena* is the *karṭṛ* 'agent'. Instead, in *pāda* d, *vinākṛta-*, as an attribute of *nabhas-*, has the complement of deprivation expressed by *divākareṇa*.

As far as the epics are concerned, both the sky and the sun are well attested *upamānas*. However, the comparison between Ayodhyā without Rāma and the sky or a starry night without the sun or stars (Rām 2.60.18) is the only one that matches the BC stanza:

gataprabhā dyaur iva bhāskaram vinā vyapetanakṣatragāṇeva śarvarī |
purī babhāse rahitā mahātmanā na cāsrakaṇṭhākulamārgacatvarā ||

'Like the sky whose splendour disappeared without the sun, like the starry night whose multitude of stars disappeared, the city appeared deserted without (Rāma), noble soul, and there was not a street square that was not filled with voices and tears'.

UPAMEYA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	UPAMĀNA
<i>purī</i>	<i>rahitā, gataprabhā</i> <i>vyapeta-</i>	<i>dyauḥ</i> <i>śarvarī</i>
<i>mahātmanā</i> (Rāma)	- -	<i>bhāskaram</i> <i>nakṣatragāṇa-</i>

There are a striking number of intertextual relationships in this stanza. Logically, the *alaṃkāra* involved is a *mālopa* with a *bimbapratibimba* relation, since Ayodhyā (*purī*) is the main *upameya*, compared to two *upamānas*, i.e., *div-* 'sky' and *śarvarī-* 'star-studded night', and Rāma – alluded to with the same noun as the BC, i.e., *mahātman-* – is the secondary *upameya*. He is compared to the sun (*bhāskara-*) and the multitude of stars (*nakṣatra-gāṇa-*) respectively.

As for the *sādhāraṇadharmā*, it generally seems to suggest the idea of the deprivation of something, though here the complement of deprivation is constructed in *pāda* a with the preposition *vinā* + 'sun' in the accusative, and in *pāda* b by a *tatpuruṣa* compound with *vy-apeta* at the beginning of the compound. The same

4. The reuse and active manipulation of the logical structure of the alamkāra as a mark of a high degree of intertextuality

prefix *vi-* appears in the epic model, and Aśvaghoṣa seems to be reintroducing the same idea, but with a more complex syntax.

Let us now look at examples in which the moon is the *upamāna*.

For instance, Siddhārtha is followed on the road by his entourage and is likened to the moon which has the stars as its followers (BC 3.9):

[sa 8a] *tataḥ prakīrṇojjvalapuspajālaṃ viśaktamālyam pracalatpatākam mārgaṃ prapede sadṛśānuyātraś candraḥ sanakṣatra ivāntarīkṣam*
 ‘Then he advanced on the road, which was strewn with sparkling flowers, hanging garlands, waving flags, followed by a proper retinue, **like the moon with the stars in the sky**’.

UPAMEYA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	UPAMĀNA
<i>saḥ</i> (=Siddhārtha)		<i>candraḥ</i>
<i>-anuyātra</i>	<i>prakīrṇa-</i>	<i>-nakṣatraḥ</i>
<i>mārgaṃ</i>		<i>antarīkṣam</i>

The verse is structured using multiple epithets for the *upameya* and only one for the *upamāna*. Thus, only *pādas* cd contain an *upamā*. Here *anuyātra* (one of the *upameyas*) is directly related to *nakṣatra* in a *bimbapratibimba* relation. In fact, the stars are the moon’s companions (i.e., the reflected object), just as Siddhārtha is accompanied by his servants (i.e., the reflected image).

A similar representation can be found in the epics. For example, Arjuna is described as standing on his chariot that is so radiant with brilliant jewels that it resembles the moon in the sky (MBh 7.15.52):

masāragalvarkasuvarṇarūpyair vajrapravālasphaṭikais ca mukhyaiḥ | citre rathe pāṇḍusuto babhāse nakṣatracitre viyātīva candraḥ ||
 ‘[Standing] in his chariot bright-coloured with sapphires, crystals, gold and silver diamonds, corals, and quartz on the front, Pāṇḍu’s son (i.e., Arjuna) shone **like the moon in the sky whose stars are bright-coloured**’.

Or Yudhiṣṭhira who shines with royal majesty amidst the kings in the assembly, like the moon surrounded by stars (MBh 9.33.17):

4. The reuse and active manipulation of the logical structure of the alamkāra as a mark of a high degree of intertextuality

*sa babhau rājamadhyastho nīlavāsāḥ sitaprabhaḥ |
divīva nakṣatraganaiḥ parikīrṇo niśākaraḥ ||*
'(Yudhiṣṭhira), white-complexioned, blue-robed shone standing amongst the kings, **like the night-maker in the sky surrounded by hosts of stars**'.

Finally, in an example similar to the one appearing in the BC (Rām 4.43.15), Hanumān leading his army of monkeys is likened to the moon in the star-studded sky:

*sa tat prakarṣan hariṇāṃ balaṃ mahad babhūva vīraḥ pavanātmajaḥ kapiḥ |
gatāmbude vyomni viśuddhamaṇḍalaḥ śaśīva nakṣatraganopasobhitaḥ ||*
'That hero, the Wind's son, the ape (i.e., Hanumān), leading his great army of monkeys, appeared **like the hare-moon, whose disc is perfectly pure, adorned by hosts of stars**, in the sky whose clouds have disappeared'.

All the examples show that the moon with its following of stars is a well-established *bimba*, i.e., reflected object, for any situation involving a king or a prince with his army or retinue, i.e., the *pratibimba*, reflected image. This is well attested in the epics and especially with the same *bimbapratibimba* relation.

But Aśvaghoṣa goes further and even extends this relation to the spatial dimension, namely establishing a logical link between the road and the sky as its *upamāna*.

Again, when the minister and the chaplain go to visit Siddhārtha to try and get him to return, the moon is employed as an *upamāna* since they are compared to the two Punarvasū stars in conjunction with the Moon (BC 9.11):

*kṛtābhyanujñāv abhitas tatas tau niśedatuḥ śākyakuladhvajasya |
virejatus tasya ca saṃnikarṣe punarvasū yogagatāv ivendoḥ ||*
'Then those two, being granted authorisation, sat down near that banner of the Śākya family (i.e., Siddhārtha) and they shone forth in his proximity, **like the two Punarvasūs in conjunction with the moon**'.

UPAMEYA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	UPAMĀNA
<i>tasya</i> (=Siddhārtha) <i>tau</i> (=the Purohita and the chaplain)	<i>virejatus</i>	<i>indoḥ</i> <i>punarvasū</i> (<i>yogagatāu</i>)

In the logical structure of this *upamā*, there is no explicit mention of Siddhārtha, who is only indicated by the epithet 'banner of the Śākya' in *pāda* b and the genitive pronoun in *pāda* c. Instead, the *sādhāraṇadharmā* is identified with the quality of

4. The reuse and active manipulation of the logical structure of the alamkāra as a mark of a high degree of intertextuality

being luminous (*vi-√rāj-*), which thus associates the chaplain and the minister with the two Punarvasūs.

There is a striking instance in the epic where the two Punarvasūs near the moon are mentioned as the *upamānas* (i.e., the reflected object) for Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa (i.e., the reflected image). They are both standing near the chariot on either side of Yudhiṣṭhira (MBh 8.33.16):

*tāv ubhau dharmarājasya pravīrau paripārśvataḥ |
rathābhyāse cakāsete candrasyeva punarvasū ||*
'Both of those two heroes on either side of Dharma's King, near the chariot shone **like the two Punarvasūs (near) the moon**'.

UPAMEYA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	UPAMĀNA
<i>dharmarājasya tāv ubhau pravīrau</i>	<i>cakāsete</i>	<i>candrasya punarvasū</i>

The *bimbapratibimba* relation is perfectly mirrored here, both syntactically and logically. More importantly, the common property is the same, namely the fact that being near to the hero makes them shine (*paripārśvataḥ cakāsete*), just as stars do when they are in the vicinity of the moon.

It is undeniable that Aśvaghōṣa is alluding to such a passage.

In the last example of the moon as the *upamāna*, the chaplain and the minister appeal to Siddhārtha's feelings for his son Rāhula in order to persuade him to return home (BC 9.28):

*ekaṃ sutam bālam anarhaduḥkhaṃ saṃtāpam antargatam udvahantam |
taṃ rāhulaṃ mokṣaya bandhuśokād rāhūpasargād eva pūrṇacandram ||*
'Free Rāhula, your only son, young, unworthy of pain, who carries on a secret burning pain, from the pain-fire for his kinsmen, exactly **as the full moon is freed from the eclipse caused by Rāhu**'.³⁰⁷

UPAMEYA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	UPAMĀNA
<i>rāhula bandhuśokāt</i>	<i>mokṣaya</i>	<i>pūrṇacandram rāhūpasargāt</i>

³⁰⁷ There is a paronomasia on *rāhula-*, the name of Siddhārtha's son, and *rāhu-*, the entity who caused the eclipse.

The ability to free someone from something (*mokṣaya*) is the common property that binds the pair of *upameya* to the pair of *upamānas*. Namely, the two objects (i.e., *rāhula-* and *pūrṇacandra-*) must be considered as the recipients of the action performed by an implicit external agent, that is Siddhārtha.

In the epics there are two passages in particular where a similar comparison is made. These are two *ślokas* from the first canto of *Sundarakāṇḍa*, which describe two moments in which Hanumān was swallowed by the demoness Surasā (5.1.176) and then freed (5.1.154):

Rām 5.1.176

*āsye tasyā nimajjantaṃ
dadṛśuḥ siddhacāraṇāḥ |
grasyamānaṃ yathā candraṃ
pūrṇaṃ parvaṇi rāhuṇā ||*

‘Siddhas and celestial singers saw [Hanumān] drowning in her (i.e., Surasā’s) mouth, **as the full moon is grasped by Rahu at the proper time**’.

Rām 5.1.154

*taṃ dṛṣṭvā vadanānmuktaṃ
candraṃ rāhumukhād iva |
abravīt surasā devī
svena rūpeṇa vānaram ||*

‘The goddess Surasā, having seen him (i.e., Hanumān) released from her mouth, **just as the moon (is released) from Rahu’s mouth**, spoke to the monkey in her own form’.

Both passages are relevant and a comparison with the stanza from the Mahākāvya shows that Aśvaghoṣa employs the myth of Rahu swallowing the moon as an archetype. Thus, by focusing on the *upamā* and consequently on the *bimbapratibimba* relation involving the liberation of the moon as the reflected object (*bimba*), that is, the state that comes after the eclipse, the poet goes beyond the concept expressed in the epic model.

In the first canto, when Māyā, Śuddhodana’s queen, is pregnant with Siddhārtha, the brahmins at the court prophesy his glorious future life (BC 1.36):

*mokṣāya ced vā vanam eva gacchet tattvena samyak sa vijitya sarvān |
matān prthivyāṃ bahumānam etaḥ rājeta śaileṣu yathā sumeruḥ ||*

‘Or indeed if he were to go to the forest for liberation, after having correctly conquered all doctrines with his essence, having won esteem on earth, **he would shine as the Sumeru [shines] over the mountains**’.

UPAMEYA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	UPAMĀNA
<i>saḥ (= Siddhārtha) prthivyāṃ</i>	<i>bahumānam etaḥ rājeta</i>	<i>sumeruḥ śaileṣu</i>

4. The reuse and active manipulation of the logical structure of the *alaṃkāra* as a mark of a high degree of intertextuality

The verse can be interpreted as a *śleṣopamā* since $\sqrt{rāj}$ - means ‘to rule’ in the case of the *upameya* and ‘to shine’ in the case of the *upamāna*. Indeed, the sense of ruling also applies to Meru – called Sumeru, or excellent Meru.

