RINDAS

The Center for South Asian Studies, Ryukoku University

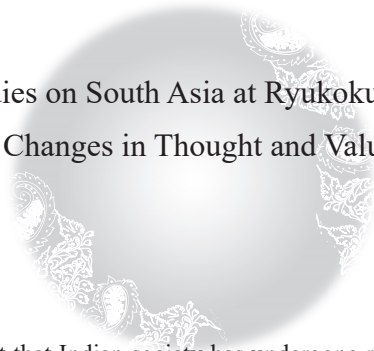# The Evolution of the Image of Buddhist Ideal King "Cakravartin"

TESHIMA Hideki

龍谷大学
RYUKOKU UNIVERSITY

The Center for South Asian Studies, Ryukoku University

Integrated Area Studies on South Asia at Ryukoku University (RINDAS):
Fundamental Changes in Thought and Values in South Asia

In many studies, it has been pointed out that Indian society has undergone radical changes since the 1990s. This is seen in the political sphere in the spread and the deepening of democracy. In terms of the economy, changes are remarkable in the development of the market economy, improvements in living conditions and widening of economic gaps, which is one of the negative impacts of such economic growth. Societally, this has been expressed through the appearance and rise of various social movements. Culturally and religiously, it has been expressed through a parallel rise in assertion of identities by diverse communities. These changes can be seen as the results of embryonic fundamental changes in thought and values of people in India and South Asia.

The unified theme of this project is "Fundamental Changes in Thought and Values in South Asia." One perspective being used to approach this theme is genealogical research along the long timeline of philosophy and thought in South Asian societies, using Ryukoku University's extensive accumulation of research. Another is analysis of fundamental changes in values based on fieldwork research of actual conditions. These perspectives are combined in comprehensive research, with the aim of identifying the sources of changes in the foundations of contemporary Indian and South Asian societies, and the driving power behind them. Special attention is paid to the rise of the Dalits, other lower strata people, and religious minorities, a phenomenon that represents dynamic changes in contemporary Indian and South Asian societies. The project examines the background and theory behind this, with relation to the history of philosophy and thought, and investigates and analyzes changes in peoples' living conditions, consciousness, and sense of values, based on fieldwork research.

The "South Asian Area Studies" Project (FY 2016 to 2021) is being operated and conducted by expanding upon the National Institutes for the Humanities' "Contemporary India Area Studies" Project (Phase 1: FY 2010 to 2014, Phase 2: FY 2015). Ryukoku University is one of six institutions working together, conducting joint networked research. It is joined by Kyoto University (the central research hub), the National Museum of Ethnology (the secondary research hub), the University of Tokyo, Hiroshima University, and the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

The Evolution of the Image of Buddhist Ideal King "Cakravartin"

TESHIMA Hideki

Translated from the Japanese into English

by Translation Team of *Editage*

Contents of this work are based upon those of the following two articles published in Japanese:

TESHIMA, Hideki [2018] "The Formation of Cakravartin's Figure: From Its Origin to the Composition of the "Cakra-Chasing Episode"." *The Zinbun Gakuhō: Journal of Humanities* 112: 27-86.

――― [2020] "Yudhiṣṭhira and the Notion of the Buddhist King Cakravartin: A Comparison of the 14th Parvan in the *Mahābhārata* with the Buddhist Tale of King Cakravartin." *The Zinbun Gakuhō: Journal of Humanities* 115: 27-49.

The Evolution of the Image of Buddhist Ideal King "Cakravartin"[1)]

TESHIMA Hideki

0. Introduction

Buddhist scriptures and other ancient texts occasionally refer to an idealised ruler called a "cakravartin king" (Skt. *rājan- cakravartin-*, Pa. *rājan- cakkavatti[n]-*). As depicted in the Buddhist scriptures, a cakravartin king rules over the whole earth but without using military force; instead, he guides the people through the Buddhist dharma. The mythos of cakravartin king spread into many Asian countries, including Japan, along with the spread of Buddhism. In some cases, historic rulers adopted the appellation "cakravartin" to underscore their legitimacy and authority.[2] It demonstrates that the notion of cakravartin kingship had extended by then beyond the religious sphere to hold considerable sway in secular society. For that reason, cakravartin kingship has garnered interest among scholars of ancient India, resulting in a large body of literature on its origin and evolution.[3]

However, the discourse is complicated by varied conceptions of cakravartin kingship. A further complication is the fact that references to cakravartin kings appear not only in Buddhist scriptures but also in the Upanishads, epic literature and Purāṇas, as well as in Jain scripture.[4] Because of these issues, scholars have yet to establish a broad consensus on how the mythos of cakravartin king evolved. The very origin of the word "cakravartin" is subject to dispute with many different suppositions posited.

Similarly, scholars disagree over whether the idea of a cakravartin king ruling the whole earth through Buddhist dharma predated or postdated—or, indeed, had anything to do with—Aśoka (c. 270–232 BCE), who, as we read in numerous royal inscriptions, sought to instate dharmic government in the lands he conquered.[5] In my survey of the extant sources, I found no evidence to suggest that Aśoka knew about the mythos of cakravartin king or any evidence linking cakravartin-related concepts with events in Aśoka's reign. The matter remains ambiguous.

On the other hand, textual sources offer clues to how the mythos of cakravartin king developed. From an analysis of Buddhist textual sources along with the Upanishads and epic literature, Nakamura (1993: 445–448) derived the following two-stage model. While it was initially expected that rulers would use military force to conquer the whole of India (pp. 447–448), the idea eventually emerged of the cakravartin king, who conquers the whole of India without military force and using the Buddhist dharma. At the second stage, the image of a cakravartin king became increasingly fused with the image of the Buddha such that a cakravartin king came to be depicted as bearing the 32 Marks peculiar to the Buddha (p. 450).

As sound as Nakamura's thesis may be, it gives only a very rough overview of the evolution of the mythos. I mention above that the mythos of cakravartin king itself contains a complex array of elements; we can assume that its evolution was no less complex. However, to the best of my knowledge, no scholars have sought to unpack this complex process.

Against that backdrop, the present study reassesses textual descriptions of cakravartin kingship found in the Pāli Canon, which contains the earliest Buddhist texts, to clarify how the mythos of cakravartin king developed. I then discuss new insights gained from this analysis, which concern the relationship between cakravartin kingship and the Aśvamedha (the vedic horse sacrifice). By tracing the evolution of cakravartin kingship, I aim to shed some light on how the concept of the universal king emerged in ancient India.

The present study is structured as follows. Chapter 1 outlines the scholarly research on the origins of the concept of cakravartin kingship, identifies the issues in this literature, and describes the research strategy adopted in this study. Chapter 2 analyses some of the earliest textual sources among the Pāli Canon to shed light on the process by which the basic Buddhist notion of cakravartin kingship emerged. Chapter 3 focuses on ancient non-Buddhist sources pertaining to cakravartin kingship to explore the original meaning of *cakravartin-*. Chapter 4 focuses on passages of prosaic text and relates them to the earlier cakravartin concepts analysed in Chapter 2; this analysis reveals that the discourse about cakravartin kingship led to the emergence of formulaic phraseology for describing a cakravartin king. Chapter 5 focuses on the "cakra-chasing episode," the definitive Buddhist tale featuring a cakravartin king as the protagonist. The chapter reveals that this tale drew upon the model of cakravartin king established within Buddhism but that it was also modelled on the sacrificer of the Aśvamedha. Further, chapter 6 deals with the influence of the notion of Buddhist king cakravartin on the Yudhiṣṭhira's figure in the *Mahābhārata*, especially on that in the 14th volume (the Āśvamedhika Parvan).

1. Overview of Preceding Studies, Approach of Present Study

1.1 Preceding Studies on the Original Image of a Cakravartin King

Nakamura (1993) argued that the notion of a cakravartin king who rules over the whole earth by means of the Buddhist dharma was not the original notion of cakravartin kingship. According to this view, the Buddhist notion of cakravartin kingship arose later, after the image of cakravartin king became associated with Gotama Buddha (as discussed later). In other words, cakravartin kingship was not originally a religious concept. What, then, was the "original figure" (so to speak) of cakravartin king? Many scholars have sought to answer this question by exploring the etymology of the word "cakravartin," including the Sanskrit (Skt.) *cakravartin-* and the Pāli (Pa.) *cakkavatti[n]-*.[6]

"Cakravartin" has two composites: "cakra" (Skt. *cakra-*/Pa. *cakka-*) and "vartin" (*vartin-/vatti[n]-*). In Buddhist scripture, the first composite refers to a wheel or disc-shaped object. The second is derived from the verbal root $\sqrt{vrt}$-, meaning to turn (or to roll, rotate, spin, and so on). In the second composite, this verb has been modified into the causative form *vartayati/vatteti*, expressing "make (something) turn". It has also been nominalised by the kṛt suffix *-in-*, which is used to indicate the agent. In this case, it indicates the performer of the act of making something turn.[7] When $\sqrt{vrt}$- is used as the root of the intransitive verb *vartate/vattati* (intransitive "turn"), it may in some cases indicate a state of "existing/staying" in some place. However, when used in conjunction with *cakra-/cakka-*, it ever means to turn intransitively or to turn an object. It seems only natural, then, to assume that the word *cakravartin-/cakkavatti[n]-* as a whole is an adjective or noun (or adjectival noun) that specifies a noun as being one who/that "turns the wheel(s)"—i.e., a "wheel-turning" (person) or "wheel turner."

However, many scholars claim that the original meaning of *cakravartin-/cakkavatti[n]-* differed from that described above. The theories on this original meaning can be divided into two broad interpretations. (To simplify matters, I will stick for now with the Sanskrit word form, only referring to the Pāli forms where necessary.)

According to the first interpretation, the word *cakra-*, or the compound **cakravarta-* or **cakravārtra-*[8], referred to territory ruled by a king. This interpretation was espoused by a number of scholars from the late 19th century onward.

The Senart Thesis

One scholar of this camp who penned a particularly detailed demonstration was Émile Senart. In his study, Senart argued that *cakravāḷa-* (or *cakravāḍa-/-vāṭa-*),[9] a noun referring to a mountain range encircling a plain, eventually evolved (for some reason) into the verb **cakravarta-*. He further argued that the word **cakravarta-* could be suffixed by *-in-* as the taddhita suffix to make

4

cakravartin-, meaning one who owns a large expanse of territory (territory surrounded by mountain ranges) (Senart, 1882: 3–9). However, as Senart himself conceded, this does not explain how *-vāḷa-* (or *-vāḍa-/-vāṭa-*) transitioned, through normal phonological change, into *-varta-*. Another problem is that **cakravarta-*, which Senart assumed had the same meaning as *cakravāḷa-*, is unattested; there are no corroboratory examples in the literature of the word being in the sources.[10] Thus, Senart's thesis is far from robust.

The Jacobi Thesis

Another proponent of this camp was Herman Jacobi. In contrast to the Senart interpretation, Jacobi posited that *cakra-* (the front part of the compound word) itself referred to territory or region. This idea had been suggested some years prior by Wilson (1864: 183, note) and Kern (1882: 27, note). Jacobi highlighted the shortcomings in the Senart thesis and sought to substantiate what Wilson and Kern had suggested. Under the Jacobi thesis, *cakra-* is equated with *maṇḍala-* denoting a political sphere or circle (of neighbours). The term appears in this usage in political and legal treatises such as the Mānava-Dharma-Śāstra (MānDhŚ) and Nīti-Sāra.[11] As for the rear part of the compound, *vartin-*, Jacobi denied that this meant transitive *vartayati* ("turn [something]" or "rule") which Kern suggested. And he preferred Wilson's claim that the word in fact had the same meaning as intransitive *vartate* ("abide in"). On this basis, Jacobi argued that *cakravartin-* as a whole referred to a *vijigīṣu-*, a "valiant king" (literally, a "king desirous of victory"), one who gains the supremacy in the *maṇḍala-*, the whole earth (Jacobi 1910: 337). However, examples of *maṇḍala-* describing a kingdom or tributary polity occur only after the word *cakravartin-* emerges.[12] Similarly, only in later texts do we find instances where *cakra-* is used synonymously with *maṇḍala-*.[13] Thus, like the Senart interpretation, the Jacobi thesis lacks a robust evidential basis.

The Norman Thesis

Following Jacobi, a number of scholars sought to amend the Senart thesis through reinterpretation. In *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Arian Languages*, edited by Ralph Lilley Turner, the entry for *cakravartin-* invokes the Senart thesis but adds to it. Specifically, Turner suggested that *cakravāṭa-* ("mountain range") had emerged as a variant of **cakravārt(r)a-* which can have the same meaning as **cakravarta-* that clips off the suffix *-in* from *cakravartin-* (Turner 1966: 247, 669–670). Drawing on this information, Kenneth Roy Norman argued that the Pa. *cakkavattin-* derived not from the Skt. *cakravartin-* (defined in the above entry) but, rather, from Skt. **cakravārtrin-*, a reconstructed word made by suffixing *-in-* to Skt. **cakravārtra-*. The reason is that the word form **-vārtrin-* would have evolved, through normal phonological change, into the Pāli noun *-vattin-* and Prākrit (Pkt.) *-vaṭṭin-*. As for the Sanskrit word *cakravartin-* (the word he

5

had dismissed as the source for the Pa. *cakkavattin*), Norman suggested that this word was a "back-formation" of Pa. *cakkavattin-*/Pkt. *cakkavaṭṭin-*. Therefore he understands that Skt. *cakravartin-* has the same meaning of **cakravārtrin-* ("ruler of the mountain-range") derived from **cakravārtra-* that Turner equated to *cakravāṭa-* (Norman 1969: 242). Norman's thesis was predicated on the existence of the Skt. **cakravārtra-*, or the Pa. **cakkavatta-* which should serve as a medium between the Skt. **cakravārtra-* and Pa. *cakkavatti[n]-*. However, none of these words has been attested in the sources, so the Norman thesis, like the others, never rises above the realm of conjecture.

Now we come to the second main interpretation, in which *cakra-* means "wheel." While classified as a single interpretation, there is considerable internal disagreement regarding exactly what this "wheel" represents and what is meant by the second part of the compound, *-vartin-*.

The Gonda Thesis

Jan Gonda listed compounds in which the composite *-vartin-* forms the rear part of a two-part compound. Analysing this list, Gonda noted that, in many cases, the *-vartin-* composite denotes "being situated, abiding, staying in etc." On this basis, he assumed that *-vartin-* does likewise in the case of *cakravartin-*. As for *cakra-*, Gonda suggested that it denotes something other than a literal wheel—specifically, an abstract wheel symbolising the sun which illumines and rules the earth, and understands *cakra-* to be the symbol or representation of conquering efficacy (Gonda 1966: 124-125). Gonda concluded that the word *cakra-* represents the rim of the universe, and *cakravartin-* means the king who is the hub of the earth like the sun being the centre of the world (Gonda 1966: 127–128). A problem with this thesis concerns the *-vartin-* compounds Gonda listed. In each of these compounds, the front part is a word denoting something abstract, such as space, status, or condition (*kaṇṭha-*, *pārśva-*, *madhya-*, *vaśa-*, *maṇḍala-*). When *-vartin-* is paired with any of these words, it will only ever denote "situated in/staying in." *cakra-* is quite unlike these cases; most crucially, as a noun that denotes a tangible object (a wheel), it can potentially be paired with a word that denotes the act of turning intransitively or the act of turning something. Indeed, when *cakra-* is paired with the verb root √*vṛt-*, the resulting word almost always has this meaning. Thus, Gonda's thesis, considering the characteristic semantic link between the composites, gives only one side of the story.[14]

The Scharfe Thesis

One scholar who displayed a keen awareness of the above flaw is Hartmut Scharfe. Scharfe examined instances in the R̥gveda-Saṁhitā (R̥V) in which the verb root √*vṛt-* is paired with *cakra-*.[15] From this analysis, he concluded that *-vartin-*, as the rear part of the compound, means to "turn" (*vartayati*) something, as stated in the traditional Buddhist explanation. On the first part

of the compound, *cakra-*, Scharfe demonstrated how, in addition to "wheel," this word could potentially denote a discus-like throwing weapon. He also claimed that, of the two, it is more likely to have denoted the former. The evidence he cited for this claim was the appearance, from the Brāhmaṇas onwards, of a similar term, *cakracara-*,[16] meaning a person or persons who move(s) by/on wheels (by a wheeled vehicle). Scharfe then argued that the Indo-Arian peoples were once nomadic and mobile and that the kings would roam together with their subjects on chariots. By the latter stage of vedic literature, he continued, such nomadic kingship was no longer the norm. Around that time, he concluded, *cakravartin-* started to be used for the meaning of the ruler who travels by a wheeled vehicle (Scharfe: 1987: 300–308). The first half of the Scharfe thesis (the interpretation of the compound) stands up to scrutiny, particularly in how it considers the period in which *cakravartin-* emerged and the terms used before then. However, Scharfe failed to fully substantiate the second part of his thesis—that the word was derived from the concept of a nomadic king. Although Scharfe cited the existence of words such as *cakracara-* and similar concepts as corroborating evidence he signally failed to offer any examples attesting to the usage of *cakravartin-* itself.

Thus, we find a plethora of interpretations regarding the original meaning of the word *cakravartin-* and how the image of cakravartin kingship developed. We also find that the prerequisite for robust bibliographic research is lacking from this reasoning and argumentation. For a start, many of the interpretations are unsubstantiated, based on unattested morphologies and phonetic changes. Aside from this, there are two other issues. First, the analyses omit a fundamental procedure: collecting early instances of *cakravartin-* (particularly, instances in the Pāli Canon) and identifying the meaning by checking against each case. Second, paying too little attention to differences in time, the scholars have tended to take a retroactive approach to etymology; specifically, they have tended to surmise the original meaning of a word based on how the word in question (or a similar word) was later used. While it is likely true that the cakravartin concept evolved primarily within Buddhism such that the word came to denote a king who rules the whole earth by means of the Buddhist dharma, this does not imply that the word *cakravartin-* always (including from the time of its original meaning) was associated with the dharmic concept. When analysing instances of the word in the textual sources, whether Buddhist or otherwise, one must pay due regard to how the instance is situated within the broad timespan of textual and conceptual transition.

1.2 Approach of Present Study

In view of the issues identified in the literature review above, I adopt two strategies from here onward. First, I focus on the Pāli Canon (five nikāyas), which provides the earliest sources of cakravartin-related words. In comparison, non-Buddhist sources have less information and, in

most cases, were probably made later. Accordingly, I use the non-Buddhist sources only as a separate point of reference to corroborate the findings I derived from an examination of the Pāli Canon. Second, I plot a rough, and strictly tentative, chronology for the passages in the Pāli Canon germane to cakravartin kingship (and not, I must stress, the individual texts themselves). In this way, I posit as "older" those passages that are evidently the earlier examples of a cakravartin-related source. Then, I integrate all the other sources relative to the "older" sources accordingly, thereby mapping out a rough timeline.

I have identified within the Pāli Canon several "older" sources consisting of verses. The sources are from the lyrical portion of the *Sutta-Nipāta* (Sn), the *Thera-Gāthā* (Th), and the lyrical portion of the Sagātha-Vagga, which forms the first division of the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* (SN). The first source, in Sn 552–557 and Th 822–827, relates a conversation between Brahmin Sela and Gotama Buddha. The second, in Th 1234–1237 and SN I, 191–192, consists of lyrical text in which Vaṅgīsa praises of Gotama Buddha.

These three texts (Sn, Th, SN) have long been recognised as containing the earliest content among the Pāli Canon (Aramaki 1983: 1–3; Namikawa 2005: 11–12).[17] However, recent studies have revealed that the editing work on extant texts was performed much later in history. This issue is most evident in the *Khuddaka-Nikāya*, which contains the *Sutta-Nipāta* and *Thera-Gāthā*. By the early 5th century, the Mahāvihāra school, one school belonging to so called "Theravāda Buddhism," had come to regard the texts (including Sn and Th,) being out of frame of four older nikāyas (*Saṃyutta-*, *Aṅguttara-*, *Majjhima-*, and *Dīgha-Nikāya*) as members of the authoritative canon, and additionally made a text corpus as the fifth nikāya. Thus, we must account for the possibility that the texts of the *Khuddaka-Nikāya* were altered or expanded between the time of original composition and the early 5th century (cf. Baba 2008; 2010: 71–87; 2017). To wit, the *Sutta-Nipāta*, *Thera-Gāthā*, and other texts of this nikāya probably include some later interpolations. Still, of the two sources I identified as "older" (Sources 1 and 2 to be shown later), those from the *Sutta-Nipāta* and *Thera-Gāthā* would clearly have been cherished by, at least, Theravāda Buddhists, given how their content was duplicated in multiple texts. Such duplication suggests that the contents were well known from an early stage, even if we have no way of knowing the exact extent.

Thus, having tentatively defined the above sources as "older" based on outward characteristics, we must now verify this classification. For this, we check whether their inner content attests to their supposed antiquity and compare the content with later texts to see whether it forms a piece of an integrated map charting the evolution of the image of cakravartin king. This procedure should also help identify sound interpretations of the word *cakravartin-*. In the next chapter, I focus on instances that illustrate early stages in the formation of the image of cakravartin king. Then, in Chapter 3, I present my conclusions about the original meaning of the word.

2. The Emergence of a Cakravartin Mythos as Seen in the Older Sources

This chapter explores four sources from the Pāli Canon for insight into how the Buddhist notion of cakravartin king first emerged and then gradually evolved. I have defined the first two of these sources (Sources 1 and 2) as older (see the previous chapter). In these two older sources, we find nascent examples of what would become motifs of cakravartin king. The latter two sources (Sources 3 and 4) illustrate these motifs in a more developed form. We see a particularly striking development in Source 4, which consists of lyrical text from the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* (AN). The cakravartin depiction in this source represents the place where the image of cakravartin king starts to become Buddhistic. Thus, we can regard Source 4 as illustrative of starting point of the history of the Buddhist image of cakravartin king and Sources 1 to 3 as illustrative of its prehistorical prologue.

Source 1
  Sn 552–557＝Th 822–827 (Brahmin Sela talks with Gotama Buddha)
  N.B.: The text of the 'Sela-Sutta' which comprises verses Sn 552-557 (=Th 822–827) in the *Sutta-Nipāta* is also recorded in the *Majjima-Nikāya* (MN), as the 92th sutta. In the MN of the PTS edition, the whole text of this sutta is not printed, as it is identical with the Sela-Sutta in the *Sutta-Nipāta*.
Source 2
  Th 1234–1237＝SN I, 191–192 (Vaṅgīsa the disciple extols Gotama Buddha)
Source 3
  Th 913–914 (Anuruddha the disciple recounts his past lives)
Source 4
  AN IV, 90 (Gotama Buddha recounts his past lives)

In Sources 1 to 3, *cakkavatti[n]-* is translated as an adjective expressing an action such as "wheel-turning." In Source 4, we find the first instance in which *cakkavatti[n]-* serves as the following predicate: "[king who] establishes his rule, neither by the rod nor the sword, but by means of the dharma" (further discussed later). Let me say in advance that my understanding here is reflected in my translation of the source texts.

2.1 *cakkavatti[n]-*: A Heroic Warrior on the Chariot

Source 1 consists of a passage that appears in both the *Sutta-Nipāta* and the *Thera-Gāthā*. The passage never explicitly describes the Buddha as a superhuman figure, but we do find an expression that seems to indicate that such a conception was beginning to emerge at the time. The

expression Gotama Buddha uses to describe himself reads "supreme king of the dharma" (*dhammarājā anuttaro*). Source 1 does postdate the two earliest texts contained within the *Sutta-Nipāta*—namely, the texts in the fourth division, titled Aṭṭhaka-Vagga, and those in the fifth division, titled Pārāyana-Vagga (excluding Sn 976–1031, which the *Cullaniddesa*, an ancient commentary, does not cover).

This passage, in which a brahmin named Sela tells Gotama that the latter deserves to rule the earth as a great secular sovereign. The word *cakkavatti[n]-* appears in the beginning verse (552). In translating the passage, I arranged each pāda (a quarter of a verse) into a separate line and translated the passage by pāda to facilitate an analysis discussed later. As a result, some of the passage may read a little unnatural in English.

Source 1: Sn 552–557＝Th 822–827 (Brahmin Sela talks with Gotama Buddha)

552. *rājā arahasi bhavituṃ*	[Sela said:] "You are worthy to be the king
cakkavatti rathesabho	[who is] wheel-turning bull (heroic warrior) on the chariot,
cāturanto vijitāvī	conquerour owning [the earth] up to the four limits,
jambusaṇḍassa issaro	ruler of Jambu [country].
553. *khattiyā bhojarājāno*	Local rulers of the kṣatriya class
anuyuttā bhavanti te	become obedient to you.
rājābhirājā manujindo	As special king among kings, Indra of men,
rajjaṃ kārehi gotama	you should exercise your dominion, O Gotama."
554. *rājāham asmi selā ti bhagavā*	"O Sela, I am a king," so said Bhagavant.
dhammarājā anuttaro	"As a supreme king of the dharma,
dhammena cakkaṃ vattemi	by the dharma, I turn the wheel,
cakkaṃ appaṭivattiyaṃ	the wheel that cannot be turned back."
555. *sambuddho paṭijānāsi*	"You consider yourself a fully enlightened one. …"
iti selo brāhmaṇo	so said Brahmin Sela.
dhammarājā anuttaro	"… 'As a supreme king of dharma,
dhammena cakkaṃ vattemi	by the dharma, I turn the wheel,'
iti bhāsasi gotama.	you did say so, O Gotama.
556. *ko nu senāpatī bhoto*	Who, then, is your general—
sāvako satthu-d-anvayo	the disciple as the follower of the teacher?
ko te imaṃ anuvatteti	Who shall keep turning
dhammacakkaṃ pavattitaṃ	the wheel that has been turned [by you]?"
557. *mayā pavattitaṃ cakkaṃ*	"The wheel turned by me,
selā ti bhagavā	O Sela, …" so said Bhagavant,

<div style="text-align: center;">

dhammacakkaṃ anuttaraṃ   "… that supreme wheel of dharma,

sāriputto anuvatteti   Sāriputta continues to turn it,

anujāto tathāgataṃ   as who was born after the Tathāgata."

</div>

The meaning of *cakkavatti[n]-* according to the context

In the second pāda of the v. 552, the word *cakkavatti[n]-* appears in the singular nominative form *cakkavatti*. Past translators of this passage have typically treated the word either as an adjective that modifies the noun "king" (*rājā*; the singular of *rājan-*) in the previous pāda or as a separate noun.[18] However, if we look at the third and fourth pādas of the verse, which both contain an expression formed of a word pair ("*cāturanto vijitāvī*" in the third pāda, and "*jambusaṇḍassa issaro*" in the fourth), it becomes clear that both word pairs modify the noun *rājā*. Given this, it is natural to assume the same is true of the word pair in the second pāda ("*cakkavatti rathesabho*"). When we look at Source 1 as a whole, we can see that, in this conversation between Sela and the Buddha, each pāda is semantically integrated. This kind of parallelism is more conspicuous in this source than in the sources we will see later. Clearly, it was a rhetorical device to make the content easier for listeners to digest aurally. The device provides further evidence that the phrase *cakkavatti rathesabho* functioned as a two-word singular expression.

What, then, is the meaning of *cakkavatti* when paired with *rathesabha-* (Skt.: *ratha-* + *ṛṣabha-*)? First, three elements appear intimately linked in the phrase: "wheel" (*cakka-*), "chariot" (*ratha-*), and the verb √*vṛt-* (to turn). The word "bull" (*usabha-*) was a typical epithet for a war hero. Thus, the pāda as a whole conveys the image of a heroic warrior on the chariot. In this context, *cakkavatti[n]-* should probably be understood as an adjective expressing the "wheel-turning" action of the chariot. Whether we deem *cakkavatti[n]-* as an adjective that directly modifies *rājan-* or as a noun, it would still be wrong to translate it as "wheel-turning king" [Norman 1992: 65].

"Wheel-turning" in practice meant driving a chariot. Having clarified this, the next point to note is that the phrase *cakkavatti rathesabho* is followed by a reference to the action of conquering up to the "four limits" of the earth, a phrase also seen in other sources. This sequence suggests that the king not only drives the chariot into battle fields but also uses the vehicle to tour a territory so vast that it reaches all the way to the four limits of the earth (*cāturanta-*). I revisit this point in Chapter 3.1, where I discuss the original meaning of *cakkavatti[n]-*.

Nascent example of what became a cakravartin motif

In the second half of Source 1, Gotama Buddha refers to someone who will succeed him as turner of the dharma-wheel. The successor is Sāriputta. One of the foremost disciples of the Buddha, Sāriputta is often lauded as the Buddha's successor in Buddhist scriptures, from early Buddhist

<div style="text-align: center;">11</div>

sources onward.[19] It therefore comes as no great surprise to read that this disciple was designated as the next dharma-wheel turner. More intriguing than the choice of successor, though, is the nature of the succession itself—the idea that the successor keeps the wheel turning. As discussed later, secondary narrative elements (elements providing backdrop and context for the main narrative) found in an early cakravartin-related text become new criteria in texts later in the evolution of the mythos qualifying the cakravartin kingship of a successor to a cakravartin king. The motif of passing on the role of wheel turner represents a nascent example of what became a recurring theme in later Buddhist scripture: that in which an eldest son of a cakravartin king, after inheriting the throne from his father, only becomes a cakravartin king himself through the act of imposing his rule by means of the dharma (cf. Source 13 and Note 63).

2.2 *cakkavatti[n]-*: A King who Tours the earth

The next source (Source 2) consists of a passage in which Vaṅgīsa, one of the Buddha's disciples, praises Gotama Buddha who preaches dharma to his own disciples. The text is classified as the work of Vaṅgīsa in both the *Thera-Gāthā* and *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* (Sagātha-Vagga).

Source 2: Th 1234–1237 = SN I, 191–192 (Vaṅgīsa the disciple praises Gotama Buddha)

1234. *ajja pannarase visuddhiyā*	Today, on the 15th day [of the waxing moon; i.e., full moon],
bhikkhū pañcasatā samagatā	five-hundred bhikkhus have assembled for purification,
saṃyojanabandhanacchidā	cut off from their fetters, free of affliction;
anīghā khīṇapunabbhavā isī.	[They are] sages whose [causes of] reborn [are] disappeared.
1235. *cakkavattī yathā rājā*	Just as a wheel-turning king,
amaccaparivārito	surrounded by his ministers,
samantā anupariyeti	wholly tours this earth,
sāgarantaṃ mahiṃ imaṃ	that has the ocean as its limit:
1236. *evaṃ vijitasaṃgāmaṃ*	In the same way, upon the victor of the battle,
satthavāhaṃ anuttaraṃ	the supreme caravan leader,
sāvakā payirupāsanti	while surrounding [him], do the disciples attend,
tevijjā maccuhāyino	who possess three knowledges and have defeated death.
1237. *sabbe bhagavato puttā*	All are sons of Bhagavant.
palāpo ettha na vijjati	There is no frivolous talk here.
taṇhāsallassa hantāraṃ	To the destroyer of the arrow of craving,
vande ādiccabandhunaṃ	to the kinsman of the sun (Gotama), I do bow.
1238. *parosahassaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ*	Over a thousand bhikkhus
sugataṃ payirupāsati	attend upon the Sugata (Gotama), while surrounding [him],

12

desentaṃ virajaṃ dhammaṃ	upon the one who is clarifying the dharma free from defilement,
nibbānaṃ akutobhayaṃ	the nirvāna free of fear anywhere.

The meaning of *cakkavatti[n]-* according to the context

When comparing this source to Source 1, the first thing to note is that, although both sources mention the word *cakkavatti[n]-*, they share no other words or phrases. As we see later on, texts that refer to a cakravartin king generally adopt a more or less fixed phraseology formularised in earlier textual sources. Yet, neither Source 1 nor 2 borrows from the other. This suggests that the *cakkavatti[n]-* conception in each text was formed independently rather than being informed by another text.

Mindful of this point, we should now take note of how Source 2, like Source 1, links the word *cakkavatti[n]-* with the idea of travel by wheeled vehicle. Verse 1235 alludes to a king (*rājā*) who tours the earth surrounded by ministers; such travel would only have been possible on a wheeled conveyance. Verse 1236 describes Gotama Buddha, surrounded by his disciples, as a "caravan leader" (*satthavāha-*, Skt. *sārthavāha-*).[20] This expression serves as another metaphor alluding to a king on a vehicle.

