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Serge D'Oldenburg

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ART. XII.—*The Buddhist Sources of the (Old Slav.) Legend of the Twelve Dreams of Shahaish*, by Serge D'Oldenburg, Ph.D. Translated by H. WENZEL, Ph.D.

[Extract from the Journal of the Public Instruction Office.]

THE Old Russian literature took up the theme of *the king, who gets the explanation of some miraculous dreams from a wise man*, in two different versions. In the first of these versions, the dreams concern events in the king's life, and this version enters into the complex of *Stephanit* and *Ichnelat*, showing itself thus a pretty correct reproduction of the Indian original through the Pehlevi, Arab, and Greek over-workings. In the second version the dreams have an *eschatological character*, and this version appears as an independent tale, known as 'Word (=legend) of the dreams of king *Mamer*,' 'Word of the twelve dreams of Shahaish,' etc.: the nearest sources of this legend are yet unknown.

A. N. Veselovski,¹ in his 'Word of the twelve dreams of Shahaish,' after a MS. of the fifteenth century (Appendix to the 34th vol. of the Memoirs Imp. Ac. Sc. St. Petersburg, 1879), relying on a Jātaka communicated to him by T. P. Minayev, and on the rather probable connection between the words *Shahaish* and *Shahān-shāh*, thought it possible that this Slav. legend was taken immediately from the East. We, at present, cannot yet point

¹ Cf. also the same author's and A. Galachov's 'History of Russian Literature,' i. 431; Polivka, G., 'Opisi i izvodi iz nekoliko jugoslavenskith rukopisa u Pragu.' Starine, 1889, xxi. 187-194 (Dvanajest snova cara Šahinšaha).

out those immediate sources of the 'Word,' which, of course, is the most important thing, but we will communicate here two Indian versions of the same, not yet edited, which, it seems to us, will not be without importance, chief regard being had to the fact that it is apparently in some Buddhist document that the original of the Old Russian legend must be sought for.

The first of these Indian versions comes down to us in two texts: (1) in *Yaçomitra's Abhidharma Koça Vyākhyā*, a commentary on the well-known North Buddhist philosophical work; here the tale of the dreams is quoted from some *Vinaya* text (cf. Minayev, *Buddhism*, i. 90 sq.). For this text I have had the use of the following MSS.: (1) Paris National Library, Burn. 114; (2) Société As.; (3) From the collection of Minayev.

(2) In the *Sumāgadhāvadāna* (cf. Tāranātha, *Germ. tr.* p. 59), who calls this text *Kāncana Mālāvadāna*. Cf. also Burnouf, *Introd.* p. 565 sq. (1st ed.). For this text I have had the use of MS. D. 98 of the Paris Library. In the Tibetan Kanjur there is a translation of this.

Both texts give the dreams and their explanation in almost identical words, but, regarding the occasions on which the dreams were explained, the commentary to the *Abhidharmakoça* says only: "ten dreams saw king *Kṛkin* . . . and he told them to the Lord Buddha *Kāçyapa*, and the Lord explained them." Such brevity is easily understood in a quotation, but does not allow us to affirm certainly, that the frame for the dreams was the same here as in the *Sumāgadhāv.*, where the following is related :

"In past times, when men reached an age of 20,000 years, Buddha *Kāçyapa* lived, and settled in the neighbourhood of *Benares*. At the same time, to king *Kṛkin* of Benares a daughter was born with a golden wreath on her head, and therefore was called *Kāncanamālā*. The king loved her much, and carefully brought her up. Being grown up, she heard the law from *Kāçyapa*, to whom she constantly gave liberal presents. Once king *Kṛkin* saw ten dreams (see below). He was frightened, and assembled his

brahmins to explain them to him. The brahmins said that, in order to avert the misfortune portented by those dreams, he must sacrifice the blood of the being he loved most. This they said having in view *Kāñcanamālā*. The king, on one hand frightened by the dreams, on the other filled with love for his daughter, was in despair. *Kāñcanamālā*, seeing her father's trouble, counsels him to turn to *Kāśyapa*. The king does so, and *Kāśyapa* explains the dreams and quiets the king. The dreams and their explanation are the following :