In the epics, as has already been mentioned (§§ 1.1.3.3), Mount Meru is a common *upamāna*, but the emphasis on the *sādhāraṇadharmas* is different here. Notably, a similar *bimbapratibimba* relation appears in a passage comparing Atikaya and his shining jewellery to Mount Meru (Rām 6.57.26):

sa kāñcanavitreṇa kirīṭena virājatā |
bhūṣaṇaiś ca babhau meruḥ prabhābhir iva bhāsvarah ||
 ‘He (Atikaya) shone with his blazing gold variegated tiara and with his jewels **like the brilliant Meru [shone] by means of its lights**’.

UPAMEYA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	UPAMĀNA
<i>saḥ (=Atikaya)</i> <i>kāñcanavitreṇa kirīṭena</i>	<i>babhau</i>	<i>meruḥ</i> <i>prabhābhir</i>

Although the context is different and the idea of ruling over the world is absent, the common property *babhau* is semantically identical to the BC stanza, a fact that makes this passage particularly relevant.

However, the differences can be attributed to Mahākāvya’s way of reusing epic imagery through more sophisticated *alaṃkāras* (i.e., the *śleṣopamā*), a style that Aśvaghoṣa had skilfully mastered.

The subject of the next example is the image of an elephant surrounded by female elephants (i.e., the reflected object), which is mirrored in the image of Siddhārtha surrounded by women (i.e., the reflected image) in BC 4.27:

atha nārījanavṛtaḥ kumāro vyacarad vanam |
vāsītāyūthasahitaḥ karīva himavadvanam ||
 ‘The prince now traversed the grove, surrounded by the women, **as an elephant the forest at the foot of Himālaya, escorted by a flock of female elephants**’.

UPAMEYA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	UPAMĀNA
<i>kumāraḥ</i> <i>nārī-jana-</i>	<i>-vṛtaḥ / -sahitaḥ</i>	<i>karīn</i> <i>vāsītā-yūtha-</i>

4. The reuse and active manipulation of the logical structure of the *alamkāra* as a mark of a high degree of intertextuality

Aśvaghoṣa once again employs the elephant as the *upamāna* for Siddhārtha in BC 3.2, where his life inside the palace makes him like an elephant *antargrhe* ‘inside a house’.³⁰⁸

In the epics, there is a common comparative matrix between a hero and his woman, and the bull-elephant and its female companion. For instance, some women spontaneously surround Rāvaṇa in his harem (Rām 5.9.9):

*sa rākṣasendraḥ śuśubhe tābhiḥ parivṛtaḥ svayam |
kareṇubhir yathāraṇye parikīrṇo mahādvipaḥ ||*
‘That Indra of a *rākṣasa* (i.e., Rāvaṇa) shone, surrounded by those women voluntarily, **like a mighty elephant surrounded by female elephants**’.

UPAMEYA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	UPAMĀNA
<i>sa rākṣasendraḥ tābhiḥ</i>	<i>parivṛtaḥ / parikīrṇaḥ</i>	<i>mahādvipaḥ kareṇubhiḥ</i>

Here there is a double common property connecting the *bimba*, i.e., the reflected object expressed by the *upamānas*, to the *pratibimba*, i.e., the image reflected onto the *upameyas*.

In a passage from the MBh, instead, Draupadī shows her jealousy to Bhīma by informing him that she saw her husband Arjuna surrounded by women (MBh 4.18.20d-21):

[*arjunam* 20b]
kanyāparivṛtaḥ dr̥ṣṭvā bhīma sīdati me manaḥ 20d]
*yadā hy enam parivṛtaḥ kanyābhir devarūpiṇam |
prabhinnam iva mātāṅgaṃ parikīrṇaṃ careṇubhiḥ ||*
‘O Bhīma, after seeing (Arjuna) surrounded by maidens, my mind sinks into agitation; indeed when [I see] him who has the appearance of a god surrounded by maidens, **like an elephant exuding (ichor) surrounded by female elephants**’.

UPAMEYA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	UPAMĀNA
<i>enam (=Arjuna) kanyābhiḥ</i>	<i>parivṛtam / parikīrṇam</i>	<i>mātāṅgaṃ careṇubhiḥ</i>

Once again, the *sādhāraṇadharmas* is repeated, which shows that it conveys a common formulaic image.

³⁰⁸ However, there are no attestations in the epics of such an image which has been originally crafted by Aśvaghoṣa.

The comparison with the epic occurrences clearly shows the existence of a comparative matrix in which a hero surrounded by women is compared to a bull-elephant with its cows. Moreover, this is favoured by the application of the *bimbapratibimba* relation that is almost symmetrical in the BC stanza, especially as far as the *sādhāraṇadharmā vr̥ta*- ‘surrounded’ is concerned.

Fire is the *upamāna* in the last two examples in this survey. The first case regards the application of the *bimbapratibimba* relation to the idea of the dissatisfaction that comes from desire (SN 9.43):

na kāmabhogā hi bhavanti tr̥ptaye havīm̃ṣi dīptasya vibhāvasor iva |
yathā yathā kāmasukheṣu vartate tathā tathēcchā viṣayeṣu vardhate ||
‘Because the gratification of desires does not lead to satiety, **just as oblations [do not lead to satiety] of the blazing** fire the more one indulges in the pleasures of passions, the more the desire for the object of senses grows’.

UPAMEYA	SĀDHĀRAṆADHARMA	UPAMĀNA
* <i>kāma</i> - (implicit) <i>kāmabhogāḥ</i>	<i>na tr̥ptaye</i>	<i>dīptasya vibhāvasoḥ</i> <i>havīm̃ṣi</i>

The genitive held by *tr̥ptaye* gives the general meaning of the satisfaction given by the burning fire which does not lead to satiety.

Most of the epic examples simply demonstrate the fact that fire fuelled by offerings is a common *upamāna* for something brilliant, but what is interesting about Aśvaghōṣa’s example is the fact that feeding does not cause the cessation of either *kāma*- or *agni*-.

The idea that enmity gives rise to enmity, just as the sacrificial butter gives rise to fire is expressed in MBh 5.70.63:

na cāpi vairam̃ vaireṇa keśava vyupaśāmyati |
haviṣāgnir̥ yathā kṛṣṇa bhūya evābhivardhate ||
‘Nor is hostility calmed by more hostility, o Keśava it rather grows stronger more and more **just as a fire [grows stronger] due to oblations**, o Kṛṣṇa’.

In the SN, pleasure breeds desire and does not satisfy it. This process is ultimately likened to the fire that becomes more intense with the sacrifices offered to it.

Moreover, Aśvagoṣa repeats the same image in SN 5.23:

4. The reuse and active manipulation of the logical structure of the alaṃkāra as a mark of a high degree of intertextuality

*sādhāraṇāt svapnanibhād asārāl lolaṃ manaḥ kāmasukhān niyaccha |
havyair ivāgneḥ pavaneritasya lokasya kāmair na hi trptir asti ||*
'Restrain your unsteady mind from the pleasure of desire,³⁰⁹ which is common, without strength, similar to sleep, men cannot reach satisfaction by means of the object of desire³¹⁰, **like [the satisfaction] of a fire, excited by the wind, by means of oblations**'.

UPAMEYA	SĀDHARAṆADHARMA	UPAMĀNA
<i>lokasya kāmair</i>	<i>na trptiḥ</i>	<i>agneḥ havyair</i>

Here the *upamā* implicitly states that desire is increased and not decreased by desired objects (*na trptiḥ asti*). Therefore, recourse to the metaphorical matrix helps the reader to understand the true meaning of the *upamā*, since it is not explicitly stated that they do not fuel fire/desire.

In conclusion, in this chapter I have attempted to show that the use of the metaphorical matrix is functional to the understanding of the *upamā*. Indeed, in presenting the selected examples and in analysing the Mahākāvya, I have observed the way in which the Kāvya style is elaborated on the basis of the epics, i.e., the literature known at the time. Indeed, it is through the paradigmatic and theoretical criterion of intertextuality that the reworking of the Kāvya style can be demonstrated in this thesis.

For example, he sometimes uses archetypal images, reworking them greatly, or using them within the framework of a very elaborate stanza: he then achieves a *śleṣa* by playing with the duality of the actual sense and the figurative sense (e.g., BC 12.99). Finally, Aśvaghōṣa demonstrates a good degree of awareness of the epic model. He reworks complex ornaments in terms of situational logic and implicit or explicit double meaning.

Moreover, as an experienced poet, he manipulates and transcends epic imagery, adopting syntactic (e.g., BC 8.5), lexical, and rhetorical subtleties that make the logical structure of his *upamās* more complex and refined than the simple epic

³⁰⁹ *kāmasukha*:- 'love and pleasure' if one interprets it as a *dvandva* compound, otherwise 'the pleasure of love' if it is interpreted as a *ṣaṣṭhītatpuruṣa*. Both are possible, but *pāda* cd's explanation is more convincing if understood as *ṣaṣṭhītatpuruṣa*.

³¹⁰ *kāma*- here means 'object of desire' rather than 'love' properly speaking.

formula. This is ultimately demonstrated by a thorough comparison of cross-references between the epic sources and the Mahākāvya regarding the use of the *bimbapratibimba* relation. Although the latter process would not be formally elaborated for almost a millennium after Aśvaghoṣa, it was still naively employed and well established in the epics. It was therefore reused by Aśvaghoṣa in the Mahākāvya and skilfully contextualised, sometimes deliberately echoing the epic model.

He sometimes works out an established image and adds another element to the equation (e.g., BC 9.10). He also reuses the logical relationship of these *upamās* and improves them from the point of view of verse architecture. In fact, the structure of the stanza in terms of cross-reference is both symmetrical and mirrored: indeed, there is symmetry in terms of the *pādas*' stylistic architecture and mirroring from a logical and rhetorical point of view.

4. The reuse and active manipulation of the logical structure of the alaṃkāra as a mark of
a high degree of intertextuality

Conclusions

I. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

As stated in the research premise (§1.1.1), this dissertation has postulated and sought to demonstrate the intertextual relationship between Aśvaghoṣa's Mahākāvya and the epic poems of the Itihāsa genre. In fact, the present study has been an attempt to outline some of the major problems that one encounters when attempting to carry out a literary analysis of Aśvaghoṣa's Mahākāvya. That is to say, the fact that Aśvaghoṣa's contribution to pre-systematic³¹¹ patterns of analogy is so often underestimated by scholars or, indeed, even little considered.

In particular, I refer to the extent to which Aśvaghoṣa was acquainted with some kinds of written versions of the epics, a fact that scholars have frequently and strongly rejected or dismissed as unstable ground for research due to the massive and complex philological background that underlies the epics and especially the MBh.

This thesis has shown how it is possible to reconstruct three main levels of intertextuality through a systematic comparison between Aśvaghoṣa's Mahākāvya and the epic sources. This has also proved fruitful in restoring a certain pattern in his rhetorical, stylistic, and narrative approach, ultimately showing that he was familiar with some parts of the texts as we now know them. And he was certainly acquainted with other parts too, which have now been omitted from the main Critical Editions. This could eventually lead to a further reconsideration of the philological question of the real unity of the nucleus of the epic sources in the very first two centuries CE.