However, Source 2 includes an element absent from Source 1. The king alluded to in Source 2 apparently tours a vast territory that is *already subject to his rule* (and thus requires no conquest). In this metaphor, the king is surrounded by ministers. The source word for these ministers is *amacca-* (Skt. *amātya-*),[21] which principally denoted civilian ministers rather than military officers; a king engaging in a military campaign would typically be accompanied by a "fourfold army" (*caturaṅginī* [*senā*]). Moreover, the source describes Gotama Buddha as having already won the battle; he is the "victor of the battle" (*vijitasaṃgāma-*), implying that the Buddha has attained full enlightenment and now rests in tranquility. Thus, the allegorical king alluded to in the source has already accomplished his conquest.

Insofar as Sources 1 and 2 can be classified as "older" sources, as I have postulated, this difference cannot be attributed to a transition in the cakravartin image over time. It is more likely that the one source highlighted one aspect of the word *cakkavatti[n]-* while the other source highlighted another. Thus, at this stage, the word *cakkavatti[n]-* was associated with the idea of king touring a vast territory on a vehicle, whether for the purpose of conquest or to maintain his rule. This point, too, we revisit in Chapter 3.1, which focuses on the original meaning of *cakkavatti[n]-*.

Nascent example of what became a cakravartin motif

As with Source 1, Source 2 contains elements which later became instrumentals in developing the cakravartin mythos. I refer to the phrase in v. 1238 (the final verse in the passage): "over a

thousand" (*parosahassa-*). The phrase describes the number of bhikkhus. In the preceding verse (1237), these bhikkhus are described as "sons of Bhagavant" (*bhagavato puttā*).[22] The "over a thousand" phrase is a nascent example of a motif that, in time, became part of a stock phrase associated with cakravartin kingship. The phrase reads "over a thousand sons shall be begotten" (cf. Sources 9 and 10). Another notable phrase is found in the first (1234): "the 15th day of the waxing moon (i.e., the full-moon day)." This was a reference to a holy day called *uposatha-* (Skt. *upavasatha-*). On the uposatha day, lay followers and monastics alike would reaffirm their devotion to Buddhist precepts and perform purification rites.[23] The uposatha motif relates to the cakra-chasing episode, in which the king encounters a wheel treasure certainly during uposatha (cf. Source 14, part D; the cakra-chasing episode is discussed in Chapter 5.2.1).

2.3 The Buddha's Disciple Who, in a Past Life, Was a King Who Ruled by Means of the Dharma
The next source, while it does not contain the word *cakkavatti[n]-* as such, yields valuable insight into the emergence of the Buddhist notion of cakravartin kingship. Like the first two sources, Source 3 consists of a passage from a text contained in the *Thera-Gāthā*. Unlike the other two sources, however, the content has no parallel in other texts. In the passage, a disciple named Anuruddha recounts his past lives, having gained insight into them as an outcome of ascetic practice.

Source 3: Th 913–914 (Anuruddha the disciple recounts his past lives)

913. *pubbenivāsaṃ jānāmi*	I know my past life,
yattha me vusitaṃ pure,	wither I once dwelled:
tāvatiṃsesu devesu	Among the thirty-three gods
aṭṭhāsiṃ sakkajātiyā	I was born as Indra, and there I stayed.
914. *sattakkhattuṃ manussindo*	Seven times I, [born] as Indra (lord) of men,
ahaṃ rajjam akārayiṃ	exercised my dominion.
cāturanto vijitāvī	As conquerour owning [the earth] up to the four limits
jambusaṇḍassa issaro	and ruler of Jambu country,
adaṇḍena asatthena	without [using] the rod and sword
dhammena anusāsayiṃ	but with the dharma, I made [vassals] guide [my subjects].

Positioning within the evolutionary timeline of the image
Immediately apparent in this passage is that v. 914 contains the same vocabulary and phraseology as in Source 1. Specifically, all the words in pādas 1 to 4, with the exception of *sattakkhattuṃ* and *ahaṃ*, match the words in pādas 3 and 4 in Sn 552 and in pādas 3 and 4 in Sn 553 (*manussindo*

being a synonymous variant of *manujindo* in Source 1). On the other hand, Source 3 differs profoundly from Source 1 in two respects. First, although the three epithets "conquerour of the earth up to the four limits," "ruler of Jambu," and "Indra (lord) men" use the same wording as in Source 1, the king they refer to is not addressed as *cakkavatti[n]-*. The second difference concerns what we read in the latter part of v. 914: "without [using] the rod and sword but with the dharma, I made [vassals] guide [my subjects]." These words eventually became a set phrase employed when describing the rule of a cakravartin king.

What explains these differences between Sources 1 and 3? To address this question, we must consider the chronology of the sources. It is difficult to determine which of the two sources is older from the estimated antiquity of their container texts or from their surface characteristics. We can, however, get some idea from the narrative content itself. In Source 1, we find a clear distinction between a secular king and a sage (Gotama Buddha); the former conquers the earth by the sword (the military force) whereas the latter rules the world by means of the dharma. In contrast, Source 3 integrates the attributes of the secular king with those of the dharma-teaching sage to present a new character: a secular king who rules by the dharma, not by the sword. Given this new development in content, it is likely that Source 3 drew upon Source 1 while the reverse is much less likely.

How, then, do we explain the first difference—that the word *cakkavatti[n]-*, present in Source 1, is missing from Source 3? The answer lies in the fact that, whereas the king depicted in Source 1 is being contrasted with Gotama Buddha, the king depicted in Source 3 is identified as a past incarnation of Anuruddha the disciple. To wit, the word *cakkavatti[n]-* appears in Source 1 because the act the word denotes—namely, "turning the [chariot] wheels"—is being juxtaposed with the act or role that Gotama Buddha performs, that of "turning the wheel of dharma." No such juxtaposition is made in Source 3, so there was no reason to use the word in that source. In other words, *cakkavatti[n]-* is absent from Source 3 because the king depicted therein, regardless of how idealistically his reign is depicted, is not being juxtaposed with the Buddha.

What do we make of the second difference—the reference to using neither rod nor sword but guiding the people by means of the dharma, an expression absent from Source 1 but present in Source 3? In many other sources, these words are used to describe the essential qualities of cakravartin kingship, but, in Source 3 at least, we find no cakravartin connection. Thus, Source 3 serves as evidence suggesting that, originally, the expression was never connected to the concept of cakravartin kingship nor collocated with the word *cakkavatti[n]-*; it simply described a Buddhistic ideal of kingship.

2.4 The Emergence of a Buddhist Notion of Cakravartin Kingship

The final source is a passage in which Gotama Buddha describes his past lives. The passage is

from the 7th division of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*. For ease of reference, I have labeled each line alphabetically. I cite these labels in the ensuing discussion.

Source 4: AN IV, 90 (Gotama Buddha recounts his past lives)

a.	*chattiṃsakkhattuṃ devindo*	Thirty-six times I, born as Indra (ruler) of gods,
b.	*devarajjam akārayiṃ*	exercised the dominion over gods.
c.	*cakkavattī ahuṃ rājā*	As cakravartin king,
d.	*jambusaṇḍassa issaro*	I was lord of Jambu country.
e.	*muddhābhisitto khattiyo*	As the head-anointed kṣatriya,
f.	*manussādhipatī ahuṃ*	I was king of men.
g.	*adaṇḍena asatthena*	Without [using] the rod and sword,
h.	*vijeyya paṭhaviṃ imaṃ*	I conquered this earth;
i.	*asāhasena dhammena*	And, without violence but with the dharma,
j.	*samena -m-anusāsiya*[24)]	I righteously guided [my subjects];
k.	*dhammena rajjaṃ kāretvā*	And after exercising dominion by the dharma
l.	*asmiṃ paṭhavimaṇḍale*	on this circle of earth,
m.	*mahaddhane mahābhoge*	I was born into a greatly rich, wealthy
n.	*aḍḍhe ajāyisaṃ kule*	prosperous household,
o.	*sabbakāmehi sampanne*	which is endowed with [fulfillment of] all wishes,
p.	*ratanehi ca sattahi*	also with the seven treasures.

Positioning within the evolutionary timeline of the image

Note first that this source clearly followed Source 3, Source 1 (which predated Source 3), or an analogous source. Lines d to j feature phraseology also featured in Sources 1 and 3: *cakkavattī rājā* (also in Source 1), *jambusaṇḍassa issaro* (also in Sources 1 and 3), *manussādhipatī* (corresponds to *manujindo* in Source 1 and to *manussindo* in Source 3), *adaṇḍena asatthena* (also in Source 3), and *dhammena … anu √sās* (also in Source 3). With the exception of the first example, all phrases are matched in Source 3. Moreover, the general narrative overlaps with that in Source 3; in both sources, a person recounts having ruled the gods as a celestial lord before being reborn as a terrestrial lord. Given this relationship, we can situate Source 4 after Source 3 in the timeline.

Having understood that Source 4 postdates Source 3, we should now note a fresh development occurring between Sources 3 and 4. In Source 4, the referent of the one who "rules by dharma, not by the sword" is not a past incarnation of Anuruddha, a disciple of Buddha, as it is in Source 3; it is instead a past incarnation of Gotama Buddha himself.

16

The next thing to note is that the word *cakkavatti[n]-*, present in Source 1 but absent in Source 3, returns in Source 4. In the previous section, we confirmed that the word had appeared in Source 1 because the action of turning a wheel was being contrasted with Gotama Buddha's role of turning the wheel of dharma while it was absent in Source 3 because no such juxtaposition was made in that source. Now, in Source 4, we again see Gotama being linked with a king. Whereas the two were contrasted in Source 1, in Source 4 the two inhabit the same person, the difference being temporal; the former was a past incarnation while the latter is the present incarnation. (This was probably modelled after the past and present incarnation in Source 3.) Insofar as the kingly incarnation was indelibly linked with Gotama Buddha, it was natural to have used *cakkavatti[n]-* as a modifier for the king noun.

However, in this instance, *cakkavatti[n]-* functions as something other than the kind of verbal adjective describing an action in Sources 1 and 2. Given the context, *cakkavatti[n]-* does not, in this instance, specify that the person travels by chariot. In Source 1, *cakkavatti[n]-* collocates with "bull (heroic warrior) on the chariot" (*rathesabha-*); in Source 2, it collocates with "tours the earth" (*samantā anupariyeti*). These collocations suggest that the modifier in both cases specifies that the referent moving by chariot ("turns the chariot-wheels"). However, in Source 4, we find no such collocation. Accordingly, whereas I had previously translated *cakkavatti[n]-* as "wheel-turning," this translation seems ill-fitting here. Most likely, *cakkavatti[n]-*, in the context of Source 4, was intended to form a predicate compound with the proceeding word *rājan-* to express a specially exalted kind of kingship, one fused conceptually with Gotama Buddha. We should also note that this is the first instance we have seen of a Buddhist notion of cakravartin king being accompanied by such lofty language.

Nascent example of what became a cakravartin motif

The final line of Source 4 mentions something that later became the most well known of the emblems of cakravartin kingship: the "seven treasures" (*satta- ratana-*). Later, it became something of an exegetical cliché to interpret *satta- ratana-* as referring specifically to the seven treasures of a cakravartin king. These treasures consisted of the wheel treasure (*cakkaratana*), the elephant treasure, the horse treasure, the maṇi (specific object made by gem) treasure, the lady treasure, the house-holder (i.e., wealthy citizen) treasure, and the adviser treasure as the seventh. (cf. Sources 9 and 10). However, in ancient India, the term was typically used to refer to treasure in general (gold, silver, and so on).

An example of this early generic usage is found in the *Ṛgveda*. Specifically, in ṚV 5.1.5, Agni is extolled for having left "seven treasures" in households (*dáme-dame saptá rátnā dádhānaḥ* [sg.]), and the same is said of Soma and Rudra in ṚV 6.74.1 (*… dádhānā* [du.]). Although the exact nature of the treasure is unclear, the term indicates treasure of some sort; the

number "seven," rather than literally meaning seven enumerated items, probably just meant a "great amount."

Another example is found in the Pāli Canon. In *Therī-Gāthā* 487, we read the following: "after the *vuṭṭhiman-* (rain-bringer) has poured down seven treasures over ten directions …" (*satta ratanāni vasseyya vuṭṭhimā dasadisā samantena*). Again, we have no specific description, but we get a sense of a general mass of treasure from the expression "pour down." This expression also appears in *Dhammapada* 186, as well as in the passage in verse (v.) 2 of *Jataka* 258 (*Mandhātu-Jātaka*, Jā II, 313): "By means of coin-shower, one finds no satisfaction of desires" (*na kahāpaṇavassena titti kāmesu vijjati*). In the prosaic portion preceding the verses of this Jātaka, we read about a cakravartin king named Mandhātu (Skt. *mandhātar-*) upon whom "rained down seven treasures, up to the height of the knee" (Jā II, 311: *jānuppamāṇaṃ sattaratanavassaṃ vassati*), whenever he wished. If the king was knee-deep in treasures, the treasures were probably coins or something similar. In light of these examples, the "seven treasures" mentioned in *Therī-Gāthā* 487 (the treasures poured down over ten directions) probably denoted treasure in general rather than the seven treasures associated with cakravartin kingship.[25]

What, then, of the allusion to "seven treasures" in Source 4? First, we can delineate two consecutive incarnations in the passage: In the earlier incarnation, Gotama Buddha rules the earth as a cakravartin king; this incarnation covers lines c to l. The later incarnation is described in lines m to p. This delineation is clear from lines k and n. Specifically, in line k, Gotama states that "after I had exercised my dominion" (*rajjaṃ kāretvā*); then, in line n, we read that "I was born" (*ajāyisaṃ*) into a wealthy household. In line p, "seven treasures" appears in the instrumental case (*ratanehi sattahi* "with the seven treasures"). The phrase is connected with the word *sampanne* ("endowed with") in the previous line o. In its locative case, *sampanne* modifies the household (*kule*; line n), which itself is locative. It seems, then, that the seven treasures adorn the household, not the person (re)born into it.

However, according to Buddhist sources, the wheel treasure, as the foremost of the seven treasures of a cakravartin king, was an accoutrement of the king himself (insofar as the king ruled by dharma) rather than a household item.[26] What about the other treasures? The purpose of the lady (the queen) was to support the king in his personal life. The purpose of the hous-holder (wealthy citizen) and advisor was to assist the king in his role as a ruler. Like the wheel treasure, these treasures can scarcely be considered family belongings. For these reasons, the seven treasures mentioned in line p must have been generic treasure rather than the seven treasures of cakravartin kingship. Like the motifs discussed earlier, the motif of the "seven treasures" came to be part of the material constituting a new conception of cakravartin kingship, and, as such, the motif—though originally denoting treasure in general—eventually came to refer specifically to seven treasures owned by a cakravartin king, the foremost of which was the wheel

treasure. We will see some detailed snapshots of this transition in Sources 9 and 10, to be discussed in Chapter 4.

2.5 Findings in this Chapter

As I mentioned at the end of Chapter 1, of the cakravartin-related sources I examined, I tentatively classified Sources 1 and 2 as "older." To verify this classification, I presented other sources after Sources 1 and 2 to see whether the sources, laid out in this way, form a coherent picture showing the evolution of the mythos of cakravartin kingship. From this analysis, we can conclude that these sources coherently illustrate the rise of a Buddhist notion of cakravartin kingship beginning in the older sources. The findings can be summarised as follows:

1. In the older sources (Sources 1 and 2), *cakkavatti[n]-* serves as an adjective that modifies the action of "wheel-turning," actually the moving on the chariot (by a king). Such a king is alluded to in these sources to create an allegorical juxtaposition with Gotama Buddha. Likewise, the modifier *cakkavatti[n]-* is counterpoised with Gotama's role of turning the wheel of dharma. However, insofar as this king conquers the world by the sword, he is quite different in character from the Buddhist model of cakravartin kingship, which developed later in time.

2. In Source 3, Anuruddha the Buddha's disciple describes a past life in which he ruled as a king. The kingship he describes matches the Buddhist notion of cakravartin kingship in that he ruled by the dharma, not by the rod or sword. Source 3 adopts the phraseology used in Source 1, and, in depicting Anuruddha's kingly past life, the source amalgamates elements of Gotama Buddha and those of a secular king, which were juxtaposed in Source 1. However, the modifier *cakkavatti[n]-* is absent from Source 3 since the king depicted in this source is no counterpart of the Buddha, the turner of dharma-wheel, as in Source 1.

3. In Source 4, Gotama Buddha recounts, as Anuruddha did in Source 3, a past life in which he ruled as king by the dharma and not by the rod or sword. Source 4 adopts the phraseology of Source 3 and the even earlier Source 1 and, in depicting Gotama's kingly past life, adopts elements of Source 3. However, unlike Source 3, Source 4 employs the modifier *cakkavatti[n]-* because the kingly incarnation, unlike the one described in Source 3, was an incarnation of Gotama Buddha, who turns the wheel of dharma and, as such, merits the epithet *cakkavattī rājā*. In this case, *cakkavatti[n]-* functions not as an actional modifier but as one part of a pair of two nouns, another part being *rājan-*. This pair denoted an exalted form of kingship, one associated with the concept of Buddhahood; it denoted the Buddhist conception of cakravartin kingship.

19

We have seen in Sources 1, 2, and 4 nascent examples of what eventually became motifs associated with cakravartin kingship. These examples themselves were not directly associated with cakravartin kingship. However, since they appeared in lyrical passages that depicted a cakravartin king (or precursor to such—the "wheel-turning king"), they would in time become elements associated with cakravartin kingship or motifs in narrative accounts about a cakravartin king. In Chapters 4 and 5, we explore other textual sources where what were the nascent examples we saw in Sources 1, 2, and 4 are now established as constitutive elements of a cakravartin king. For all these reasons, we can conclude that Sources 1, 2, and 4, as well as Source 3—insofar as it precedes Source 4 in the timeline for the development of the older image—reflected the most older (the earlier) of all the cakravartin-related textual accounts among the Pāli Canon.

3. The Original Meaning of *cakravartin-*

At the end of Chapter 1, I stated that we could reasonably infer the original meaning of *cakravartin-* by analysing the earliest textual sources related to cakravartin kingship. In the first section of this chapter (3.1), we consider the original meaning of *cakravartin-* in light of the sources, particularly Sources 1 and 2. In the second section (3.2), we see how the Skt. *cakravartin-*, or Pkt. *cakkavaṭṭin-*, was used in non-Buddhist sources which can be contemporaneous with the Pāli Canon. By collating these accounts with information in the Pāli Canon, we examine historical position of each account. Finally, in the third section (3.3), we reassess the original meaning of *cakravartin-* in light of the source information.

3.1 The Original Meaning of *cakkavatti[n]-* in the Pāli Canon

In Chapter 2, we ascertained that Source 1 predates Source 4. We also concluded that Source 2, which we deemed equally old to Source 1, uses the word *cakkavatti[n]-* to depict a king from an independent perspective. Thus, when tracing the original meaning of *cakkavatti[n]-* in the Pāli Canon, it would be reasonable to focus on elements that feature in both Sources 1 and 2.

The first element that features in both sources is "king moving on a vehicle." The two sources differ somewhat in terms of the purpose of moving on this vehicle, Source 1 depicting the king riding on the chariot into battle for the purpose of conquest and Source 2 appearing to depict him moving on the chariot around his already-conquered domain to maintain his rule. Notwithstanding this difference, both sources agree that the king boards the vehicle and does so as part of his kingly duties. Thus, in Sources 1 and 2, *cakkavatti[n]-* functions as a verbal adjective meaning "turning the wheels [of a vehicle]," which, in practice, meant to "moving on a chariot/vehicle."[27)] Notably absent from this meaning is an element of what became part of the Buddhist notion of cakravartin kingship: the idea of "ruling by the dharma rather than the rod or sword."

The second common element is the context in which the word is used: namely, that of conquering or ruling a vast territory. In Source 1, *cakkavatti[n]-* is followed by the expression "up to the four limits" (*cāturanta-*), meaning a territory that stretches to the four corners of the earth. Similarly, in Source 2, the word is followed by the expression "[tours the] whole earth bounded by the ocean as its limit" (*sāgarantā- mahī-*), again indicating the whole earth. Thus, it is unlikely that any constitutive element of the word (*cakka-* or **cakkavtta-*) inherently implied "whole earth"; more likely, the "whole earth" connotation arose as a result of customary usage. My interpretation here differs markedly from that of Senart, Jacobi, and Norman, who interpreted the Sanskrit *cakra-*, **cakravarta-*, or **cakravārtra-* as meaning "whole earth."

Based on these, we can surmise the original meaning of the Pāli *cakkavatti[n]-* as follows. We infer directly from the constitutive elements of the word that it denoted a specific action, that of turning wheels (of a chariot/vehicle), and that it functioned as an adjective. In terms of how the word was used, from the examples we saw, the word always directly or indirectly modified the noun "king" (*rājan-*). (It remains uncertain whether the word was ever used to modify another noun, such as "general" or "warrior.") The examples also suggest that the word, as customarily used, tended to connote the idea of a king touring a vast domain on a chariot.

Of the existing theses presented in Chapter 1, the above interpretation is closest to the Scharfe thesis. Scharfe posited that the front part of the compound, *cakra-*, denoted "wheel" while the rear part, *-vartin-*, denoted the verb *vartayati*, the causative of √*vṛt-*. In this, I would concur. However, Scharfe went further to speculate that *cakravartin-* implied a nomadic king (as opposed to a sedentary one). I find no firm evidence to support this supposition. The idea of roaming a vast territory on a chariot does, admittedly, seem consistent with nomadic kingship. However, it does not necessarily imply it; we may just as well suppose that the king toured his domain every now and then while retaining a fixed residence.

3.2 Usages of *cakravartin-* in Early Non-Buddhist Sources

In this section, we collate the original meaning of cakravartin as derived from the Pāli Canon (see the previous section) with examples of the word in ancient non-Buddhist sources. The sources that can be roughly dated to before the Common Era consist of the *Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad*, the *Mahābhārata*, and early Jain texts including *Uttarajjhāyā*.[28] Of these, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Uttarajjhāyā* may reflect the influence of the Buddhistic conception of cakravartin king, which had been formularised by then in Buddhist scripture. This section assesses this and other possibilities.

3.2.1 Example in the *Maitrāyaṇīya-Upaniṣad*

The *Maitrāyaṇīya-Upaniṣad* (MaitU) does contain some old content, but the extant version is probably a product of the Common Era.[29] Still, among the examples of the word *cakravartin-* in this text, no indications suggest influence from Buddhist sources. The passage in question emphasises the transient nature of life: all beings, even legendary heroes and kings, pass away.

Source 5: MaitU 1.4 (Buitenen 1962: 98)

kiṃ etair vā / pare 'nye mahādhanurdharāś cakravartinaḥ kecit sudyumnabhūridyumne-ndradyumnakuvalayāśvayauvanāśvavadhryaśvāśvapatiḥ śaśabindur hariścandro 'mbarīṣa-nanaktusaryātir yayātir anāraṇyokṣasenādayo 'ha maruttabharataprabhṛtayo rājāno miṣato

bandhuvargasya mahatīṃ śriyaṃ tyaktvāsmāl lokād amuṃ lokaṃ prayānti //

But what of them? Other beings, greater than they, mighty archers, great kings (*cakravartinaḥ*), like Sudyumna, Bhūridyumna, Indradyumna, Kuvalayāśva, Yauvanāśva, Vadhryaśva, Aśvapati, Śaśabindu, Hariścandra, Ambarīṣa, Nanaktu, Saryāti, Yayāti, Anāraṇya, Ukṣasena, and so forth, as well as kings like Marutta, Bharata and so on, they all have before the eyes of their kinsmen departed from this world to the world beyond, leaving behind their mighty splendour. (Butenen 1962: 124)

In the above source, *cakravartin-* could be interpreted as either a standalone noun or an adjective modifying "mighty archers" (*mahādhanurdhara-*). We cannot tell whether it simply means one who moves on a chariot or denotes an exalted kind of king. Given that the passage goes on to cite only Marutta and Bharata as examples of "kings" (*rājānaḥ*), the 15 personages cited beforehand (Sudyumna to Ukṣasena) were perhaps examples of heroic warriors rather than kings.[30]

Notwithstanding these uncertainties, the salient point is that *cakravartin-* connoted the idea of a heroic archer. If the heroes listed in the passage indeed fought as archers on the battlefield, then we would usually expect them to have ridden on chariots while another person drove it (took the reins).[31] If so, then the word pair *mahādhanurdharāś cakravartinaḥ* might have described a heroic archer riding (but not driving) a chariot. I will avoid any further speculation in view of the limited information available from the source; suffice it to say, it seems that the usage of *cakravartin-* here is not incongruous with what I have surmised to be the original meaning (3.1).

3.2.2 Example in the *Mahābhārata*

In the *Mahābhārata*, *cakravartin-* is used an epithet for King Bharata, the progenitor of people Bharatas (*bhārata-*). The following passage summarises his birth and kingly career.

Source 6: MBh 1.69.44–47

44. *duḥṣantaś ca tato rājā*	Thereupon King Duḥṣanta
putraṃ śākuntalaṃ tadā	invested his son by Śakuntalā
bharataṃ nāmataḥ kṛtvā	with the name Bharata upon
yauvarājye 'bhyaṣecayat	and anointed him young king.
45. *tasya tat prathitaṃ cakraṃ*	And the glorious Wheel of the great-
prāvartata mahātmanaḥ	spirited Bharata rolled
bhāsvaraṃ divyam ajitaṃ	thundering through the worlds, grand,
lokasaṃnādanaṃ mahat	radiant, divine, unvanquished.
46. *sa vijitya mahīpālāṃś*	He defeated the kings of the earth
cakāra vaśavartinaḥ	and made them his vassals;

23

cakāra ca satāṃ dharmaṃ	he lived the Law of the strict
prāpa cānuttamaṃ yaśaḥ	and attained to sublime fame.
47. *sa rājā cakravarty āsīt*	He was a king, a Turner of the Wheel (*cakravartin-*),
sārvabhaumaḥ pratāpavān	a majestic worldwide king.
īje ca bahubhir yajñair	He sacrificed many sacrifices,
yathā śakro marutpatiḥ	he was an Indra, lord of the winds.
	(Buitenen 1973:170-171)

In this passage, the characterisation of Bharata differs markedly from that of the Buddhistic cakravartin king, who forsakes the rod and sword. It is, however, consistent with the traditional model of kingship found in epics, in which the king uses military force to smite his enemies and performs numerous sacrifices.[32] The epithet *cakravartin-* appears again in another part of the *Mahābhārata*, also referring to Bharata. The part in question concerns the holding of numerous Aśvamedha sacrifices.

Source 7: MBh 3.88.7

tatraiva bharato rājā cakravartī mahāyaśāḥ	There also King Bharata, the glorious Turner of the
viṃśatiṃ sapta cāṣṭau ca hayamedhān	Wheel (*cakravartin-*), offered up thirty-five Horse
upāharat	Sacrifices. [Buitenen 1975: 402]

How does the version of cakravartin kingship depicted in these two examples relate to the version depicted in the Buddhist sources? First, in v. 47 of Source 6, *cakravartin-* modifies "king" (*rājan-*) and is equated with "ruler of the whole earth" (*sārvabhauma-*). In these respects, it is similar to how the Buddhist sources appose "conquerour owning [the earth] up to the four limits" (*cāturanto vijitāvī*) with the word *cakkavatti[n]-*. Next, v. 45 of Source 6, seemingly hinting at the origin of the word *cakravatin-*, contains the phrase *cakraṃ prāvartata*, meaning that the wheels rolled forth (or started turning). In this case, the word *cakravartin-* is linked to the turning of wheels and, at the same time, conveys the idea of a great king ruling the whole earth. This example, then, also appears to resemble what we have deemed to be the original meaning of *cakkavatti[n]-* in the Buddhist sources.

However, caution is required here; there is a strong possibility that the above text was based upon the Buddhist model of cakravartin kingship already formularised in Buddhist scripture. Evidence suggesting this possibility is found in a phrase in v. 45 that modifies *cakram*: "radiant, divine" (*bhāsvaraṃ divyam*). We find similarly lofty language in the cakra-chasing episode, a Buddhist tale about the cakravartin king. We will explore this tale in more detail later,

but for now, I will mention a scene from the tale in which the wheel treasure, the most important emblem of cakravartin king, appears in the sky. This scene features the expression "divine wheel treasure" (*dibbaṃ cakkaratanam*) (cf. Source 14, part A). The wheel treasure ultimately comes to rest in the king's palace, which is described as "beautifully illuminating" (*upasobhayamānam*) (cf. Source 14, part D). It is unsurprising to find such lofty language in a Buddhist tale about the wheel treasure, but it is hard to account for its use in an epic unless we assume some influence from a Buddhist tale about the wheel treasure. It may well be that the cakravartin king depicted in Source 6 was based on the Buddhistic cakravartin king but was adapted to suit the image a mighty, conquering king one would expect to find in an epic. In view of the possibility of Buddhist influence, these textual accounts of cakravartin kingship have limited authority in the matter of the original meaning of *cakkavatti[n]-*.

3.2.3 Example in the *Uttarajjhāyā*

As for examples in early Jain texts, the Prākrit word *cakkavaṭṭin-* occurs three times in the *Uttarajjhāyā* (Utt) and once in the *Isibhāsiyāiṃ* (Isi).[33] None of the examples gives us enough information to infer the intended meaning of the word. Below, we examine an example from the *Uttarajjhāyā*. The passage, while short, contains many appositives.

Source 8: Utt 11.22

jahā se cāurante cakkavaṭṭī mahiḍḍie	Just like a cakravartin owning [the earth up to]
coddasarayaṇāhivaī evaṃ havai bahussue	the four limits, possessing great virtues and
	fourteen treasures, a very learned one is [great].

As the above example illustrates, early Jain texts typically used *cakkavaṭṭin-* not as an adjective but as a standalone noun, denoting a mighty king. In this case, the substantive *cakkavaṭṭin-* is modified by three phrases: *cāuranta-* ("owning [the earth] up to the four limits"), *mahiḍḍi-* ("possessing great virtues"), and *coddasarayaṇa-* ("possessing fourteen treasures"). The first of these (Pkt. *cāuranta-*, Pa. *cāturanta-*) shares a similarity with a phrase in the Buddhist scriptures. Likewise, the third modifier refers to a number of "treasures" (Pkt. *rayana-*, Pa. *ratana-*) in a similar fashion to how cakravartin-related Buddhist sources mention the cakravartin king's "seven treasures." These seven treasures were, in fact, represented among the 14 treasures in this Jain text.[34] The other modifier, "possessing great virtues" (Pkt. *mahiḍḍi-*, Pa. *-iddhi-*, Skt. *mahā* + *ṛddhi-*), is consistent with a phrase that would appear in later cakravartin accounts: "four virtues" (Pa. *catu- iddhi-*).[35]

Thus, Jain scriptural accounts of chakravartin kingship display some historical continuity with Buddhist scriptural accounts. However, it is challenging to determine which predated the other (and which inspired the other). The antiquity of the Jain scriptures is uncertain, and they contain elements that are difficult to account for if we assume a unidirectional flow of influence.

Regarding the 14 treasures, analysis of Source 4 revealed that Buddhism did not originally associate the "seven treasures as specific objects" with a cakravartin king. When describing his past life, Gotama used the term "seven treasures" to refer to treasure in general; only later did "seven treasures" come to refer specifically to the seven treasures of a cakravartin king. Thus, there are two possible explanations for the reference to 14 treasures in Jain scripture: either it was inspired by the Buddhist idea of the seven treasures of cakravartin kingship—once such an idea had developed in Buddhism—or it had developed by then within Jainism (independently of Buddhism) and become formularised as a similar, parallel concept.

On the other hand, we can be fairly certain that "mighty powers" had a non-Buddhist origin. The word *mahiḍḍi-* appears in every reference to cakravartin kingship in early Jain scriptures (cf. note 33). Most likely, "mighty powers" featured in Jain discourse from ancient times and eventually became a set phrase in Jain descriptions of cakravartin kingship. In contrast, Buddhist references to cakravartin kings having "four virtues" started appearing in Buddhist scriptures later than references to the cakravartin king's seven treasures. Moreover, I find no evidence in earlier Buddhist sources indicating the process by which the "four virtues" concept was formed. Thus, there are two possible explanations for the Buddhist concept of "four virtues": either it was inspired by the Jain *mahiḍḍi-* ("great virtue") or it developed within Buddhism (independently from Jain scripture) over a short time.

It should now be clear that Jain references to cakravartin kingship raise questions about their relative antiquity. Insofar as this matter remains unclear, the Jain scriptures are unsuitable to use as sources for ascertaining the original meaning of *cakkavatti[n]-*.

