

ART. XII.—*Some Further Gleanings from the Si-yu-ki.*

By the Rev. Prof. S. BEAL, M.R.A.S.

THERE are several passages in the *Si-yu-ki* that deserve more notice than can be given in a foot-note by a translator. To some of these I will call attention in this paper. My remarks may appear in some cases too discursive; but I trust this may be pardoned, as they are but “Gleanings.”

## I. 三會說法

There is a passage in the 7th book (p. 2 in the original, p. 357 in the *first*<sup>1</sup> vol. of Julien’s translation). The pilgrim is speaking of a stûpa in the “deer garden”<sup>2</sup> at Banâras; this stûpa was erected to commemorate the prediction uttered on the spot about Maitrêya becoming a Buddha; the translation runs thus: “This is the spot where Maitrêya Bodhisattva received assurance that he would become a Buddha; in future years when the country of Jambudvîpa shall be at peace . . . there will be a Brâhman called Maitrêya, whose body will be the colour of pure gold; leaving his home he will become ‘perfectly enlightened,’<sup>3</sup> and preach the three-fold law, for the benefit of all living things,” or “he will widely diffuse the three-fold—spoken—law for the benefit of all that lives.” The expression “three-fold” in this passage is *san hwui*,<sup>4</sup> which Julien translates by “three assemblies,” thus: “He will obtain superior intelligence, and in three great assemblies he will exhibit the law for the sake of all men.”<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Commonly cited as Jul. ii.

<sup>2</sup> Mrigadâva.

<sup>3</sup> 成正覺 *i.e.* perfect Sambuddhi.

<sup>4</sup> 三會.

<sup>5</sup> Jul. ii. *loc. cit.*

It is true the word *hwei* means "an assembly"; but the rendering of 三會說法 by "preaching the law in three great assemblies," does not quite commend itself. We may seek therefore another meaning of the passage. Now the law of Buddha is described as "a triple, twelve-part, trustworthy knowledge."<sup>1</sup> Thus we read, "And so long, O monks, as I did not possess in perfect clearness this triple, twelve-part, trustworthy, knowledge and understanding of these four sacred truths, so long, O monks, I knew that I had not attained the supreme Buddhahood;" and in a note<sup>2</sup> the writer explains the expression thus: "Of each of the four truths<sup>3</sup> Buddha possessed a tripartite knowledge, e.g. of the first: 'this is the sacred truth of suffering,' 'this sacred truth of suffering must be understood,' 'I have understood this sacred truth of suffering.'"

Thus having this three-fold, or tripartite, knowledge of each of the four sacred truths, the law is described as "a three-fold, twelve-part law."

This point is explained by M. Léon Feer in his *Études Bouddhiques*, 1st series, p. 267, where he is describing "the duodecimal evolution of the truths";<sup>4</sup> in explanation of this phrase, he says that each of the four truths must be first of all announced, thus: "suffering exists"; secondly, *it must be understood*, thus: "It is necessary to know to the bottom the existence of suffering"; and thirdly, *it must be declared that this knowledge has been attained*, thus: "I have understood to the bottom the existence of suffering."

This, again, is the three-fold, or tripartite, division of the four truths, composing the law, first declared at Banâras by Buddha, after his enlightenment.

The text, therefore, of the *Si-yu-ki* asserts that Maitrêya, after he has attained Buddhahood, will, like other Buddhas, preach at Banâras this three-fold, or tripartite, law; and

<sup>1</sup> Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> *op. cit.* p. 129 n.

<sup>3</sup> I. 'Misery always accompanies existence.' II. 'All existence results from passions and desires.' III. 'There is no escape from existence but destruction of desires.' IV. 'This must be accomplished.'

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.* the four "sacred truths," see the preceding note.

so Aśvaghosha says: "All the Mûnis who perfect wisdom must do so at Gayâ, and in the Kâsi country they must first turn the wheel of righteousness."<sup>1</sup>