For instance, I have outlined how the reuse of the analogical matrices is functional to the understanding of how the *upamās* and *rūpakas* work in the

³¹¹ I am referring to the evident and repeated use of linguistic processes long before they have been the subject of theoretical description (see the Introduction § I.I).

Mahākāvya. In fact, although the analogical matrices belong to a broad metaphorical background that obviously goes beyond the MBh and the Rām, and maybe, in numerous cases, to the Vedas, I have demonstrated how Aśvaghoṣa's mechanism of intertextual reuse works in the Mahākāvyas. Moreover, the direct references he makes to the texts in his Mahākāvyas have revealed his first-hand knowledge of the epic sources. This serves the purpose of highlighting the differences and similarities between the contexts of epics and that of Mahākāvya in its earliest development. That is to say, the presentation of the selected examples and the analysis of the Mahākāvya has shown how the Kāvya style was elaborated on the basis of the epics. This has allowed us to begin to imagine the processes that led to the development of this genre.

Secondly, I have demonstrated a primary level of intertextuality that can be deduced from the use of compound *alamkāras*. Aśvaghoṣa's use of such ornaments across a spectrum of simple and/or adaptive reuse proves that he had a certain amount of experience in navigating the rhetorical tools at his disposal. In addition, a more sophisticated level of intertextual and intratextual dynamics occurs between Aśvaghoṣa's Mahākāvyas and the epic sources.

Furthermore, Aśvaghoṣa's intervention in the reworking of the epic model involves rhetorical strategies aimed at the reuse of (mainly *asamasta-*) *rūpakas* and *upamās* that immediately and explicitly allude to the epic model and generate something original. As far as the *alamkāras* are concerned, this applies to a greater extent to the *upamā* than to the *rūpaka*, since the number of epic cross-references that match the BC and SN stanzas is significantly greater. Furthermore, the author's extensive acquaintance with the epic background is indicated by the variety of *upamānas* used in the epics that he then reuses.

In several instances there is striking evidence of rhetorical devices that are not systematised until much later in the chronology of the Kāvya. These are a) the *samsrṣṭis*, which can be critically interpreted in Western terms as a stylistic device, being a kind of "ornaments-catalyser"³¹²; b) the *samastavastuviṣaya-rūpaka* and the

³¹² With this expression I mean to emphasise the purpose of the *samsrṣṭi*, which is to bind together several other *alamkāras* in a sequence of stanzas, so as to capture the reader's attention almost in a whirl of rhetorical virtuosity within the framework of the poetic work.

paramparita-rūpaka as expressions of rhetorical virtuosity, again using Western categories of interpretation.³¹³ As far as these last two devices are concerned, the *samastavastuviṣaya-rūpaka* is in the throes of development in Aśvaghōṣa's time, while the *paramparita-rūpaka* is at least a millennium away from being recognised and systematised. Nevertheless, their presence, not only in Aśvaghōṣa's work but even in the epic texts, is certainly a significant indication of the stage of composition that rhetorical elaboration may have attained in that period of time.

This is ultimately evident from a thorough comparison of the cross-references between the epics and the Mahākāvya regarding the use of *bimbapratibimba* relation. This is a process that will not be formally elaborated until almost a millennium after Aśvaghōṣa. Nevertheless, it was naively used and well established in the epics. Naively, in the sense that it is done in a natural rather than a *śāstric* way. In fact, what this study has attempted to show is that Aśvaghōṣa used procedures that appear to reflect a contemporary practice that would not become normative until many centuries later. In the case of the *bimbapratibimba* relation, for example, there is a recurrent use of the linguistic and logically grounded process, even though it is a descriptive concept that, as far as we know, did not exist in Aśvaghōṣa's time. That is, in this case, the process by which not only two *upameyas* and two *upamānas* can be analysed and compared in the structure of the examples, but more importantly the logical relationship between a pair of *upameyas* and a pair of *upamānas* within the *upamā* (cf. the structure of the Aristotelian *analogon*). It was, therefore, reused by Aśvaghōṣa in his Mahākāvya and skilfully contextualised, at times even as a deliberate echo of the epic model.

The present thesis thus aims to locate itself in the direction already indicated by Eltschinger's (2013ab; 2019) studies of Aśvaghōṣa's canonical sources, by advocating and substantiating the hypothesis of intertextuality between Aśvaghōṣa's Mahākāvyas and the epic sources, but it does so on the level of the stylistic elaboration. Certainly, further exploration of these perspectives may

³¹³ The point is that only in the Western concept is there a difference between stylistics, rhetoric, and poetics.

contribute to our understanding of the poet's compositional process, including his extensive other text sources.

II. FUTURE PERSPECTIVES

In this concluding section I would like to give a few examples of how much more the intertextual approach still has to offer us. That is, evidence of how systematic comparison with epic sources has revealed rhetorical and stylistic dynamics that seem unique to Aśvaghoṣa, or that he may have borrowed from another source.

This methodology is a kind of “approach by elimination”. In other words, if there is no intertextual relationship between a particular passage in the Mahākāvya and in the epics, this ultimately leads to the discovery of something much greater: the true extent of Aśvaghoṣa's creativity as a *kavi*, someone who is capable of actively manipulating his sources and the language.

In the first chapter (§1.2), I argued that the different stylistic dynamics that Aśvaghoṣa seemed to adopt in his compositional process were also evidence that he was working independently as a *kavi* composing Mahākāvya. This was the case with a number of *alaṃkāra* patterns with a more articulated structure, which I have tentatively grouped into two main categories. In the present thesis I have indeed dealt extensively with analogical matrices belonging to the divine and nature-based semantic domains. Instead, I will leave to future studies a discussion of those *alaṃkāras* that can be classified according to their logical dynamics, i.e., (1a) *alaṃkāras* for which the epic registers a different *sādhāraṇadharmā*; (1b) *alaṃkāras* that involve a reversal of ideas, and, as regards *alaṃkāras* classified according to the adaptation of epic matrices (2a), those that convey religious and Buddhist themes. I argue that Aśvaghoṣa has been extremely innovative with respect to the epic model. For instance, he modifies the idea – perhaps an analogical matrix – of being plunged into a dead-end situation (i.e., SN 17.72) suggesting that Buddhism allows a way out of seemingly unresolvable situations, such as, precisely, an elephant (a large heavy animal) that can be pulled out from the mud

(which is an unpleasant and seemingly insurmountable situation). He employs an often-expressed idea and applies it to the Buddhist context.

In addition, there is still a great deal of research to be done on Aśvaghōṣa's use of *alaṃkāras* not yet described in the *śāstras*. As a matter of fact, the treatises do provide descriptive concepts, which are expected to be effective in the description of the functioning of the ornaments not only as devices to be used in poetical practice. In other words, the same ornaments can be described in terms of different concepts, including concepts that were apparently not in existence at the time of the work under analysis, in the form they would have several centuries later. However, if the process is repeated in the examples, and if it always has the same structure, then it can be said to have been consciously used by the poet, even if there is no evidence that he had the concept to describe it. Finally, much remains to be done, not only with regard to Aśvaghōṣa, but also with regard to the Kāvya in general, such as using the available data to create some sort of typology of the *alaṃkāras*, with the aim of extending the comparison between the epic and the Kāvya.

Appendix I

There are a total of 211 passages omitted from the BC. These are listed in the following table:

Legenda: bpb = *bimbapratibimba* relation

	LOCI	ALAMKĀRA	OMISSION REASON
1.	1.1-3	<i>upamā</i>	Not retained in the Sanskrit text = retroversion
2.	1.10	<i>māloṣamā</i>	Epic reference not found
3.	1.11	<i>utprekṣā</i>	The references in the epics are <i>upamās</i> and Aśvaghōṣa changes the idea
4.	1.13	<i>samāsoṣamā</i>	The idea is adapted: the epic sources attest similar compound 'sun'+-vat
5.	1.14	<i>samāsoṣamā</i>	Epic reference not found
6.	1.16	<i>upamānasamāsa</i>	
7.	1.27	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
8.	1.29	<i>upamā</i>	
9.	1.35	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
10.	1.60	<i>upamānasamāsa</i>	
11.	1.69	<i>rūpaka</i>	Aśvaghōṣa reuses an epic <i>topos</i>
12.	1.72	<i>samastarūpaka; upamā</i>	
13.	1.73	<i>samastarūpaka; upamā</i>	Aśvaghōṣa applies epic matrices and changes them to convey Buddhist themes
14.	1.74	<i>samastavastuviṣayarūpaka</i>	
15.	1.75	<i>samastarūpaka</i>	
16.	1.88	<i>upamā</i>	Testimony of Aśvaghōṣa's knowledge of the epics and its mythology
17.	1.89	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	

18.	2.1	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality: <i>sindhu-</i> is attested as <i>upamāna</i> but the idea is different
19.	2.9	<i>utprekṣā</i>	Epic reference not found
20.	2.13	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
21.	2.15	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
22.	2.18	<i>upamānasamāsa</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality: <i>ṛṣi-</i> is attested as <i>upamāna</i> but always in <i>upamās</i> Aśvaghoṣa is original
23.	2.20	<i>māloṣamā</i>	Epic <i>topos</i>
24.	2.27	<i>samāsoṣamā ; upamā + bpb</i>	Epic reference not found; epic <i>topos</i>
25.	2.29	<i>upamānasamāsa ; upamā</i>	irrelevant to intertextuality: autumn clouds are a common <i>upamāna</i>
26.	2.30	<i>samāsoṣamā x2</i>	Epic <i>topos</i>
27.	2.32	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	Epic reference not found
28.	2.34	<i>samāsoṣamā ; samastarūpaka</i>	
29.	2.37	<i>samastarūpaka</i>	
30.	2.40	<i>samastarūpaka x2</i>	
31.	2.45	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
32.	2.50	<i>upamā</i>	Epic <i>topos</i>
33.	2.51	<i>upamā</i>	Epic reference not found
34.	2.52	<i>upamā</i>	Epic <i>topos</i>
35.	3.2	<i>upamā</i>	Epic reference not found
36.	3.10	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
37.	3.16	<i>upamānasamāsa</i>	
38.	3.19	<i>samastarūpaka ; upamā + bpb</i>	
39.	3.20	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
40.	3.22	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
41.	3.24	<i>upamā</i>	
42.	3.26	<i>upamā</i>	Different <i>sādhāraṇadharmā</i>
43.	3.34	<i>upamā</i>	Aśvaghoṣa changes the idea

44.	3.45	<i>upamā</i>	
45.	3.64	<i>śleṣopamā ; upamā</i>	
46.	3.65	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	Epic reference not found
47.	4.1	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
48.	4.28	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
49.	4.30	<i>rūpaka</i>	Aśvaghōṣa enriches the image
50.	4.33	<i>upamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
51.	4.40	<i>samastarūpaka</i>	
52.	4.44	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
53.	4.45	<i>utprekṣā</i>	Epic reference not found
54.	4.46	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
55.	4.47	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
56.	4.49	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
57.	4.50	<i>samāśopamā</i>	Aśvaghōṣa changes the idea
58.	4.60	<i>utprekṣā</i>	Epic reference not found
59.	4.70	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	Aśvaghōṣa reverses the idea
60.	4.89	<i>upamā</i>	Epic reference not found
61.	4.98	<i>utprekṣā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
62.	4.103	<i>upamā</i>	Different <i>sādhāraṇadharmā</i>
63.	5.1	<i>upamā</i>	
64.	5.3	<i>upamā</i>	
65.	5.4	<i>utprekṣā</i>	Epic reference not found
66.	5.5	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
67.	5.9	<i>samastarūpaka</i>	
68.	5.21	<i>samāśopamā</i>	
69.	5.22	<i>samāśopamā (a1); samastarūpaka (a2)</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
70.	5.23	<i>upamā</i>	Epic reference not found
71.	5.26	<i>hetūpamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
72.	5.27	<i>samāśopamā ; upamā + bpb</i>	
73.	5.29	<i>upamā ; samāśopamā</i>	
74.	5.34	<i>upamānasamāsa</i>	Epic reference not found
75.	5.37	<i>śleṣopamā</i>	