3.3 The Etymology of *cakravartin-*

In this chapter, we have learned that Buddhist scriptures provide useful material for examining the original meaning of *cakravartin-*. They contain many examples of the Pāli word *cakkavatti[n]-* and provide plenty of contextual information allowing us to infer the intended meaning. In contrast, early non-Buddhist sources provide only limited information about the equivalent word (Skt. *cakravartin-*/Pkt. *cakkavaṭṭin-*). Moreover, some examples in non-Buddhist sources were evidently inspired by the Buddhist conception of cakravartin kingship—after it had developed— as we saw in the example in the *Mahābhārata* (Source 6). It remains unclear whether any examples exist in non-Buddhist sources of references to cakravartin kingship that were free from

Buddhist influence. The trend among the examples suggests that the word *cakravartin-* (hereunder, I also render the Indic word in Sanskrit forms) was initially favored by Buddhists and that, later, it started being used by non-Buddhist communities. There are two possible ways to account for this development. (I withhold judgment on which of the two is more compelling.)

1) Although the word *cakravartin-* was in use before the earliest Buddhist scriptures, it rarely featured in ancient non-Buddhist sources for some reason (possibly because it was rarely used). However, Buddhists started using the word to describe a particular kingly act, that of "turning the wheel," which they were juxtaposing with the Buddha's role in turning the wheel of the dharma. This practice prompted a significant rise in instances of the word being used and also led to a development in the usage of the word. Eventually, this development spilled over into non-Buddhist communities such that the usage of *cakravartin-* started permeating ancient Indian society.

2) The word *cakravartin-* emerged among Buddhists. When juxtaposing the image of a secular king against Gotama Buddha, Buddhists focused on how such a king turns the wheels of a chariot whereas Gotama turns the wheel of the dharma. They coined the word *cakravartin-* to express this idea of turning the wheels of a chariot. This development led to a large number of instances of the word being used among Buddhists and to a development in the meaning of the word. Eventually, this development spilled over into non-Buddhist communities such that the usage of *cakravartin-* started permeating ancient Indian society.

If, as posited in the first possibility, the word *cakravartin-* was never coined by Buddhists themselves to express the counter to Gotama's turning of the wheel of dharma but instead always existed as the word for riding on a chariot, then this would raise the question of why one chose such a roundabout expression. Why did one choose *cakravartin-*, meaning "(one who) turns the wheel," when they could have expressed moving on a chariot/vehicle much more directly with, say, *rathesthā-*, meaning "[one] being on a chariot," or *rathin-*, meaning "[one] possessing (riding on) a chariot," or *cakracara-*, meaning "who moves by/on wheels (by a wheeled vehicle)"?[36] We can account for this to some extent by suggesting that the *cakravartin-* concept had broadly prevailed in ancient India.

Generally, the expression "turn the wheel" connotes something more than the act of moving by wheeled vehicle. During the rise of Buddhism, vedic rituals were conducted far and wide in India. The *Sutta-Nipāta* and other texts in the Pāli Canon sometimes narrate episodes in which kings perform vedic kingship rituals.[37] The episode features a rite called vājapeya (Pa.

vācapeyya-), which involves an upright post running through the hub of a wheel. The priest spins the wheel while reciting the veda.[38)] In this context, the "wheel" refers to a vajra, an Indra's weapon and emblem of a chariot, of which it forms a part. Further, the Agnicayana, the large-scaled vedic ritual involving the building of a brick altar (normally in the form of a bird), has a special variant in which one builds a brick altar in the form of a wheel.[39)] This variant is designated for the smiting of an enemy.

Thus, in ancient Indian society, wheels or the turning of wheels commonly connoted the idea of smiting adversaries by military force. This common connotation explains the origin of the Buddhist metaphor of "turning the wheel of dharma"; specifically, Buddhist teaching utilised the wheel=conquest connotation to create a metaphor that conveys how Gotama Buddha routs and scatters people's delusions. If this inference is correct, then even if the word *cakravartin-* was initially used for the purpose of juxtaposing Gotama with a secular king, this Buddhist usage ultimately traces its origin to the symbolic connotation of "turning the wheel"—the connotation of military victory against the foe.

4. The Evolution of the Image of the Cakravartin King in Prosaic Texts of the Pāli Canon

This chapter focuses on prosaic texts in the Pāli Canon to observe the process by which the image of cakravartin king was fleshed out after its basis was established in the time of Sources 1 to 4. The analysis in this chapter reveals how this process produced a number of examples of formulaic phraseology regarding cakravartin kingship and how such phraseology became incorporated into Buddhist scriptures. I do not analyse every instance of set phrases and expressions as the examples are too vast to cover; instead, I focus on those examples that relate directly to the cakra-chasing episode addressed in the next chapter. The remaining examples will be outlined at the end of the chapter.

4.1 Formulaic Phraseology A: Cakravartin King with "Seven Treasures" and a "Thousand Sons"
First, we examine the most frequently occurring example of cakravartin-related phraseology among the Buddhist scriptures. I have labeled it Formulaic Phraseology A. One example of Formulaic Phraseology A occurs in the *Sutta-Nipāta*, specifically in a prosaic passage (Sn p. 106; Source 10) preceding the verses quoted in Source 1. However, given that this prosaic content of the *Sutta-Nipāta* is not quite consistent with the following lyrical content (Source 1), it may have drawn from prosaic text already in circulation.[40] In contrast, the prosaic passage cited in Source 9 below (AN IV, 90) neatly matches the ensuing lyrical portion (Source 4). It is likely, then, that the text of Formulaic Phraseology A was originally composed as a commentary on the verses in Source 4 and was later utilised in other texts such as in the *Sutta-Nipāta* (Source 10). In the source, bold font indicates phraseological units that were duplicated in other texts. For ease of reference, the prose has been arranged into separate lines and labeled alphabetically. I will refer to these labels in the ensuing discussion.

Source 9: AN IV, 89

    a.   *chattiṃsakkhattuṃ kho panāhaṃ bhikkhave sakko ahosiṃ devānam indo.*

    b.   *anekasatakkhattuṃ*[41] **rājā ahosiṃ cakkavattī dhammiko dhammarājā cāturanto vijitāvī janapadatthāvariyappatto sattaratanasamannāgato.**

    c.   **tassa** *mayhaṃ bhikkhave* **imāni satta ratanāni ahesuṃ. seyyathīdaṃ cakkaratanaṃ hatthiratanaṃ assaratanaṃ maṇiratanaṃ itthiratanaṃ gahapatiratanaṃ, parināyakaratanam eva sattamaṃ.**

    d.   **parosahassaṃ kho pana** *me bhikkhave* **puttā ahesuṃ sūrā vīraṅgarūpā parasenappa-maddanā.**

e. *so imaṃ paṭhaviṃ sāgarapariyantaṃ adaṇḍena asatthena dhammena abhivijiya ajjhāvasan.*

a. And verily, O bhikkhus, I was Śakra, Indra (lord) of gods, thirty-six times.

b. Many hundreds of times, I was a **cakravartin king, a righteous king of the dharma, a conquerour owning [the earth] up to the four limits, attaining the stability of regions, accompanied by the seven treasures.**

c. **By him**, [the present] me, O bhikkhus, there were the seven treasures: **namely, the wheel treasure, the elephant treasure, the horse treasure, the maṇi treasure, the lady treasure, the house-holder (i.e., wealthy citizen) treasure, and the adviser treasure as the seventh.**

d. **And verily**, O bhikkhus, by me **there were over a thousand sons, gallant, characterised by limbs of warrior, smiting the forces of the enemy.**

e. **After conquering this earth circled by the ocean, without [using] the rod and sword but with the dharma, he dwelled [there].**

Positioning within the evolutionary timeline of the mythos

Lines a and b correspond to portion a to c in Source 4; they describe how the Buddha ruled as lord (Indra) of heaven 36 times and subsequently ruled earth as a cakravartin king. We also find matching vocabulary (*chattiṃsakkhattuṃ*, *deva-*, *inda-*). Line e, which states that the Buddha, as a cakravartin king, conquered by the dharma, without the rod or sword (*adaṇḍena asatthena dhammena abhivijiya*), adopts the vocabulary and phraseology used in portion g to i in Source 4.

However, in line b, the phrase "conquerour owning [the earth] up to the four limits" (*cāturanto vijitāvī*) has no matching phrase in Source 4. It does have a match in Source 3 (Th 914) as well as in Source 1 (Sn 552). The last two lines (d and e) contain elements that overlap with Source 2. For example, "this earth circled by the ocean" (*imaṃ paṭhaviṃ sāgarapariyantaṃ*) takes the words *imaṃ paṭhaviṃ* from pāda h in Source 4, which reads "this earth" (*paṭhaviṃ imaṃ*), but it also resembles Th 1235 in Source 2, which reads "this earth that has the ocean as its limit" (*sāgarantaṃ mahiṃ imaṃ*). Thus, it is supposed that the text of Source 9 is on the whole based on Source 4 (or a source of the same lineage), but it incorporates elements from other textual traditions relating to the cakravartin kingship.

The formation of a cakravartin motifs

Source 9 associates a cakravartin king with having "over a thousand sons" (*parosahassaṃ puttā*) who are gallant (line d). This information is novel; it does not appear in any of the previous sources analysed. The motif had its origin in the nascent example we saw in Source 2. Specifically, in Th 1238, we read that Gotama Buddha is attended by "over a thousand" (*parosahassaṃ*) bhikkhus. Moreover, the preceding verse (Th 1237) suggests that these bhikkhus are all "sons"

(puttā) of the Buddha.[42)] In summary, although this element in Th 1238 did not directly concern a cakravartin king, it is incorporated into cakravartin-related content and, in so doing, facilitated the development of the cakravartin image.

A similar phenomenon occurs concerning the reference to the "seven treasures" (*sattaratana-*) in lines b and c. The phrase "seven treasures" occurred in the final portion of Source 4, but, in that case, as we concluded from the context, it referred to treasure in general. In the present case, it refers specifically to the seven regal emblems of a cakravartin king; indeed, the treasures are even enumerated ("the wheel, the elephant…"), reflecting a marked development in the motif. The seven treasures seem to represent the various elements that help a king fulfill his kingly duties: the elephant and the horse represent the king's military power, the maṇi (specific object made by gem) represents the king's royal authority, the lady is the king's wife who helps him in private life, the house holder (wealthy citizen) is the king's financial supporter, and the adviser is the king's political counsellor. However, I have found no textual evidence that could suggest how these specific seven treasures came to be a set yet.[43)] Accordingly, I will refrain from discussing the formative history of the seven treasures mythos.

Two other phrases in Source 9 are worth highlighting. The first is in line b: "attaining the stability of regions" (*janapadatthāvariyappatto*). The second is in line e: "After conquering [this earth], he dwelled [there]" (*abhivijiya ajjhāvasan*). Both phrases appear verbatim in a lyrical passage from the Sagātha-Vagga (the first division of the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*) in which Pasenadi, the king of Kosala, talks with Gotama Buddha (SN I, 100–101). This duplication reveals that the evolution of the text regarding the cakravartin king was not just built upon the transmissions of cakravartin kingship; during the evolution, vocabulary and phraseology associated with other kings (or the king in general) were flexibly incorporated.

4.2 A Variant of Formulaic Phraseology A: Cakravartin King with the 32 Marks of a Great Man
After being formularised in the above passage from the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, Formulaic Phraseology A was subsequently inserted into a number of scriptures, but in a different context from that of Gotama recounting a past life (in 4.1). One example is found in Sn p. 106, which I mentioned earlier. The passage follows a section where Brahmin Sela doubts whether Gotama, there named as the Buddha (awakened one), merits such a title. In the passage, Formulaic Phraseology A appears (indicated in bold font), but the context is clearly different from that in Source 9.

Source 10: Sn p. 106

> *āgatāni kho pana asmākaṃ mantesu dvattiṃsa mahāpurisalakkhaṇāni, yehi samannāgatassa mahāpurisassa dve va gatiyo bhavanti anaññā. sace agāraṃ ajjhāvasati **rājā hoti cakkavattī***

dhammiko   dhammarājā   cāturanto   vijitāvī   janapadatthāvariyappatto
sattaratanasamannāgato, tass' imāni satta ratanāni bhavanti. seyyathīdaṃ: cakkaratanaṃ
hatthiratanaṃ assaratanaṃ maṇiratanaṃ itthiratanaṃ gahapatiratanaṃ pariṇāyakaratanam
eva   sattamaṃ.   parosahassaṃ   kho   pan'   assa   puttā   bhavanti   sūrā   vīraṅgarūpā
parasenappamaddanā. so imaṃ paṭhaviṃ sāgarapariyantaṃ adaṇḍena asatthena dhammena
abhivijiya ajjhāvasati. sace kho panāgārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajati, arahaṃ hoti
sammāsambuddho loke vivattacchaddo.

And verily, in our mantras, the thirty-two marks of a great man are mentioned; according to it, for a man bearing the thirty-two marks of a great man, there are two destinies, no other: If he remains at home, **then he shall be a cakravartin king, a righteous king of the dharma, a conquerour owning [the earth] up to the four limits, attaining the stability of regions, accompanied by the seven treasures. By him, there are the seven treasures as follows: the wheel treasure, the elephant treasure, the horse treasure, the maṇi treasure, the lady treasure, the house-holder (i.e., wealthy citizen) treasure, and the adviser treasure as the seventh. And verily**, by him, **there are over a thousand sons, gallant, characterised by limbs of warrior, smiting the forces of the enemy. After conquering this earth circled by the ocean, without [using] the rod and sword but with the dharma, he dwells [there]**. But if he goes forth from the home into the homeless state (mendicancy), he shall become, in this world, an Arahant, a universal Buddha, one who casts off the veil.

Positioning within the evolutionary timeline of theimage

The first thing we notice about Source 10 is that Formulaic Phraseology A has been incorporated into the description of one who bears the "32 marks of a great man".[44] Also of note is that the verbs in the formulaic phraseology are unified into the third person singular and present tense. The personal pronouns, likewise, are unified into the third person singular. In fact, in most instances where Formulaic Phraseology A appears in the scriptures, the context is a description of 32 marks of a great man.

Aside from the instance in the *Sutta-Nipāta* cited above, we can find other examples of the phrasing occurring in the context of a Brahmin mentioning the marks of a great man as pertaining to a Buddha (Gotama himself or one of past Buddhas) and cakravartin king. One example is found in the *Brahmāyu-Sutta* (the 91st sutta of the *Majjhima-Nikāya*: MN II, 134), another in the *Ambaṭṭha-Suttanta* (the 3rd sutta of the *Dīgha-Nikāya*: DN I, 88-89), and another in the *Mahāpadāna-Suttanta* (the 14th sutta of the *Dīgha-Nikāya*: DN II, 19). Additionally, in the *Lakkhaṇa-Suttanta*, the 30th sutta of the *Dīgha-Nikāya* (DN III, 142–179), we find a formulated text focused on 32 marks of a great man; in the *Lakkhaṇa-Suttanta* the set phrase is repeated 11 times, or 22 times if the shortened version of the phrase is included.

Accounts of cakravartin kingship in the prosaic scriptures tend to equate a cakravartin king with a Buddha (Gotama or one of past Buddhas). Additionally, as the Buddha increasingly

becomes depicted as superhuman, so too does the cakravartin king. This trend is epitomised in descriptions of a cakravartin king bearing the 32 marks of a great man.

4.3 Other Examples of Formulaic Phraseology

Aside from Formulaic Phraseology A, if we include more minor examples in the search, we can find numerous examples of set phrases and expressions related to cakravartin kingship. The most notable of these, which I label Formulaic Phraseology B, mentions how all "lesser kings" (*kuḍḍarājan-*)[45] obey the cakravartin king as the foremost of them.

Source 11: AN V, 22

seyyathāpi bhikkhave ye keci kuḍḍarājāno sabbe te rañño cakkavattissa anuyantā bhavanti, rājā tesaṃ cakkavatti aggam akkhāyati. evam eva kho bhikkhave ye keci kusalā dhammā sabbe te appamādamūlakā appamādasamosaraṇā appamādo tesaṃ dhammānāṃ aggam akkhāyati.

For example, O bhikkhus, all lesser kings, whomsoever they may be, are obeying the cakravartin king, and it is said that the cakravartin king is foremost of them. In the same way, O bhikkhus, all good laws, whatsoever they may be, are rooted in non-negligence (carefulness) and come together with non-negligence; and it is said that non-negligence is foremost of those laws.

Positioning within the evolutionary timeline of the image

Formulaic Phraseology B occurs in Buddhist teaching as part of a set with a similar Buddhist metaphor that refers to something as the "foremost" (*agga-*): "(just as) it is said that the light of the moon is foremost among lights of all the star." Examples other than Source 11 are found in AN II, 365; SN III, 156; and SN V, 44. Formulaic Phraseology B does resemble the phrase in v. 553 of Source 1: "Local rulers of the kṣatriya class become obedient to you" (*khattiyā bhojarājāno anuyuttā bhavanti te*); however, there is no reason to assume any direct connection between the two texts as the idea of lesser kings submitting to an overlord would have been a truism at the time. Still, it is notable that the phraseology related to this idea of submission became formularised to some extent, and, in the next chapter, we will see how this phraseology is employed in the cakra-chasing episode in which local kings submit to the cakravartin king (cf. Source 14, part C).

The formation of a cakravartin motif

Commonalities between a Buddha and a cakravartin king are cited in a range of settings, not only those involving the 32 marks of a great man discussed in 4.2. We have already seen an example in Source 1, where both figures "turn the wheel." The following source illustrates how this wheel-turning action was incorporated as a motif:

Source 12: AN III, 147–148

*pañcahi bhikkhave aṅgehi samannāgato rājā cakkavattī dhammen' eva cakkaṃ pavatteti. Taṃ
hoti cakkaṃ appaṭivattiyaṃ kenaci manussabhūtena paccatthikena pāṇinā ……. evam eva kho
bhikkhave pañcahi dhammehi tathāgato arahaṃ sammāsambuddho dhammen'eva anuttaraṃ
dhammacakkaṃ pavatteti. Taṃ hoti cakkaṃ appaṭivattiyaṃ samaṇena vā brāhmaṇena vā devena
vā mārena vā brahmunā vā kenaci vā lokasmiṃ.*

O bhikkhus, a cakravartin king, endowed with the five constituents, turns the wheel by no other than the dharma.
This wheel cannot be turned back by the hand of any mortal who stands against. … (The description of five
constituents is omitted here[46]). … Verily, O bhikkhus, in the same way Tathāgata, Arahant, universal Buddha,
possessing the five dharmas, turns the supreme wheel of dharma by the dharma. This wheel cannot be turned
back by any ascetic, by any brahmin, by any god, by any demon, by Brahmā, by anyone in the world. [The
description of the five dharmas is omitted here[47]].

The following source, a continuation of Source 12, incorporates a motif from Source 1:
"succeeding to the role of wheel turning." Specifically, the text states that the role of wheel-turner
is passed down from a cakravartin king to his eldest son and that the role of turning the wheel of
dharma is passed down from Gotama Buddha to Sāriputta.

Source 13: AN III, 148–149

*pañcahi bhikkhave aṅgehi samannāgato rañño cakkavattissa jeṭṭho putto pitarā pavattitaṃ
cakkaṃ dhammen' eva anupavatteti, taṃ hoti cakkaṃ appaṭivattiyaṃ kenaci manussabhūtena
paccatthikena pāṇinā. …… evam eva kho bhikkhave pañcahi dhammehi samannāgato <u>sāriputto</u>
tathāgatena <u>anuttaraṃ dhammacakkaṃ</u> pavattitaṃ samma-d-eva <u>anupavatteti</u>, taṃ hoti cakkaṃ
appaṭivattiyaṃ samaṇena vā brāhmaṇena vā devena vā mārena vā brahmunā vā kenaci vā
lokasmiṃ.*

O bhikkhus, a cakravartin king, endowed with the five constituents, turns the wheel which had been turned by
his father, by no other than the dharma. This wheel cannot be turned back by the hand of any mortal who stands
against. … (The description of five constituents is omitted here[48]). … Verily, O bhikkhus, in the same way
<u>Sāriputta</u>, possessing the five dharmas, correctly <u>continues to turn the supreme wheel of dharma</u> which had
been turned by Tathāgata. This wheel cannot be turned back by any ascetic, by any brahmin, by any god, by
any demon, by Brahmā, by anyone in the world. [The description of the five dharmas is omitted here[49]].

In v. 557 of Source 1, Gotama Buddha designates his successor as follows: "Sāriputta continues
to turn the supreme wheel of dharma" (*dhammacakkaṃ anuttaraṃ sāriputto anuvatteti*). These

34

pādas correspond to the underlined parts of Source 13. Thus, Source 13 was clearly modelled, directly or indirectly, on Source 1. Invoking the idea of Sāriputta succeeding the realised one, the text uses this schema as an analogical underpinning for a new schema: that a cakravartin king is succeeded by his eldest son. This idea developed and ultimately led to the narrative we read in *Cakkavatti-Sīhanāda-Suttanta* (the 26th sutta of the *Dīgha-Nikāya*: DN III, 58–79),[50] in which the central theme is the transmission of the duties of a cakravartin king from father to son.

In ending this chapter, I will briefly outline some other accounts of cakravartin kingship. On the commonalities between a cakravartin king and a Buddha, AN II, 245 and DN II, 142–143 state that a cakravartin king is no less worthy of building a stupa in his honour than a "Tathāgata, Arahant, Sammāsambuddha (perfectly enlightened one), Paccekabuddha (one enlightened but never proclaiming the dharma to the world), or disciple of a Tathāgata." Similarly, SN V, 99 likens the "seven treasures of a cakravartin king" to the "seven factors of awakening (*satta bojjhaṅgā*) of a Tathāgata, Arahant, Sammāsambuddha, and cakravartin king appear in the world to benefit the people and put them at ease and that they deserve, after their passing, to be mourned by many and to have a stūpa built in their honour. AN I, 28 and MN III, 65 state that only one Arahant, Sammāsambuddha, and cakravartin king will ever appear in a given world and that the person will never be female. Additionally, a cakravartin king is loved by the kṣatriyas and by brahmins, house holders, and śramaṇas (AN II, 133; DN II, 145); he never rolls a wrong wheel of king, and he provides right protection to the people and to the beasts and fowl (AN I, 109; III, 149).[51]

5. The Formularisation of the Cakra-Chasing Episode: Cakravartin Kingship and the Aśvamedha

We have learned that phraseology enumerating the seven treasures of a cakravartin king became formularised in the prosaic portions of the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, and subsequently appeared extensively across the Pāli Canon. This is further developed in a number of scriptures contained in the *Majjhima-Nikāya* (MN) or *Dīgha-Nikāya* (DN) that describe the benefits associated with each of the seven treasures of cakravartin kingship.[52] This chapter analyses the formularisation of a narrative concerning the foremost of the treasures, the wheel treasure (*cakkaratana-*).

5.1 The Cakra-Chasing Episode: Texts and Their Translations
We now analyse a Buddhist tale of a king who achieves the enterprise of a cakravartin king—conquering the whole earth by means of the dharma—in the course of chasing the "divine wheel treasure" (*dibbaṃ cakkaratanaṃ*). I call this tale the "cakra-chasing episode." The synopsis is as follows.

> During uposatha (full-moon day), a king, having ritually bathed, ascended to his lofty palace, whereupon a wheel of wondrous shape appeared in the sky. The king had heard that the appearance of such a wheel was a sign that the king would become a cakravartin king. He drew near to the wheel and sprinkled water on it, urging it to "roll forth and conquer." The wheel then went eastwards. The king pursued the wheel with his fourfold army (elephants, cavalry, charioteers, and infantry). The party went first east, then south, west, and north. The king encamped in each of the four directions, and opponent kings came to him pledging their obedience. To each submitting lord, the king issued an edict that forbade murder, theft, salacity, deceit, and drinking and that prescribed a rule for eating. Having thus conquered the whole earth, the wheel returned to the king's palace and came to rest at the palace entrance, illuminating the area.

The cakra-chasing episode is much longer than the Buddhist tales for the other six treasures and expresses more emphatically the traits of a cakravartin king. This episode makes a part of scriptures which comprise the tale set of all the seven treasures, such as the *Bālapaṇḍita-Sutta* (BPS, the 129th sutta of the *Majjhima-Nikāya*: MN III, 163–178) and the *Mahāsudassana-Suttanta* (MSS, the 17th sutta of the *Dīgha-Nikāya*: DN II, 169–199).[53] Further, the *Cakkavatti-Sīhanāda-Suttanta* (CSS, the 26th sutta of the *Dīgha-Nikāya*: DN III, 58–79) exclusively shows the cakra-chasing episode, while putting aside the tales of the other six treasure.[54] In the *Bālapaṇḍita-Sutta* version, the protagonist is an unnamed king, described simply as the "head-anointed king of the kṣatriya class." In both the *Mahāsudassana-Suttanta* and *Cakkavatti-*

Sīhanāda-Suttanta versions, he is a specific king, King Mahāsudassana in the former and King Daḷhanemi in the latter. Although a different protagonist appears in each version, the text is practically almost identical in all three cases.[55] Cited below is the *Bālapaṇḍita-Sutta* version, the version with an unnamed protagonist. I have divided the narrative into four parts, labeling them A to D. I will refer to these labels in the ensuing analysis. I have also underlined and alphabetically labeled (lowercase [a] to [e]) key words and phrases to be discussed primarily in the next section.

Source 14: BPS (MN III, 172–173) ≈ MSS (DN II, 172–174) ≈ CSS (DN III, 61–63)

Part A

idha bhikkhu rañño khattiyassa muddhāvasittassa [a]*tadahu 'posathe pannarase sīsaṃ nahātassa* [a]*uposathikassa* [a]*uparipāsādavaragatassa dibbaṃ cakkaratanaṃ pātubhavati sahassāraṃ sanemikaṃ sanābhikaṃ sabbākāraparipūraṃ. disvāna rañño khattiyassa muddhāvasittassa evaṃ hoti. sutaṃ kho pana me taṃ: yassa rañño khattiyassa muddhāvasittassa* [a]*tadahu 'posathe pannarase sīsaṃ nahātassa uposathikassa* [a]*uparipāsādavaragatassa dibbaṃ cakkaratanaṃ pātubhavati sahassāraṃ sanemikaṃ sanābhikaṃ sabbākāraparipūraṃ, so hoti rājā cakkavattīti. assan nu kho ahaṃ rājā cakkavattīti.*

When, O bhikkhus, the head-anointed king of the kṣatriya class, [a]on the uposatha, the fifteenth day [of the waxing moon], having bathed [himself including the head], observing the feast of uposatha and [a]ascends to the terrasse on his splendid lofty palace, the divine wheel treasure (*cakkaratana-*) appears with its thousand spokes, its felloe, its hub, and with perfect qualities. Beholding [this], it comes to mind of the head-anointed king of the kṣatriya class: "And verily I have heard it said: 'When the head-anointed king of the kṣatriya class, [a] on the uposatha, the fifteenth day [of the waxing moon], having bathed, observing the feast of uposatha, [a]ascends to the terrasse on his splendid lofty palace, and the divine wheel treasure (*cakkaratana-*) appears with its thousand spokes, its felloe, its hub, with perfect qualities, then that king becomes a cakravartin king.' Shall I indeed become cakravartin king?"

Part B

atha kho bhikkhave rājā khattiyo muddhāvasitto uṭṭhāy' āsanā vāmena hatthena bhiṅkāraṃ gahetvā dakkhiṇena hatthena cakkaratanaṃ abbhukkirati: pavattatu bhavaṃ cakkaratanaṃ, abhivijinātu bhavaṃ cakkaratanan ti. atha kho taṃ bhikkhave cakkaratanaṃ puratthimaṃ disaṃ pavattati, anvadeva rājā cakkavattī saddhiṃ caturaṅginiyā senāya. yasmiṃ kho pana bhikkhave padese cakkaratanaṃ patiṭṭhāti, tatra rājā cakkavatatī vāsaṃ upeti saddhiṃ caturaṅginiyā senāya. yasmiṃ kho pana bhikkhave padese cakkaratanaṃ patiṭṭhāti, tatra rājā cakkavatatī vāsaṃ upeti saddhiṃ caturaṅginiyā senāya.

And then, O bhikkhus, verily the head-anointed king of the kṣatriya class rises from his place, takes a water jug in his left hand, and, with his right hand, sprinkles [water] over the wheel treasure, saying: "Reverend wheel treasure should roll forth! Reverend wheel treasure should conquer!" And then, O bhikkhus, the wheel treasure rolls eastwards, and the cakravartin king, chasing it, [goes forth] with his fourfold army. Verily, O bhikkhus, wherever that wheel treasure stopped, there the cakravartin king enters the encampment with his fourfold army.

Part C

ye kho pana bhikkhave puratthimāya disāya paṭirājāno, te rājānaṃ cakkavattiṃ upasaṃkamitvā evam āhaṃsu: ehi kho mahārāja, svāgataṃ mahārāja, sakan te mahārāja, anusāsa mahārājāti. rājā cakkavatti evam āha: [b]*pāṇo na hantabbo, adinnaṃ nādātabbaṃ, kāmesu micchā na caritabbā, musā na bhāsitabbā, majjaṃ na pātabbaṃ, yathābhuttañ ca bhuñjathāti. ye kho pana bhikkhave puratthimāya disāya paṭirājāno,* [c]*te rañño cakkavattissa anuyuttā bhavanti. atha kho taṃ bhikkhave cakkaratanaṃ puratthimaṃ samuddaṃ ajjhogahetvā paccuttaritvā dakkhiṇaṃ disaṃ pavattati. ……*

Verily, O bhikkhus, the opponent kings of the east come unto the cakravartin king, and say: "Come hither, O mighty king! Welcome, O mighty king! [I] am yours, O mighty king! Command us, O mighty king!" Then speaks the cakravartin king: "[b]That which lives shall not to be killed; that which has not been given shall not be taken; the lusts of the flesh shall not be indulged; lies shall not be spoken; liquor shall not be drunk. You shall enjoy [food] as has been provided for you [at the appropriate times]." And verily, O bhikkhus, the opponent ones of the east, [c]those kings become followers of the cakravartin king. And then verily, O bhikkhus, the wheel treasure plunges into the eastern ocean, rises from the water and rolls southwards; and the cakravartin king, chasing it, [goes southwards] with his fourfold army. … (The same events occur for the southern, western, and northern lands.)

Part D

…… atha kho taṃ bhikkhave cakkaratanaṃ [d]*samuddapariyantaṃ paṭhaviṃ abhivijinitvā tam eva rājadhāniṃ paccāgantvā rañño cakkavattissa antepuradvāre* [e]*akkhāhatam maññe tiṭṭhati rañño cakkavattissa antepuradvāraṃ upasobhayamānaṃ.*

… Then verily, O bhikkhus, the wheel treasure, [d]after having conquered the earth circled by the ocean, returned to the royal capital, [e]stops as though it were fixed on an axle, in front of the cakravartin king's inner palace, illuminating the gate of the inner palace [with its radiance].

5.2 Elements Taken from Mythos Established in Buddhist Scriptures

Some of the elements of the above narrative resemble elements from the Pāli Canon. By comparing corresponding elements, we should better understand their meaning.

5.2.1 Encounter with the Wheel Treasure (Part A Analysed)

The phrase "head-anointed one of the kṣatriya class" (*khattiya- muddhāvasitta-*) often occurs in Buddhist scriptures as a modifier qualifying the noun "king" (*rājan-*). We saw an example in Source 4 (AN IV, 90).[56] As an appellation, "head-anointed king" may be inferior to "cakravartin king," but only by one rank; it was apparently an illustrious status. Evidence for the prestige of a head-anointed king can be found in AN III, 510–512, which comes after the passage in Source 12. While Source 12 equated the five constituents of a cakravartin king with the five dharmas of one who is Tathāgata, Aarhant, and Sammāsambuddha (perfectly enlightened one), the later passage (AN III, 510–512) equates the five constituents of a head-anointed king with the five dharmas of a bhikkhu, although, in this case, the five things are described differently.[57] Here, the five constituents of a head-anointed king are requirements, beginning with that the head-anointed king's pedigree should be fair on both paternal and maternal sides. Thus, although a king called "head-anointed" was inferior to one called "cakravartin," he was no less prestigious than a bhikkhu and, moreover, was endowed with legitimacy of secular king.

The cakra-chasing episode begins with the scene in which the king ascends to his lofty palace on the uposatha day. To recap, this part of the narrative reads as follows:

> [a]*tadahu 'posathe pannarase sīsaṃ nahātassa uposathikassa* [a]*uparipāsādavaragatassa dibbaṃ cakkaratanaṃ pātubhavati* …
>
> [When…] [a]on the uposatha, the fifteenth day [of the waxing moon], having bathed, observing the feast of uposatha and [a]ascends to the terrasse on his splendid lofty palace, the divine wheel treasure (*cakkaratana-*) appears ...