1. An elephant, going through a little window, sticks there with his tail.
2. A fountain runs after a thirsty man.
3. A measure of pearls is sold for a measure of porridge.
4. Sandal is sold for the price of common wood.
5. The gardens are full of flowers and fruits, and thieves take all flowers and fruits.
6. Elephants at the time of rutting-season are frightened by little children. (In *Sum.* first 5 then 6.)
7. A dirty, soiled, monkey defiles another.
8. A monkey is anointed king.
9. A piece of cloth is torn by eighteen persons (*Sum.* adds : and cannot be torn).
10. A crowd of people in quarrels, dissensions, enmities, thrash one another (*Sum.* : A crowd of people, assembling, give themselves over to quarrels, etc.).

Explanation : These dreams are prognostics of events that will happen at later times, after the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha *Sākyamuni*.

1. The disciples of the Buddha, after they have left (their houses) relatives and friends, and taken up a religious life, again make themselves the likeness of houses in the monasteries.
2. The disciples will go to the laymen to teach them the law, but the laymen, thirsting after the law, will transgress it (?).

3. The disciples, for a measure of porridge, given as alms, will teach the highest knowledge.
4. The disciples will place the teaching of the heretics on the same grade with that of Buddha.
5. The disciples will use the gardens, belonging to the community, to their own profit.
6. The bad disciples will drive away the virtuous ones.
7. The bad disciples will (falsely) accuse the virtuous ones of different bad actions.
8. The disciples will commit, in the monasteries, *sāmantikābhisheka* (?), and in the world the *paçukāh* (?) will be masters.¹
9. After the Buddha's death his doctrine will separate into eighteen schools; but the doctrine of salvation they will not be able to confuse (?).
10. Among the disciples schisms will arise.

As will be seen, with the exception of some insignificant differences, both texts present one and the same redaction. As we know the first of these texts only as a quotation, we cannot with any certainty define its relation to the other. But there is some probability that it is older than the *Sumāgadhā Avadāna*, and may even have been the latter's source, because the whole *avadāna* is composed of fragments of different Buddhist texts.

Unfortunately, we cannot as yet fix any certain date for our texts. It is only probable that they were composed in India. Some indication that similar legends were current in the Buddhist world at a comparatively early date is found in the information of the Chinese documents, from which we shall give below a second, not yet edited, version of the dreams. In Buniu Nanjio's Catalogue we find No. 543 : *Ekottarāgama Sūtra* (translated in 384-385 A.D.), ch. 52; No. 631 : *Sūtra on ten different dreams of the king of*

¹ These words are not quite intelligible to us : *sāmantikābhisheka* would mean "anointing of the inhabitants (or kings?) of the neighbouring countries"; *paçuka* "cattle." (In *Sum.* the eighth dream is explained thus : Impious king will reign.)

the country *Ārāvastī* (*Prasenajit*), translated before the first quarter of the fourth century; No. 632: *Sūtra spoken by Buddha on the ten dreams of Prasenajit, the king of the country (Ārāvastī)*. The Chinese traveller, *I-tsing*, of the seventh century mentions (Stan. *Julien*, *Mélanges de Géogr. Asiat. et de Philol. Sinico-As.* extr. des livres Chin. t. i, Paris, 1864, p. 305. Extr. du J.A.) that in an ancient book it is said that king *Bimbisāra* saw in a dream a piece of cloth and a golden stick being divided into eighteen parts; this the Buddha explained as a prognostic of the appearance of eighteen schools under king *Aśoka*, hundred years after the death of the Buddha. The 'ancient book' mentioned by *I-tsing* and the 52nd chapter of the *Ekottarāgama* are not yet known to us, but we are able (thanks to the communication of *A. O. Ivanovski*) to give here the version contained in Nos. 631 and 632 of *Bun. Nanj. Cat.*, which is interesting because it forms, as it were, the link between the Pāli version of the *Jātaka* and the Sanskrit ones adduced above: with the latter it coincides in the number of dreams; with the former in their contents.