76.	5.42	<i>upamānasamāsa</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
77.	5.43	<i>śleṣopamā , upamā , upamā + bpb</i>	Epic reference not found; irrelevant to intertextuality
78.	5.45	<i>samāśopamā ; upamā + bpb</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
79.	5.50	<i>samāśopamā ; upamānasamāsa</i>	
80.	5.52	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	Epic reference not found:
81.	5.53	<i>samastarūpaka ; upamā</i>	
82.	5.57	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	Aśvaghoṣa changes the idea
83.	5.58	<i>upamā</i>	
84.	5.62	<i>upamā</i>	
85.	5.74	<i>samāśopamā ; utprekṣā</i>	Epic reference not found
86.	5.79	<i>utprekṣā ; upamānasamāsa ; upamā</i>	
87.	5.81	<i>samāśopamā (b1); utprekṣā (b2)</i>	
88.	5.86	<i>upamā</i>	
89.	5.87	<i>samāśopamā ; utprekṣā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
90.	6.13	<i>upamā</i>	
91.	6.19	<i>samāśopamā</i>	
92.	6.31	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
93.	6.33	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	Epic reference not found
94.	6.34	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
95.	6.35	<i>rūpaka</i>	
96.	6.36	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
97.	6.38	<i>upamā</i>	
98.	6.46	<i>upamā + bpb (ab)</i>	Epic reference not found
99.	6.47	<i>upamā + bpb (ab)</i>	
100.	6.56	<i>utprekṣā</i>	Aśvaghoṣa employs an <i>upamāna</i> well-established only in <i>upamās</i>
101.	6.57	<i>upamānasamāsa ; utprekṣā</i>	Epic reference not found; Aśvaghoṣa transforms an <i>upamā</i> into an <i>utprekṣā</i>

102.	6.65	<i>upamā</i>	
103.	7.1	<i>upamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
104.	7.2	<i>upamānasamāsa ; samāśopamā</i>	
105.	7.5	<i>utprekṣā ; upamānasamāsa</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality: only occurrence of <i>mṛgacārin</i> (MBh 131439)
106.	7.6	<i>upamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
107.	7.8	<i>samastarūpaka, upamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality; epic reference not found
108.	7.9	<i>samāśopamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
109.	7.17	<i>upamā , upamānasamāsa</i>	Different <i>sādhāraṇadharmā</i>
110.	7.27	<i>samāśopamā</i>	
111.	7.33	<i>utprekṣā</i>	Epic reference not found
112.	7.34	<i>samāśopamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
113.	7.35	<i>utprekṣā</i>	Epic reference not found
114.	7.53	<i>upamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
115.	8.3	<i>utprekṣā</i>	Epic reference not found
116.	8.6	<i>samāśopamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
117.	8.16	<i>utprekṣā</i>	Epic reference not found
118.	8.20	<i>upamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
119.	8.21	<i>upamā</i>	Aśvaghoṣa changes the idea
120.	8.22	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
121.	8.25	<i>utprekṣā</i>	Epic reference not found
122.	8.26	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
123.	8.28	<i>samāśopamā , upamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
124.	8.29	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	Epic reference not found
125.	8.36	<i>samāśopamā , upamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
126.	8.38	<i>samāśopamā</i>	
127.	8.45	<i>utprekṣā x2 (b,c)</i>	Epic reference not found
128.	8.46	<i>utprekṣā</i>	

129.	8.71	<i>upamā</i>	
130.	8.72	<i>upamā</i>	
131.	8.76	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
132.	8.77	<i>upamā</i>	
133.	8.86	<i>upamā</i>	
134.	9.5	<i>samāśopamā x2</i>	
135.	9.8	<i>upamā</i>	
136.	9.14	<i>samāśopamā (d1), samastarūpaka (d2)</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
137.	9.15	<i>samāśopamā, upamā + bpb</i>	
138.	9.29	<i>samastavastuviṣayarūpaka</i>	
139.	9.35	<i>upamā</i>	Epic reference not found
140.	9.41	<i>mālopmā</i>	
141.	9.43	<i>upamā x2 (a,d)</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
142.	9.49	<i>upamā</i>	
143.	9.72	<i>rūpaka</i>	Epic reference not found
144.	10.2	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
145.	10.19	<i>upamā ; upamā + bpb</i>	Epic reference not found; Irrelevant to intertextuality (Rām 6504)
146.	10.21	<i>upamānasamāsa</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality (MBh 9.44.93)
147.	10.31	<i>upamānasamāsa</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
148.	10.37	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
149.	11.3	<i>upamā</i>	Epic reference not found
150.	11.9	<i>rūpaka ; samāśopamā</i>	
151.	11.10	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
152.	11.12	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
153.	11.19	<i>upamā</i>	Epic reference not found
154.	11.22	<i>samāśopamā</i>	

155.	11.23	<i>samāśopamā</i>	
156.	11.24	<i>samāśopamā</i>	Aśvaghoṣa adapts the idea
157.	11.25	<i>upamā ; samāśopamā</i>	
158.	11.26	<i>samāśopamā</i>	
159.	11.27	<i>samāśopamā</i>	
160.	11.28	<i>samāśopamā</i>	Epic reference not found
161.	11.29	<i>samāśopamā</i>	
162.	11.30	<i>samāśopamā</i>	
163.	11.31	<i>samāśopamā</i>	
164.	11.33	<i>samāśopamā</i>	Aśvaghoṣa adapts the idea
165.	11.45	<i>samāśopamā</i>	
166.	11.57	<i>samastarūpaka</i>	Epic reference not found
167.	11.62	<i>samastavastuviṣayarūpaka</i>	
168.	11.68	<i>upamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality (MBh 94117)
169.	11.70	<i>upamānasamāsa x2</i>	
170.	11.71	<i>upamā + bpb (ab)</i>	
171.	12.6	<i>upamā</i>	Epic reference not found
172.	12.13	<i>mālopmā + bpb</i>	
173.	12.64	<i>mālopmā</i>	
174.	12.72	<i>upamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality (MBh 742-3; 367)
175.	12.92	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	Epic reference not found
176.	12.93	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
177.	12.98	<i>upamā</i>	Aśvaghoṣa adapts the idea

178.	12.110	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	Epic reference not found
179.	12.117	<i>utprekṣā ; samāśopamā</i>	Different <i>sādhāraṇadharmā</i>
180.	12.120	<i>upamānasamāsa</i>	
181.	13.4	<i>samastavastuviṣayarūpaka</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality (MBh 515025-27)
182.	13.5	<i>upamā</i>	Aśvaghoṣa is original
183.	13.6	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality (MBh 83629-32)
184.	13.8	<i>samastarūpaka</i>	Epic reference not found
185.	13.23	<i>upamānasamāsa (a,b)</i>	
186.	13.26	<i>samāśopamā</i>	Aśvaghoṣa adapts the idea
187.	13.33	<i>upamā</i>	Idea reversion
188.	13.35	<i>upamānasamāsa x2 (b,c)</i>	Aśvaghoṣa adapts the idea; epic reference not found
189.	13.36	<i>utprekṣā</i>	Epic reference not found
190.	13.37	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
191.	13.39	<i>upamā</i>	Aśvaghoṣa enriches the image
192.	13.40	<i>upamānasamāsa</i>	Epic reference not found
193.	13.41	<i>upamā ; upamā + bpb</i>	
194.	13.43	<i>upamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
195.	13.46	<i>utprekṣā</i>	Epic reference not found
196.	13.47	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
197.	13.48	<i>upamā</i>	
198.	13.49	<i>upamānasamāsa ; upamā</i>	
199.	13.50	<i>samāśopamā ; upamā + bpb</i>	Epic reference not found
200.	13.51	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
201.	13.53	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
202.	13.54	<i>upamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality

203.	13.57	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	Aśvaghōṣa enriches the image (MBh 515815-16)
204.	13.61	<i>rūpaka</i>	
205.	13.64	<i>rūpaka</i>	Epic reference not found
206.	13.71	<i>upamā</i>	
207.	14.6	<i>upamānasamāsa</i>	
208.	14.8	<i>upamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
209.	14.15	<i>upamā</i>	
210.	14.16	<i>samāśopamā</i>	Epic reference not found
211.	14.20	<i>utprekṣā</i>	

Appendix II

There are a total of 273 passages that have been omitted from the SN. These are listed below:

	LOCI	ALAṂKĀRA	OMISSION REASON
1.	1.6	<i>upamā</i>	Different <i>sādhāraṇadharmā</i>
2.	1.7	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
3.	1.8	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
4.	1.9	<i>upamā</i>	
5.	1.12	<i>utprekṣā</i>	Epic reference not found
6.	1.13	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
7.	1.14	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
8.	1.17	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
9.	1.37	<i>upamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
10.	1.48	<i>śleṣopamā</i>	
11.	1.53	<i>malopamā</i>	Epic reference not found
12.	1.58	<i>upamā</i>	
13.	1.59	<i>samāśopamā</i> , <i>upamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
14.	1.60	<i>upamā</i> + <i>bpb</i>	Idea reversion
15.	2.7	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
16.	2.11	<i>utprekṣā</i>	Epic reference not found
17.	2.14	<i>upamā</i>	
18.	2.19	<i>upamā</i> + <i>bpb</i>	
19.	2.22	<i>upamāx2</i>	Different <i>sādhāraṇadharmā</i> ; the idea is adapted
20.	2.30	<i>upamā</i> + <i>bpb</i>	Different <i>sādhāraṇadharmā</i>
21.	2.36	<i>upamānasamāsa</i> + <i>rūpaka</i>	Epic reference not found
22.	2.39	<i>samastarūpaka</i>	
23.	2.50	<i>upamānasamāsa</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
24.	2.52	<i>upamā</i>	The idea is adapted
25.	2.53	<i>utprekṣā</i>	The idea may be adapted (MBh 314627)
26.	2.57	<i>upamā</i> + <i>bpb</i>	Analogical matrix
27.	2.59	<i>malopamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
28.	2.65	<i>upamā</i> + <i>bpb</i>	Epic reference not found
29.	3.7	<i>upamā</i>	Analogical matrix