The two sections that are underlined and labeled [a] match a scene from the *Sāmaññaphala-Sutta* (the 2nd sutta of the *Dīgha-Nikāya*: DN I, 47–86) in which King Ajātasattu ascends his lofty palace on the day of uposatha.

Source 15: DN I, 47

> *tena kho pana samayena rājā māgadho ajātasattu vedehiputto* [a]*tadahu 'posathe pannarase komudiyā cātumāsiniyā puṇṇāya puṇṇamāya rattiyā rājāmacca-parivuto* [a]*uparipāsādavaragato nisinno hoti.*
>
> Verily at that time, Ajātasattu, the king of Magadha and son of Vedehī (the consort of Bimbisāra), [a]on the uposatha, the fifteenth day [of the waxing moon], on the full-moon day [of Kattika month] on which the rite of Cāturmāsya takes place,[58] on the night of the full moon, [a]ascends to the terrasse on his splendid lofty palace, and was sitting surrounded by his royal ministers.

After this scene, Ajātasattu led by his minister meets Gotama Buddha. The scene itself shares wording with a versified tale from the *Sutta-Nipāta* in which Ajātasattu's father, King Bimbisāra, first sets eyes on Gotama Buddha.

Source 16: Sn 409

tam addasā bimbisāro	Him (Gotama) saw King Bimbisāra
pāsādasmiṃ patiṭṭhito	standing <u>upon the terrasse on his lofty palace</u>.
disvā lakkhaṇasampannaṃ	Beholding [him bearing pleasant] features,
imam atthaṃ abhāsatha	he spoke the following thing: …

The motif in Sources 15 and 16 of the king ascending his lofty palace may have carried the same connotation in both cases: it foreshadowed an encounter with Gotama Buddha. If so, what was the connotation of this motif in the cakra-chasing episode? What the cakravartin king encounters in this case is the wheel treasure. The wheel treasure may therefore have symbolised the Buddha or the teaching of the Buddha—the dharma. To date, no scholar has posited such a possibility, but it seems no stretch to say that the wheel was none other than the wheel of dharma turned by the Buddha and thus represented Buddhist teaching.[59] The narrative itself supports this supposition: the cakravartin king chases the wheel treasure in the four compass directions, and, in each direction, he establishes *Buddhist* teaching, implying that the wheel is associated with the dharma. However, we are still left with the question of why the king's ascent to his lofty palace should foreshadow his encounter with the Buddha or dharma. Since this matter remains unclear,[60] I will withhold speculation on this and go no further than what I have suggested above as a possible interpretation.

For the next part of the story (Part B), no obvious source exists in the Buddhist scriptures. We will return to this part in a later section and analyse it from another angle.

5.2.2 The Cakravartin King's Commandments (Part C Analysed)

The cakravartin king chases the wheel treasure to each of the four directions. In each case, the local kings ask the king to instruct them, and he issues the following commandments (section [b]):[61]

pāṇo na hantabbo, adinnaṃ nādātabbaṃ, kāmesu micchā na caritabbā, musā na bhāsitabbā, majjaṃ na pātabbaṃ, yathābhuttañ ca bhuñjathāti.

[He says:] "That which lives shall not to be killed; that which has not been given shall not be taken; the lusts of the flesh shall not be indulged; lies shall not be spoken; liquor shall not be drunk. You shall enjoy [food] as has been provided for you [at the appropriate times]."

Each of these six commandments would have been known as ones of the eight precepts that Buddhists are expected to observe. The *Sutta-Nipāta* lists the eight precepts in the following verses:

Source 17: Sn 400–401

400. *pāṇaṃ na hane, na cādinnam ādiye*
    musā na bhāse, na ca majjapo siyā
    abrahmacariyā virameyya methunā
    rattiṃ na bhuñjeyya vikālabhojanaṃ
	Neither take life, nor take that which has not been given, nor tell a lie, nor quaff liquor; Abstain from fornication; At night, avoid taking food outside of the appropriate times.

401. *mālaṃ na dhāraye na ca gandham ācare*
    mañce chamāyaṃ va sayetha santhate
    etaṃ hi aṭṭhaṅgikam āh' uposathaṃ
    buddhena dukkhantagunā pakāsitaṃ
	Neither wear garlands nor use perfume. Lie down on the clothes spread on nothing but the face of the earth. Verily, these are the eightfold uposatha [precepts] taught by the Buddha who extinguished his suffering.

When we compare these eight precepts with the six commandments of the cakravartin king, we notice that the latter omits two of the former: refraining from wearing garlands or perfume and sleeping on the earth (as opposed to an elevated place). These six commandments represented the precepts that lay followers were expected to observe on a daily basis, not just on uposatha days.[62] Thus, the cakravartin's commandments were intended primarily for the laity. On the other hand, v. 401 of Source 17 refers to the eight precepts as the "uposatha," implying that Buddhists should fully observe all eight precepts on several specified days, especially on the uposatha, a day of the full moon. Intriguingly, the cakravartin king's encounter with the wheel treasure happens to fall on a day described as uposatha. It seems that "observance of Buddhist precepts" is a common topic between the opening scene (where the king bathes in observance of uposatha) and the scenes in which the king issues commandments in the four regions. Perhaps, then, the cakra-chasing episode was composed also to encourage the laity to observe uposatha and convey to them the precepts they should follow on a daily basis. Another point to note concerns the phrase that ends each commandment scene [c]: "those kings became obedient to the cakravartin king" (*te rañño cakkavattissa anuyuttā bhavanti*). These words invoke Formulaic Phraseology B, which we saw in Source 11: *te rañño cakkavattissa anuyantā bhavanti*.

5.2.3 Conquering and Returning by the Wheel Treasure (Part D Analysed)

After setting forth the dharma in the four regions and gaining the obedience of the local kings, the cakravartin king chases the wheel treasure back to his royal capital. At this point in the story, we see the insertion of the phrase [d] "after having conquered the earth circled by the ocean (*samuddapariyantaṃ paṭhaviṃ abhivijinitvā*), which matches the last line in Source 9 almost completely: *paṭhaviṃ sāgarapariyantaṃ adaṇḍena asatthena dhammena abhivijiya*. We should note, however, that, in the latter instance, the one doing the conquering is the cakravartin king whereas, in the chakra-chasing episode, it is "the wheel treasure" (*taṃ cakkaratanaṃ*). The wheel treasure's conquest corresponds to the cakravartin king's request to the wheel in Part B: *pavattatu bhavaṃ cakkaratanaṃ, abhivijinātu bhavaṃ cakkaratanan* ("O reverend wheel treasure, roll forth! O reverend wheel treasure, conquer!"). In the cakravartin-related texts we have seen so far, the one doing the conquering has always been the cakravartin king himself. However, the cakra-chasing episode suggests that the conquerour role has now passed to the wheel treasure.

This shift is reasonably consistent with what the *Cakkavatti-Sīhanāda-Suttanta* explains about the relationship between cakravartin kingship and the wheel treasure. One passage suggests that cakravartin kingship lasts only so long as the wheel has descended to the king; once the wheel disappears, the king loses the status of cakravartin.[63] Sadakata (2002) and Sakamoto-Goto (forthcoming) relate the wheel treasure's ability to bestow and remove the title of cakravartin to the *xᵛarənah-* (royal halo) recorded in Avestā texts.[64] The idea that a king is divinely appointed is not found in vedic texts. Given this, the narrative of the wheel bestowing and removing kingship may reflect the influence of ancient Iranian notion.

The final key phrase [e] "[the wheel treasure] stops as though it were fixed on an axle" (*akkhāhataṃ maññe tiṭṭhati*), has a match in the Rathakāra-Vagga, a discourse in the third section of the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*. The corresponding part is underlined:

Source 18: AN I, 112

> *taṃ pavattitaṃ samānaṃ yāvatikā abhisaṅkhārassa gati tāvatikaṃ gantvā <u>akkhāhatam maññe atthāsi.</u>*
>
> It (the wheel) which was turned ran the full distance of the course and then <u>stopped as though it were fixed on an axle</u>.

To explain the context for Source 18, a chariot wheel crafted roughly and hastily is compared to one that was crafted carefully over a long time; the former proved faulty and ran off course while the latter ran faultlessly until the end of the course. The latter wheel served as a metaphor for one who has completed ascetic training. It is unclear whether the wheel in the cakra-chasing episode

represents a trained ascetic (in addition to cakravartin kingship). However, it may be reasonable to interpret the phrase [e] "stops as though it were fixed on an axle" as implying that the wheel is "complete," particularly when we relate this to the phrase in Part A: *sabbākāraparipūraṃ* (with perfect qualities).

5.3 Elements in Common with the Aśvamedha

The words and phrases we saw in the previous section all constitute vital elements describing cakravartin kingship, the wheel treasure, or suggesting relationship between both. However, as important as these elements are, the most salient feature of the cakra-chasing episode lies in the general narrative arc (the overarching plot or story skeleton), which encompasses all these elements. The narrative arc covers the deeds of the kingly protagonist: his encounter with the wheel treasure and then his pursuit of it with his army to four directions. Of the parts of the story, Part B does the best at describing the king's actions. Unlike the other parts, we find no apparent source material for Part B in the Pāli Canon related to a cakravartin king or king in general. However, we can find possible source material in vedic texts that concern a royal sacrifice and were certainly composed no later than the cakra-chasing episode in the Pāli Canon was. The sacrifice was the Aśvamedha (horse sacrifice) performed by a *sārvabhauma-*, a "ruler of the whole earth."[65] The rites of this sacrifice correspond to the king's actions in Part B and to the overall structure of the cakra-chasing episode.

5.3.1 Symbolic Similarities

During an Aśvamedha, a sacrificial horse would be released in the previous year. The king's soldiers would follow the horse and guard it but allow the horse to wander freely. The *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa Mādhyaṃdina* (ŚB) gives the following explanation on this unique rite as follows:

Source 19: SB 13.4.2.16

sá āha dévā ā́śāpālāḥ etáṃ devebhyó 'śvaṃ médhāya prókṣitaṃ rakṣatéty. uktā́ mānuṣā́ ā́śāpālā. athaité dáivā āpyā́ḥ sādhyā́ anvādhyā́ marútas. tám etá ubháye devamanuṣyā́ḥ saṃvidānā́ ápratyāvartayantaḥ saṃvatsaráṃ rakṣanti. tád yám ná pratyāvartáyanty eṣá vā́ eṣā́ tápati. ká u hy ètam árhati pratyā́vartayitum. yád dhy ènaṃ pratyāvartáyeyuḥ párāg evèdáṃ sárvaṃ syāt. tásmād ápratyāvartayanto rakṣanti.

He (the Adhvaryu priest) says [to the horse guards], "O gods, guardians of the quarters! Protect this horse, sprinkled for the sacrifice, for the gods" (VS 22.19). The human guardians of the quarters have already been mentioned.[66] And, there are divine ones, the Āpyas, Sādhyas, Anvādhyas, and Maruts. Both of those (the human and divine guardians), while cooperate with each other, protect the horse for a year, never making it turn back.

The underlined text implies that the sacrificial horse is a symbol of the sun and that the free wandering of the horse represents the apparent orbit of the sun (as perceived from the earth).[67] As described in this passage, the sacrificial horse symbolically resembles the wheel treasure. In the analysis of Part A, I suggested that the wheel treasure may have represented the Buddha or the dharma, but it seems that, from Part B onward, it may also have symbolised the sun. We see an example of this solar symbolism at the end of Part C, where the wheel, having reached the eastern limit, plunges into the ocean before emerging and heading south. It then does the same for each of the other three directions. The motif of plunging into the ocean and then emerging from it is consistent with how vedic texts describe the sun.[68] I mentioned in note 59 that Rhys-Davids (1921: 736) interpreted the wheel treasure as a symbol of the sun; at least in this scene, the author of the cakra-chasing episode was clearly depicting the wheel as a solar symbol. Inasmuch as the wheel treasure is a solar symbol, it has symbolic continuity with a sacrificial horse of the Aśvamedha.

Also of note regarding the ceremony is that the guardians should attend to that the sacrificial horse would not turn back. The origin of this stipulation, the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* tells us, is related to the horse being a symbol of the sun. In its explanation, one uses the present participle *ápratyāvartayant-* ("never making it turn back"). This expression resembles the gerundive *appaṭivattiya-* ([the wheel of dharma] that cannot be turned back) that featured in Sources 1, 12, and 13. While there is no particular reason to assume a direct connection between the two, the commonality between the sacrificial horse and the wheel—both being things "never to be turned back"—might have been a factor in conceptual synthesis between the two.

5.3.2 Similarities in Specific Acts

It is not only on a symbolic level that the cakra-chasing episode and Aśvamedha resemble each other; the acts in the former resemble specific rites in the latter. We now examine an explanation on the Aśvamedha rites corresponding to the acts in Part B of Source 14. The explanation is from the *Vādhūla-Śrauta-Sūtra* (VādhŚS). I have divided the passage into three sections, [I] to [III]. In the ensuing analysis, we compare the rites described in each section with acts of the cakravartin king related in Part B of the cakra-chasing episode. An equal sign (=) indicates places where the writher of manuscript has omitted passage of a yajus (formula) in the *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā* (TS).

Source 20: VādhŚS 11.2.3.14-11.2.4.11 (ed. Ikari-Teshima) [69]

[I] 3.14. *athainañ catuṣṭayībhir adbhiḥ prokṣati yā amūr nihitā bhavanty agnaye tveti purastād vāyave tveti dakṣiṇata indrāgnibhyān tveti paścāt prajāpataye tvety uttarato devebhyas tvety upariṣṭād adhastād viśvebhyas tvā bhūtebhya iti. ……*

14. Then, [the Adhvaryu priest] sprinkles the water of four kinds, which placed there aforetime, on it (the horse): [He sprinkles] from the east, saying, "[I sprinkle on] you for Agni"; from the south, saying, "[I sprinkle on] you for Vāyu"; from the west, saying, "[I sprinkle on] you for Prajāpati"; from above, saying, "[I sprinkle on] you for the gods"; and from below, saying, "[I sprinkle on] you for all beings" … (11.2.3.15; Explanations regarding small oblations)

[II] 3.16–4.1. *athāsyopotthāya dakṣiṇaṃ karṇam ājapati vibhūr mātrā prabhūḥ pitrā=nṛmaṇā asīti.* 2. *yayur nāmāsīti raśanām upāyacchaty.* 3. *upaniṣkramayya pramuñcaty ādityānāṃ patvānvihīty.* 4. *athainaṃ paridadāti bhūr asi bhuve tvā=prokṣitaṃ gopāyateti.*

1. Then, [the Adhvaryu priest] stands beside it (the horse) and whispers in its left ear: "[You are] mighty by your mother; powerful by your father; … You have a heroic mind." 2. Saying, "Runner is your name," he (the Adhvaryu) draws the rein. 3. He walks [the horse] away [from the ritual site] and unfetters it, saying, "Go you along the way of the Ādityas" (TS 7.1.12a). 4.Then, saying, "You are a being; [I offer] you for the being …" (TS 7.1.12d), and, "Guard ye this sprinkled [horse]" (TS 7.1.12e), he entrusts it (the horse) [to the divine and human guardians].

[III] 4.5. *tasmai jaradaśvan niramaṇam anvākaroti catvāri ca puruṣaśatāni goptṝ̃ṣ.* 6. *tān saṃśāsty etaṃ ṣaṇ māso 'paryāvartayanto 'nvita yāṃ kāñ caiṣa diśam iyāt tāṃ yām u kāñ cārtin nyeyāt pra me tāṃ bravatha yat kiñ ca pakvāśanam ahaṃ svadayāmi yad u kiñ ca tiraścīnasannaddham mayā tat prasūtā ādadhvan na yad anūcīnasannaddham ity.* 7. *etadanukṛti ha vā idam apy etarhi kurūṇām aśvapālās tiraścīnasannaddham ādadate dhārmyan na etad iti vadanto.* 8. *ye ha tvāvaitam aśvaṃ rarakṣus teṣām evaitad dhārmyaṃ* 9. *sa āha brāhmaṇāś ca rājānaś ca vyudetu vo vāhanaṃ yasyaiṣa vāhanam abhipatsyate sarvajyāniṃ sa jyāsyata iti.* 10. *teṣāṃ prativeśāni rāṣṭrāṇy abhi vāhanaṃ vyudeti.*

5. He (the Adhvaryu) makes an exhausted, old horse, and four hundred young guardians follow it (the horse). 6. He commands them: "For six months, follow it (the horse), wheresoever it goes, never letting it return. On the other hand, you shall also report to me any mishap, whatsoever it may be, that befalls [the horse]. Cooked food, whatsoever it may be, I shall make delicious for you. However, that which is tied on a slant, whatsoever it may be, you shall take at my urging. [On the other hand,] that which is tied in a single direction shall you on no account take." 7. Then verily, just as said, men of Kuru, the horse guards take that which is tied on a slant, while thinking, "It is lawful for us." 8. But only for those who guard the horse is this lawful.[70] 9. He

says, "O brahmins and nobles, your carriage should depart. If it (the horse) has sexual intercourse with a carriage (female horse?), the owner (rider or charioteer?) of the latter shall be deprived of all his possessions."

10. Their carriage then depart for neighboring countries.

Sprinkling Water (Comparison with Section [I])

In the cakra-chasing episode, the king, upon encountering the wheel treasure, sprinkles water on the wheel (*cakkaratanaṃ abbhukkirati*). However, a search of Buddhist scriptural sources reveals no explanation for such an act. On the other hand, in Section [I] of the above source, we learn that the rite of sprinkling (*prokṣaṇa-*) was always carried out before loosing the sacrificial horse. In vedic rituals, sprinkling with water was a typical way to purify and sanctify an object, and anointing a king during enthronement (*abhiṣeka-*) was a variant of such. In the case of the Aśvamedha, the sprinkling signified that the horse was being made proper and fitting for the sacrifice (*medhya-*). It seems that the sprinkling in the cakra-chasing episode does not carry the same significance; more likely, it is simply superficial mimicking the act.[71]

Urging to Go Forth (Comparison with Section [II])

After sprinkling the wheel treasure, the king says, "O reverend wheel treasure, roll forth! O reverend wheel treasure, conquer!" (*pavattatu bhavaṃ cakkaratanaṃ, abhivijinātu bhavaṃ cakkaratanan*). The verb "conquer" (*abhi-vi-√ji-*) featured in Source 9. After becoming formularised at the end of Formulaic Phraseology A, it became a set expression for the cakravartin king's act of conquest. We can therefore regard "conquer" (*abhi-vi-√ji-*) as a product of the tradition transmitted down within the Buddhist canon. As for the other verb phrase, "roll forth," this resembles the words that the priest says to the horse in the Aśvamedha to urge it to go forth: "Go you along the way of the Ādityas" (*ādityānāṃ patvānvihīty*).

The way of the Ādityas in this case seems to be referring to the sun's apparent orbit around the earth (from a geocentric view). Ādityas were an archaic class of deities, which included Mitra, Varuṇa, and so on. In literature from the Brāhmaṇas onward, they are often described as solar deities. Given that, as noted earlier, the sacrificial horse in the Aśvamedha represents the sun, it seems that the priest's exhortation ("go you…") is intended to ensure that the horse (the sun) would stick to its correct orbit and return to the starting point a year later (complete its annual circuit).

The cakravartin king's exhortation to the wheel treasure contains no explicit reference to a solar orbit. As such, it evokes no narrative-based connection to the Aśvamedha. However, we can infer a connection with the sacrifice in the way the wheel begins its journey not spontaneously but "upon the urging" of the cakravartin king.

Following the Wheel with the Army (Section [III] Analysed)

Once the wheel treasure rolls east, the cakravartin king pursues the wheel with his fourfold army (*anvadeva rājā cakkavattī saddhiṃ caturaṅginiyā senāya*). Buddhist scriptures often refer to a king's military forces as a "fourfold army," consisting of elephants, cavalry, charioteers, and infantry.[72] The reference to the fourfold army in this case probably adopted this same meaning. On the other hand, in the Aśvamedha, it is a 400-strong army that follow and guard the loosed horse. The 400 men consisted of 100 royal princes, 100 warriors not from the royal family, 100 horse trainers and village chiefs, and 100 butchers and charioteers (cf. VādhŚS 11.1.2.1). Although this fourfold division is consistent with the Buddhist scriptural phrase "fourfold army" (*caturaṅginī- senā-*), it seems there was no direct connection between the two. However, we can note one similarity of a motif between the Buddhist episode and vedic rite: the army pursues an object (wheel/horse) that wanders freely.

Submission of the Opponent Kings (Supplementary Analysis of Part C of Source 14)

In Part C of the cakra-chasing episode, opponent kings (*paṭirājan-*) pledge their obedience to the cakravartin king. The submission of local kings is also something that occurs in the Aśvamedha. However, in the Aśvamedha, the submission is supposed to be accomplished before, not during, the pursuit of the horse. In vedic rituals, it was important that ritual process, once begun, would proceed to completion flawlessly. In the case of the Aśvamedha, this means that it is imperative to ensure that the wandering horse is not captured by an enemy.[73] It was therefore believed that the Aśvamedha could not go ahead until the local kings had expressed their obedience (at least that they are non-hostile) to the sacrificer. The *Vādhūla-Śrauta-Sūtra* stipulates the conditions that needed to be met for the sacrifice as follows.

Source 21: VādhŚS 11.1.1.1-5 (ed. Ikari-Teshima) [74]

1. *aśvamedhena yakṣyamāṇo rājā vijitī yadāsya na kutaś canopābādho bhavati sa saṃvatsare purastāt phālgunyai paurṇamāsyai caturo 'śvatarīrathān prahiṇoti ṣoḍaśa janapadān dhāvayatety ekaikañ caturaś caturaś.* 2. *sa yaṃ prāñcaṃ prahiṇoti yaḥ purastāt pratirājā bhavati taṃ so 'sya syatvāhāsāv āmuṣyāyaṇo 'śvamedhena yakṣyate tam anujānīhīti.* 3. *sa yadi so 'nujānāti sa eva paraṃ prahiṇoti.* 4. *sa paraṃ sa param.* 5. *evaṃ yan dakṣiṇaivaṃ yaṃ pratyañcam evaṃ yam udañcam.* …
15. *teṣāṃ yo 'nujānāty anv aha sa jānāty.* 16. *atha yo nānujānāti yam abhyāśaṃsate yaṃ prāsahā jeṣyan manyata upa taṃ yatate.* 17. *'ha yan nābhyāśaṃsate yan na prāsahā jeṣyan manyata upadān tasmā āharati svasāraṃ vā duhitaraṃ vā.* 18. *dhanena vainaṃ jñīpsati.*

1. If there is no threat [from an enemy] anywhere, a victorious king who is about to perform the Aśvamedha sends four mule-chariots one year before [starting the main sacrifice], on the day of the

full moon in the month of Phālguna. Saying "Go to 16 countries," [he send] the four [mule-chariots] to each [of for directions]. 2. The one sent to the east goes unto the opponent king (*pratirājan-*) of the east and say of him (the sacrifice), "A certain one is about to perform the Aśvamedha. Acknowledge you him." 3. If he (the opponent king) acknowledges, he (the sacrificer or emissary) sends the mule-chariot further afar [to the east]. 4. [If the king there acknowledges], he [sends the mule-chariot] still further [to the east]. [If the king there acknowledges], he [sends the mule-chariot] still further [to the east]. 5. In like manner, the one sent to the south, the one sent to the west, and the one sent to the north [urge the opponent king to acknowledge]. …

15. Should any among them (the opponent kings) acknowledge, he (the sacrifice) acknowledges that king [in return]. 16. However, should any refuse to acknowledge, and should he (the sacrificer) holds ill will toward him (the opponent king) and desires to overthrow him (the opponent king) with force, he (the sacrificer) subjugates him (the opponent king). 17. If he (the sacrificer) holds no ill will toward him (the opponent king) and desires not to overthrow him (the opponent king) with force, he (the sacrificer) offers him (the opponent king) his sister or daughter.

18. Otherwise, by [offering] no other than the property he (the sacrificer) wants to make him (the opponent king) acknowledge.

In inducing neighboring kings to submit, the sacrificer in the Aśvamedha is similar to the cakravartin king. This characteristic, however, already existed as an early element of cakravartin kingship, as evidenced in Source 1 (Sn 553) and Source 11 (AN V, 22). There is no reason, therefore, to suppose that the mythos of cakravartin kingship was based on that of the sacrificer in the Aśvamedha. Still, it is worth noting that the cakra-chasing episode describes the submitting kings using the same word that the Aśvamedha used: "opponent king" (*paṭirājan-/*Skt. *pratirājan-*). In texts other than the cakra-chasing episode, kings who submit to the cakravartin king are invariably called "lesser kings" (*kuḍḍarājān-／kuṭṭarājān-*).[75] In the Pāli Canon, the word *paṭirājan-* appears in a context unrelated to the cakravartin king in a passage from the prosaic portion of the *Jātaka* (Jā VI, 472). "Opponent kings" seems not entirely fitting for the context in the cakra-chasing episode since the kings, far from acting hostilely, are willingly obedient to the cakravartin king. This discrepancy leaves open the possibility that the author of the episode may have known something about the tradition of the submitting kings in the Aśvamedha.

5.3.3 Findings in this Section

I summarise the findings of this section below. Based on these findings, I posit the most reasonable interpretation for how the cakra-chasing episode became formularised. The general narrative structure of the cakra-chasing episode, rather than being based on traditions established in Buddhist scriptures, more closely resembles the Aśvamedha in a number of aspects. First, there

is a resemblance on a symbolic level: the wheel treasure and sacrificial horse both represent the sun. Next, the series of acts performed upon the wheel match those performed upon the horse: Both the wheel and horse are (1) sprinkled, (2) urged to go forth, and then (3) pursued by an army.

Given that these overlapping aspects do not feature in any other Buddhist scriptural accounts of a cakravartin king, we can make the following broad assumption: The author of the cakra-chasing episode did adopt the cakravartin-related concepts and set phrases that were formularised in Buddhist scripture, but, in plotting the general narrative framework in which these concepts and set phrases occur, he adopted and adapted the ritual proceedings of the Aśvamedha. He was probably inspired to take this approach by the existence of elements common to both cakravartin-related tales and the Aśvamedha rites, such as the act of touring neighboring kingdoms with an army and gaining the obedience of kings in the four directions.

The author likely incorporated such elements into the narrative in a deliberate effort to cause the acts of the cakravartin protagonist to evoke the Aśvamedha rites in audience or readers of the narrative. The motive, we may assume, was to reach a wider audience that included non-Buddhists; by modeling the rites of the famous Aśvamedha, the author made it easier for such an audience or readers to recognise and accept the cakravartin king as a kind of "emperor". This outward similarity may have highlighted an essential difference between kings of the non-Buddhist and the Buddhist: the former is a king who rules by force, the latter is a king who rules not by force but by Buddhist dharma. Thus, the cakra-chasing episode may have served as an expedient to convey the inward novelty more clearly.

By around the start of the Common Era, the concept of cakravartin kingship had spread beyond Buddhism and disseminated across Indian society. Until then, however, the most well-known model of supreme ruler in India was that of the sacrificer in the Aśvamedha. The author of the cakra-chasing episode may have invoked that model in an attempt to establish and disseminate a new model of cakravartin kingship.

5.4 The Dissemination of the Cakra-Chasing Episode
The cakra-chasing episode, which was modelled—I have suggested—on the Aśvamedha, was later adopted into numerous Buddhist scriptures of the northern and southern traditions. These scriptures included those in the Mahāyāna Canon, such as the third chapter of the *Lalitavistara*, Kulapariśuddhi-Parivarta (ed. Leffmann, pp. 14–15), and the 76th section of the Chinese translation of the *Mahāratnakūṭa Sūtra*, 大寶積經 (Ch. *Dàbǎojī-jīng*, Tib. *Dam-chos dkon-mchog-brtsegs-pa*, Jp. *Daihōshaku-kyō*), through which the story was disseminated to many Asian countires.

One product of the far-reaching dissemination and influence of the cakra-chasing

episode is Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō (山王一實神道), a Shinto school that flourished in Japan during the country's Edo period (1603–1867). This school developed from Sannō Shintō (山王神道), which had existed since medieval times as a syncretic Shinto school, one that combined Tendai Buddhism of the Mahāyāna tradition with Shintoist worship of Hie-sannō (日吉山王), the deity of Mount Hiei. Based on this idea, Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō deified the famous shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616) as Buddhist-Shinto deity Tōshō Gongen (東照權現), "Gongen, Light of the East" (a *gongen* is a Buddha who has manifested as a Japanese kami). After his death, Tokugawa Ieyasu was hailed as a cakravartin king (*tenrin-ō*). Jōin 乘因 (1682–1739), who was active in Togakushi area in the 18th century, attempted to incorporate the concept of cakravartin kingship into Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō. In his work, 轉輪聖王章 *Tenrin jō'ō shō* ("Piece of the Cakravartin King"), Jōin integrated the cakra-chasing episode into his thesis.[76]

While the cakra-chasing episode spread far and wide in the Buddhist cultural sphere in Asia, the situation in India, the birthplace of the story, was quite different. There, non-Buddhist audiences were very receptive to the idea of a cakravartin king as supreme overlord, ruling over all lesser kings, yet we find no examples of the cakra-chasing episode being incorporated into non-Buddhist literature. Perhaps the non-Buddhist audiences were not so enamoured with the model of a ruler who goes to different regions to teach Buddhist dharma with no scenes of heroic deeds.

As true as that may be, scholars have overlooked something important about the cakra-chasing episode: it significantly influenced an episode in the *Mahābhārata* in which the protagonist Yudhiṣṭhira performs the Aśvamedha (MBh 14.71–84). My research has revealed that, while the cakra-chasing episode was modelled on the Aśvamedha, the key motifs in the episode conversely influenced the descriptions of the Aśvamedha in epic literature. Moreover, Yudhiṣṭhira, as sacrificer of the Aśvamedha, is characterised in a way that reflects the Buddhist notion of cakravartin kingship. These connections constitute a notable phenomenon of the cakra-chasing episode substantially influencing Indian sociocultural history. We will explore this phenomenon in Chapter 6.

6. The Image of the Buddhist King Cakravartin and the Yudhiṣṭhira's Figure

The story of the *Mahābhārata*[77] involves a war between two families: Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas. The main characters on the Kaurava side are the hundred sons of King Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the eldest son of Sage Vyāsa, to whom the authorship of this epic is attributed. Those on the Pāṇḍava side are the five sons of Pāṇḍu, the half-brother of Dhṛtarāṣṭra by another mother. Both families are belonging to the same royal lineage, and this fact led to a succession crisis in the kingdom of Hāstinapura, which eventually escalated into a full-blown war between both. The story is told primarily from the viewpoint of the Pāṇḍava side. Indeed, the central character in all 18 parvans of the epic is Yudhiṣṭhira, the eldest of Pāṇḍu's five sons. Although the story features other heroes who play important roles in various scenes, such as Arjuna, Kṛṣṇa, and Bhīṣma, it is Yudhiṣṭhira who is the chief protagonist throughout the *Mahābhārata* as a whole.

Yudhiṣṭhira was the eldest son of Pāṇḍu and Pāṇḍu's consort, Kuntī (also known as Pṛthā). However, Yudhiṣṭhira was not Pāṇḍu's son by blood. The reason was as follows: In the past, a sage had placed a curse on Pāṇḍu for committing a transgression. Under the curse, Pāṇḍu would die if he ever made love to a woman.[78] Accordingly, Pāṇḍu never made love to either of his two wives, Kuntī and Mādrī. Desiring progeny, Pāṇḍu besought the gods to impregnate his wives on his behalf. Consequently, five sons were begot. Of these, Yudhiṣṭhira was the son of Kuntī and the god Dharma (MBh 1.113–114). Having inherited the traits of his divine father, Yudhiṣṭhira always honoured the dharma (which, in this context, means vedic teachings and practices based on such) and sought to establish just rule. For this reason, Yudhiṣṭhira is referred to in the whole part of this epic as "king of dharma" (*dharmarājan-*)[79]

Scholars have suggested that the characterisation of Yudhiṣṭhira was influenced, directly or indirectly, by Buddhism. Nick (Nicholas) Sutton suggested that Yudhiṣṭhira might be modelled on Aśoka,[80] a protector of Buddhism who championed the principle of rule by dharma and expanded the Maurya Dynasty's territory across the Indian subcontinent (Sutton 1997). Greg Bailey, in his analysis of a possible Buddhist connection, focused on Yudhiṣṭhira's "king of dharma" appellation, noting that the same appellation was used in Buddhist scriptures to refer to the Buddha or a cakravartin king (Bailey 2014). However, neither Sutton nor Bailey ever rose above the level of supposition as the common denominator they relied upon as the link between Yudhiṣṭhira's characterisation and Buddhist teaching was the word "dharma," a very nebulous term.[81]

This chapter focuses on the connection between Yudhiṣṭhira and Buddhism, aiming to present this connection more clearly by taking a different approach to that taken by the scholars above. Specifically, I demonstrate that the Aśvamedha performed by Yudhiṣṭhira in the 14th parvan of the *Mahābhārata* was modelled on the cakra-chasing episode which we have dealt in

51

Chapter 5 with. I also demonstrate that Yudhiṣṭhira's actions as sacrificer of the Aśvamedha reflect the traits of the Buddhist notion of a cakravartin king. Finally, I contextualise this parvan within the broader narrative arc of the *Mahābhārata*, revealing why a Buddhist conception of kingship was projected onto the character of Yudhiṣṭhira in the 14th parvan.