The 'frame' in all three versions—Pāli, Chinese, and Sanskrit, is, in general, identical; only the king who sees the dreams is in the Sanskrit text *Kṛkin*; in the two others *Prasenajit*; from the passage in *I-tsing* it will be seen that the theme of these dreams, with eschatological explanation, were also ascribed to king *Bimbisāra*. We give the 'frame' in abridgment, but the dreams and their explanation in full.

The Buddha was in *Ārāvastī*, in *Jetavana*. At this time king *Prasenajit* saw ten dreams, and got much frightened; the brahmins order him, for the prevention of the portended misfortunes, to offer a sacrifice of whatever he held most dear, beginning with the queen. The king is troubled; the queen sees his sorrow, asks him, and, learning the reason, bids him turn to the Buddha. The Buddha quiets him, and explains the dreams as referring, not to the present, but the future. The king thereon turns away from the brahmins.

1. Three vessels stand in a row: the two outer ones full, the middle empty. From the outer ones wind arises and goes from one to the other, but does not enter the empty one.

2. A horse eats from two sides—before and aft.

3. On a little tree flowers grow.

4. On a little tree fruits grow.

5. A man stretches a string; behind the man is a wether; the wether and the man eat the string (in 1 only the man eats the string).

6. A fox on a beautiful (2 adds: golden) couch eats from golden vessels.

Rich people at future times will make presents to each other, but will not give attention to the poor.

In the coming times the great (2 adds: and kings) will take payments from government, and, besides, rob the people.

In the coming times people will grow grey before they are 30 (2 adds: from desire, luxury, and avarice).

In coming times young girls will be married very young (2: before the 15th year), and will nurse their children without shame (2 also: they will visit their relatives).¹

In coming times, when the men go to business, their wives will enter into relations with other youths and sleep with them (so 1; 2: and squander their husband's wealth with them).

In coming times the enriched people ('parvenus') will occupy the highest places, and everybody will honour them.

¹ This probably alludes to the Chinese custom to visit the relatives after marriage.

7. A big cow sucks a calf.

In coming times people will be unjust; mothers will bring together their daughters with strange men, and reap money from this.

8. Four bulls, coming together from the four regions, rush upon one another, trying to throw down each the other, and then disperse (the text is not quite clear).

In coming times the officials (2 : kings, officials, and people) will not fear heaven, and will lead a bad life; therefore the rains will not come in time. People will pray for rain: a wind will arise, clouds assemble, and it will thunder, so that they hope for rain, but rain will not come.

9. In a large pond the water in the middle is muddy, but on the four sides clear.

In coming times, in India, they will not honour parents and respect the old, but will do so in other countries.

10. The water of a great river runs all red.

In coming times the kings will carry on wars, and fall one on the other; they will kill people and horses, and therefrom rivers of blood will run.

It is easy to conjecture the way along which our legend left India together with Buddhism; it came to the Iranian countries, which had a constant intercourse with India. But whether it was preserved there, and where it took its farther course, we know not. The Iranists as yet treat with remarkable disdain the novelistic literature of Persia, and thus deprive us of one material link in the chain of the transmigration of fables from East to West.

Finally, we would allow ourselves some remarks on Veselovski's work: If in *Shahāish* is hidden *Shahānshāh*, we may, perhaps, in *Irin* see *Iran*? On the words heard

by king *Pradyota*, cf. the *Lohakumbhij* Jātaka (314), *Petavatthu*, iv. 15, and *Aṭṭhasaddaj.* (418), which give the Pāli text of these words. Benfey's explanation of *Kibariün*, *Kynaron* as *Kevalin* is not probable; rather we should seek here a corruption of the name of *Kātyāgana*. To the seventh dream of king *Prasenajit*, cf. now *Rouse*, "A Jātaka in Pausanias, Folk-lore," i. 409 (1890).