It seems that the Sanskrit term corresponding to the Chinese *san hwui*, is *trikûṭaka*.<sup>2</sup> This is illustrated by one of the Bharhut sculptures; it will be found in General Cunningham's work<sup>3</sup> among the historical scenes, Plate xxviii. disc No. 1. It is the figure of a triangle and labelled "*Tikutiko chakamo*," i.e. "the three-pointed wheel (of the law);"<sup>4</sup> here *tikutiko* seems to correspond with *san hwui* and to refer to "the turning of the wheel of the law," in the three-fold, tripartite way already described. General Cunningham indeed<sup>5</sup> explains the sculpture as indicating the Nâgaloka under the *trikûṭa parvata*, which supports Mount Meru;<sup>6</sup> the presence of the lions, however, he says, "does not favour this view;" nor does the inscription seem to bear it out, for even if *chakamo* might refer to a division of the ancient Indian universe, yet that division, viz. of the Nâgaloka, is not itself *three-pointed*, but situated beneath a mountain with three peaks, or points. I think, therefore, that the scene is intended to represent the turning of the wheel of the law, in a three-fold way. This will be further seen from a comparison of the Chinese symbol *hwui* with the Sanskrit *kûṭa* in another place; I refer to the well-known sūtra called *Ratnakûṭa*, or "Heaps of Gems." In Chinese the title of this work is *Pao-tsih*, "a multitude or mine (*âkara*) of jewels;"<sup>7</sup> but this multitude consists of separate heaps, or piles, which in Chinese are called *hwui*. This may be seen by referring to the "Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka,"<sup>8</sup> where on p. 9 this book is alluded to. It will be seen that each sūtra of the 49 contained in the collection

<sup>1</sup> *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> *Kûṭa* means 'a meeting point,' and so does *hwui*; I think the idea in such compounds as *trikûṭaka* and *san hwui* is the three-fold or triple *point*. We still use the word 'point' in this sense; we say 'the first point,' 'the second point,' etc.

<sup>3</sup> Stûpa of Bharhut, by Major-Gen. A. Cunningham.

<sup>4</sup> Or, code of doctrine, see Childers' *Pâli Dictionary*, s.v. Chakko.

<sup>5</sup> *op. cit.* pp. 25, 83.

<sup>6</sup> Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 11, 44.

<sup>7</sup> So Julien restores the symbols, ii. p. 385, n. 1.

<sup>8</sup> B. Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripitaka*.

is called by the name *hwui*, or *heap*. I think each of these *heaps* or *parts* is intended to be a separate portion of the entire collection. These portions (會) make up the whole work, called perhaps for that reason Ratnakūṭa.<sup>1</sup>

## II. 危然

There is a passage in the sixth book, and on the eleventh page.<sup>2</sup> It has been passed over in the French translation: but I think it is of importance, as it illustrates one of the Amarāvati sculptures, and is otherwise interesting. Hiuen Tsiang tells us, in the passage referred to, that within the eastern gate of Kapilavastu, on the left side of the road, was the place where Sarvārthasiddha, the prince, practised athletic exercises; and outside the gate was a Temple of Íśvaradēva. He then adds that in this temple was a stone figure of the god in a position of "rising and bending," or, "rising bendingly." Julien has translated the words thus: "There is in this temple a stone statue of the god of an imposing size."<sup>3</sup> But the phrase *wei in*<sup>4</sup> seems to me to mean "bendingly," or "in a bending position." It refers to the story of the prince being taken to the Temple when he was a child, and the image of the god rising to salute him. The observation as to his attitude is important; for when we turn to the 69th Plate, "Tree and Serpent Worship," we see the force of the phrase. The chief object there is a gigantic form "rising bendingly." The figure is saluting some persons carrying a cloth with the foot-impress of Buddha. This is Íśvaradēva saluting the infant as described in the *Si-yu-ki*. It is curious that the phrase employed by Hiuen Tsiang in relation to a scene at Kapilavastu should be so

<sup>1</sup> I would call attention to Julien's remarks on the right restoration of the symbol *tsih* 積, Jul. ii. 385 n. With respect to my remarks on the symbol 會 I wish to add that it may refer to the *cycles* of each Buddha's teaching, which also were three, viz. the *empty*, the *false*, the *medial*; thus, (1) all things are empty, *i.e.* non-existent. (2) all things, though empty, or unreal, have a false existence. (3) All things exist and do not exist.

<sup>2</sup> Jul. ii. p. 321.

<sup>3</sup> Jul. ii. p. 321.

<sup>4</sup> 危然.

accurately verified by a group found at Amarāvati; it seems to show that this building was not only constructed with all the art of Bactria, but was also indebted to North India for some of the details of its sculptures.