6.1 The Horse-Chasing Episode in the 14th Parvan of the *Mahābhārata*

The 14th parvan of the *Mahābhārata*, as suggested by its title, Āśvamedhika-Parvan (Book of the Horse Sacrifice), is devoted to recounting Yudhiṣṭhira's performance of an Aśvamedha.[82] As we have learned, the sacrificial horse would have to be loosed a year before the day of the main sacrifice and allowed to wander freely.[83] The *Mahābhārata* recounts that Yudhiṣṭhira performed an extravagant Aśvamedha following the end of the war.

For this Aśvamedha, Yudhiṣṭhira appointed his younger brother Arjuna as chief of the guardians of the wandering horse. He told Arjuna that, even were his party to encounter survivors from the enemy Kauravas, he should refrain from bloodshed. He also urged Arjuna to invite them to the Aśvamedha in order to build amity with them. Under this order, Arjuna would have to protect the horse and ensure its safe passage home without killing any attacking enemies. A highlight of this parvan, then, is the superhuman ability of Arjuna to accomplish this seemingly impossible feat with all the forbearance and cool-headedness it required. I have named this story, in which Arjuna is the main protagonist, the "horse-chasing episode." The episode is related in chapters 71 to 84 of the 14th parvan of the *Mahābhārata*. The synopsis is as follows:

> As per custom, the horse is unfettered and allowed to wander. The horse first roams the eastern land, then the southern, western, and finally the northern land. Arjuna and his army follow the horse to each region. At certain points on their way, they encounter kings on the Kaurava side who succumbed to the forces of Pāṇḍava led by Yudhiṣṭhira. Although Arjuna tries to avoid conflict, the enemy forces, bitterly resenting the Pāṇḍava, attack, forcing Arjuna to engage them in combat. However, Arjuna ultimately manages to subdue the enemy forces bloodlessly. Then, revealing that Yudhiṣṭhira commanded him to avoid killing the enemies, Arjuna induces the foes to be obedient. Each of these battle scenes ends with Arjuna inviting the submitting forces to participate in the Aśvamedha.

Below, we examine key passages from the actual text of the epic. To assist comparison of the source text with the translation, I have added a line break at every pāda (quarter of a verse). I have also divided the text into 13 parts (A to M) to assist the ensuing analysis. I have underlined certain parts of the text with a single or double solid line to indicate parts that related directly to the discussion in 6.2. A wavy line indicates parts that are germane to the discussion in 6.3.

Source 22: MBh 14.71.22–85.12 (Horse-chasing episode)

A. MBh 14.71.22–24: Yudhiṣṭhira commands Arjuna

ehy arjuna tvayā vīra
hayo 'yaṃ paripālyatām /
tvam arho rakṣituṃ hy enaṃ
nānyaḥ kaś cana mānavaḥ /22/

22. [Yudhiṣṭhira said:] "Come, Arjuna, brave one, let the horse be protected by you. You alone are able to protect it, for none other [is capable].

ye cāpi tvāṃ mahābāho
pratyudīyur narādhipāḥ /
tair vigraho yathā na syāt
tathā kāryaṃ tvayānagha /23/

23. O strong-armed one, it behoves you to accomplish this matter, to prevent battles arising between you and the kings who come forward against you, O sinless one.

ākhyātavyaś ca bhavatā
yajño 'yaṃ mama sarvaśaḥ /
pārthivebhyo mahābāho
samaye gamyatām iti /24/

24. Wheresoever you go, [celebration of] my ritual should be declared. Say you unto the kings, 'One should come at the time of celebration', O strong-armed one."

B. MBh 14.72.2–3: The horse departs

kṛtvā sa paśubandhāṃś ca
dīkṣitaḥ pāṇḍunandanaḥ /
dharmarājo mahātejāḥ
sahartvigbhir vyarocata /2/

2. Having executed animal sacrifices and finished consecration rite, he (Yudhiṣṭhira), the son of Pāṇḍu and king of dharma with great luster, shone along with the priests.

hayaś ca hayamedhārthaṃ
svayaṃ sa brahmavādinā /
utsṛṣṭaḥ śāstravidhinā
vyāsenāmitatejasā /3/

3. Then, for the horse-sacrifice, <u>the horse was let loose in accordance with the ordinance in the scripture (veda)</u> by Vyāsa, the expounder of Brahman, with boundless luster.

C. MBh 14.72.21–22: The party heads eastwards

sa hayaḥ pṛthivīṃ rājan
pradakṣiṇam avartata[84]
sasārottarataḥ pūrvaṃ /
tan nibodha mahīpate /21/
avamṛdnan sa rāṣṭrāṇi
pārthivānāṃ hayottamaḥ /
śanais tadā pariyayau
śvetāśvaś ca mahārathaḥ /22/

21–22. O king, the horse roamed the earth in a right-handed turn. Listen to this, O mighty lord. That most excellent horse moved from north <u>to east</u>.[85] while trampling [the ground of] dominions of rulers. On that occasion, a white horse and the one boarding a great chariot (Arjuna) slowly went around [the earth].

D. MBh 14.73.6–7: The people of Trigarta submit 1

abravīc ca tato jiṣṇuḥ
prahasann iva bhārata /
nivartadhvam adharmajñāḥ
śreyo jīvitam eva vaḥ /6/
sa hi vīraḥ prayāsyan vai
dharmarājena vāritaḥ /

6. At this, O man of lineage of Bharata, the victor (Arjuna) said like laughing, "Stop! O lawless men. What is precious is no other than your lives (viz. 'you should spare your lives')."

7. For, at the time of the gallant hero's (Arjuna's) departure, he was admonished by the king of dharma

*hatabāndhavā **na** te pārtha*
***hantavyāḥ** pārthivā iti /7/*

(Yudhiṣṭhira): "O son of Pṛthā, kings whose kinsmen have been defeated are **not to be killed** by you."

E. MBh 14.73.32–34: The people of Trigarta submit 2

ta ūcuḥ puruṣavyāghraṃ
saṃśaptakaniṣūdanam /
tava sma kiṃkarāḥ sarve
sarve ca vaśagās tava /32/

32. They (the people of Trigarta) addressed that tiger among men (Arjuna), the bane of Saṃśaptaka, saying, "We all are your slaves. We all submit to you.

ājñāpayasva naḥ pārtha
prahvān preṣyān avasthitān /
kariṣyāmaḥ priyaṃ sarvaṃ
tava kauravanandana /33/

33. O son of Pṛthā, order us, your servants bowing [to you]! Whatsoever you desire, we shall see it accomplished."

etad ājñāya vacanaṃ
sarvāṃs tān abravīt tadā /
jīvitaṃ rakṣata nṛpāḥ
śāsanaṃ gṛhyatām iti /34/

34. Having heard these words, he (Arjuna) said unto them all, "Save you your lives, O kings. Let our dominion be accepted."

F. MBh 14.75.20–26: King Vajradatta submits

tasmin nipatite nāge
vajradattasya pāṇḍavaḥ /
taṃ na bhetavyam ity āha
tato bhūmigataṃ nṛpam /20/

20. When the elephant of Vajradatta was felled, the son of Pāṇḍu (Arjuna) addressed the king who had fallen on the ground, saying, "Fear not.

abravīd dhi mahātejāḥ
prasthitaṃ māṃ yudhiṣṭhiraḥ /
*rājānas te **na hantavyā***
dhanaṃjaya kathaṃ cana /21/

21. For Yudhiṣṭhira of the great luster said these words unto me at the time of my departure: 'O gainer of prize, the kings are **not to be killed** by you.

sarvam etan naravyāghra
bhavatv etāvatā kṛtam /
*yodhāś cāpi **na hantavyā***
dhanaṃjaya raṇe tvayā /22/

22. O tiger among men, see that this [task] is done just so completely. O gainer of prize, the warriors in battle, likewise, are **not to be killed** by you.

vaktavyāś cāpi rājānaḥ
sarvaiḥ saha suhṛjjanaiḥ /
yudhiṣṭhirasyāśvamedho
bhavadbhir anubhūyatām /23/

23. Then shall those kings be told, 'Let Yudhiṣṭhira's horse-sacrifice be experienced (attended) by you along with all your friends.'"

iti bhrātṛvacaḥ śrutvā
na hanmi tvāṃ janādhipa /
uttiṣṭha na bhayaṃ te 'sti
svastimān gaccha pārthiva /24/

24. Having heard the speech of my brother, I shall kill you not, O guardian of the people. Rise thou. You have nothing to fear. Depart, O king, you are in peace.

āgacchethā mahārāja
parāṃ caitrīm upasthitām /
tadāśvamedho bhavitā
dharmarājasya dhīmataḥ /25/

25. Come, O great king, upon the full moon in the next Caitra month. The horse-sacrifice of the sagacious king of dharma shall be held thereon."

evam uktaḥ sa rājā tu

26. At this, the king, son of Bhagadatta, defeated by the

bhagadattātmajas tadā /　　　　son of Pāṇḍu (Arjuna), only said, "Aye, I shall do so."
tathety evābravīd vākyaṃ
pāṇḍavenābhinirjitaḥ /26/

G. MBh 14.77.6–12: The Saindhavas are pacified

etāvad uktvā kauravyo　　　　6-7. Then, O man of lineage of Bharata, descendant of
ruṣā gāṇḍīvabhṛt tadā /　　　　　　　Kurus who is the wielder of the divine bow Gāṇḍīva
tato 'tha vacanaṃ smṛtvā　　　　　　(Arjuna), having thus spoken in wrath, then recalled the
bhrātur jyeṣṭhasya bhārata /6/　　　　words of his eldest brother, the great king of dharma
na hantavyā *raṇe tāta*　　　　　　(Yudhiṣṭhira): "In battle, O my beloved brother, the
kṣatriyā vijigīṣavaḥ /　　　　　　　　kṣatriyas desirous of victory are to be vanquished, but
jetavyāś ceti yat proktaṃ　　　　　　**not to be killed.**" Then Phalgunaḥ (Arjuna), bull among
dharmarājñā mahātmanā /　　　　　　men, thought:
cintayām āsa ca tadā
phalgunaḥ puruṣarṣabhaḥ /7/

ity ukto 'haṃ narendreṇa　　　　8 "I was told by that Indra among men (Yudhiṣṭhira), 'The
na hantavyā *nṛpā iti /*　　　　　　kings are **not to be killed.**' On no account should I now
kathaṃ tan na mṛṣeha syād　　　　　falsify that beautiful word of the king of dharma.
dharmarājavacaḥ śubham /8/

na hanyeraṃś ca rājāno　　　　　9. The kings are not to be killed. Thus shall the command
rājñaś cājñā kṛtā bhavet /　　　　　　of the king (Yudhiṣṭhira) be fulfilled." Having thought
iti saṃcintya sa tadā　　　　　　　　so, he who upholds the wish of his elder brother,
bhrātuḥ priyahite rataḥ /　　　　　　declared the word of the king of dharma (Yudhiṣṭhira)
provāca vākyaṃ dharmajñaḥ　　　　unto the battle-frenzied Saindhavas.
saindhavān yuddhadurmadān /9/

bālān striyo vā yuṣmākaṃ　　　　10. "I shall kill not the menchildren and maidens standing
na haniṣye vyavasthitān /　　　　　　by you. And neither [shall I kill] him who, being
yaś ca vakṣyati saṃgrāme　　　　　　vanquished, says unto me, 'I am yours.'[86]
tavāsmīti parājitaḥ /10/

etac chrutvā vaco mahyaṃ　　　　11. Having heard this word of mine, you should act for me,
kurudhvaṃ hitam ātmanaḥ /　　　　　what would be your benefit. Else, you shall be injured by
ato 'nyathā kṛcchragatā　　　　　　　me and shall meet with disaster."
bhaviṣyatha mayārditāḥ /11/

evam uktvā tu tān vīrān　　　　　12. Heedful and not given to wrath, the man of the Kurus,
yuyudhe kurupuṃgavaḥ /　　　　　　that bull among men (Arjuna) thus spoke unto those
atvarāvān asaṃrabdhaḥ　　　　　　gallant warriors. But [ultimately] he battled with those
saṃrabdhair vijigīṣubhiḥ /12/　　　　wrathful men desirous of victory.

H. MBh 14.83.1–2: The horse tours the earth bounded by the ocean

sa tu vājī samudrāntāṃ　　　　　1. Meanwhile, the horse along with the royal son (Arjuna),
paryetya pṛthivīm imām /　　　　　　having toured the earth bounded by the ocean and turned
nivṛtto 'bhimukho rājan-　　　　　　about, oriented its face toward Hāstinapura.
-yena nāgāhvayaṃ puram /1/

anugacchaṃś ca tejasvī
nivṛtto 'tha kirīṭabhṛt /
yadṛcchayā samāpede
puraṃ rājagṛhaṃ tadā /2/

2. And turning about in pursuit [of the horse], the one endowed with luster and crowned with a diadem (Arjuna), by chance came upon the citadel of Rājagṛha.

I. MBh 14.83.25–30: King Meghasandhi submits

yudhiṣṭhirasya saṃdeśo
na hantavyā *nṛpā iti /*
tena jīvasi rājaṃs tvam
aparāddho 'pi me raṇe /25/
iti matvā sa cātmānaṃ
pratyādiṣṭaṃ sma māgadhaḥ /
tathyam ity avagamyainaṃ
prāñjaliḥ pratyapūjayat /26/
tam arjunaḥ samāśvāsya
punar evedam abravīt /
āgantavyaṃ parāṃ caitrīm
aśvamedhe nṛpasya naḥ /27/
ity uktaḥ sa tathety uktvā
pūjayām āsa taṃ hayam /
phalgunaṃ ca yudhāṃ śreṣṭhaṃ
vidhivat sahadevajaḥ /28/
tato yatheṣṭam agamat
punar eva sa kesarī /
tataḥ samudratīreṇa
vaṅgān puṇḍrān sa keralān /29/
tatra tatra ca bhūrīṇi
mlecchasainyāny anekaśaḥ /
vijigye dhanuṣā rājan
gāṇḍīvena dhanaṃjayaḥ /30/

25. [Arjuna said:] "Commandment of the king of dharma (Yudhiṣṭhira) is saying, 'the kings are **not to be killed**.' By this, O king, Tou can keep your life in the battle with me, though you are guilty."

26. The king of Magadha, considering himself defeated, declared, "This is just" and, drawing near unto him (Arjuna), putting his hands together, expressed his reverence [to him].

27. Arjuna, having eased his spirit, again said unto him, "You should come upon the full moon in the next Caitra month, for [attending] the horse-sacrifice of our king (Yudhiṣṭhira)."

28. Thus told, the son of Sahadeva said, "Aye, I shall do so," and expressed his reverence to Phalguna, the foremost of warriors (Arjuna) in accordance with the ordinance [in the scripture (veda)].

29. "Then, once again, it (the horse), that has its mane, proceeded at will along the coast, going unto the regions of the Vaṅga, Puṇḍra, and Kerala.

30. And, O king, hither and thither the gainer of prize (Arjuna) defeated the vast Mleccha armies with his bow Gāṇḍīva, one after another."

J. MBh 14.84.1: The horse turns south

māgadhenārcito rājan
pāṇḍavaḥ śvetavāhanaḥ /
dakṣiṇāṃ diśam *āsthāya*
cārayām āsa taṃ hayam /1/

1. "O king, the son of Pāṇḍu (Arjuna), whose white vehicle (horse) was praised by the king of Magadha, proceeded **to the southern region**, suffered the horse to wander."

K. MBh 14.84.17–18: The horse turns west

*tataḥ sa **paścimaṃ deśam***
samudrasya tadā hayaḥ /
krameṇa vyacarat sphītaṃ
tataḥ pañcanadaṃ yayau /17/
tasmād api sa kauravya

17. From thence, the horse wandered at a large gait along the coast **to the western region**, which prosper greatly owing to the sea.

18. Thus, O descendant of the Kurus, the horse, followed

gāndhāraviṣayaṃ hayaḥ /
vicacāra yathākāmaṃ
kaunteyānugatas tadā /18/

by the son of Kuntī (Arjuna), wandered at will in the region of the Gāndhāra [in the north].

L. MBh 14.85.9–12: The kinsmen of Śakuni are pacified in the Gāndhāras

taṃ yudhyamānaṃ rājānaṃ
kṣatradharme vyavasthitam /
*pārtho 'bravīn **na** me **vadhyā***
rājāno rājaśāsanāt /9/
alaṃ yuddhena te vīra
na te 'sty adya parājayaḥ /
ity uktas tad anādṛtya
vākyam ajñānamohitaḥ /
sa śakrasamakarmāṇam
avākirata sāyakaiḥ /10/
tasya pārthaḥ śirastrāṇam
ardhacandreṇa patriṇā /
apāharad asaṃbhrānto
jayadrathaśiro yathā /11/
tad dṛṣṭvā vismayaṃ jagmur
gāndhārāḥ sarva eva te /
icchatā tena na hato
rājety api ca te viduḥ /12 /

9. Unto the king, who, abiding by the rule of kshatriyas, fought against him, the son of Pṛthā (Arjuna) said, "By the command of the king, the kings **are not to be killed** by me.

10. O brave warrior, this day you do not see your destruction in your battle." Addressed thus, he (the enemy king), having lost his senses, being foolish, disregarded this word and showered with arrows the one whose motion is equal to that of Indra (Arjuna).

11. The son of Pṛthā (Arjuna) calmly, by means of a crescent-shaped arrow, dislodged his (the king's) headpiece, in the same manner as the beheading of King Jayadratha [which occurred in a past battle].

12. Beholding this, the Gāndhāra people were astonished, not one remaining. And they understood that, owing to his (Arjuna's) intention, their king kept his life.

M. MBh 14.89.16–17b: The horse returns

tato reṇuḥ samudbhūto
vibabhau tasya vājinaḥ
abhito vartamānasya
yathoccaiḥśravasas tathā /16/
tatra harṣakalā vāco
narāṇāṃ śuśruve 'rjunaḥ

16. And advancing [in the city of Hāstinapura], the horse raised [by its hooves] a cloud of dust that greatly shone as if being [raised] by the celestial steed Uccaiḥśravas.

17a-b. There, Arjuna heard the words of people, which brought joyfulness [to him].

6.2 Comparison with the Cakra-Chasing Episode in Buddhist Scriptures

Described below are three aspects of the horse-chasing episode that bear a noteworthy connection with Buddhism.

1) In wandering about the earth, the sacrificial horse goes first east, then south, west, and finally north: Source 22, Parts C, J, K (double-underlined parts), and M

2) The pursuing party (Arjuna) subjugates the kings in the countries where he goes.

3)   The story repeatedly cites the command of the king (Yudhiṣṭhira) forbidding the killing of these kings (*na hantavyāḥ*): Source 22, Parts D, F, G, I, L (underlined parts)

These three aspects in the epic are also present in the definitive Buddhist tale of a cakravartin king—namely, the cakra-chasing episode. As we saw in Chapter 5, the cakra-chasing episode presents a narrative in which the protagonist accomplishes the deed of cakravartin king—to conquer the whole earth by the dharma—through the process of following the divine wheel treasure (*dibbaṃ cakkaratanaṃ*). In that story, the wheel treasure symbolises kingship, and it also symbolises the wheel of dharma that the Buddha turns (i.e., Buddhist teaching).

Below, I have extracted the parts of the cakra-chasing episode that are germane to this analysis. The version I quote from is the *Cakkavatti-Sīhanāda-Suttanta* (CSS).[87] Although this version has some minor differences in vocabulary from the other two versions, the narrative content is practically identical. Text underlined with one or two lines indicates elements that also feature in the horse-chasing episode. Wavy lines indicate elements germane to the next chapter.

Source 23: CSS (DN III, 62) ≈ BPS (MN III, 172–173) ≈ MSS (DN II, 172–173)

atha kho bhikkhave rājā khattiyo muddhāvasitto uṭṭhāy' āsanā, ekaṃsaṃ uttarāsaṅgaṃ karitvā, **<u>vāmena hatthena bhiṅkāraṃ gahetvā, dakkhiṇena hatthena cakkaratanaṃ abbhukkiri</u>**: *'Pavattatu bhavaṃ cakkaratanaṃ, abhivijinātu bhavaṃ cakkaratanan ti.'*
And then, O bhikkhus, verily the head-anointed king of the kṣatriya class rose from his place, <u>took a water jug in his left hand, and, with his right hand, sprinkled [water] over the wheel treasure</u>, saying: "Reverend wheel treasure should roll forth! Reverend wheel treasure should conquer!"

atha kho taṃ bhikkhave cakkaratanaṃ **<u>puratthimaṃ disaṃ</u>** *pavatti, anvad eva rājā cakkavattī saddhiṃ caturaṅginiyā senāya. Yasmiṃ kho pana bhikkhave padese cakkaratanaṃ patiṭṭhāsi, tattha rājā cakkavatatī vāsaṃ upagacchi saddhiṃ caturaṅginiyā senāya.*
And then, O bhikkhus, the wheel treasure rolled **<u>eastwards</u>**, and the cakravartin king, chasing it, [went forth] with his fourfold army. Verily, O bhikkhus, wherever that wheel treasure stopped, there the cakravartin king enters the encampment with his fourfold army.

ye kho pana bhikkhave puratthimāya disāya paṭirājāno, te rājānaṃ cakkavattiṃ upasaṃkamitvā evam āhaṃsu: 'ehi kho mahārāja, sāgataṃ mahārāja, sakan te mahārāja, anusāsa mahārājāti.'
Verily, O bhikkhus, the opponent kings of the east came unto the cakravartin king, and said "Come hither, O mighty king! Welcome, O mighty king! [I] am yours, O mighty king! Command us, O mighty king!"

rājā cakkavatti evam āha: 'pāṇo **<u>na hantabbo</u>***. Adinnaṃ n' ādātabbaṃ. Kāmesu micchā na caritabbā. Musā na bhāsitabbā. Majjaṃ na pātabbaṃ. Yathābhuttañ ca bhuñjathāti.' Ye kho pana bhikkhave puratthimāya disāya paṭirājāno, te rañño cakkavattissa anuyuttā ahesuṃ.*

Then spoke the cakravartin king: "That which lives shall not to be killed; that which has not been given shall not be taken; the lusts of the flesh shall not be indulged; lies shall not be spoken; liquor shall not be drunk. You shall enjoy [food] as has been provided for you [at the appropriate times].[88]" And verily, O bhikkhus, the opponent ones of the east, those kings became followers of the cakravartin king.

After the scene in which the wheel heads east, the cakravartin king chases the wheel, eventually gaining the obedience of kings in the south, west, and north. At each direction, he issues the same commandment as that cited above. It is immediately apparent that the story has the following three elements in common with the horse-chasing episode:

1) The wheel/horse tours the earth, going first east, then south, west, and finally north.
2) At each direction, the foreign kings pledge their allegiance.
3) The kings are told that living beings are "not to be killed."

Particularly noteworthy is the phrase uttered to the kings, "not to be killed." In the horse-chasing episode, this is expressed with in a negative gerundive, the Sanskrit *na hantavyāḥ*. Likewise, in the cakra-chasing episode, it is expressed in a negative gerundive, the Pāli *na hantabbo*.[89] The horse-chasing and Buddhist cakra-chasing episodes are strikingly similar in how they repeat this phrase at each encounter with a regional king. They also share a stark similarity in terms of the storyline itself: in both cases, a king follows, with his army in tow, something that symbolises kingly authority. These common elements constitute ample evidence that there was some historical connection between the two legends.

6.3 The Relationship Between the Horse-Chasing and Cakra-Chasing Episodes
If there is a historical connection between the two legends, then there are two broad possibilities: the epic episode preceded and influenced (directly or indirectly) the Buddhist episode, or vice versa. In all the literature on the two legends, there is only one brief reference to these possibilities, by Indumati Armelin. I translated the relevant part from the original French:

In the Buddhist notion of Cakravartin kingship, the wheel replaces the horse of the Aśvamedha. The *Mahāsudassana-Suttanta* tells us that the wheel proceeded while being pursued by the king's army and, when the conquest was complete, returned to its starting point and subsequently came to rest above the walls of the royal palace. The Brahmanical authors depicted in the same manner the conquest of a king who follows a horse destined to be sacrificed. However, early Buddhism expresses its own ideas in a lyrical philosophy; it emphasises the non-violent character of the king. Brahmanism, realistic but brutal, reveals its bellicose character.   (Armelin 1975: 37)[90]

Armelin, it seems, believed that the "Brahmanical" Aśvamedha provided the template for the Buddhist cakra-chasing episode. By "the Brahmanical authors" (les auteurs brahmaniques) and "Bramanism" (le Brahmanisme), she was presumably referring specifically to the authors of the Mahābhārata and to the depictions in the Aśvamedha in this epic rather than referring more generally to the authors of the vedic literature and to the ritual prescriptions stipulated in such literature. Indeed, when, in an earlier part of her book (Armelin 1975: 9), Armelin discusses the Aśvamedha, she disregards the body of vedic literature on this sacrifice, citing a single source: the Āśvamedhika-Parvan from the *Sārtha-Mahābhāratha*, a vulgate recension written in the Marāṭhī language.

A close examination of the epics and Buddhist scriptures suggests that Armelin got it the wrong way round: the Buddhist cakra-chasing episode predated and inspired the horse-chasing episode.

In the analysis in Section 5, I argued that the narrative arc of the cakra-chasing episode was modelled on the Aśvamedha rites as formularised in the vedas to impress upon audiences that the cakravartin king character was a supreme ruler of equal status to the sacrificer in the Aśvamedha. I revealed that specific rites were imitated in Buddhist scripture. For example, for the first rite in the Aśvamedha, the vedas stipulate that the sacrificial horse, at the time it is released, should be sprinkled with water in order to sanctify it (5.3.2). Following this rite, the cakra-chasing episode has the cakravartin king perform this very act of sprinkling when, after discovering the wheel treasure, he bids the wheel to advance to the different directions (Source 23, wavy line). It is not immediately apparent why the wheel treasure is sprinkled, but we can understand why once we suppose that it was based on the sprinkling in the Aśvamedha, upon which the story was modelled.

However, in the horse-chasing episode, the corresponding scene mentions no sprinkling; all it says is that "the horse was let loose in accordance with the ordinance in the scripture (veda)" (*utsṛṣṭaḥ śāstravidhinā*; MBh 14.72.3, Source 1, Part A, wavy line). In light of this comparison, the sprinkling scene in the Buddhist cakra-chasing episode must have been based not on the epic but on vedic ritual texts (directly or indirectly). Moreover, a number of similar plot points between the cakra-chasing and horse-chasing episodes testify in themselves to the latter being inspired by the former in some way. To summarise the sequence of influence, it seems that vedic prescription for the Aśvamedha provided implicit inspiration for the Buddhist tale of the cakra chasing and that this Buddhist tale became, in turn, the implicit model for the story of the horse chasing in the epic. The following image illustrates this threefold relationship.
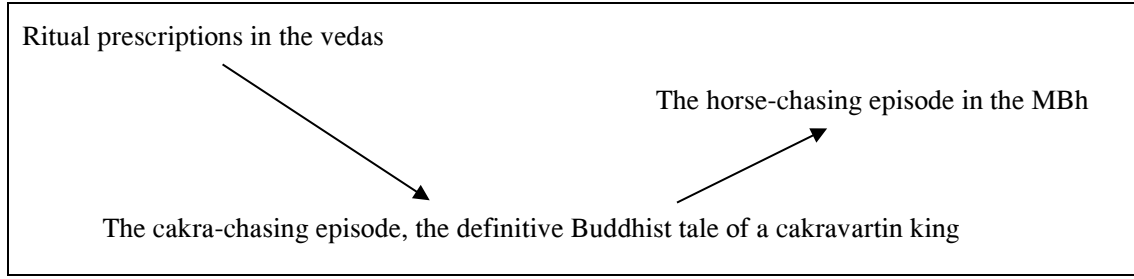
Figure: Relationship between three sources

It is likely that the author of the 14th parvan of the *Mahābhārata* knew something of the cakra-chasing story formulated in Buddhist scripture. In 6.4, I set forth the hypothesis that the author of the epic linked Yudhiṣṭhira with the Buddhist notion of cakravartin kingship to tailor the characterisation of Yudhiṣṭhira to a narrative requirement of the parvan in question.

Back in 3.2.2, I cited a passage (Source 6) from the first parvan of the *Mahābhārata* as evidence that the author of the epic knew about the Buddhist cakra-chasing tale. The passage concerns the conquest of the four directions by King Bharata, the progenitor of people Bharatas (*bhārata-*). In the passage, Bharata himself is described as a cakravartin king (*rājā cakravartī*) (MBh 1.69.47). Of note here is what is written a little before this epithet regarding the "wheels" of Bharata's chariot (MBh 1.69.45 from Source 6): *tasya tat prathitaṃ cakraṃ prāvartata mahātmanaḥ / bhāsvaraṃ divyam ajitaṃ lokasaṃnādanaṃ mahat //* "And the glorious Wheel of the great-spirited Bharata rolled thundering through the worlds, grand, radiant, divine, unvanquished." (Buitenen 1973: 170).

The phrase "radiant divine wheels" (*bhāsvaraṃ divyam cakram*) is particularly noteworthy. It resembles two phrases from the Buddhist cakra-chasing tale. The first is "divine wheel" (*dibbaṃ cakkaratanam*), and the second occurs at the end of the story, when the wheel has stopped at the palace and is described as "beautifully illuminating" (*upasobhayamānam*). Such lofty, religious language strongly suggests that whoever wrote those words had knowledge of the Buddhist scriptural descriptions of the wheel treasure. While this does not necessarily imply that the 1st and 14th parvan had the same author, it does at least suggest that the Buddhist tale of a cakravartin king had been disseminated to some extent among those who were involved in compiling the *Mahābhārata*.

6.4 Yudhiṣṭhira Synthesised with the Buddhist Notion of Cakravartin Kingship
Now we consider, in light of the above findings, why the character of Yudhiṣṭhira in the 14th parvan of the *Mahābhārata* was linked with the Buddhist notion of cakravartin kingship. From the 19th century onward, numerous scholars have argued that two of the parvans in the extant *Mahābhārata* are later interpolations; these are the 12th parvan, Śānti-Parvan (Book of Peace), and 13th parvan, the Anuśāsana-Parvan (Book of Instructions).[91] Muneo Tokunaga, while

61

accepting this view for the most part, demonstrated the historicity of the first 45 adhyāyas of the Śānti-Parvan. Dubbing these adhyāyas the "śānti-opening", Tokunaga proposed that they be clearly demarcated from the following adhyāyas in the same parvan (Tokunaga 2002; 2005). Thus, the source that once directly preceded the 14th parvan, Āśvamedhika-Parvan, was, to use Tokunaga's coinage words, the śānti-opening.

If, drawing on those accomplishments, we trace the narrative progression from the end of the war, we will notice a major shift in narrative thrust between the 11th parvan, Strī-Parvan (Book of Women), and the 14th parvan. The 11th parvan depicts the lamentations of the women grieving over their loved ones who fell in the war. One of the bereaved women is Gāndhārī, the mother of the hundred Kaurava princes. All of these sons had died in battle. The parvan concludes with a funeral for the long list of war dead. The funeral is conducted in accordance with the ordinances in Dharma-śāstric texts,[92] and it continues until the end of the śānti-opening in the 12th parvan. This continuity in funerary proceedings between the śānti-opening and the previous parvan was one reason Tokugawa believed that the śānti-opening was not a later interpolation. Thus, once the interpolations (the rest of the 12th parvan and all of the 13th parvan) are discounted, it becomes apparent that the 14th parvan should come right after the scene of the funeral for the war dead (now the śānti-opening) in the narrative sequence. This narrative sequence reveals in and of itself a shift in narrative focus from the dead to the surviving.