30.	3.11	<i>samastavastuviṣayarūpaka</i>	
31.	3.12	<i>rūpaka</i>	Epic reference not found
32.	3.14	<i>samastavastuviṣayarūpaka</i>	
33.	3.17	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
34.	3.25	<i>upamā</i>	The idea is adapted
35.	3.28	<i>upamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
36.	3.31	<i>upamā</i>	
37.	4.2	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	Epic reference not found
38.	4.4	<i>samastavastuviṣayarūpaka</i>	
39.	4.7	<i>upamā</i>	The idea is adapted
40.	4.10	<i>upamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
41.	4.18	<i>utprekṣā</i>	Epic reference not found
42.	4.23	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
43.	4.28	<i>upamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
44.	4.30	<i>utprekṣā</i>	The idea is adapted
45.	4.31	<i>upamā</i>	Epic reference not found
46.	4.39	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
47.	4.40	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	The idea is adapted
48.	4.42	<i>upamā</i>	
49.	4.44	<i>upamā</i>	
50.	5.3	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	Epic reference not found
51.	5.30	<i>samastavastuviṣayarūpaka + upamā</i>	
52.	5.31	<i>upamā</i>	The idea is adapted
53.	5.32	<i>utprekṣā</i>	Epic reference not found
54.	5.39	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
55.	5.41	<i>rūpaka</i>	Epic reference not found
56.	5.42	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
57.	5.47	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
58.	5.48	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
59.	5.52	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
60.	5.53	<i>upamā</i>	
61.	6.9	<i>upamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
62.	6.11	<i>upamā</i>	
63.	6.17	<i>utprekṣā</i>	Epic reference not found
64.	6.22	<i>upamā</i>	
65.	6.24	<i>upamā</i>	Epic reference not found
66.	6.25	<i>upamā</i>	
67.	6.28	<i>utprekṣā</i>	Epic reference not found
68.	6.30	<i>upamā</i>	
69.	6.32	<i>utprekṣā</i>	Epic reference not found
70.	6.36	<i>upamā</i>	
71.	6.37	<i>utprekṣā</i>	Epic reference not found
72.	6.40	<i>utprekṣā</i>	

73.	6.45	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
74.	7.3	<i>upamānasamāsa</i>	
75.	7.4	<i>upamā</i>	
76.	7.5	<i>śleṣopamā</i>	
77.	7.6	<i>upamānasamāsa</i>	
78.	7.9	<i>upamā + utprekṣā</i>	
79.	7.10	<i>upamā</i>	
80.	7.12	<i>samastavastuviṣayarūpaka</i>	
81.	7.16	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
82.	7.17	<i>upamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
83.	7.28	<i>upamā</i>	Analogical matrix
84.	7.29	<i>samastarūpaka</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality (MBh 120216)
85.	7.30	<i>upamā</i>	
86.	7.39	<i>upamā</i>	
87.	7.41	<i>upamā</i>	
88.	7.42	<i>rūpaka</i>	
89.	7.48	<i>upamā</i>	Epic reference not found
90.	8.13	<i>upamā</i>	
91.	8.27	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
92.	8.29	<i>rūpaka + utprekṣā</i>	
93.	8.31	<i>upamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
94.	8.37	<i>upamā</i>	
95.	8.38	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
96.	8.41	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
97.	8.52	<i>samāśopamā</i>	
98.	8.58	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
99.	8.59	<i>utprekṣā</i>	Epic reference not found
100.	8.61	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
101.	8.62	<i>samāśopamā</i>	
102.	9.8	<i>upamā</i>	
103.	9.10	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
104.	9.12	<i>upamā</i>	Different <i>sādhāraṇadharmā</i>
105.	9.25	<i>upamā</i>	Epic reference not found
106.	9.27	<i>samāśopamā</i>	The idea may be adapted (MBh 21713)
107.	9.31	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
108.	9.32	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
109.	9.36	<i>rūpaka</i>	
110.	9.38	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
111.	9.39	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	Epic reference not found
112.	9.41	<i>upamā</i>	
113.	9.42	<i>rūpaka + upamā</i>	
114.	9.44	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
115.	9.45	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
116.	9.46	<i>upamā</i>	The idea is adapted
117.	9.48	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	Epic reference not found

118.	9.50	<i>upamā</i>	The idea is adapted
119.	10.3	<i>upamā + rūpaka</i>	
120.	10.8	<i>upamā</i>	
121.	10.9	<i>upamā</i>	Epic reference not found
122.	10.11	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
123.	10.12	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
124.	10.13	<i>upamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
125.	10.15	<i>upamānasamāsa</i>	
126.	10.21	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
127.	10.22	<i>rūpaka</i>	Epic reference not found
128.	10.27	<i>rūpaka</i>	
129.	10.28	<i>samāśopamā</i>	
130.	10.34	<i>samāśopamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality (Rām 52424)
131.	10.38	<i>upamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
132.	10.41	<i>samastarūpaka</i>	
133.	10.42	<i>upamā</i>	Epic reference not found
134.	10.43	<i>upamā</i>	
135.	10.44	<i>upamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
136.	10.52	<i>upamā</i>	Epic reference not found
137.	10.53	<i>samastarūpaka + upamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
138.	10.57	<i>upamā</i>	Epic reference not found
139.	10.58	<i>upamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
140.	10.64	<i>upamā</i>	
141.	11.5	<i>upamā</i>	
142.	11.1	<i>samastarūpaka</i>	
143.	11.2	<i>upamā</i>	Epic reference not found
144.	11.24	<i>upamā</i>	
145.	11.25	<i>upamā</i>	
146.	11.26	<i>upamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
147.	11.27	<i>upamā</i>	
148.	11.28	<i>upamā</i>	
149.	11.29	<i>upamā</i>	
150.	11.39	<i>upamā</i>	Epic reference not found
151.	11.59	<i>upamā</i>	
152.	11.60	<i>upamā</i>	
153.	12.6	<i>upamā</i>	
154.	12.9-10	<i>upamā</i>	These <i>upamās</i> are based on grammatical context
155.	12.11	<i>śleṣopamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality

156.	12.19	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	Epic reference not found
157.	12.27	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
158.	12.28	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality (Rām 34920; 51422)
159.	12.29	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality (MBh 64448)
160.	12.41	<i>upamā</i>	Epic reference not found
161.	12.43	<i>samastarūpaka</i>	Aśvaghōṣa reworks a pre-existing idea (<i>brahmavṛkṣa</i> - MBh 127414; 144713; 142716)
162.	13.4-6	<i>malopamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality (MBh 3232)
163.	13.35-37	<i>samastavastuviṣayarūpaka</i>	Epic reference not found
164.	13.39	<i>upamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality (MBh 57070-72)
165.	13.40	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	Idea reversion
166.	13.48	<i>upamā</i>	
167.	13.50	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
168.	14.1	<i>rūpaka</i>	
169.	14.11	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	Epic reference not found
170.	14.12	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
171.	14.13	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
172.	14.16-17	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
173.	14.18-19	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
174.	14.29	<i>rūpaka + upamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
175.	14.30	<i>upamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality (Rām 25119)
176.	14.36	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
177.	14.37	<i>upamā</i>	
178.	14.38	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	Epic reference not found
179.	14.47	<i>utprkeṣā</i>	
180.	14.48	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
181.	14.49	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	Idea reversion (MBh 7697)
182.	14.5	<i>upamā</i>	Epic reference not found
183.	14.50	<i>upamā</i>	
184.	14.52	<i>upamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
185.	14.7	<i>upamā</i>	
186.	15.12	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
187.	15.14	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
188.	15.25	<i>utprkeṣā</i>	
189.	15.26	<i>upamā</i>	Epic reference not found
190.	15.27	<i>utprkeṣā</i>	
191.	15.28	<i>utprkeṣā</i>	
192.	15.29	<i>upamā</i>	

193.	15.33	<i>upamā</i>	
194.	15.34	<i>upamā</i>	
195.	15.35	<i>samāśopamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality (MBh 313533)
196.	15.39	<i>upamā</i>	Epic reference not found
197.	15.52	<i>upamā</i>	The idea may be adapted (MBh 32644)
198.	15.53	<i>upamā</i>	
199.	15.55	<i>rūpaka</i>	Epic reference not found
200.	15.56	<i>upamā</i>	
201.	15.59	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
202.	15.6	<i>upamā</i>	The idea may be adapted (MBh 1217915)
203.	15.65	<i>upamā</i>	
204.	15.66-67	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
205.	15.68	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	Epic reference not found
206.	15.69	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
207.	15.7	<i>upamā</i>	
208.	15.8	<i>upamā</i>	Different <i>sādhāraṇadharmā</i>
209.	16.11	<i>malopamā</i>	The idea may be adapted (MBh 75740; 1217517; 121878; 94612)
210.	16.15	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
211.	16.28-29	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	Epic reference not found
212.	16.34	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
213.	16.53	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	The idea is expressed differently (MBh 136437)
214.	16.54	<i>upamā</i>	
215.	16.55	<i>upamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
216.	16.56	<i>upamā</i>	
217.	16.57	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	The idea may be adapted (MBh 717219)
218.	16.58	<i>upamā</i>	
219.	16.59	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
220.	16.60	<i>upamā</i>	Epic reference not found
221.	16.61	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
222.	16.62	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
223.	16.63-64	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
224.	16.69	<i>upamā</i>	The idea may be adapted (MBh 1039)
225.	16.71	<i>samastarūpaka</i>	
226.	16.72	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	Epic reference not found
227.	16.73	<i>upamā</i>	
228.	16.74	<i>upamā</i>	The idea may be adapted (Rām 28222; 54922)
229.	16.76	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
230.	16.79	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
231.	16.80	<i>upamā</i>	Epic reference not found
232.	16.81	<i>upamā</i>	
233.	16.85	<i>śleṣopamā</i>	
234.	16.9	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	

235.	16.93	<i>upamā</i>	
236.	17.10	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
237.	17.17	<i>rūpaka</i>	
238.	17.22-23	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
239.	17.25	<i>rūpaka</i>	
240.	17.26	<i>rūpaka</i>	
241.	17.3	<i>samastarūpaka</i>	
242.	17.33-34	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
243.	17.38-39	<i>samastavastuviṣayarūpaka</i>	
244.	17.40	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
245.	17.43	<i>samastarūpaka + upamā</i>	Different <i>sādhāraṇadharmā</i>
246.	17.45	<i>rūpaka + upamā</i>	
247.	17.46	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	Epic reference not found
248.	17.56	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
249.	17.58	<i>rūpaka + upamā</i>	
250.	17.60	<i>rūpaka</i>	The idea is adapted
251.	17.65	<i>samastarūpaka</i>	The idea is adapted (<i>vākśalya-</i> ; <i>bhaya°</i> - are attested)
252.	17.66	<i>rūpaka + upamā + utprekṣā (= samkāra)</i>	
253.	17.68-70	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
254.	17.8	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
255.	17.9	<i>utprekṣā</i>	Epic reference not found
256.	18.1	<i>malopamā + bpb</i>	
257.	18.11	<i>samastavastuviṣayarūpaka</i>	
258.	18.13	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
259.	18.20	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
260.	18.25	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
261.	18.27	<i>upamā</i>	Irrelevant to intertextuality
262.	18.28	<i>upamā</i>	
263.	18.29	<i>samastarūpaka</i>	Epic reference not found
264.	18.40	<i>samastarūpaka</i>	
265.	18.48	<i>samastarūpaka + upamā</i>	The idea is adapted
266.	18.5	<i>upamānasamāsa + utprekṣā</i>	Different <i>sādhāraṇadharmā</i>
267.	18.50	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
268.	18.51	<i>rūpaka + upamā</i>	
269.	18.63	<i>utprekṣā</i>	
270.	18.64	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	Epic reference not found
271.	18.7	<i>rūpaka</i>	
272.	18.8	<i>upamā + bpb</i>	
273.	18.9	<i>rūpaka + upamā</i>	

Appendix III

What follows is an alphabetical glossary of all the *alaṃkāras* studied and included in this thesis. Each ornament is followed by its technical definition, mainly from Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaṃprakāśa* (KP), which is here taken as the reference *alaṃkāraśāstra* in accordance with the Indian *alaṃkārikas* themselves. In addition, the technical definition is clarified by an example taken from Aśvaghoṣa's *Mahākāvya*s chosen among those discussed in the thesis.³¹⁴ This choice to refer to Mammaṭa also follows Porcher (1978),³¹⁵ and is consistent with the methodological approach preferred here, which is not diachronically oriented.