The 14th parvan begins with Yudhiṣṭhira bitterly ruing the many lives he took in the war. His Aśvamedha was intended as an atonement, one that would cleanse him of this guilt (MBh 14.3.1–10).[93] The scene of Yudhiṣṭhira's lamentations is followed by the horse-chasing episode, which prominently features the remnant forces of the Kaurava, against whom Yudhiṣṭhira had fought in the war. During the episode, Arjuna battles the remnants and gains their obedience, following Yudhiṣṭhira's magnanimous injunctive that the adversaries are "not to be killed." Thus, the Aśvamedha plays a redemptive role; it ends up cleansing not only Yudhiṣṭhira's sins but also the sins and resentment of his adversaries and, thus, ultimately brings about reconciliation and true peace. For such a narrative to work, Yudhiṣṭhira needed to be characterised as sufficiently benevolent and magnanimous to merit the allegiance of his adversaries. This narrative requirement likely explains why the author of the epic tied Yudhiṣṭhira with the Buddhist notion of cakravartin kingship.

So far, we have focused on commonalities between the Buddhist tale and epic. Now, we focus on the differences. One notable difference concerns the matter of who pacifies the kings of the four directions. In the Buddhist tale, it is the cakravartin king himself who follows the wheel treasure and gains the obedience of the kings of the four directions. In the epic, Yudhiṣṭhira never engages in the conquest in person. In the Aśvamedha, consecration rite (dīkṣā-) begins from the day the horse is released. During the horse's wandering, the sacrificer has daily duties to perform

at the ritual site.[94] Hence, vedic ritual texts prescribe that the king must delegate to his attendants the task of guarding the horse. In accordance with this prescription, the epic has Yudhiṣṭhira commission his brother Arjuna with the task (Source 22, Part A; MBh 14.71.22). Consequently, in the horse-chasing episode, Yudhiṣṭhira retreats into the background while Arjuna acts as de-facto protagonist. However, this two-tiered structure (Arjuna deputising for Yudhiṣṭhira), which is absent in the Buddhist tale, enabled the author to keep Yudhiṣṭhira characterised as a nonviolent cakravartin king and, at the same time, give Arjuna plenty of fierce battle scenes, provided, of course, that all the combat was kept non-lethal. Thus, a distinctive aspect of the horse-chasing episode in the *Mahābhārata* is that it retains the rather dry structure of the Buddhist narrative while adding colorful and dramatic scenes that would have resonated with the audience of an epic.

6.5 Implications of the Findings in this Chapter

This chapter focused on the horse-chasing episode in the 14th parvan of the *Mahābhārata*. We saw how this episode resembled the Buddhist cakra-chasing episode in its storyline and phraseology. Contextualising the 14th parvan within the overall narrative of the *Mahābhārata*, we identified a possible motive for the author of the parvan modeling Yudhiṣṭhira on a Buddhist cakravartin king, thus portraying him as a nonviolent, benevolent, and magnanimous king. What insights do these findings offer with regard to the broader Indian society and culture of the time? There are two key findings.

First, the analysis yields fresh insight into the relationship between the *Mahābhārata* and the Buddhist Canon. Scholars have noted that certain *Jātaka* tales in the *Khuddaka-Nikāya*, as well as certain abstract passages from other texts in the *Khuddaka-Nikāya*, resemble passages from the *Mahābhārata*.[95] However, more recent research has revealed that texts in the *Khuddaka-Nikāya* were not originally included among the texts canonised in the early period such as the *Dīgha-Nikāya*, *Majjhima-Nikāya*, *Saṃyutta-Nikaya*, and *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* (see Section 1.2).[96] Indeed, the texts of the *Khuddaka-Nikāya* include numerous tales and passages that circulated broadly in India at the time ("floating literature"). That there is a plethora of common elements between *Khuddaka-Nikāya* texts and the *Mahābhārata* should come as no great surprise; these shared elements would have been a product of the authors of both sets of texts selecting from a common sources of tales and phrases that circulated in ancient India. In other words, there is no certain historical connection between any Buddhist tale in the *Khuddaka-Nikāya* and the *Mahābhārata*. What we can tell, however, is that the *Mahābhārata* was influenced, directly or indirectly, by a Buddhist tale that was included in *Dīgha-Nikāya* and *Majjhima-Nikāya* believed to be canonical from early period and, moreover, was based on Buddhist ideology. This finding implies that the authors of the *Mahābhārata* lived in a social or cultural milieu not too far removed from that of Buddhists.

The findings of this chapter should also prompt a reexamination of the extent to which the Buddhist notion of cakravartin kingship influenced Indian history. Kings with a "cakravartin" appellation feature prominently in non-Buddhist sources such as Jain scriptures and the *Bṛhatkathā*.[97] However, while these cakravartin kings are depicted as supreme overlord over other kings, they did not embody the nonviolent aspect. Given this, the Buddhist notion of cakravartin kingship must have been very limited in its reach, circulating only among Buddhists. As such, the notion must have faded away along with the decline of Buddhism in the Indian subcontinent. Yet, as demonstrated in this study, the chief protagonist of the *Mahābhārata*, Yudhiṣṭhira, is portrayed, in the 14th parvan of the epic as a Buddhistic cakravartin king. Moreover, this nonviolent, benevolent characterisation of Yudhiṣṭhira is upheld, more or less, in later adaptations of the *Mahābhārata*. For example, the *Jaiminīya-Aśvamedha* (JA: ca. 12th century),[98] a popular work in medieval India, has Yudhiṣṭhira give Arjuna the following command when he commissions the latter to guard the horse:

Source 24: JA 14.52cd–53

anāthān dīnavadanān sadvṛttāṃś ca tathaiva ca //

kṛtāñjalīn saśaraṇāṃs tavāsmīti ca vādinaḥ / pitṛhīnān bālakān mā raṇe pātaya māriṣa //

As orphans, those of sorrowful countenance, and those who do good deeds, you should not kill in battle those who join their hands in reverence, those who seek protection, those who say "I am yours," and children who has lost their father, O precious one.

The above passage is from a scene in which, in the original version of the 14th parvan, Arjuna is told that the adversaries are "not to be killed." In this adaptation, we find no such specific commandment. In its place, we find a more general statement of how a warrior should behave (see note 86). Notwithstanding this change, the adaptation retains Yudhiṣṭhira's exhortation to avoid needless bloodshed, and, in this respect, it, more or less, preserves the Buddhist notion of cakravartin king. Historically, Yudhiṣṭhira has often been cited as an ideal ruler.[99] Without wishing to romanticise Yudhiṣṭhira, I would suggest that Yudhiṣṭhira, by embodying the Buddhist notion of cakravartin king, was instrumental in preserving the notion of nonviolent ruler in India for many generations.

7. Conclusion

This study examined ancient Indian sources to shed light on the original concept of cakravartin kingship, the emergence of a Buddhist notion of cakravartin king, and the formulation and dissemination of the cakra-chasing episode, the definitive Buddhist tale of a cakravartin king. The findings are outlined below.

1. In Chapter 2, I cited four lyrical passages from the Pāli Canon that illustrate an early stage in the formation of the Buddhist notion of cakravartin king. I classified two of these sources—Source 1 (Sn 552–557 = Th 822–827) and Source 2 (Th 1234–1237 = SN I, 191–192)—as "older" in that they are among the earliest sources on cakravartin kingship (2.5). These two sources suggest that the word *cakkavatti[n]-* was originally used as an adjective to qualify the referent "king" as being one who "turns the wheels"—i.e., who "moves on a chariot/vehicle." As customarily used, the word tended to connote the idea of a king touring or roaming a vast territory. Crucially, though, during this stage, the word never denoted a Buddhistic cakravartin king, one who rules by the dharma and not by the rod or sword (3.1).

2. The Buddhist notion of cakravartin king is illustrated by Source 4 (AN IV, 90). Up to that point, the word *cakkavatti[n]-* had been used as a modifier for a secular king cited in an allegorical juxtaposition with Gotama Buddha; in Source 4, however, Gotama Buddha becomes amalgamated with this kingly figure, giving rise to a new notion of a cakravartin king, one who rules the whole earth by the dharma and not by military force (2.4). In Chapter 4, I cited prosaic passages from the Pāli Canon that illustrate a further development in the image of cakravartin king. This development produced a number of examples of formulaic phraseology for a cakravartin king (4.1–4.3). With cakravartin king increasingly equated with Buddha, the cakravartin king became increasingly depicted as superhuman; for example, a cakravartin king was described as bearing the same 32 Marks of a Great Man as those attributed to the Buddha (4.2).

3. One of the expressions formularised during the stage described in 2 above was "the seven treasures of the cakravartin king." This formulaic phrase inspired a number of Buddhist tales, each focusing on a specific treasure from among the seven treasures. These tales, which are contained in the Pāli Canon's *Dīgha-Nikāya* and *Majjhima-Nikāya*, include the cakra-chasing episode. The definitive Buddhist tale of a cakravartin king, the cakra-chasing episode adopts the mythos of cakravartin king established in Buddhist scripture and incorporates elements of this mythos at various points in the narrative (5.2). However,

the overall narrative arc of the tale was likely modelled on, or adapted from, the rites of a vedic kingship ritual known as the Aśvamedha (horse sacrifice). The author probably drew on this vedic ritual to reach a wide audience beyond the Buddhist community; by basing the ceremonies in the Aśvamedha that was broadly known in ancient India, the author would have made it easier for such an audience to understand and accept what was, for them, a new ideal of rulership embodied by the cakravartin protagonist (5.3).

4. The cakra-chasing episode, a story authored by Buddhists, became the tacit model for the narrative arc of the horse-chasing episode recorded in the 14th parvan of the *Mahābhārata*. In that parvan, Yudhiṣṭhira acts magnanimously toward the adversaries he vanquished in the war and accommodates them under his rulership. To ensure that the character of Yudhiṣṭhira was commensurate with this storyline, the author(s) of the parvan referred to the cakra-chasing episode demonstrating Buddhist notion of cakravartin king as "magnanimous and nonviolent overlord" in circulation at the time (6).

Notes

1) This book integrates the two articles cited below. Both articles were originally written in Japanese. Here, they have been translated into English with some additions and modifications to the content.

Teshima Hideki. "The Formation of Cakravartin's Figure from its Origin to the Composition of the 'Cakra-Chasing Episode'." *The Zinbun Gakuhō: Journal of Humanities* (Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University) 112: 27–86, 2018. 手嶋英貴「転輪王説話の生成: その始源から「輪宝追跡譚」の成立まで」,『人文學報』（京都大学人文科学研究所）112: 27–86, 2018.

Teshima Hideki. "Yudhisthira's Figure in the 14th Volume of the *Mahābhārata*: In Comparison with the Characteristics of Cakravartin in the Buddhist Texts." *The Zinbun Gakuhō: Journal of Humanities* (Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University) 115: 27–49, 2020. 手嶋英貴「ユディシュティラと仏教的『転輪王』の観念 :『マハーバーラタ』第 14 巻と仏典の転輪王説話との比較」,『人文學報』（京都大学人文科学研究所）115: 27–49, 2020.

2) Among South Indian inscriptions, we can find numerous examples of historical kings being addressed as "cakravartin" (Ramesh, 2012: 270). Khāravela, a king who ruled Kaliṅga (present-day Odisha) in the first or second centuries BCE, was known as "Cakravartin King of Kaliṅga" (Nakamura 1953; G. Yamazaki 1994: 234). Yabuuchi (2007) discussed cakravartin kings who ruled in Sri Lanka while Akagi (2010) discussed such kings who ruled the Kingdom of Khotan and those who ruled other Central Asian kingdoms.

3) Listed below are the key examples of this literature: Wilson (1864: 183), Kern (1882: 27), Senart (1882: 3–9), Jacobi (1910: 336–337), Rhys-Davids (1921: 736–737), Zimmer (1951: 128–139), Fujita (1954), Gonda (1966: 123–128), Norman (1969: 241–242), Armelin (1975: 3–8), Scharfe (1987), Nakamura (1993: 445–458), G. Yamazaki (1994: 98–104).

4) Key examples of ancient Indian literature are introduced in Jacobi (1910). Chapter 3 of the present study includes examples of epics and early Jain scripture. See Shibazaki (1998) for an analysis of the *Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara* and other recensions of the *Bṛhatkathā*. See Sugioka (1993; 1995) and Yamahata (2006) for an analysis of Jain literature.

5) On the relationship between Aśoka and cakravartin kingship, Nakamura (1993: 452–453) argued that, even if the concept of cakravartin kingship had predated the Maurya Empire, it is still much more likely that detailed accounts of rule by dharma emerged only after the empire was founded by Candragupta Maurya and that they were inspired in particular by events in Aśoka's reign. Fujita (1954: 153) traced the cakravartin concept back further than Aśoka but argued that the account was later modified under the influence of Aśoka's reign. In contrast, Bhandarkar (1955: 202–207) argued that Aśoka based his rule on the model of cakravartin king set forth in Buddhist scripture. Similarly, G. Yamazaki (1994: 102–103), suggesting that the answer lies somewhere in the middle, proposed a three-phase historical development: First, the concept of the "supreme overlord" (*samrāj-*) developed during the vedic period. Second, Aśoka, understanding that Buddhists, prior to his reign, had idealised rulers who "turn" (set into motion) the wheel of dharma, sought to embody such an ideal in his own reign. Third, following Aśoka's reign, the idea that a cakravartin king is one "through whom the wheel of dharma turns" developed further, eventually becoming a trope in Buddhist scripture. It should be noted, however, that G. Yamazaki offered no hard evidence or argumentation for this three-phase model; he intended it merely as a perspective that avoids many of the inconsistencies of other perspectives. I limit my own analysis to literary sources that refer directly to the cakravartin kingship, avoiding speculation on whether the concept relates to Aśoka.

6) For the Pāli word *cakkavatti[n]-*, I present both renderings: with the *-in* stem (*cakkavattin-*) and with the *-i* stem (*cakkavatti-*). Instances of the declension in the sources suggest that the latter rendering is correct in some cases. Listed below are some examples in which the nominative singular noun should be rendered with the *-i* stem, as *cakkavatti*, and not with the *-in* stem, as *cakkavattī*: Sn 552; Th 882; SN I, 191; III, 156; V, 44; V, 99; V, 343; AN I, 28; I, 76-77; I, 109-110; I, 302; II, 113; II, 245; III, 147-150; III, 365; V, 22; DN I, 88-89; II, 19; III, 59-64 passim; III, and 142-177 passim. In light of these examples, I adopt the twin rendering as used in the new dictionary of the Pāli Text Society (PTS) : "°-vatti(n)-" (Cone, Margaret, [ed.], *A Dictionary of Pāli, pt. 2. g-n*, Oxford: Pāli Text Society, 2001, p. 92).

7) Of the neologisms with kṛt-suffix *-in-*, many examples take the causative sense. Cf.

Wackernagel & Debrunner, 1954: 342–343).

8) Here and in subsequent instances, I use an asterisk (*) to indicate unattested wordforms that have not been corroborated in the literary sources.

9) The Pāli word *cakkavāḷa-/-vāla-* has its earliest known appearance in the prosaic part (a later interpolation added to the lyrical text; cf. Maeda [1964: 737–739]) of the *Jātaka* tales (Jā I, 53; I, 203; III, 32; VI, 330). Scriptures written in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit are replete with instances of the word *-vāḍa-* (cf. Edgerton 1953: 221). The word *cakravāṭa-* does have an entry in Abhidhānacintāmaṇī (ed. Böhtlingk-Rieu, 4.61), a dictionary compiled by medieval Jain scholar Hemacandra, but example of the word is unseen for me. See Geiger (1916: 56) for more on the phonological transition of *ṭ* into *ḍ* and then into *ḷ*. In that work, Geiger described the morphology of *cakkavāḷa-* as follows (glossing in square brackets is mine): *cakkavāḷa-* "Weltsphäre" JāCo. [= commentary] II. 37[19], Mhvas. [= Mahāvaṃsa] 31. 85 durch *cakkavāṭa aus *cakravarta (skr. *cakravāḍa*, *-vāla*).

10) We do, however, find examples of *acakravarta-* in ĀpŚS 6.3.7 and BhārŚS 6.8.14 (cf. HirŚS 3.7.15: *acakrāvarta-*). In these instances, *acakravarta-* modifies the noun *sthālī-* (earthern plate) used in the Agnihotra ritual. *acakravarta-* serves to specify that the plate was one that was "not made by turning a potting wheel (*cakra-*)." In other words, it tells us that this is a "hand-made" plate. If we do some reverse engineering and remove from *acakravarta-* the negative prefix *a-*, to make *cakravarta-*, this reconstructed word as a bahuvrīhi compound would presumably specify that the plate was "made by turning the potting wheel" (or at least made upon a potting wheel). Either way, it remains the case that Senart's interpretation of *cakravarta-* is unattested.

11) For more on the use of *maṇḍala-* to describe a tributary polity, see MānDhŚ 7.154-156, KAŚ 1.9.1-10, or *Nīti-Sāra* 4.24-429.

12) We do, however, find many instances in early Buddhist texts of the word *pathavimaṇḍala-* ("circle of the earth"), which denoted a geographical expanse of land and, crucially, did not imply any sense of territorial control or ownership (i.e., it did not mean a "kingdom," "domain," "polity," or the like). The sources vary somewhat in how they inflect the first part of this compound (Skt. *pṛthivī-*). The morphological variants include *puthavi-* (Sn 990), *puthuvi-* (Th 674), *paṭhavī-* (SN I 101), *puthuvī-* (AN II 21), and *pathavi-* (IV 90, DN I 134).

13) The Milindapañha contains the words *sācakka-* ("realm of dogs") and *migacakka-* ("realm of beasts") (PTS edition, p. 178). In this context, *cakra-/cakka-* seems to denote a cluster or community of similar things more than it does a kingdom or domain. This is not the only example of *cakra-/cakka-* being used to describe a category or set of kindred things. One other instance is found in the *Bṛhatkathā-Ślokasaṃgraha* 23.120 (ed. Felix Lacôte). The *Bṛhatkathā-Ślokasaṃgraha* is an adaptation of the *Bṛhatkathā*, a no-longer-extant epic. The word appears in the following statement: *tad vidyādharacakrasya cakravartī bhaviṣyati.* "He (Prince

Naravāhanadatta) shall be the cakravartin of the realm of vidyādharas." On the other hand, in *Amarakośa* 3.184, *cakra-* is used to refer to a country (*cakraṃ rāṣṭre 'pi*). Either way, it is not until sometime after the emergence of Pāli literature that we find examples of *cakra-* being used to describe a realm, country, or territory.

14) We can find examples of *vartin-* forming the second part of a compound that functions as a causative verb. One example is found in the Pāli noun *vasavattin-* ("ruler"), where *vasa-* means power or authority. Here, *vattin-* has causative sense. In the following examples, *vatteti*, which is the causative form of the verb √ *vṛt*, means "to bring under control" (to control or rule) while *vattati*, which is non-causative, means "to be under control" (or to be ruled). MN I, 214: *bhikkhu cittaṃ vasaṃ vatteti. no ca bhikkhu cittassa vasena vattati.* "A bhikkhu brings the mind under his control, but he is not controlled by the mind." Jā V, 316: *rājāno attano vase vattetvā.* "having brought kings under [his] own rule." Extending the scope of the analysis to Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, the word *vaśavartin-* means *vaśe vartate* ("to be under control of …"). Cf. PW VI p. 821; BHSD p. 473.

15) Of these instances, Scharfe focused on the following ones: ṚV 2.11.2, in which *cakrá-* refers to discus-like throwing weapon, and ṚV 4.17.14 and 10.89.2, in which it denotes the image of the sun. In a similar analysis of instances of *cakrá-*, Armelin (1975) found instances in which the word refers to a deity: in ṚV 1.32.15 and 10.80.4, it refers to Indra; in ṚV 1.141.9 and 5.13.6, it refers to Agni; and in 8.41.6, it refers to Varuṇa. Gonda cited an even wider range of *cakrá-* examples in the ṚV (Gonda 1966: 124, n.744).

16) *cakrácara-* refers to people involved in wheeled transport in some way, but the precise meaning varies depending on the source: BaudhDhS 3.1.5; MBh 3.83.67, 73; 13.129.43, 47; KAŚ 4.4.3 (Cf. Sakamoto-Goto, forthcoming: note 42).

17) According to Aramaki (1983: 1–3), the most ancient content among all the Pāli Canon is found in the fourth and fifth divisions of the *Sutta-Nipāta*; the second most ancient content is found in the first chapter (titled "Devatā-Saṃyutta") of the Sagatha-Vagga division of the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*; and the third most ancient content is found in the fourth chapter (titled "Māra-Saṃyutta") of said division. It was after these three literary phases, Aramaki suggested, that other lyrical scriptures were compiled, and then the various phases development of prosaic scriptures emerged. Building on Aramaki's work, Namikawa (2005: 10) concurred with Aramaki about the most ancient content, but he added two new sources to the second phase: the 24th chapter (titled "Taṇhā-Vagga") and 26th chapter (titled "Brāhmaṇa-Vagga") of the *Dhammapada*. Namikawa then posited the *Thera-Gāthā* and *Therī-Gāthā* as examples of the third phase but expressed that he had drawn no clear distinction between the second and third phases in his handling of the source material. For more on the development of the early Buddhist canon as a whole, see Mayeda (1964: 619–787).

18) In a Japanese translation by Nakamura (1984: 124), *cakkavatti* modifies *rājā* directly. In contrast, an English translation by Norman (1992: 62) treats *cakkavatti* as a noun phrase separate from *rājā*: "You ought to be a king, a wheel-turning king, a bull among heroes, a conqueror possessing the whole world, the lord of Jambusaṇḍa." However, in Buddhist scriptures, *cakkavatti[n]-* nearly always functions as an adjective modifying *rājan-*. In the rare cases in which it does not, the word forms the front part of a noun compound. One example is *cakkavattivatta-* ("wheel-turning king's work"). In this example, the composite *cakkavatti-* denotes by itself "wheel-turning king" without being accompanied by the noun *rājan-* (DN III, 60–61). Cf. *cakkavattirajja-* ("wheel-turning king's rule") (Jā II, 311).

19) Th 1014 states that Sāriputta succeeded Gotama and kept the wheel of dharma turning. He is also described as a "general of the dharma" (*dammasenāpati-*), using the same word for "general" (*senāpati-*) as used in v. 556 of Source 1 (*ko nu senāpatī bhoto*: "Who, then, is your general"). Another example is SN I, 63–65; this passage is devoted to extolling the virtues of Sāriputta.

20) The word *sattha-* (Skt. *sārtha-*; "caravan") sometimes appears in the Buddhist scriptures. Cf. Sn 899; DN II, 130; 339. The word *satthavāha-* also appears in DN II, 342.

21) The word *amacca-* (Skt. *amātya-*; "minister") denotes civil officials who advise the king, drawing on their knowledge and sagacity. They were clearly distinguished from generals and other military staff. Cf. MānDhŚ 7.157; KAŚ 6.2.13-29; *Nīti-Sāra* 8.1–4.

22) The exact number of bikkhus is often stated as 1,250 (*aḍḍhateḍasa- bhikkhusata-*) (Sn p. 105; DN I, 47; I, 50; II, 53). For more examples, including those in the Vinaya Piṭaka and Chinese Buddhist Canon, see Nishimura (2005: 21–24).

23) References to uposatha day that fall on a full moon (the 15th day of the waxing moon) often collocate with phrases extolling the moon's brightness and purity (Sn 153; SN I, 61; I 190). As well as falling on the 15th day of the waxing moon (*śuklapakṣa-*) and the 15th day of the waning moon (*kṛṣṇapakṣa-*), rites and observances of uposatha is held on the 14th and 8th day of waxing moon and the 14th and 8th day of waning moon (Sn 402; *Therī-Gāthā* 31; SN I, 208–209). For more on the purification rites and other observances performed during uposatha, see Sakamoto-Goto (2018: Chapter 4). See also Nakamura (1984: 328–330) for a brief outline of the festival.

24) The PTS edition renders the word as *manusāsiyā*. I have adopted the *-siya* inflection used in the M6 transcription presented in the footnote, interpreting it as an absolutive. Cf. CSCD: *anusāsi tuṃ*.

25) *Therī-Gāthā* 520 reads: *sattaratanassa mahesī itthiratanaṃ ahaṃ āsiṃ*. "I was the queen of the possessor of seven treasures; [of those treasures] I was [his] lady treasure." Here, the possessor of the seven treasures (*sattaratanassa*) was clearly a king, even if we cannot say whether he was a cakravartin king. Also of note is that the queen (*mahesī-*) describes herself as

the lady treasure (*itthiratana-*), providing a link to the idea of the seven treasures of the cakravartin king. In SN I, 43, we read that, of all the things a ruler possesses, a lady is the most treasured. The Mahāyāna sūtras often use the term "seven treasures" to refer generically to treasure (primarily associated with gold and silver) (cf. Nakamura 2001: 691).

26) According to *Cakkavatti-Sīhanāda-Suttanta* (the 26th sutta of the *Dīgha-Nikāya*), the wheel treasure was not an heirloom automatically passed down from king to king. Rather, a succeeding king earned the wheel treasure by performing the "cakravartin's work" (*cakkavattivatta-*) (DN III, 60-61). Cf. Note 63

27) Although the word **cakravarta-* has been logically inferred and remains unattested, it probably was in actual use given attested examples (as mentioned in Note 10) of *acakravarta-* (in ĀpŚS 6.3.7 and BhārŚS 6.8.14). If *cakravartin-* did indeed modify a human agent, it would have specified that this person "turns the wheels of the vehicle." By extension, it is possible that this, in effect, meant to "turn the wheels" of the vehicle one had mounted or boarded—i.e., to "drive" a vehicle. Admittedly, this is only one possibility since **cakravarta-* remains unattested.

28) We can also find an example of *cakravartin-* in passage from the *Artha-Śāstra* (KAS), which is attributed to Kauṭilya who is said to have been the chief advisor to the king during the early period of the Mauryan dynasty. However, this text is unlikely to have been written before the Common Era, and the information in the text is limited. For these reasons, I have excluded it from the analysis. The passage (KAŚ 9.1.18) reads as follows: *tasyāṃ himavatsamudrāntaram udīcīnaṃ yojanasahasraparimāṇaṃ tiryak cakravartikṣetram* "Of the portion of it [the earth] that stretches a thousand yojanas wide across the northern part of the earth, from the Himālayas to the ocean, there is the land of cakravartin (*cakravartikṣetram*)." The meaning of *cakravartikṣetra-* in this example is unclear. It can probably be interpreted as "land ruled by (or dominion of) the cakravartin." Even if we do not know the exact distance denoted by "a thousand yojanas," we can assume that this cakravartin king ruled a vast territory.

29) For more on the layers of antiquity in the MaitU, see Buitenen (1962). See Tsuji (1970: 45–46) for basic information about the history of the compilation. Tsuji summarised theories on the historicity of this Upanishad (Tsuji 1970: 144). As part of this summary, Tsuji noted that A. Weber and L. Schroeder, among others, had suggested a Buddhist influence on the text. However, Tsuji dismissed this influence.

30) Outlined below is basic information on the 15 personages based on Mani (1975) and Dikshitar (1951–1955). In this summary, P indicates "Parvan" while Pu indicates "Purāṇa."
– Sudyumna: 1) The son of Manu Cākṣa (Viṣṇu-Pu 1.13); 2) Born a woman, he later became a male king (MBh Sabhā-, Śānti-P).
– Bhūridyumna: 1) A king in the assembly of Yāma, the first heaven (MBh Sabhā-, Anuśāsana-

71

P); 2) A sage who traveled to Hastināpura as a peace envoy; 3) The son of Vīradyumna (MBh Śānti-P).

– Indradyumna: Born into the Svāyambhuva Manu dynasty, Indradyumna was king of Pāṇḍya (MBh Vana-P).

– Kuvalayāśva: The son of Bṛhadaśva (Bhāgavata-Pu 9.6.21–23).

– Yauvanāśva: As the son of Yuvanāśva of the Ikṣvāku dynasty, Yauvanāśva was a Māndhātā (MBh Śānti-, Anuśāsana-P; Padma-Pu 59).

– Vadhryaśva: Referred to as Vaddhryaśva in Matsya-Pu 195.42.

– Aśvapati: King of Madra and father of the maiden Sāvitrī (MBh Vana-P).

– Śaśabindu (Śaravindu): Son of Duṣyanta and king of the Bharatas (Bhāgavata-Pu 9).

– Hariścandra: 1) Son of Triśaṅku of the Ikṣvāku dynasty (Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa); 2) An ancient king (Padma-Pu, Uttarakhaṇḍa 32).

– Ambarīṣa: A king of the Ikṣvāku dynasty (Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa 61).

– Nanaktu: Unknown.

– Saryāti (Śaryāti): Son of Manu Vaivasvata (MBh Sabhā-, Vana-, Anuśāsana-P).

– Yayāti: A king of the Candravaṁśa dynasty (MBh Ādi-, Vana-, Udyoga-P).

– Anāraṇya: A king of the Ikṣvāku dynasty (MBh Ādi-, Anuśāsana-P).

– Ukṣasena: Unknown (possibly the same person as Ugrasena, the father of Kaṁsa).

– Marutta: A king who lived in the time of Kṛtayuga (MBh Āśvamedhika-P).

– Bharata: The son of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā and progenitor of the Bharatas (MBh Ādi-P).

31) Another example of the word describing a chariot-riding archer can be found in GautDhS 10.15: "And a military action with chariots and bows [is to be executed]" (*caryā ca rathadhanurbhyām*). See Singh (1965: 31) for more on chariot tactics in ancient India.

32) See G. Yamazaki (1994: 131–160) for more on the mores of kingship in the *Mahābhārata*. In pages 144 to 146, G. Yamazaki focuses on content in MBh 12.1–128, the verses in Rājadharmānuśāsana-Parvan ("Book of Teaching on king's duties"), which is a sub-book of Śānti-Parvan (Book of Peace), the 12th book of the *Mahābhārata*. His analysis reveals that expanding the kingdom and waging war were considered two of the duties of kings. See pages 141 and 142 of the book for more on the kingly duty of performing vedic kingship rituals, including the Aśvamedha.

33) The instances are in Utt 11.22, 13.4, 18.36–38, and Isi 28.23. (I referred to information of Yamazaki & Ousaka, 1999.) In each case, *cakkavaṭṭin-* functions as a standalone noun and collocates with the modifier *mahiḍḍi-*, meaning "possessing great virtues" (not that *mahiḍḍi-* itself always collocates with *cakkavaṭṭin-*; it can modify other nouns too). In Utt 18.36–38, *cakkavaṭṭin-* appears in a list (vv. 34–51) of ordained kings; three of the kings (Maghavan, Sanatkumāra, and Śānti) are described as cakravartins (cf. Charpentier, 1922: 344–346). For

more on the examples in the Uttarajjhāyā, see Charpentier (1922: 107, 115, 140, 321, 344–345) and M. Yamazaki (1981: 41; 1983: 255; 1984: 23, 29). See Schubring (1969: 30) for more on examples in the *Isibhāsiyāiṃ*. According to Jain scriptures, a number of predecessors (*titthagara-*, Skt. *tīrthakara-*) ruled as cakravartin kings prior to their ordination (cf. Schubring, 1935: 18–21). See Sugioka (1993; 1995) and Yamahata (2006) for research on cakravartin kings who were ordained as Jain monks.

34) Chapter 14 of the *Samavāyaṅga*, as cited in Sugioka (1995), describes the 14 treasures as follows: 1) the lady treasure (*itthī-rayaṇa-*); 2) the general treasure (*seṇāvati-*); 3) the house-holder treasure (*gāhvati-*); 4) the chief-priest treasure (*purohita-*); 5) master-carpenter treasure (*vaḍḍhai-*); 6) the horse treasure (*āsa-*); 7) the elephant treasure (*hatthi-*); 8) the sword treasure (*asi-*); 9), the baton treasure (*daṃḍa-*); 10) the wheel treasure (*cakka-*); 11) the umbrella treasure (*chatta-*); 12) the leather treasure (*camma-*); 13) the maṇi treasure (*maṇi-*); and 14) the cowry treasure (*kāgaṇi-*). Cf. Charpentier (1922: 321), Schubring (1935: 19–20).