³¹⁴ I am grateful to Prof. Sylvain Brocquet for his valuable insights into the translation of Mammaṭa's sūtras and examples.

³¹⁵ See (1978: 10-11): “ Nous nous appuyons surtout sur le *Kāvyaṃprakāśa* de Mammaṭa (brahmane kaśmīrien de la fin du XI^e siècle) : c'est à lui que nous empruntons définitions et exemples pour l'analyse de chaque figure. [...] Tout en adoptant les thèses des théoriciens du *dhvani*, dont il rend compte systématiquement, il reprend les débats et les conclusions des *alaṃkārika* plus anciens ; sa conception de la poésie, voisine de la leur, le conduit à accorder une place importante aux figures dont il livre une analyse détaillée dans les *ullāsa* IX et X : il y traite successivement des *śabdālaṃkāra* et des *arthālaṃkāra* [...], suivant une distinction traditionnellement reconnue. L'ouvrage de Mammaṭa ne se signale pas par l'originalité des vues qu'il développe, mais par la clarté et la concision dont il fait preuve en rassemblant l'essentiel des doctrines précédemment enseignées : des principales spéculations qui ont marqué l'histoire de la poétique sanskrite, il fournit donc une synthèse aisément accessible ”.

ĀLAṂKĀRA	TECHNICAL DEFINITION AND EXAMPLES
UPAMĀ	<p>KP 10.125 <i>sādharmya upamā bhede</i> ‘The <i>upamā</i> consists of the identity of properties [of the <i>upameya</i> and the <i>upamāna</i>], when they are different’.³¹⁶</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Example:</p> <p>BC 8.73 <i>niśāmya ca chandakakanthakāv ubhau sutasya saṁśrutya ca niścayaṁ sthiram </i> <i>papāta śokābhīhato mahīpatiḥ śacīpater vr̥tta ivotsave dhvajah </i> ‘After perceiving both Chandaka and Kanthaka and hearing the firm conviction of his son, the lord of the earth fell down stricken with pain, like the flagstaff of Śaci’s lord (i.e., Indra) at the end of the festival’.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><i>upamā with bimbapratibimba relation</i></p>	<p>This concept focuses primarily on the <i>sādhāraṇadharmā</i> shared by an <i>upameya</i> and an <i>upamāna</i>. That is, the common property involves an implicit analogy whereby the property of a pair of <i>upamānas</i> (<i>bimba</i>, ‘reflected object’) is linked to that of their counterpart, i.e., a pair of <i>upameyas</i> (<i>pratibimba</i>, ‘reflected image’). Indeed, it is this implied and not explicitly stated relation that constitutes the actual <i>sādhāraṇadharmā</i>.³¹⁷</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Example:</p> <p>SN 9.18 <i>kva tad balaṁ kaṁsavikarṣiṇo hares turaṅgarājasya puṭāvabhedinah </i> <i>yam ekabāṇena nijaghnivān jarāḥ kramāgatā rūpam ivottamaṁ jarā </i> ‘Where is this power of Hari, the slayer of Kaṁsa, the destroyer of the horse-king’s hooves, whom Jaras struck with a single arrow, just as gradually coming old-age [strikes] the utmost beauty?’.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><i>samāsopamā</i></p>	<p>The <i>samāsopamā</i> is a simile, i.e., <i>upamā</i>, in compound form. However, it is important to distinguish between different types of compounds, which may or may not contain <i>upameya</i> (see Porcher 1978: 48-51):</p> <p>b1) The compound contains only the <i>upamāna</i>. Ex.: <i>devakalpa-</i> (BC 10.7, see p.75-76) ‘godlike’.</p> <p>b2) The compound contains both the <i>upamāna</i> and the <i>upameya</i>. Ex: <i>candramukha-</i> ‘moonlike face’.</p>

³¹⁶ See also Porcher’s (1978: 23) translation: “L’*upamā* (consiste) en une identité de propriétés alors qu’il y a différence (entre le comparant et le comparé) ”.

³¹⁷ However, a definition of this concept is not found in Mammata, but in Viśvanātha, *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, X, 662 and Appayyadīkṣita’s *Kuvalayananda*. See Porcher (1978: 35): “ Cette double formulation du *sādhāraṇadharmā* explique la dénomination *bimbapratibimba* attribuée à cette relation (« de reflet à chose reflétée »). Aucun terme explicite ne met en rapport les référents auxquels renvoient les deux expressions. Cependant, l’analogie implicite qu’elles font surgir à l’esprit vient renforcer, au même titre qu’une propriété commune formulée univoquement [...] ”.

	<p>b3) The compound also contains the <i>sādhāraṇadharmā</i>. Ex.: <i>saridvistīrṇaparikha-</i> (SN 1.42 cf p. 158) ‘moat [which is] broad like a river’.</p>
UTPREKṢĀ	<p>KP <i>ullāsa</i> 10 <i>sūtra</i> 137 <i>saṃbhāvanamathotprekṣā prakṛtasya samena yat</i> / ‘Representing the described object by means of another [object] is the <i>utprekṣā</i>’.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Example:³¹⁸</p> <p>BC 4.45 <i>aśoko dṛśyatām eṣa kāmīśokavivardhanaḥ </i> <i>ruvanti bhramarā yatra dahyamānā ivāgninā </i> ‘Behold this “Not-causing-pain” tree³¹⁹ that increases a lover’s pain. There, big black bees buzz as if they were being burnt by fire’.</p>
RŪPAKA	<p>KP 10.139 <i>tad rūpakam abhedo ya upamānopameyayoḥ </i> ‘The <i>rūpaka</i> consists in the non-difference between the object and the subject of comparison’.</p> <p>There are two main types of metaphor: the uncompounded <i>rūpaka</i> (<i>asamasta-</i>) and the compounded one (<i>samasta-</i>). Since the <i>corpus</i> of selected references from Aśvaghōṣa in this thesis does not include cases of the former type except those with <i>-bhūta-</i> as the second member of the compound, only the latter will be sampled.</p>
samastarūpaka	<p>Daṇḍin, DKA 2.66-68: <i>upamaiva tirobhūtabhedā rūpakam ucyate </i> <i>yathā bāhulatā pāṇipadmaṃ caraṇapallavaḥ </i> <i>aṅgulyaḥ pallavāny āsan kusumāni nakhārciṣaḥ </i> <i>bāhū late vasantaśrīṣ tvam naḥ pratyakṣacāriṇī </i> <i>ity etad asamastākhyam samastam pūrvarūpakam </i> <i>smitam mukhendora jyotsnety samastavyastarūpakam </i> ‘The simile where the differences are set aside is called <i>rūpaka</i>, such as ‘arms/creepers’, ‘hand/lotus’, ‘foot/sprout’; your fingers were sprouts indeed, the rays from your finger-nails, flowers. ‘Your arms are two creepers’ ‘Your magnificent appearance is Spring which walks under our eyes’. Thus, this latter [<i>rūpaka</i>] is called <i>asamasta</i> and the former one is called <i>samasta</i>. [When you say] ‘A smile of a moon which is indeed a face is a moonlit night’ this is a <i>samastavyastarūpakam</i>.” (tr. Candotti, Pontillo 2017: 353).³²⁰</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Example:</p> <p>SN 12.20</p>

³¹⁸ See also Mammāta’s (KP 10.416d) example: *lagnā manye lalita-tanu te pādayoḥ padma-lakṣmīḥ ||* ‘O woman with a charming body, the beauty of lotuses, methink, is sticking to your feet!’.

³¹⁹ The Aśoka tree, see fn. 265.

³²⁰ See also Porcher (1978: 70): “ Le *rūpaka* est soit *samasta* (en compose), soit *asamasta* (hors compose). Daṇḍin distingue formellement les deux possibilités [n.d.r. DKA 2.68] : Le *samastarūpaka* paraît être la forme par excellence de la figure ”.

	<p><i>ciram unmārgavihṛto lolair indriyavājibhiḥ </i> <i>avatīrṇo 'si panthānaṃ diṣṭyā drṣṭyāvīmūḍhayā </i> ‘So long having been made to stray from the right path by the restless senses which are stallions, you have [now] descended the [right] road through the direction, with unconfused gaze’.</p>
<i>samastavastuviṣaya-rūpaka</i>	<p>Bhāmaha, BhKA 2.22 <i>samastavastuviṣayam ekadeśavivartim ca </i> <i>dvidhā rūpakam uddiṣṭam etat taccocyate yathā </i> ‘And what is taught in two ways, i.e., that which concerns all things taken as a compounded entity’ and ‘that which only involves one part’. (tr. Boccali, Pontillo 2010: 110).</p> <p>Moreover, Daṇḍin (DKA 2.69-70) acknowledges a <i>sakalarūpaka</i> ‘a total <i>rūpaka</i>’ which consists in a superimposition (<i>āropya-</i>) of the nature of the <i>upamāna</i> upon that of the <i>upameya</i>.³²¹</p> <p>Example:³²²</p> <p>SN 10.55 <i>anarthabhogena vighātadrṣṭinā pramādadaṃṣṭreṇa tamoviṣāgninā </i> <i>ahaṃ hi daṣṭo hr̥di manmathāhinā vidhatsva tasmād agadaṃ</i> <i>mahābhiṣak </i> ‘For I am bitten to the heart by the snake that is the god of love – whose coils are wickedness, whose sight is destruction, whose fangs are madness, whose poisonous fire is mental darkness – therefore O great physician grant me an antidote’.</p> <p>List of the <i>samastarūpakas</i>:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>manmatha-ahi-</i> ‘snake [that is] the god of love’; 2. <i>anartha-bhoga-</i> ‘coils [which are] wickedness’; 3. <i>vighāta-drṣṭi-</i> ‘sight [that is] destruction’; 4. <i>pramāda-daṃṣṭra-</i> ‘fangs [which are] madness’; 5. <i>tamaḥ-viṣāgni-</i> ‘poisonous fire [that is] mental darkness’.
<i>paramparita-rūpaka</i>	<p>KP 10.145 <i>niyatāropanopāyaḥ syād āropaḥ parasya yaḥ </i></p>

³²¹ On this matter see also Gerow (1971: 241), and Porcher (1978: 75): “ Les objets surimposés sont directement compris par l’audition (exprimés) ”.

³²² See also Mammaṭa’s (KP, *ullāsa* 10.421) example : *yathā jyotsnābhasmacchuraṇadavalā*
bibhratī tārakāsthī nyantardhānavyasanarasikā rātrikāpālikīyam | dvīpāddvīpaṃ bhramati dadhatī
candarmudrākāpāle nyastaṃ siddhāñjanaparimalaṃ lāñchanasya cchalena || ‘Whitened with this
ash-ointment that is the moonlight, wearing **these bones that are the stars**, savouring this deed,
 making the world invisible, **this Kāpālikī ascetic that is the night** is wandering from continent to
 continent, carrying, laid in **this skull**, her emblem, **that is the moon**, the magic balsam in the guise
 of a blemish’. List of the *samastarūpakas*: (1) *jyotsnā-bhasmac-churaṇa*. ‘ash-ointment [that is] the
 moonlight’; (2) *tāraka-asthi-* ‘bones [that are] the stars’; (3) *rātri-kāpālikī-* ‘a Kāpālikī ascetic [that
 is] the night’; (4) *candra-kapāla-* ‘skull [that is] the moon’.

	<p>‘The superimposition of another object may be a means of effecting the intended superimposition’.³²³</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Example:</p> <p>BC 12.9 <i>tad vijñātum imaṃ dharmam paramaṃ bhājanam bhavān </i> <i>jñānaplavam adhiṣṭhāya śīghram duḥkhārṇavam tara </i> ‘Therefore, your honour is a perfect vessel for understanding this very <i>dharma</i>. After boarding the boat of knowledge, you must quickly cross the ocean of suffering!’.</p>
ŚLEṢA	<p>Mammaṭa gives two definitions of <i>śleṣa</i>, one from the point of view of <i>śabdālamkāra</i>, viz:</p> <p>KP 9.119 <i>vācya-bhedena bhinnā yad yugapad bhāṣaṇa-sprśaḥ </i> <i>śliṣyanti śabdāḥ śleṣo ’ sāv akṣarādibhir aṣṭadhā </i> ‘The fact that words differing by their intended meanings be amalgamated, because they are united in one and the same utterance, is the <i>śleṣa</i>, which is eightfold, based upon syllables, etc’.</p> <p>The other is defined according to <i>arthālamkāra</i>:</p> <p>KP 10.147 <i>śleṣaḥ sa vākya ekasmin yatrānekārthatā bhavet </i> ‘There is a <i>śleṣa</i> when one sentence conveys several meanings’.</p> <p>He does, however, provide an example that sums up both definitions:</p> <p>KP 9.378 <i>stokena unnatim āyāti stokena āyāty adhogatim </i> <i>aho susadrśī vṛttis tulākoṭeḥ khalasya ca </i> ‘For little does he rise, for little does he stoop: Ahh, quite similar are the behaviour of the scale and that of the deceitful!’.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Example from Aśvaghoṣa:</p> <p>SN 4.41 <i>chāto darīm pīnapayodharorūṃ sa sundarīm rukmadarīm ivādreh </i> <i>kākṣeṇa paśyan na tatarpa nandaḥ pibann ivaikena jalam kareṇa </i> ‘He glanced at Sundarī who was like a golden mountain crevice, whose belly <interior> is flat, with plentiful breasts and thighs <heavy like plentiful clouds>, Nanda was not satisfied as [one is not satisfied] drinking water with just one hand’.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">List of epithets:</p>

³²³ See also Porcher’s (1978: 75) definition: “ La ressemblance exprimée par le *rūpaka* peut être construite plutôt que simplement perçue: nous avons alors affaire au *paramparitarūpaka*. Selon la définition de Mammaṭa, « la surimposition d’un autre (objet) peut être le moyen (d’opérer) la surimposition recherchée » ”.

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>udara-</i> meanings for the <i>upameya</i>: ‘belly / meanings for the <i>upamāna</i>: ‘cavity’ or ‘interior’; 2. <i>payodhara-</i> ‘breasts’ / ‘cloud’; 3. <i>ūru-</i> ‘thigh’ / <i>uru-</i> ‘large’ or ‘spacious’.
SAMSṚṢṬI	<p>Bhāmaha, BhKA 3.49-50 <i>varā vibhūṣā saṃsṛṣṭir bahvalaṃkārayogataḥ /</i> <i>racitā ratnamāleṣa sā caivam uditā yathā </i> ‘The <i>alaṃkāra</i> known as <i>saṃsṛṣṭi</i> (mixture) is superior among <i>alaṃkāras</i> [...], is described as being the result of stringing many <i>alaṃkāras</i>, like a necklace of gems; thus.’ (tr. Sastry 1970: 70)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Examples of Bhāmaha:³²⁴</p> <p>Example 1:</p> <p>BhKA 3.50 <i>gāmbhīryalāghavavator yuvayoḥ prājyāratnayoḥ /</i> <i>sukhasevyo janānām tvam duṣṭagrāho ‘mbhasām patih </i> ‘Between you two who are both distinguished by dignity (depth) and dexterity (lightness and possessed of gems in abundance you are easy to serve (approach) while the ocean is full of frightful alligators’. (tr. Sastry 1970: 70)</p> <p>In the first example, the <i>pādas</i> ab contain adjectives with two senses, describing both the qualities of the king to whom the stanza is addressed and of the ocean, and another adjective which refers to both of them by one and the same meaning. So, there is the <i>alaṃkāra śleṣa</i> and an <i>upamā</i> (suggested). In the <i>pādas</i> cd there is a <i>vyatireka</i>. These ornaments are clearly distinguishable, as they are represented by different words.</p> <p>Example 2:</p> <p>BhKA 3.52 <i>analaṃkṛtakāntaṃ te vadaṇaṃ vanajadyuti /</i> <i>niśā kṛtaṃ prakṛtyaiva cāroḥ kā vāsty alaṃkṛtiḥ </i> ‘Your face has the beauty of the lotus, is attractive though not ornamented. Turmeric is of no use. What can be an ornament to that which is beautiful by its own nature?’. (tr. Sastry 1970: 71)</p> <p>In the second example the same occurs, but more distinctly, because of the absence of the <i>śleṣa</i>. The <i>pādas</i> ab contain a <i>vibhāvanā</i> (i.e., a negative description, praising an object by saying that it does not possess a specific quality) and an <i>upamā</i>. Finally, <i>pādas</i> cd contain an <i>arthāntaranyāsa</i> (i.e., the fact of referring to a parallel situation).</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Example from Aśvaghoṣa (see p. 58):</p> <p>SN 6.33 <i>sā sundarī śvāsacalodarī hi vajrāgnisaṃbhinnadarīguheva /</i> <i>śokāgnināntarhṛdi dahyamānā vibhṛāntacitteva tadā babhūva </i> ‘Indeed Sundarī, whose belly was trembling because she was panting, like a cave whose entrance is split by the bolt of fire, burning in her</p>

³²⁴ Another example of the *saṃsṛṣṭi* is given by Ānandavardhana 2.16, ad *kārikā* 19.

heart because of that **fire that is pain**, at that moment became **as if her mind was confused**'.

List of *alaṃkāras*:

1. *Upamā* (33ab);
2. *Samastarūpaka* (33c);
3. *Utprekṣā* (33d).

Index of Passages

BUDDHACARITA

1.12.....	33
1.21.....	150
1.36.....	198
1.37.....	138
1.87.....	185
10.15.....	35
10.17.....	39
10.18.....	137
10.41.....	37
10.7.....	74
11.17.....	93
12.117.....	32
12.7.....	130
12.9.....	122
12.99.....	158
13.28.....	100
13.59.....	191
14.31.....	152
14.5.....	82
2.27.....	188
2.29.....	125; 192
2.30.....	36
3.12.....	127
3.19.....	42
3.2.....	200
3.57.....	115
3.9.....	195
4.27.....	199
4.35.....	80
4.45.....	163
5.21.....	118
5.41.....	145
5.49.....	135
5.56.....	135
5.60.....	164
5.84.....	88
6.32.....	173
6.54.....	162
7.38.....	171
7.40.....	117
7.43.....	85
7.56.....	122
8.12.....	93
8.13.....	182
8.23.....	146
8.24.....	147
8.43.....	78
8.5.....	193
8.51.....	148

8.53.....	93
8.60.....	149
8.73.....	126
8.81.....	64
9.10.....	178
9.11.....	196
9.12.....	180
9.24.....	122
9.28.....	197
9.33.....	115
9.39.....	175
9.74.....	151
9.8.....	35
9.9.....	66

SAUNDARANANDA

1.1-3.....	67
1.19.....	89
1.27.....	100
1.34.....	143
1.38.....	140
1.42-43.....	153
1.62.....	182
10.54.....	104
10.55.....	120
12.26.....	109
15.4.....	190
15.63.....	95
16.82.....	142
17.2.....	97
17.57.....	106
17.72.....	45
18.41.....	151
18.44.....	49
18.61.....	144
2.49.....	51
2.56.....	134
2.58.....	90
3.1.....	101
3.6.....	92
3.7.....	39
4.41.....	165
4.46.....	127
4.6.....	131
4.8.....	159
5.18.....	108
5.23.....	54
5.28.....	108
5.40.....	110

5.51.....	84
6.26.....	52
6.33.....	57
7.34.....	59
7.49.....	169
9.14.....	44
9.17.....	59
9.20.....	56
9.43.....	201
9.6.....	96

MAHĀBHĀRATA

1.107.10.....	34; 102
1.134.4.....	186
1.155.41-42.....	167
1.161.9.....	120
1.162.2.....	128
1.164.10ab-11.....	181
1.191.6-7ab.....	52
1.199.29-36.....	154
1.206.4.....	183
1.213.39.....	163
1.45.7.....	135
1.50.14.....	69
1.50.15.....	160
1.75.9.....	181
1.80.6.....	106
1.92.28.....	167
1.93.14.....	91
11.3.16.....	111
11.6.4-5.....	111
11.7.1.....	104
12.139.63.....	191
12.163.12.....	84
12.173.25.....	55
12.18.33.....	170
12.187.2.....	134
12.205.14.....	111
12.237.11.....	172
12.27.28.....	95
12.290.62.....	109
12.309.6.....	96
12.309.79.....	117
12.316.57.....	83
12.323.20.....	116
12.327.41.....	116
12.337.9, 10bc, 47-48a.....	86
13.117.27-28.....	153
13.134.34-35.....	79
13.138.3b-4.....	166
13.14.149.....	137
13.72.3cd-4.....	115
14.15.4.....	133
15.32.7.....	91

2.2.9.....	186
2.30.44-45.....	134
3.13.15.....	87
3.157.26-28.....	92
3.170.55-56.....	149
3.226.10.....	184
3.229.26.....	50
3.240.29.....	115
3.253.22.....	142
3.261.36.....	66
3.27.15.....	144
3.275.16.....	165
3.34.81.....	184
3.54.34.....	189
3.78.20cd-21.....	135
3.78.3.....	133
4.15.37.....	138
4.18.20d-21.....	200
4.20.7.....	118
4.62.1.....	91
5.137.12.....	131
5.140.8ab,9.....	35
5.149.77.....	126
5.153.12-13.....	139
5.154.17.....	184
5.185.11.....	141
5.34.12.....	177
5.70.63.....	201
6.14.8.....	159
6.15.7.....	192
6.26.42.....	107
6.45.48.....	150
6.96.39.....	60
7.15.5.....	101
7.15.52.....	195
7.154.9.....	40
7.158.53.....	164
7.55.16.....	95
7.59.16.....	93
8.12.48.....	179
8.13.15.....	58
8.33.16.....	197
8.49.116.....	123
8.57.55.....	35
9.33.17.....	195

RĀMĀYANA

1.1.16.....	159
1.48.14.....	132
2.106.2.....	146
2.18.6.....	76
2.30.19.....	182
2.38.3.....	142; 151
2.41.3.....	169

2.60.18.....	194
2.60.4.....	151
2.68.29.....	129
2.71.9.....	128
2.93.36.....	42
2.93.40.....	179
2.98.63.....	184
3.11.20.....	87
3.30.4.....	184
3.44.14.....	53
3.54.3cd-4.....	91
3.58.6.....	169
4.15.7.....	130
4.25.20.....	187
4.29.24.....	144
4.43.15.....	196
5.1.150.....	152
5.1.154.....	198
5.1.176.....	198
5.13.24.....	94
5.14.30.....	149
5.15.28.....	145
5.23.14.....	150
5.28.2.....	133
5.30.3.....	165
5.4.5.....	60
5.7.48.....	136
5.8.43.....	81
5.8.45.....	135
5.9.9.....	200
6.114.5.....	65
6.2.2.....	174
6.23.11.....	148
6.27.8.....	53