35) The four virtues were 1) an attractive appearance, 2) a long lifespan, 3) immunity from disease and disaster, and 4) being loved by brahmins and wealthy men (MN III, 176–177; DN II, 145–146).

36) From the time of the *Ṛgveda* onward, we find a number of examples of the word *rathesṭhā́-* (or *-sṭhá-*). In these instances, it generally functions as an adjective specifying that a warrior is one who "standing on a chariot" (cf. ṚV 1.173.4–5, 2.17.3, 6.21.1, 6.22.5). Similarly, *rathín-* (literally, "one who has a chariot") denotes a warrior who "riding on a chariot" (Cf. ṚV 5.83.3, 6.47.31, 8.4.9, 10.40.5; TS 5.2.2.3; ŚB 8.7.3.7; Macdonell & Keith, 1912 II: 206–207).

37) Early texts from the Pāli Canon feature the following episode, which was established in Sn 303 and SN I 76.

Sn 302–303: *te tattha mante ganthetvā okkākaṃ tad upāgamuṃ pahūtadhanadhañño si yajassu bahu te vittaṃ yajassu bahu te dhanaṃ. Tato ca rājā saññatto brāhmaṇehi rathesabho assamedhaṃ purisamedhaṃ sammāpāsaṃ vācapeyyaṃ niraggaḷaṃ ete yāge yajitvāna brāhmaṇānaṃ adā dhanaṃ.* "302. Having composed mantras, they (the brahmins) went to King Okkāka, saying, 'You have much wealth and grain. Sacrifice! Great is your property. Sacrifice! Vast is your wealth.' 303. The king, bull (hero) on the chariot, persuaded by the brahmins, performed the sacrifices of Assamedha (horse sacrifice), Purisamedha (human sacrifice), Sammāpāsa (the throwing of a sacrificial peg), and Niraggala (the unbolting, viz. Sabbamedha "all sacrifice"), and gave the brahmins wealth.

Of the above sacrifices, Sammāpāsa (*sammāpāsa-*: the throwing of a sacrificial peg) formed part of the Rājasūya, a royal consecration ceremony. *niraggaḷa-* (Skt. *nirargala-* [*argala-* "bolt, pin"]) denoted unlimited almsgiving (hence, the reference to unbolting one's stores). In the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit source *Lalitavistara* (21, 40–42), the word has two renderings:

nirgaḍa- and *nirargaḍa-*. In the Chinese Buddhist Canon, Niraggala seems to have been translated as 無遮會 (Ch. *Wú-zhē-huì*, Jp. *Mu-sha-e*) and 開門 (Ch. *Kāi-mén*, Jp. *Kai-mon*). In 佛本行集經 (Ch. Fó-Běnxíngjí-jīng, Jp. Butsu-Hongyōjitsu-kyō), the former translation appears in the phrase 汝昔施一無遮會 and 我昔祭祀無遮會 (both T 3: 791a). In 佛本行經 (Ch. Fó-Běnxíng-jīng, Jp. Butsu-Hongyō-kyō), the latter translation appears in phrases 吾祀大開門 (T 4:78a) and 於此地開門大祀. Thus, the two words were probably Chinese translations of Niraggala (cf. Hara 2010: 349, note 40). Scholars have expressed uncertainty over what the Niraggala ritual actually involved, but it was probably like a vedic royal sacrifice known as Sarvamedha (*sarvamedha-*) or a similar sacrifice, in which the king would sacrifice all manner of living beings and donate all his wealth to the officiants (cf. Teshima 2014). If so, then the sacrifices listed in v. 303 above correspond, more or less, to the royal sacrifices mentioned in epics. MBh 14.3.8: *rājasūyāśvamedhau ca sarvamedhaṃ ca bhrāta naramedhaṃ ca nṛpate tvam āhara yudhiṣṭhira.* "O descendant of Bharata: the Rājasūya, the Aśvamedha, the Sarvamedha, and the Puruṣamedha —perform these sacrifices, O Yudhishthira."

38) MānŚS 7.1.2.23–26: 23. *uttarataś cātvālasya rathākṣam nighnanti. 24. tasmin rathacakram pratimuñcaty audumbaraṁ saptadaśāram. … 26. devasta tvā savituḥ prasave satyasavaso varṣiṣṭhaṃ nākaṁ ruheyam iti brahmā rathacakram āruhya pradakṣiṇam trir +āvartayati+* (ed. van Gelder: *āvadhyati*). "23. One thrusts a chariot axle into the ground on the northern side of the cātvāra hole. 24. To this (axle), one fixes a wheel with seventeen spokes made of udumbara wood. … 26. The Brahman priest mounts the chariot wheel, saying, "In stimulation by God Savitar, the encourager of truth, I shall ascend to the highest heaven!" and went round the wheel thrice in a clockwise direction." Cf. MS 1.11.1 (162, 5); TB 1.3.6.1; ŚB 5.1.5.2; BaudhŚS 11.8 (77,5–6); ĀpŚS 18.4.3; HirŚS 13.1.53; VaikhŚS 245.3-4; Sparreboom (1985: 41–42, 65). This ritual was modelled on Agnyādhāna, a ceremony for arranging the sacrificial fire used in śrauta rituals. During the ceremony, a chariot was driven or wheel rolled to the place of the fire, from the southern to eastern side of the ritual site. MānŚS 1.5.4.9 & 16: 9. *dakṣiṇato brahmā rathaṁ vartayati rathacakraṁ vā* … 16. *sapatnavato bhrā́tṛvyavato vā rathacakraṁ vihāre triḥ parivartayet.* "9. The Brahman priest should drive a chariot or roll a chariot wheel from the south. … 16. One who has rival or enemy should roll the chariot wheel thrice on the ritual site. Cf. Krick (1982: 293, 326–327, 336, 380); Sparreboom (1985: 65); Sakamoto-Goto (forthcoming: section 6, note 133).

39) Cf. TS5. 4.11.2: *rathacakracítaṃ cinvīta bhrā́tṛvyavān, vájro vái rátho, vájram evá bhrā́tṛvyebhyaḥ prá harati.* "Whosoever has an enemy should build an altar of [shape of] chariot wheel. The chariot is a vajra. Thus, [the sacrificer] throw the vajra at his foe." Cf. *Āpastamba-Śulba-Sūtra* 12.11. In Sources 12 and 13 (to be discussed later), we read that no adversary can turn back the wheel (*cakra-*) of a cakravartin king. AN III, 148: *taṃ hoti cakkaṃ appaṭivattiyaṃ*

kenaci manussabhūtena paccatthikena pāṇinā. "And the wheel cannot be turned back by the hand of any mortal foe."

40) As discussed in the next chapter, in the prosaic portion preceding the verses in Sn p. 106, Formulaic Phraseology A co-occurs with the concept of the 32 Marks of the Buddha—marks present only in a cakravartin king or the Buddha. The reference in Sn p. 106 to these 32 marks indicates that, at the time the text was composed, the Buddha and cakravartin kings had come to be regarded as superhuman figures. This, in turn, implies that Sn p. 106 was a later interpolation. Like p. 106, the verses in Sn 1000–1003 state that one bearing the 32 marks becomes only a cakravartin king or the Buddha. These verses, likewise, were probably a later interpolation, as evidenced by the fact that the portion of Sn 976–1031 (where these verses are found) are not covered in the Cullaniddesa, an ancient commentary.

41) The PTS edition renders this word as *anekasattakkhattuṃ*. However, in a note, the text mentions that this is read as *anekasata-* in the manuscripts M, Ph, M6, and S. CSCD indicates the same reading.

42) Nishimura (2005) discusses examples from the early Pāli Canon to the Mahayana Canon of references to the "thousand sons" of a cakravartin king, "thousand bhikkhus" of the Buddha, and the concept that emerged from such: the "thousand Buddhas."

43) The word "lady treasure" (*itthiratana-*) appears in *Therī-Gāthā* 520 (cf. note 25). The other six treasures, with the exception of the maṇi, appear in the context of kingship but are never stated as the such-and-such "treasure" (*ratana-*). The maṇi treasure (*maṇiratana-*) is depicted in a Jaggayyapeta relief dated to the middle of the last century BCE and in an Amaravati (in Tamil Nadu) relief dated to the second century of the Common Era. In both cases, the maṇi is sculpted as a "cuboid" object fixed upon a pillar. This seems counterpart to the wheel treasure also sculpted as object fixed upon a pillar. Miyaji (2010: 278–293) includes photos and commentary on cakravartin-related reliefs in Southern India. Cf. Zin (2003: 340–350).

44) The following passages from the Pāli Canon provide detailed descriptions of the 32 marks: MN II, 136–137; DN II, 17–19. The 32 marks have long garnered attention among scholars for how they overlap with the characteristics of the Buddha, and they also provide a valuable clue for those tracing the evolution of the image of cakravartin kingship (cf. Takahara, 1972; Seki, 1985; Okada, 1996). However, they ought to be examined in relation to the trend of treating the Buddha as superhuman. This issue falls outside the scope of this book and so will be dealt with on a future occasion. For more on the 32 marks, see Nakamura (2001: 580–581). For the origin and characteristics of the uṣṇīṣa mark in particular (*uṇhīsa-sīsa-*, Skt. *uṣṇīṣa-śīrṣa-*), see Sakamoto-Goto (forthcoming: section 6).

45) Sako (1996) gathered textual accounts of lesser kings subjecting themselves to a cakravartin king and contextualised each account from a social history perspective. Cf. note 75.

46) The five constituents, omitted above, are as follows (AN III, 148): *katamehi pañcahi. idha bhikkhave rājā cakkavattī atthaññū ca hoti dhammaññū ca mattaññū ca kālaññū ca parisaññū ca.* "What are the five [which he possesses]? In this world, O bhikkhus, a cakravartin king knows profit, knows dharma, knows measure, knows time, and knows the people."

47) The five dharmas of one who is a Tathāgata, Arahant, and Sammāsambuddha (perfectly enlightened) are as follows (AN III, 148): *katamehi pañcahi. idha bhikkhave tathāgato arahaṃ sammāsambuddho atthaññū ca hoti dhammaññū ca mattaññū ca kālaññū ca parisaññū ca.* "What are the five [which he possesses]? In this world, O bhikkhus, one who is Tathāgata, Arahant, and Sammāsambuddha knows profit, knows dharma, knows measure, knows time, and knows the people."

48) The five constituents are the same as those associated with a cakravartin king.

49) The five dharmas are the same as those associated with one who is Tathāgata, Arahant, and Sammāsambuddha.

50) A Chinese translation of a recension of this text exists in the Chinese Buddhist Canon: 轉輪聖王修行經 (Ch. *Zhuànlún shengwáng xiūxíng jīng*, Jp. *Tenrin jō'ō shugyō kyō*), in T 1: 39b–40a.

51) Aside from these, Nakano (1956) presents other cakravartin-related sources, including minor transmissions. Tanabe (1997: 122–149) discusses variants of major narratives.

52) Hokazono (1978) discusses differences between northern and southern legends about the seven treasures. For an outline of the legends, see Jacobi (1910: 336–337) and Rhys-Davids (1921: 736).

53) The *Mahāsudassana-Suttanta* relates that Kusinārā, the location where Gotama Buddha passed away, was once the capital of a cakravartin king named Mahāsudassana. After relating the events of King Mahāsudassana's reign, including the cakra-chasing episode, the sutta reveals that this king was none other than Gotama himself. In the northern tradition, this sutta corresponds, in the Chinese Buddhist Canon, with 遊行經 (Ch. *Yóuxíng-jīng*, Jp. *Yugyō-kyō*) in 長阿含 (Ch. *Cháng-āhán*, Jp. *Chō-agon*; contained in T 1: 21b–23c) and, in the Sanskrit Buddhist Canon, with pages 14 and 15 of the *Lalitavistara* (ed. Lefmann). Cf. Tanabe (1997: 122–149).

54) The Chinese *Dīrgha-Āgama*, 長阿含 (Ch. *Cháng-āhán*, Jp. *Chō-agon*), includes a Chinese translation of a recension of this text: 轉輪聖王修行經 (Ch. *Zhuànlún shengwáng xiūxíng jīng*, Jp. *Tenrin jō'ō shugyō kyō*). The translation is contained in T 1: 39b–40a.

55) The main difference in content concerns the scene in which the king sprinkles water on the wheel (Source 14 B). In the MSS and CSS, the scene is worded as follows: *uṭṭhāy' āsanā vāmena hatthena bhiṅkāraṃ gahetvā <u>ekaṃsaṃ uttarāsaṅgaṃ karitvā</u> dakkhiṇena hatthena cakkaratanaṃ abbhukkirati*, but the BPS version cited here omits the underlined part (a note in

the PTS edition of the BPS mentions that the *uṭṭhāy' āsanā*, which is present immediately before the underlined phrase in this text, is itself absent from the manuscript S^k).

56) The exact word arrangement "*rājan- khattiya- muddhāvasitta-*" appears in SN I, 100–101. The word *muddhāvasitta-* (Skt. *mūrdhāvasikṭa-*) means that the referent king has been enthroned and anointed and so, we may assume, is the legitimate king. In vedic tradition, a new king would be enthroned, inaugurated, and consecrated in a ceremony known as the Rājasūya, the central ritual of which involved anointing (*abhiṣeka-*). For more on the anointing, see Heesterman (1957: 114–122).

57) The five constituents of a head-anointed king are equated with the five dharmas of a bhikkhu as follows (AN III, 51–152):

> *pañcahi bhikkhave aṅgehi samannāgato rājā khattiyo muddhāvasitto yassaṃ yassaṃ disāyaṃ viharati, sakasmiṃ yeva vijite viharati. katamehi pañcahi. idha bhikkhave rājā khattiyo muddhāvasitto ubhato sujāto hoti mātito ca pitito ca saṃsuddhagahaṇiko yāva sattamā pitāmahayugā, akkhitto anupakuṭṭho jātivādena. aḍḍho hoti mahaddhano mahābhogo paripuṇṇakosakoṭṭhāgāro. balavā kho pana hoti caturaṅginiyā senāya samannāgato assavāya ovādapaṭikarāya. parināyako kho pan'assa hoti paṇḍito vyatto medhāvī paṭibalo atītānāgatapaccuppanne atthe cintetuṃ. tass'ime cattāro dhammā yasaṃ paripācenti. so iminā yasapañcamena dhammena samannāgato yassaṃ yassaṃ disāyaṃ viharati, sakasmiṃ yeva vijite viharati. taṃ kissa hetu. evaṃ h'etaṃ bhikkhave hoti vijitāvīnaṃ. evam eva kho bhikkhave pañcahi dhammehi samannāgato bhikkhu yassaṃ yassaṃ disāyaṃ viharati, vimuttacitto viharati. katamehi pañcahi. idha bhikkhave bhikkhu sīlavā hoti, pātimokkhasaṃvarasaṃvuto viharati, ācāragocarasampanno, anumattesu vajjesu bhayadassāvī, samādāya sikkhati sikkhāpadesu, rājā 'va khattiyo muddhāvasitto jātisampanno*

O bhikkhus, a head-anointed king of the kṣatriya class, endowed with the five constituents, shall ever dwell in his own realm, in whatsoever region he dwells. What are these five [which he possesses]? In this world, O bhikkhus, a head-anointed king of the kṣatriya class [1] is well born on both his mother and father's side, being of impeccable, irrefutable breeding back to the seventh paternal generation, leaving no question as to his lineage; [2] he is rich, possessing manifold possessions and riches, with full storehouses; [3] and verily he is mighty, endowed with a fourfold army, obedient and swift in performing as he commands; and [4] his counsellor is astute, sagacious, intelligent, and competent, able to consider how actions may benefit the past, present, and future; these four principles magnify his fame. And endowed also with [5] fame, he shall ever dwell in his own realm, in whatsoever region he dwells. Why is that so? O bhikkhus, it is ever so for victors. In like manner, O bhikkhus, a bhikkhu endowed with the five dharmas shall ever dwell with an emancipated mind, in

whatsoever region he dwells. What are these five [which he possesses]? In this world, O bhikkhus, a bhikkhu [1] observes ethical commandments; [2] lives according to monastic precepts; [3] conducts himself well and in the right places; [4] sees peril in the slightest of errors; and [5] takes admonition in his learning. In these respects, he is like a head-anointed king of the kṣatriya class of impeccable lineage.

58) See Sakamoto-Goto (2001: 957–956 = 84–85) for an in-depth discussion of the meaning of *komudiyā cātumāsiniyā*. To summarise Sakamoto-Goto's thesis, adjective *cātumāsinī-* which modifies noun *komudī-*, the day of the full moon in the autumnal month of Kattika, rather than denoting " belonging to the fourth month of rainy season" as traditionally supposed, denote "relating to the Cātumāsyas (vedic seasonal rituals held every four months)." Each of the Cātumāsya rites held in conjunction with one of three quadrimestral rites held on a full-moon day: the one in spring was called Vaiśvadeva, the one in the rainy season Varuṇapraghāsa, and the one in autumn Sākhamedha. Series of the three rites is completed by Śunāsīrīya rite. According to this thesis, the autumnal *cātumāsinī-* mentioned in Source 15 would presumably have been the third quadrimestral rite, the Sākhamedha. See Einoo (1988) for an in-depth discussion of the rituals performed during Cāturmāsyas (the *sākhamedha* is discussed on pages 147 to 299). For a briefer overview, see Keith (1925: 321–323).

59) Waddel (1914: 554–555) interpreted the wheel treasure as symbolising the full moon on the basis that it appears on the day of the full moon. Rhys-Davids (1921: 736) interpreted it as a symbol of the solar deity on the basis of its disc shape, arguing that this signified that even the solar deity was under the Buddhist dharma. Fujita (1954: 146–147), like Rhys-Davids, deemed the wheel treasure a solar symbol.

60) It is possible that the king's ascension to the lofty palace carried no implicit significance but was simply meant to draw a parallel between King Ajātasattu and King Bimbisāra's encounters with Gotama, both kings having happened to meet Gotama at the top of the lofty palace. Ajātasattu took the throne after killing his father, Bimbisāra. Yet, in the sutta, this patricidal, regicidal protagonist encounters and takes refuge in (becomes a follower of) Gotama Buddha just as his father did. If we suppose that the lofty palace ascent scene provides an implicit point of connection between the father and son, then perhaps it was incorporated into the cakra-chasing episode as a formulaic scene preceding the king's encounter with the Buddha (as represented by the wheel treasure). Alternatively, perhaps the king ascends the lofty palace in the story because the lofty palace, being high up and close to heaven, provides a suitable setting for the king to undergo a religious epiphany.

61) The cakra-chasing episode is notable for citing the eight precepts in a gerundive form. The Pāli Canon contains only a few instances in which precepts of this nature are listed in gerundive whereas the Jain scriptures frequently list such precepts in gerundive. Cf. *Āyāraṅga* 17.19–

20,18.19, 19.2–3.

62) Of the eight precepts listed in Source 17, lay followers were expected to observe the first five. These five became formularised as the Five precepts. The cakra-chasing episode is notable for adding to the Five precepts a sixth, the one about eating. Perhaps there were no clear rules at the time as to which of the eight precepts lay followers should observe on a daily basis (cf. Takagi 1981: 10–12). See Sakamoto-Goto (2018: Chapter 4) and Nakamura (2001: 1434) for more on uposatha in its meaning of observances.

63) DN III, 60: *mā kho tvaṃ tāta dibbe cakkaratane antarahite anattamano ahosi anattamanatañ ca paṭisaṃvedesi. na hi te tāta dibbaṃ cakkaratanaṃ pettikaṃ dāyajjaṃ. Iṅgha tvaṃ tāta ariye cakkavattivatte vattāhi.* "My son, be you neither aggrieved nor offended at the disappearance of the wheel treasure, for the divine wheel treasure, my son, is no heirloom bequeathed by your fathers to you. Now, my son, perform you the exalted work of a cakravartin king."

64) Cf. Sakamoto-Goto (forthcoming: Section 6, note 182). See also af Edholm (2017), who, while never discussing the wheel treasure as such, discusses the process by which the *xvarənah-*concept spread from ancient Iran to India.

65) BaudhŚS 15.1 [204, 1]: *aśvamedhena yakṣyamāno bhavati rājā vijitī sārvabhaumaḥ.* "The victorious king ruling whole the earth wants to perform the Aśvamedha." Cf. ĀpŚS 20.1.1.

66) They were stated in ŚB 13.1.6.2, which reads as follows: *śatáṃ vái tálpyā rājaputrá́ áśāpālās tébhya evàinaṃ pári dadāti.* "The guardians of the quarters are a hundred princes born in wedlock. Thus, he (sacrificer) commits it (the horse) to them (the princes)."

67) For more on the relationship between the sacrificial horse and the sun in Aśvamedha, see the introduction to Dumont (1927), particularly pages XII to XIII.

68) The *Atharvaveda Śaunaka* contains a passage in which a vedic student (*brahmacārín-*) is equated with the sun (AVŚ 11.5.6c): *sá sadyá eti pú́rvasmād úttaraṃ samudrám* "He in the same day went from the east[ern sea] to the northern sea." In the *Atharvaveda Paippalāda*, it reads (AVP 16.153.6c): *sá sadyá eti pú́rvād aparáṃ samudrám.* "He on the same day went from the east[ern sea] to western sea." Cf. Kajihara (1995: 1051 = 2). The RV 1.163.1 contains a passage in which a horse symbolising the sun rises from the sea (*udyán samudrá́t*).

69) The passage cited here corresponds to 11.8.3–10 (pp. 297–298) of the Chaubey's edition and Nr. 75 (pp. 180–181 = *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 363–364) of the Caland (1926). The loosing of the horse and the commissioning of the guardians are also described in BaudhŚS 15.7 (212, 6–213, 1), ĀpŚS 20.5.9–18, and HirŚS 14.1.45–48.

70) The meaning of this dietary commandment is unclear. No such stipulation is found elsewhere in the vedic literature.

71) The act performed on the wheel treasure differs between the Pāli Canon and the Chinese Canon of the northern tradition. In the Chinese Canon of the northern tradition, the protagonist

sometimes urges the wheel to go forth. In most cases, however, the protagonist rubs the wheel. The following examples are all variants of the phrase "rubbed the golden wheel with his right hand": 右手摩拭金輪 (遊行經 [Ch. *Yóuxíng-jīng*, Jp. *Yugyō-kyō*] in 長阿含 [Ch. *Cháng-āhán*, Jp. *Chō-agon*], in T 1: 21b–23c; 右手摩捫金輪 (轉輪聖王修行經 [Ch. *Zhuànlún shengwáng xiūxíng jīng*, Jp. *Tenrin jō'ō shugyō kyō*] in 長阿含, T 1:21b; the 轉輪王品 [Ch. *Zhuǎnlún wáng pǐn*, Jp. *Tenrin-ō bon*] section of the 世記經 [Ch. *Shìjì-jīng*, Jp. *Seiki-kyō*], 長阿含, T 1:119c); 右手捫摸輪寶 (Part 2 of 起世經 [Ch. *Qǐshì-jīng*, Jp. *Kisei-kyō*], T 24:317b); 以右手捫彼天輪寶 (Part 2 of 起世因本經 [Ch. *Qǐshìyīnběn-jīng*, Jp. *Kisei-inhon-kyō*], T 25:372c). Additionally, one source has the protagonist rub the wheel with his left and roll it with his right: 以左手撫輪右手轉之 (大天㮈經 [Ch. *Dàtiānnà-jīng*, Jp. *Daitennarin-kyō*], 14th scroll of the 中阿含 [Ch. *Zhōng-āhán*, Jp. *Chū-agon*], T 26:512a). Another source has him hold the wheel in his left and spin it with his right: 即以兩手承金輪寶著左手中右手旋轉 (27th scroll of the 雜阿含經 [Ch. *Zá-āhán-jīng*, Jp. *Zō-agon-kyō*], T 99:194a). One vedic ritual text, the VārŚS (3.4.1.28–29), states that the sacrificial horse in the Aśvamedha is rubbed when its fetters are loosed: *agnaye svāhā ity anuvākam āvartayan aśvaṃ mārjayaty aśvastokyābhiḥ. 29. vibhūr mātrā ity aśvam avasṛjati.* "[The Adhvaryu priest] make the sacrificer rub the horse while making him utter the anuvāka "For Agni Svāhā!" (MS 3.12.2). He unfetters the horse, saying, "Mighty by your mother you are …" Hokazono (1978: 26–27) presents a table comparing the differences between the sources, including with respect to the act performed on the wheel treasure.

72) An early Pāli scriptural reference to the fourfold army is found in SN I, 82–83 (cf. Note 55; AN III, 151). Additionally, SN I, 72–73, contains descriptions of the four divisions—elephants, cavalry, charioteers, and infantry.

73) Cf. TB 3.8.9.4: *párā vấ eṣá sicyate, yó 'baló 'śvamedhéna yájate, yád amítrā áśvaṃ vindéran, hanyétāsya yajñaḥ.* "If one were to perform the Aśvamedha without possessing royal sway, he shall be swept far away. Were an enemy to capture the horse, the sacrifice would be in vain." SB 13.3.8.6: *yády amítrā áśvaṃ vindéran yádi vā mriyéta yádi vāpsv ànyám ānấya prókṣeyuḥ saiva tátra prấyaścittiḥ.* "If an enemy were to capture the horse, or if [the horse] should perish or [fall] into water, fetch you another horse and sprinkle it. That shall be a rite of atonement."

74) The passage cited here corresponds to 11.8.1–18 (pp. 298) of the Chaubey edition and Nr. 69 (p. 172 = *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 355) of the Caland (1926) edition.

75) Only in the following instances does the word *paṭirājan-* occur in the context of the cakra-chasing episode: MN III, 173, 1&7 (BPS); DN II, 173, 3, 12, 24; 174, 3 (MSS); DN III, 62, 13; 63, 7 (CSS). In Chinese translations of the northern tradition, the kings the cakravartin king encounters in the four directions are described as "lesser kings" (小王 Ch. *Xiǎo wáng*, Jp. *Shō ō*) or "lesser national kings" (小國王 Ch. *Xiǎo guówáng*, Jp. *Shō kokuō*): The 轉輪王品 [Ch.

Zhuǎnlún wáng pǐn, Jp. *Tenrin-ō bon*] section of the 世記經 [Ch. *Shìjì-jīng*, Jp. *Seiki-kyō*] in the 長阿含 (Ch. *Cháng-āhán*, Jp. *Chō-agon*), T 1:119c; The 轉輪聖王修行經 (Ch. *Zhuànlún shengwáng xiūxíng jīng*, Jp. *Tenrin jō'ō shugyō kyō*) in the 長阿含, T 1:40a; The 大天㮈經 (Ch. *Dàtiānnà-jīng*, Jp. *Daitennarin-kyō*), 14th scroll of the 中阿含 [Ch. *Zhōng-āhán*, Jp. *Chū-agon*], T 26:512a; The 27th scroll of the 雜阿含經 (Ch. *Zá-āhán-jīng*, Jp. *Zō-agon-kyō*), T 99:194ab. In other cases, it is translated simply as "king" (王 Ch. *Wáng*, Jp. *Ō*) or "national kings" (國王 Ch. *Guówáng*, Jp. *Kokuō*): Part 3 of the 大樓炭經 (Ch. *Dàlóutàn-jīng*, Jp. *Dairōtan-kyō*), T 23:290c; Part 2 of the 起世經 (Ch. *Qǐshì-jīng*, Jp. *Kisen-kyō*), T 24:317bc, 318a; Part 2 of 起世因本經 (Ch. *Qǐshìyīnběn-jīng*, Jp. *Kiseinhon-kyō*), T 25:372c, 373a. The source word for these Chinese terms is unclear, but if they were indeed translated from the Sanskrit *pratirājan-* (or from an equivalent word in another Indic dialect), it would mean that the translators opted for the same translation word they used for *kuḍḍarājān-/kuṭṭarājān-*. In the Sanskrit *Lalitavistara*, the expression used for the kings is *rājāno maṇḍalinaḥ,* "kings possessing territories" (LV 3 [ed. Lefmann], p. 15, ll. 2&7). See Sako (1996) for more on Buddhist scriptural references to kings who submit to the cakravartin king.

76) See *Zoku Shintō Taikei: Jinja hen: Togakushi*, 『續神道大系 神社編 戸隠（一）』(Tokyo: Shintō Taikei Hensankai, 2001, pp. 45‑46); Sonehara (2001: 8–24) for an overview of the research on Jōin and the content of *Tenrin jō'ō shō*.

77) The text of the *Mahābhārata* is thought to have been developed over a long period. Scholars have estimated that its compilation lasted from the 4th century BCE until the 4th century of the Common Era (cf. Hopkins 1901: 397–398, Winternitz 1908: 401–403, Buitenen 1973: xiii-xv, Brockington 1998: 131). See de Jong (1984) for an overview of the theories about the chronology (particularly, see pages 8 to 11 for the 4th BCE – 4th CE theory, which remains the prevailing theory).

78) Pāṇḍu's faux pas was as follows according to MBh 1.109: One day, while out hunting, Pāṇḍu fired arrows at a pair of serows who were copulating. It transpired that the male serow was the ascetic ascetic Kiṃdama, who had taken the guise of the beast because he wanted to make love. In his dying breathe, Kiṃdama cursed Pāṇḍu such that the latter would die were he ever to make love to a woman. Because of the curse, Pāṇḍu decided to abstain from any sexual relations with women.

79) Other than the epithet *dharmarājan-*, Yudhiṣthira was named *dharmātman-* ("one who embodies the dharma"), *dharmaputra-*, and *dharmaja-* (both variants of "child of Dharma"). See Baily (2014: 171–177) and McGrath (2017: 53–58) for a brief discussion on the names of Yudhiṣthira.

80) See Fitzgerald (2004a: 114–123) for an analysis of the concept of dharma as represented in Aśoka-related engravings. From that analysis, Fitzgerald concluded that Aśoka cared little for

vedic rituals and the interests of the brahmins; he placed more importance upon Buddhist precepts such as abstaining from killing. Fitzgerald suggested that concept of dharma in the *Mahābhārata* aligned with a vedas-honouring trend that prevailed during the Śuṅga Dynasty, which arose in the aftermath of the fall of the Maurya Empire.

81) Fitzgerald (2004b) identified three broad meanings of the word "dharma" in the *Mahābhārata*: (1) a normative deed whose outcome will manifest after the doer of the deed dies; (2) abstract virtue, such as probity, righteousness, utility, lawfulness; and (3) character traits, customs, or temperaments generally regarded as favorable. Of these, Fitzgerald focused on the broad range of usages of the word in the first broad sense. Gethin (2004) identified six possible meanings of the word *dhamma-* in the Pāli Canon, citing examples in each case: (1) the Buddha's teachings; (2) good deeds; (3) reality as revealed through ascetic training; (4) the essence or true nature of things; (5) natural providence; and (6) a mental or physical state. *The Journal of Indian Philosophy* 32–5/6 (2004) includes a special feature on the myriad usages of the term throughout Indian history. The feature consists of 17 valuable articles, including the two above.

82) For an explanation about the Aśvamedha as a whole, see Hillebrandt (1897: 149–153), Keith (1925: 343–347), Kane (1941: 1228–1239), and Gonda (1960: 168–173). Dumont (1927) provides a descriptive analysis of the Aśvamedha in general as gleaned from the precepts of the Vājasaneyin schools, the White Yajurveda (the appendix includes a French translation of the Aśvamedha section of the Śrauta-Sūtras belonging to the Black Yajurveda).

83) The prevailing view is that the horse had to wander freely for a year, but I find no explicit stipulation in vedic texts suggesting that the period was one year. ŚB (13.4.2.16) and ŚāṅkhŚS (16.1.15) do mention a year, but ĀpŚS (20.7.7) and HirŚS (14.2.20) state that the horse should be re-tethered "eleven months" after being loosed. Additionally, the VādhŚS (11.4.1.1 in ed. Ikari-Teshima, forthcoming) states that the horse should be re-tethered "six months" after (cf. Teshima, 2012: 312). Generally, the Black Yajurveda texts state that the horse should wander for some period less than a year while other schools state that it should wander for one year. See Teshima (2012) for more details on the wandering of the horse and the concepts on which these practices were based.

84) In the Poona critical edition, this is rendered as *ariṃdama*. However, it is rendered as *avartata* in several manuscripts (K1, B1-4, excluding D1). I have adopted the latter rendering.