6.53.24.....	39
6.57.26.....	199
6.98.26.....	149
7.10.18.....	116
7.12.25.....	133
7.33.7.....	181
7.35.24.....	34
7.61.38.....	192
7.7.27.....	103

PASSAGES EXCISED FROM BORI

CRITICAL EDITION

*1697.1 after 1.155.42.....	167
*1833.3-4 after MBh 1.178.15-17.....	42
*587.3-4 after MBh 1.65.3.....	90
*964.1 after MBh 1.94.14.....	93
App. I, no. 48.73 after MBh 1.68.13.....	53
App. I, no.114.296-298, 381 after 1.212.1	189

SAMHITA

AŚ 5.50.10.....	134
RV 7.96.3.....	69

Bibliography

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Index of Names

- Abhimanyu 56; 63; 95
 Agastya 67; 87
 Ahalyā..... 132
 Airāvata 37; 64
 Ambaṣṭha 128
 Anandavardhana 42
 Ānandavardhana 51; 70; 85; 170
 Aṅgiras 166
 Arāḍa 87; 100; 105; 122; 130
 Arjuna35; 37; 45; 47; 59; 60; 87; 91; 93; 107; 110; 123;
 127; 133; 135; 160; 163; 170; 178; 183; 187; 189;
 195; 197; 200
 Arjuna Kārtavīrya 181
 Ārśyaśrṅgi
 Alambusa..... 60
 Arundatī..... 70
 Āstika..... 160
 Aśvatthāman 179
 Atikaya 199
 Aurva 110
 Bālhika..... 76
 Bhāmaha 7; 15; 16; 17; 18; 19; 119; 232
 Bharadvāja..... 56
 Bharata
 author of Nāṭyaśāstra..... 6; 15
 Rāma's brother 42; 65; 77; 128; 132
 Rāma's brother42; 65; 66; 128; 129; 130; 142; 147;
 185
 Bhārgava..... 59
 Bhava 62
 Bhīma 37; 45; 60; 92; 110; 128; 169; 187; 200
 Bhīṣma47; 50; 55; 77; 84; 103; 115; 128; 131; 134; 139;
 140; 141; 150; 151; 159; 192
 Brahmā 38; 52; 115
 Brahmanism..... 14; 105
 Brhaspati..... 86; 178; 179; 180; 181; 182
 Buddha
 Siddhārtha10; 11; 13; 20; 31; 32; 33; 34; 35; 36; 37;
 38; 39; 41; 42; 43; 44; 45; 46; 47; 48; 54; 55; 62;
 63; 64; 67; 75; 76; 78; 79; 80; 81; 82; 84; 85; 86;
 87; 88; 89; 92; 93; 96; 100; 101; 102; 103; 104;
 105; 106; 108; 109; 110; 115; 118; 122; 125; 126;
 127; 130; 134; 137; 138; 139; 140; 144; 145; 146;
 147; 148; 149; 150; 152; 158; 159; 162; 163; 164;
 171; 172; 173; 174; 175; 176; 178; 180; 181; 182;
 188; 189; 190; 191; 192; 193; 194; 195; 196; 197;
 198; 199; 200
 Chandaka38; 78; 79; 80; 126; 129; 146; 173; 175; 177;
 193; 230
 Damayantī..... 133; 189; 190
 Dānavas..... 64; 115
 Daṇḍin5; 6; 7; 12; 15; 16; 17; 18; 19; 70; 94; 99; 119;
 232; 243
 Daśaratha 65; 66; 67; 79; 103; 128
 Devāpi..... 76
 Devayānī..... 181
 Dharma11; 13; 46; 47; 48; 67; 76; 106; 109; 118; 134;
 135; 163; 164; 177; 182; 186; 191; 197; 243
 Dhṛtarāṣṭra 76; 104; 105; 175; 176; 177
 Draupadī..... 52; 80; 138; 148; 167; 168; 200
 Droṇa 78; 110; 115; 127; 131; 159; 160
 Drupada..... 103; 159
 Duḥṣanta 90; 91
 Duryodhana..... 45; 50; 60; 76; 115; 183
 Dūṣaṇa 128
 Gāndhārī..... 34; 56
 Gaṅgā..... 79; 167
 Ganges 52
 Gārgya..... 63
 Gautama 63; 64; 67; 70; 84; 85; 132
 Gautamī..... 10; 147; 148
 Ghaṭotkaca 40
 Guha..... 179; 180
 Guṇakeśī..... 52
 Hanumān34; 56; 60; 64; 65; 81; 133; 135; 145; 146;
 152; 164; 165; 196; 198
 Himālaya..... 39; 153; 199
 Ikṣvāku..... 63; 91
 Indra30; 31; 32; 36; 40; 58; 64; 70; 73; 75; 86; 87; 88;
 126; 127; 128; 129; 131; 134; 159; 160; 178; 180;
 181; 182; 183; 184; 185; 186; 187; 188; 189; 200
 Śakra 31; 187; 189
 Irāvata 60
 Jāhnavī 52
 Jāmadagnya..... 60
 Janamejaya..... 70; 77; 135; 160; 161
 Jayanta 31; 180; 181; 182
 Kaikeyī..... 142
 Kailāsa 36; 37
 Kakṣivant 70
Kākṣivat Gautama 67
 Kākṣivat Gautama 68
 Kākutstha 132; 189
 Kāla 32
 Kālidāsa 16
 Kāma 75; 120; 127
 Kanthaka 78; 126; 129; 162; 163; 193; 230
 Kapila..... 62; 63; 67; 68; 89; 100; 188; 193
 Kapila Gautama 63; 67; 68
 Kapilavastu 42; 126; 146; 153; 154

- Karna 40; 45; 101; 115; 118; 119; 164
 Kārtavīrya 59
 Kārttikeya 34
Kāśyapa 68; 70
 Kauravas 35; 45; 77; 139; 151; 154; 185; 192
 Kausalyā 76; 79; 148; 151; 152; 159
 Kauśalyā 142
 Kṛṣṇa 63; 78; 87; 88; 103; 107; 123; 133; 160; 162; 176;
 177; 178; 186; 187; 197; 201
 Kṛṣṇā 136
 Kubera 36; 48; 62; 132; 139; 140; 154
 Kumbhakarna 31; 39; 60
 Kuntī 34; 35
 Kuśāṇa
 empire 8
 Lakṣmana 45; 110; 128
 Lakṣmaṇa 76; 87; 91; 144; 165; 189
 Lakṣmī 51; 52; 53
 Laṅkā 60
 Lomapāda 59
 Lomaśa 103; 187
 Mādhavī 52
 Magadha 37; 56
 Mammaṭa 7; 17; 121; 122; 123; 173
 Mandara 38; 154
 Maṅgrīva 62
 Manmatha 120
 Māra 38; 39; 44; 82; 100
 bhūtas 38; 139
Maruts 139; 140; 182; 183; 184
 Mātali 103
 Mathurā 176
 Māyā 51; 54; 64; 198
 Meru 33; 37; 38; 138; 139; 140; 199
 Nahuṣa 78
 Nala 133; 189; 190
 Nalakūbara 62
 Nanda 10; 14; 20; 41; 44; 45; 49; 50; 54; 56; 59; 63; 64;
 84; 85; 89; 90; 95; 96; 97; 102; 104; 105; 106; 107;
 108; 109; 110; 111; 121; 127; 131; 132; 133; 144;
 151; 152; 159; 161; 165; 166; 167; 169; 171; 176;
 190; 191; 233
 Nandana 131; 132; 133
 Nārada 78; 83; 123
 Nārāyaṇa 52; 70
 Nīla 118; 119
 Pāṇḍavas 40; 45; 50; 52; 57; 64; 77; 110; 142; 154; 162;
 175; 185; 187
 Pāṇini 17; 18; 20; 70; 73; 74; 79; 88
 Parikṣit 135
 Parvata 78
 Pratīpa 76
 Pṛthā 78; 80; 134; 135; 189
 Purocana 36
 Pūru 106
 Rāhula 197
 Rāma 37; 42; 45; 53; 62; 63; 64; 65; 66; 67; 76; 78; 79;
 91; 103; 116; 125; 128; 132; 142; 144; 146; 147; 148;
 152; 159; 165; 169; 174; 175; 179; 180; 182; 184;
 186; 192; 194
 Rāma Jāmadagnya 37
 Rambhā 136
 Rāvāna 31; 45; 53; 56; 81; 110; 132; 133; 135; 136; 148;
 149; 150; 164; 165; 184; 189; 200
 Rṣyaśṛṅga 59; 68
 Rudra 52; 110
 Rudradāman
 Junāgarhad inscription 8
 Rudrāṇī 52
 Rudraṭa 15
 Śacī 126; 129; 188; 189; 230
 Sagara 68; 78
 Śakuntalā 53; 90
 Śalya 56; 127; 128
 Śaṃtanu 91; 93; 167
 Śāmtanu 76
 Saṃvaraṇa 103; 120; 121; 128
 Sanatkumāra 188
 Śāntā 59
 Śarmiṣṭhā 181
 Sātavāhana
 empire 8
 Śatrughna 66; 128; 179; 180
 Saumitrī 169
 Śaunaka 82; 83; 103
 Śibi 34
 Śiśupāla 151
 Sītā 10; 52; 53; 64; 94; 133; 144; 145; 146; 148; 150;
 162; 165; 169; 189
 Skanda 62
 Śreṇya 31; 39; 40
 Subhadrā 95; 163; 189
 Sudarśana 57
 Śuddhodana 14; 31; 36; 41; 43; 51; 62; 64; 65; 102; 126;
 130; 145; 180; 181; 182; 183; 184; 185; 192; 198
 Sugrīva 130; 132; 174; 187
 Śuka 83; 96; 117; 123; 172
 Śukra 178; 179; 180; 181
 Sumālin 103
 Sumantra 79; 128; 179; 180
 Sundarī 10; 57; 58; 64; 131; 132; 133; 159; 161; 165;
 166; 233; 234
 Surasā 152; 198
 Śūrpaṇakhā 184
 Svayambhū 31
 Tamasā 169
 Tapatī 120; 128
 Tarā 130
 Uḍbhata 15
 Ugrasena 176
 Umā 79
 Urvaśī 66; 67
 Vaiśampāyana 77; 86; 160
 Vaiśravaṇa 52; 62
 Vālin 130
 Vāmadeva 66; 67
 Vāmana 16

Vāraṇāvata 185; 186
 Varuṇa 36
 Vāsava 128
 Vasiṣṭha 52; 64; 66; 67; 68; 69; 70; 86; 87; 91; 181
 Vāsubhadra 63
 Vasumanas 34
 Vidura 104; 105; 111; 175; 176; 177
 Viṣṇu 51; 78
 Viśvāmitra 103; 160; 191
 Vṛṣaparvan 181
 Vṛṣasena 101

Vyāsa 83; 95; 96; 117; 164; 172
 Yaśodharā 10; 78; 80; 149; 188; 189; 190
 Yayāti 106
 Yudhiṣṭhira 34; 35; 36; 50; 55; 82; 84; 95; 103; 110; 131;
 134; 148; 163; 164; 170; 171; 184; 185; 186; 195;
 196; 197
yuga
 Dvāpara 35
 Kṛta 35
 Tretā 35
 Yuyudhāna 60