85) As to why the phrase "from north to east" (*uttarataḥ pūrvam*) was used, there are two interpretations. First, the phrase may denote that the horse left Yudhiṣṭhira's royal capital of Hastinapur (what is now the outskirts of New Delhi) and headed toward the Ganges basin. In other words, the horse first went south awhile and then turned toward the east and proceeded eastwards. The other interpretation is that the horse went northeast, which would bear a connection with the stipulation in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, among other texts, that a loosed

sacrificial horse should go in that direction. ŚB 13.4.2.15: *áthainam údañcam práñcam prásr̥jata. eṣấ hobháyeṣāṃ devamanuṣyā́ṇāṃ dík.* "Next, they [the sacrificer and Adhvaryu priest] set the horse to wander northeastwards, for that is the direction of both gods and mortals." Given that the Brahmanas texts state that a wandering horse should be guarded by gods and mortals, and given that vedic texts describe the east as a particularly divine direction, it is possible that the northeast—being midway between north and east—denoted a direction of both gods and mortals. It is also possible that the author of the *Mahābhārata* incorporated this vedic prescription "northeast" (*uttarataḥ pūrvam*) in an uncertain manner. (Of the extant vedic texts, only the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* has the loosed horse travel in that direction.)

86) Dharma-śāstric texts state that one should slay neither women nor children nor yet foes who express their submission by saying "I am yours" (*tavāsmi*). MDhŚ 7.91: *na ca hanyāt sthalārūḍhaṃ na klībaṃ na kr̥tāñjalim / na muktakeśaṃ nāsīnaṃ na tavāsmīti vādinam //* "One should not kill those who ascend to high places. Neither [kill] those who are fleeing, who join their hands together in reverence, whose hair is untied, who are seated, and those who say, 'I am yours'." Cf. YājDhŚ 1.321, BaudhDhS 1.18.11, ĀpDhS 2.10.11, GautDhS 10.18.

87) The *Cakkavatti-Sīhanāda-Suttanta* corresponds, in the Chinese Buddhist Canon, to the 轉輪聖王修行經 (Ch. *Zhuànlún shengwáng xiūxíng jīng*, Jp. *Tenrin jō'ō shugyō kyō*) in 長阿含 (Ch. *Cháng-āhán*, Jp. *Chō-agon*), T 1:39c–40a. The *Mahāsudassana-Suttanta* corresponds to the 遊行經 (Ch. *Yóuxíng-jīng*, Jp. *Yugyō-kyō*) in 長阿含, T 1: 21b–23c) and, in Sanskrit scriptures of the northern tradition, to the *Lalitavistara* (Lefmann 1902: 14-15).

88) Among these six commandments are commandments that would have been known as Buddhist precepts from the eight precepts (e.g., Sn 400–401). When we compare these eight precepts with the six commandments of the cakravartin king, we notice that the latter misses two of the former: refraining from wearing garlands or perfume and sleeping on the earth as opposed to an elevated place (see Section 5.2.2).

89) The negative gerundive *na hantavya-* (singular and plural) appears in the following parts of the extant *Mahābhārata*: MBh 1.24.4: p. 140, 313* in fn.; 3.50.19; 3.255.43; 4.64.35: Appendix no. 59, v. 53 (p. 339); 6.1.28, 31; 9.28.37; 9.31.51:196* in fn. (p. 239); 9.59.6; 12.99.47; 12.133.14; 12.218.33; 13.134.57: Appendix no. 15, v. 1249 (p. 951), v. 1344 (p. 953); 14.75.21, 22; 14.77.7, 8; 14.83.25; 14.96.15: Appendix no. 4, v. 393 (p. 380), v. 1528 (p. 408), v. 1847 (p.417). In the critical edition, there are 22 instances in total, including those appearing in sections with doubtful historicity. Of these, eight appear in the 14th parvan.

90) Armelin (1975: 37): "Dans la notion bouddhique de cakravartin la roue remplace le cheval de l'*aśvamedha*. Le *Mahāsudassanasutta* nous apprend que la roue avança suivie des armées du roi et, quand la conquête fut terminée, revint à son point de depart pour se poser ensuite sur les murs du palais royal. Les auteurs brahmaniques décrivent de la meme façon la conquête du

roi qui suivait le cheval destiné au sacrifice. Mais le Bouddhisme primitive se manifeste comme une philosophie lyrique. Il met l'accent sur le caractère non-violent du roi. Le Brahmanisme, réaliste mais rude, trahit son caractère guerrier."

91) Cf. Hopkins (1989; 1901: 397–398), Winternitz (1908: 401–403), Tokunaga (2002: 1–2 = 169–168).

92) Ritual stipulations on funeral days appear in a number of Gṛhya-Sūtras and Dharma texts. There are five broad funerary rites: 1) cremation (PārGS 3.10.9–10; ĀśvGS 4.2.1–4.8; YājDhŚ 3.2; cf. Caland 1865: 58–72); 2) bathing in a purificatory bath (PārGS 3.10.16–21; YājDhŚ 3.3; cf. Caland 1865: 72–78); 3) water offerings to the dead (PārGS 3.10.21; ĀśvGS 4.4.9–10; YājDhŚ 3.4–6; cf. Caland 1865: 76–79); 4) readings from the Itihāsa to comfort the bereaved (YājDhŚ 3.7–11); and 5) returning home (PārGS 3.10.9–41; ĀśvGS 4.4.11–13; YājDhŚ 3.12–13; cf. Caland 1865: 79–81). See Hillebrandt (1897: 89) for an outline of the funeral service as a whole. These rites feature in the following parts of the *Mahābhārata*: 1) Cremation features in MBh 11.26.24–44, 2) water bathing and 3) water offerings feature in MBh 11.27.1–5, 4) readings from the Itihāsa feature in MBh 12.26.13–29 (Itihasa reading for King Senajit; cf. Murakami 1979: 141–147), and 5) returning home features in MBh 12.38.30–49.

93) The original purpose of the Aśvamedha was to project a king's royal authority, not to cleanse sins. However, according to the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, toward the end of the ceremony, the sacrificer bathes himself in a ritual called *avabhṛtha-*, during which he utters *svāhā* for brahmahatyā (brahmacide) and, in so doing, is cleansed of his sins, starting from "brahmahatyā." ŚB 13.3.5.3-4: 3: *brahmahatyā́yai svāhéti dvitī́yām ā́hutiṃ juhoti … 4. … yád brahmaihatyāyā́ ā́hutiṃ juhóti mṛtyúm evā́hutyā tarpayitvā́ paripā́ṇaṃ kṛtvā́ brahmaghné bheṣajáṃ karoti.* "3. He offers the second oblation, chanting "For brahmahatyā svāhā!" … 4. When one does offer oblations for the brahmahatyā, he satisfies Death himself and makes a sanctuary [for the slayer of the brahman], thereby making a remedy (atonement) for the brahmahatyā (brahmacide)." Cf. Āpastamba-DhS 1.24.22; MānDhŚ 11.83, 11.261; YDhŚ 3.245.

94) On each day while the horse was wandering, the sacrificer would have to (1) recite legends and (2) perform an Iṣṭi sacrifice to Savitar in the morning, at noon, and in the afternoon. As well as these observances, for a certain period (generally, seven days), he would have to perform a purification rite called Dīkṣā. See Teshima (2008) 5–95) for the rites performed in preparation for the Aśvamedha and how these differ between vedic schools from each other.

95) See the following titles for analyses of the elements shared between the *Jātaka* tales and the *Mahābhārata*: Lüders (1904), Franke (1906), Ikeda (1943: 149–181), Söhnen-Thieme (2009), Moačanin (2009). Additionally, Murakami (1979) analysed passages in the Mokṣadharma-Parvan (a sub-parvan of the 12th parvan) that resemble passages in the *Dhammapada*, *Suttanipāta*, *Udāna*, and other Pāli texts.

96) Baba (2017: 348–337 = 129–140) analysed the history behind the formation of the Pāli *Khuddaka-Nikāya* and compared it with that of the Tripiṭaka of the Sarvāstivādins.

97) See Yamahata (2006) for Jain tales about cakravartin kings. See Shibazaki (1998) for the portrayal of cakravartin kingship in the *Bṛhatkathā*.

98) The text derives its title, "*Jaiminīya-Aśvamedha*," from the belief that there once existed a separate version of the *Mahābhārata* authored by Jaimini—the "*Jaiminīya Mahābhārata*" or "*Jaiminīya Bhārata*." Jaimini was a disciple of Vyāsa to whom the authorship of the *Mahābhārata* is attributed. The only part of the *Jaiminīya Mahābhārata* that survived was the Āśvamedhika-Parvan, and this became known as the *Jaiminīya-Aśvamedha*. In the Poona critical edition, the introduction to the Āśvamedhika-Parvan, which is the 19th parvan in that edition, provides a cross-reference table comparing the content in the Āśvamedhika-Parvan, the 14th parvan of the *Mahābhārata*, with the *Jaiminīya-Aśvamedha* (pp. xxiv–xliv). See Brockington (1998: 492–493) for the chronology of the *Jaiminīya-Aśvamedha* and its literary-historical characteristics.

99) Numerous copper-plate inscriptions offer evidence that Yudhiṣṭhira was regarded as an ideal king and that historic kings were often equated with this exemplar. For example, one such inscription dated to the ninth to tenth centuries has the following to say about Narendrabhañja-deva: "And like Yudhiṣṭhira, the king was ever satisfied and devoted to protecting [the people] and upholding the rules of good works" (*rājā yudhiṣṭhira ivāvanipālane ca / nityaṃ rataḥ kuśala-karmma-vidhau prasaktaḥ /*) EI vol. 25, pp. 155 & 160. Another dated to the eighth and ninth century offers the following eulogy to King Bhogaśakti (also known as Pṛthivīcandra): "Like Yudhiṣṭhira, his adornments were propriety, prudence, compassion, alms-giving, and modesty; and he spoke truth" (*yudhiṣṭhira iva naya-vinaya-dayā-dāna-dākṣiṇyādibhir alaṃkṛtaḥ satyavadī ca*). The following are other examples of copper-plate inscriptions referring to Yudhiṣṭhira from diverse times and places: EI vol.8, p. 23 (*rāma-yudhiṣṭhiropamānaḥ satya-vikramaḥ*); EI vol. 9, p. 270 & vol. 22, p. 172 (*yudhiṣṭhira-vṛtteḥ*); EI vol. 19, p. 256 (*yudhiṣṭhira iva dharmaparāyanaḥ*); Sircar (1983: 152) (*satya-dharmmānvitaḥ yudhiṣṭhirasamaḥ*), (1983: 340) (*satyavrataikaniratasya yudhiṣṭhirasya*).

T: Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō / AN: Aṅguttara-Nikāya / ĀpŚS: Āpastamba-Śrauta-Sūtra /ĀpDhS: Āpastamba-Dharma-Sūtra / ĀpŚS: Āpastamba-Śrauta-Sūtra / KAŚ: Kauṭilya's Artha-Śāstra / AV: Atharvaveda / AVP: Atharvaveda Paippalāda (ed. Bhattacharya) / AVŚ: Atharvaveda Śaunaka / BaudhDhS: Baudhāyana-Dharma-Sūtra / BaudhŚS: Baudhāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra / BhārŚS: Bhāradvāja-Śrauta-Sūtra / BHSD = Edgerton 1953 / BPS: Bālapaṇḍita-Sutta / Br.: Brāhmaṇa / CSCD: Chaṭṭa Saṅgāyana CD published by Vipassana Research Institute (The Sixth Buddhist

Council, Burma) / CSS: Cakkavatti-Sīhanāda-Suttanta / DN: Dīgha-Nikāya (PTS) / EI: Epigraphia Indica (Archeological Survey of India) / GautDhS: Gotama-Dharma-Sūtra / HirŚS: Hiraṇyakeśi-Śrauta-Sūtra / Isi: Isibhāsiyāiṃ / Jā: Jātaka / KātyŚS: Kātyāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra / KS: Kāṭaka-Saṃhitā / LV: Lalitavistara (ed. Lefmann) / MaitU = Maitrāyaṇīya-Upaniṣad (ed. van Buitenen) / MānDhŚ: Mānava-Dharma-Śāstra / MānŚS: Mānava-Śrauta-Sūtra / MBh: Mahābhārata (Poona critical ed.) / MN: Majjhima-Nikāya (PTS) / MS: Maitrāyaṇī-Saṃhitā / MSS: Mahāsudassana-Suttanta / Pa.: Pāli / PTS: Pāli Text Society / PārGS: Pāraskara-Gṛhya-Sūtra / PW: Böhtlingk & Roth 1852-1875 / ṚV: Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā / ŚāṅkhŚS: Śāṅkhāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra / ŚB: Śaṭapatha-Brāhmaṇa Mādhyaṃdina / Skt.: Sanskrit / Sn: Sutta-Nipāta (PTS) / SN: Saṃyutta-Nikāya / ŚS: Śrauta-Sūtra / TB: Taittirīya- Brāhmaṇa / Th: Thāra-Gāthā / TS: Taittirīya-Saṃhitā / Utt: Uttarajjhāyā / VādhŚS: Vādhūla-Śrauta-Sūtra (ed. Ikari-Teshima＝Teshima 2008: 102-122) / VārŚS: Vārāha-Śrauta-Sūtra (ed. Kashikar＝Kashikar 1988) / VS = Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā / YājDhŚ: Yājñavalkya-Dharma-Śāstra

Referencese

1. References in Non-Japanese Languages

Armelin, Indumati 1975

Le roi détenteur de la roué salaire en revolution (cakravartin) selon le Brahmanisme et selon le Bouddhisme, Paris: Libararie orientaliste Paul Geuthner.

Bailey, Greg 2014

Dharmarāja in the Mahābhārata, Dharmarāja in Early Buddhist Literature. *Brahmavidyā: The Adyar Library Bulletin,* 76–77 (2012–13): 149–188.

Bhandarkar, Devadatta Pamakrishna 1955

Aśoka, Calcutta: University of Calcutta.

Böhtlingk, Otto & Roth, Rudolpf 1852–1875

Sanskrit-Wörterbuch, St. Petersburg: Buchdruckerei der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Brockington, John L. 1998

The Sanskrit Epics (Handbuch der Orientalistik, Abt. 2: Indien, Bd. 12), Leiden/Boston: Brill.

van Buitenen, Johannes Adrianus Bernardus 1962

The Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad: A Critical Essay, with Text, Translation and Commentary (Disputationes Rheno-Trajectinae VI), s-gravenhage: Mouton & Co.

————— (tr.) 1973

1 The Book of the Beginning: The Mahābhārata volume 1, Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press.

————— (tr.) 1975

2 The Book of the Assembly Hall; 3 The Book of the Forest: The Mahābhārata volume 2, Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press.

Caland, Willem 1896

Die altindischen Todten- und Bestattungsgebräuche mit Benutzung handschriftlicher Quellen, Amsterdam: J. Müller.

——————— 1926 Eine dritte Mitteilung über dasVādhūlasūtra. *Acta Orientalia*, 4 (1–4): 161–213 (Kleine Schriften, 303–397）.

Charpentier, Jarl 1922

The Uttarādhyayanasūtra being the First Mūlasūtra of the Śvetāmbara Jains Edited with an Introduction, Critical Notes and a Commentary (Archives d'études orientales vol. 18), Upsala: Appelbergs Boktryckeri Aktiebolag.

Dikshitar, V. R. Ramachandra 1951–1955

The Purana Index (Madras University Historical Series 19), Madras: University of Madras.

Dumont, Paul-Émile 1927

L'aśvamedha: Description du sacrifice solennel du cheval dans le culte védique d'après les texts du Yajurveda blanc, Paris: Paul Geuthner.

Edgereton, Franklin 1953

Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary, vol. II: Dictionary, New Haven: Yale University Press.

af Edholm, Kristoffer 2017

Royal Splendour in the Waters: Vedic Śrī- and Avestan Xᵛarənah-. *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 60: 17–73.

Einoo, Shingo 1988

Die Câturmâsya oder die altindischen Tertialopfer dargestellt nach den Vorschriften der Brâhmaṇas und der Śrautasûtras (Monumenta Serindica 18), Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.

Fitzgerald, James L. 2004a

The Book of the Women; The Book of Peace Part One, Translated, Edited, and Annotated, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

——————— 2004b

Dharma and Its Translation in the *Mahābhārata*. *Journal of Indian Philosophy,* 32 (5/6): 671–685.

Franke, Otto 1906

Jātaka-Mahābhārata-Parallelen. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes,* 20 (4): 317–372.

Geiger, Wilhelm 1916

Pāli Literatur und Sprache (Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde I Band, 7. Heft), Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner.

Gethin, Rupert 2004

He Who Sees Dhamma Sees Dhammas: Dhamma in Early Buddhism. *Journal of Indian Philosophy,* 32 (5/6): 513–542.

Gonda, Jan 1960

Die Religionen Indiens I (Veda und älterer Hinduismus), Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer.

———— 1966

Ancient Indian Kingship from the Religious Point of View, Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Hara, Minoru 2010

A note on Bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā, from Turfan to Ajanta: Festschrift for Dieter Schlingloff on the occasion of his Eightieth Birthday (ed. Franco, Eli & Zin, Monika), vol. 1, Bhairahawa: Lumbini International Research Institute.

Heesterman, Johannes Cornelius 1957

The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration: The Rājasūya Described According to the Yajus Texts and Annotated (Disputationes Rheno-Trajectinae II), s- gravenhage: Mouton & Co.

Hillebrandt, Alfred 1897

Ritual-Litteratur: Vedische Opfer und Zauber (Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde, Bd. 3, Heft 2), Strassburg: K.J. Trübner.

Hopkins, E. Washburn 1898

The Bhārata and the Great Bhārata. *American Journal of Philology,* 19 (1): 1–24.

———— 1901

The Great Epic of India, New York: Scribner's & Sons.

Jacobi, Herman 1910

Chakravartin. In: *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* (ed. Hastings, James), vol. 3, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, pp. 336–337.

de Jong, Jan Willem 1984

The Study of the Mahābhārata: A Brief Survey (Part I). *Journal of Institute for the Comprehensive Study of Lotus Sutra: Hokke-Bunka Kenkyū*（『法華文化研究』）, 10: 1–19.

Kajihara, Mieko 1995

The *Brahmacārín* in the Atharvaveda. *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*（『印度學佛教學研究』）, 43 (2): 1052–1047 (=(1)–(6)).

Kane, Pandurang Vaman 1941

History of Dharmaśāstra: Ancient and Mediæval Religious and Civil Law in India (Government Oriental Series, Class B, no. 6), vol. 2, part 2, Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

Kashikar, Chintaman Ganesh (ed.) 1988

Vārāhaśrautasūtra: Belonging to the Maitrāyaṇīya Recension of Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda (Shri Balmukund Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya Research Series 4), Pune: Ṭilaka Mahārāṣṭra Vidyāpīṭha.

Keith, Arthur Berriedale 1925

The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads (Harvard Oriental Series vols. 31–32), Cambridge: Harvard University Press / London: Oxford University Press.

Kern, Heinrich 1882

Der Buddhismus und seine Geschichte in Indien: Eine Darstellung der Lehren und Geschichte der buddhistischen Kirche, Leipzig: Schulze.

Krick, Hertha 1982

Das Ritual der Feuergründung (Agnyādheya) (Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 399. Band,Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Sprachen und Kulturen Südasiens, Heft 16), Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Lefmann, Salomon 1902

Lalitavistara: Leben und Lehre des Çâkya-Buddha / Textausgabe mit Varianten-, Metren- und Wörterverzeichnis, Bd. 1, Halle a. S.: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses.

Lüders, Heinrich 1904

Die Jātaka und die Epik: 1. Kṛṣṇa-Sage. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* 58: 687–714.

Macdonell, Arthur Anthony & Keith, Arthur Berriedale 1912

Vedic Index of Names and Subjects, 2 vols., London: John Murray.

Mani, Vettam 1975

Purāṇic Encyclopaedia: A Comprehensive Work with Special Reference to the Epic and Purāṇic Literature, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

McGrath, Kevin 2017

Rāja Yudhiṣṭhira: Kingship in Epic Mahābhārata (Myth and poetics II), Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Moačanin, Klara Gönc 2009

Epic vs. Buddhist Literature: The Case of Vidhurapaṇḍitajātaka. In: *Parallels and Comparison, Proceedings of the Fourth Dubrovnik International Conference of Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas, September 2005* (ed. Petteri Koskikallio), Zagreb: Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, pp. 373–398.

Norman, Kenneth Roy 1969

Theragāthā: The Elders' Verses Translated with an Introduction and Notes (Pāli Text Society Translation Series 38), London: Luzac.

Norman, Kenneth Roy 1992

The Group of Discourses (Sutta-Nipāta, vol. 2 Revised Translation with Introduction and Notes (Pāli Text Society Translation Series 45), Oxford: The Pāli Text Society.

Ramesh 2012

Dictionary of Social, Economic, and Administrative Terms in South Indian Inscriptions vol. I (A-D), New Delhi-Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rhys Davids, Thomas William 1921

Wheel of the Law. In: *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* (ed. Hastings, James), vol. 12, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, pp. 736–737.

Sakamoto-Goto, Junko (forthcoming)

Symbolik von Haar und Bart im Brahmanismus, Buddhismus und Jinismus—Zu den Lebensweisen der altindischen Religiosen—. *Electronic Journal of Vedic Studies*.

Scharfe, Hartmut 1987

Nomadisches Erbgut in der indischen Tradition. In: *Hinduismus und Buddhismus: Festschrift für Ulrich Schneider* (herausgegeben von Falk, Harry), Freiburg: Hedwig Falk.

Schlingloff, Dieter 1969

The Oldest Extant Parvan-List of the Mahābhārata. *Journal of American Oriental Society,* 89 (2): 234–338.

Schubring, Walter 1935

Die Lehre der Jainas nach den aälten Quellen dargestellt (Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunge, III. Band, 7 Heft), Berlin-Leipzig: Walter De Gruyter & Co.

————— 1969

Isibhāsiyāiṃ: Aussprüche der Weisen aus dem Prākrit der Jainas (Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien herausgegeben vom Seminar für Kultur und geschichte Indiens an der Universität Hamburg 14), Hamburg: Cram, De Gruyter & Co.

Senart, Émile 1882

Essai sur la légende du Buddha: Son caractère et ses origins, 2me édition revue et suivie d'un index, Paris: Ernest Leroux.

Singh, Sarva Daman 1965

Ancient Indian Warfare with Special Reference to the Vedic Period, Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Sircar, Dines Chandra 1983

Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilisation, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Söhnen-Thieme, Renate 2009

Buddhist Tales in the *Mahābhārata*? In: *Parallels and Comparison, Proceedings of the Fourth Dubrovnik International Conference of Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas, September 2005* (ed. Petteri Koskikallio), Zagreb: Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, pp. 349–372.

Sparreboom, Max 1985

    Chariot in the Veda, Keiden: E. J. Brill.

Sutton, Nick 1997

    Aśoka and Yudhisthira: A Historical Setting for the Ideological Tensions of the *Mahābhārata*? *Religion*, 27: 333–341.

Teshima, Hideki 2008

    Die Entwicklung des vorbeleitenden Rituals im Aśvamedha ausgehend von der Darstellung im Vādhūla-Śrauta-Sūtra (Appendices contain the text of VādhŚS 11.1.1–11.3.2 ed. By Ikari, Yasuke & Teshima, Hideki), Berlin: Logos Verlag.

———— 2014

    Dakṣiṇā at the Aśvamedha as Described in the Mahābhārata: Its Ritualistic Features Revealed in Comparison with the Vedic Texts, *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*（『印度學佛教學研究』）, 62 (3): 1072–1080 (=(8)–(16)).

Tokunaga, Muneo 2005

    Udakakriyā and the Śāntiparvan. In: *Epics, Khilas, and Purāṇas: Continuities and ruptures, proceedings of the Third Dubrovnik International Conference of Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas, September 2002* (ed. Koskikallio, Petteri), Zagreb: Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, pp. 169–181.

Tsuchiyama, Yasuhiro 2005

    Abhiṣeka in the Vedic and post-Vedic Rituals. In: *From Material to Deity: Indian Rituals of Consecration* *ed. Einoo, Shingo & Takashima, Jun) (Japanese Studies on South Asia No. 4), New Delhi: Manohar, pp. 51–93.

Turner, Ralph Lilley 1966

    A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages, London: Oxford University Press.

Wackernagel, Jakob & Debrunner, Albert 1954

    Altindische Grammatik, II,2 Die Nominalsuffix (Neuauflage), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Waddell, Laurence Austine 1914

    Juwel (Buddhist). In: *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* (ed. Hastings, James), vol. 7, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, pp. 553–557.

Wilson, Horace Hayman 1864

    The Vishnu Purāṇa : A System of Hindu Mythology and Tradition Translated from the Original Sanskrit and Illustrated by Notes (ed. Hall, Fitzedward) vols. 1–5, pt. 2, London: Trübner.

Winternitz, Moriz 1908

    Geschichte der indischen Litteratur, Bd. 1: Einleitung, Veda, die volkstümlichen Epen und Purāṇas. Leipzig: Amelang.

Yabuuchi, Satoko 2007

    The Ideal of the Bodhisattva King in Sri Lanka and the Reform of the Sangha, *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*（『印度學佛教學研究』）, 55 (3): 1136–1139.

Yamazaki, Moriichi & Ousaka, Yumi 1999

    A word Index and Reverse Word Index to Early Jain Canonical Texts: Āyāraṅga, Sūyagaḍa, Uttarajjhāyā, Dasaveyāliya, and Isibhāsiyāiṃ, Philologica Asiatica, Monograph Series 15, Tokyo: The Chūō Academic Research Institute.

Zimmer, Heinrich 1951

    Philosophies of India, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Zin, Monika 2003

    Devotionale und ornamentale Materialien, Vol. I Interpretation (Ajanta: Handbuch der Malereien 2), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

2. References in Japanese

Aklagi, Tkatoshi 2010 = 赤木崇敏 2010

    「十世紀敦煌の王權と轉輪聖王觀」,『東洋史研究』69-2: 233-263.

Aramaki, Noritoshi 1983 = 荒牧典俊 1983

    「SN Mārasaṃyutta I の成立について」,『日本佛教學會年報』48: 1-22.

Ikeda, Chotatsu 1943 = 池田澄達 1943

    『マハーバラタとラーマーヤナ』（東洋思想叢書 14）. 東京：日本評論社.

Yukihiro, Okada 1996 = 岡田行弘 1996

    「三十二大人相の成立」,『勝呂信静博士古稀記念論文集』pp. 71-86, 東京：山喜房佛書林.

Kudo, Shigeki 1972 = 工藤成樹 1972

    「転輪聖王」,『日本佛教學會年報』37: 1-12.

Sakamoto-Goto, Junko 2001 = 阪本（後藤）純子 2001

    「Sāmaññaphalasutta（沙門果経）と Veda 祭式」,『印度學佛教學研究』49-2: 958-953 = (83)-(88).

Sakamoto-Goto, Junko 2017 = 阪本（後藤）純子 2017

    「ヴェーダ祭式 Upavasatha と仏教 Uposatha『布薩』」,『印度學佛教學研究』66-2: 974-968 = (1)-(7).

Sako, Toshio 1996 = 佐古年穂 1996

    「『転輪王―小王』に関連して」,『勝呂信静博士古稀記念論文集』pp. 1-14 = pp. (866)-(853), 東京：山喜房佛書林.

Shibazaki, Maho 1998 = 柴崎麻穂 1998

    「*Bṛhatkathā* 起源譚と七人のヴィディヤーダラ転輪王」,『南アジア研究』10: 74-91.

Sugioka, Nobuyuki 1993 = 杉岡信行 1993

「初期ジャイナ教の祖師研究―転輪王について―」,『宗教研究』295-4: 252-254 = (850)-(852).

─── 1995

「初期ジャイナ教の祖師研究―転輪王の ratna について―」,『宗教研究』303-4: 203-204 = (895)-(896).

Sugimoto, Takusyu 1972 = 杉本卓洲 1972

「仏陀の葬儀と舎利及び塔供養（Sarīra, Thūpa-pūjā)」,『佛教研究』2: 39-54.

Seki, Minoru 1985 = 関 稔 1985

「釈尊観の一断面―三十二相説を中心として―」『日本佛教學會年報』50: 47-60.

Sonehara, Osamu 2001 = 曽根原理 2001

「解題」,『続神道大系 神社編 戸隠（一)』pp. 3-40，東京：神道大系編纂会.

Takagi, Shingen 1981 = 高木訷元 1981

「初期仏教と社会倫理―『シンガーラへの教誡』を中心として―」,『日本佛教學會年報』47: 一～二〇.

Takahara, Shin'ichi 1972 = 高原信一 1972

「Mahāvastu 所伝の『仏の三十二相』について」,『佛教研究』2: 99-90.

Tanabe, Kazuko 1997 = 田辺和子 1997

『パーリ聖典に見られる物語文学の世界』，東京：山喜房佛書林.

Tshuji, Naoshiro 1970 = 辻直四郎 1970

『現存ヤジュル・ヴェーダ文献：古代インドの祭式に関する根本資料の文献学的研究』（English title: *Existent Yajurveda-Literature: Philological Study of the Fundamental Sources of the Vedic Ritual*）東洋文庫論叢 52，東京：東洋文庫.

Teshima, Hideki 2012 = 手嶋英貴 2012

「アシュヴァメーダの馬をめぐる祭式学的思考の展開: 祭式における『理念と現実の隔たり』をどう埋めるか」.『インド論理学研究』5: 301-320.

Tokunaga, Muneo 2002 = 徳永宗雄 2002

「『平安の巻』と水供養（*udakakriyā*）:『マハーバーラタ』第 12 巻の形成過程を探る」.『東方學』104: 一～一五 = 169-155.

Nakano, Gisho 1956 = 中野義照 1956

「原始仏教における転輪聖王」,『密教文化』32: 4-19.

─── 1972

「仏教と若干の政治思想」,『日本佛教學會年報』37: 一～一九.

Nakamura, Hajime 1953 = 中村 元 1953

「『転輪聖王』と呼ばれたカリンガ国王カーラヴェーラ」,『印度學佛教學研究』3: 101-110.

─── 1984

『ブッダのことば─スッタニパーター─』，東京：岩波書店.

─── 1993

『原始仏教の社会思想』（中村元選集〔決定版〕第 18 巻），東京：春秋社.

─── 2001

『広説仏教語大辞典』，東京：東京書籍.

Namikawa, Takayoshi 2005 ＝ 並川孝儀 2005

『ゴータマ・ブッダ考』，東京：大蔵出版.

Nishimura, Minori 2005 ＝ 西村実則 2005

「千子と千仏─転輪聖王神話の一展開─」，『大正大学大学院研究論集』29: 1-33.

Baba, Norihisa 2008 ＝ 馬場紀寿 2008『上座部仏教の思想形成─ブッダからブッダゴーサへ
─』，東京：春秋社.

─── 2010

「初期経典と実践」，『仏典から見た仏教世界』（新アジア仏教史 03 インド III）pp. 67-
103，東京：佼成出版社.

─── 2017

「小部の成立を再考する─説一切有部との比較研究─」，『東洋文化研究所紀要』171:
348-304 = (129)-(173).

Fujita, Kotatsu 1954 ＝ 藤田宏達 1954

「転輪聖王について──原始仏教聖典を中心として──」，『印度學佛教學論集　宮本正尊
教授還暦記念論文集』pp. 145-156，東京：三省堂.

Hokazono, Koichi 1978 ＝ 外薗幸一 1978

「Lalitavistara に於ける『転輪聖王』の一節」，『鹿児島経大論集』18-4: 1-38.

Murakami, Shin'kan 1979 ＝ 村上真完 1979

「無欲と無所有：マハーバャーラタと仏教」．『東北大学文学部研究年報』29: 140-213.

Mayeda, Egaku 1964 ＝ 前田恵學 1964

『原始仏教聖典の成立史研究』，東京：山喜房仏書林.

Miyaji, Akira 2010 ＝ 宮治　昭 2010

『インド仏教美術史論』，中央公論美術出版.

Yamazaki, Gen'ichi 1994 ＝ 山崎元一 1994

『古代インドの王権と宗教』，東京：刀水書房.

Yamazaki, Moriichi 1981 ＝ 山崎守一 1981

「Uttarajjhāyā 研究 II」，『中央学術研究所紀要』10: 3-46.

─── 1983

「Uttarajjhāyā 研究 IV─Citra-Sambhūta─」，『文化』46-3&4: 46-63 = (257)-(240).

─── 1984

「Uttarajjhāyā 研究 VI—Sañjaya 王—」,『法華文化研究』10: 21-30.

Yamahata, Tomoyuki 2006 = 山畑倫志 2006

「ジャイナ教の行伝説話における転輪聖王」,『印度學佛教學研究』54-2: 245-249.

RINDAS Series of Working Papers 36

The Evolution of the Image of Buddhist Ideal King "Cakravartin"

TESHIMA Hideki