### III. 佛誠良田

There is a third passage in the *Sī-yu-ki* which suggests an explanation of one of the Bharhut discs. I refer to the account relating to the purchase of the ground at Śrāvastī for the erection of a vihāra; it occurs at the beginning of the 6th book.<sup>1</sup> The Prince Jêta seems to have repented of his agreement with Sudatta,<sup>2</sup> which was, "to give the land, if the merchant could cover it with gold pieces." When there was only a small space left, he came to the spot and begged Sudatta to discontinue his work, for "he would not give the site"; the scene is thus described by Āsvaghosha:<sup>3</sup> "The householder, his heart rejoicing, forthwith began to spread the yellow gold; then Jêta said, 'I will not give, why then spread you your gold?' The householder replied, 'Not give! why then said you, "Fill it with yellow gold"?' And thus they differed and contended both, till they resorted to the magistrate."

This appears to me to be the meaning of the passage in the *Sī-yu-ki*, "There was yet a little space not filled. The prince thereon asked him to desist, but he replied, 'The honest, fertile field of Buddha is the one in which we ought to sow good seed;'"<sup>4</sup> that is, the promise made should be truthfully kept, viz. of giving the land.

Now if this be the true meaning of the passage, I think the Bharhut sculpture, Pl. xlv. No. 9, must refer to this incident. General Cunningham,<sup>5</sup> in his remarks on the inscription *chitu-pāda-sīla*, refers the scene to the history of a rāja called Chêtiya, who told the first lie; and then, he

<sup>1</sup> Jul. ii. p. 297.

<sup>2</sup> Anathapindada.

<sup>3</sup> *Fo-sho-king-tsan-king*, p. 217, Beal's Translation.

<sup>4</sup> The whole passage runs thus: 佛誠良田宜植善種.

<sup>5</sup> *Bharhut Stūpa*, p. 94.

adds, "In the Bharhut sculpture perhaps the point of the story may have been the first occurrence of cheating, and the consequent punishment of the offender." This seems to be a likely explanation of the purpose of the scene and inscription; but may we not refer the actual plot, or incident, of the sculpture, to the attempt of Jêta to cheat the merchant, as recorded both by Hiuen Tsiang and Aśvaghosha? and the remark of General Cunningham, "that the small square pieces with marks on the top . . . are exactly the same as the coins used for paving the Jêtavana,"<sup>1</sup> confirms this explanation. I take the square space therefore, marked out like a draught-board, to indicate "the small space not yet filled," and the broken rock to signify the "broken promise" of the Prince Jêta, and his attempt to cheat the merchant, after having bargained to give the land.

#### IV. 至那提婆瞿咀羅

There is a curious story told towards the end of the the 12th Book of the *Si-yu-ki*<sup>2</sup> respecting a prince of Persia, who was affianced to a daughter of Han; the bride having arrived as far as Tush Kurghan,<sup>3</sup> in the middle of the Tsu'ng ling, was visited by the Sun-god, and bore to him a child of supernatural power and beauty; "he was able to fly through the air, and control the winds and the snow. He extended his power and the renown of his laws far and wide, and the neighbouring people as well as those at a distance subscribed themselves his subjects." A palace was built for the princess at the top of a rocky peak, where, conjointly with her son, she conducted the affairs of the Empire.

We seem to have in this story a form of the Persian legend about Kai Kosrav.<sup>4</sup> He was the son of the Persian Syâvaksh and of the daughter of the Turanian Afrâsyâb. His renown was also far spread, and he avenged the

<sup>1</sup> *Bharhut Stûpa*, p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> K'ie-pan-to.

<sup>2</sup> Jul. iii. 211.

<sup>4</sup> See S.B.E., vol. xxiii. p. 64 n. 1.

murder of his father by slaying his grandfather, Afrâsyâb, and overthrowing the Turanian kingdom.

The introduction of the "daughter of Han," may perhaps have originated in the ambiguous form of the province of *Chin*<sup>1</sup> and *Mâchin*, which Afrâsyâb gave his daughter as a dower. Mr. West, in his Pahlavi Texts,<sup>2</sup> tells us that the country of Sêni, which is Chînistân, was probably the territory of Samarkand. Here Syâvaksh dwelt in the town of Kangha, which was built on the top of a high mountain, and is called, in the Shâh Nâmah, Kang dez, the fortress of Kangha.

*Chin* being mistaken for *China*,<sup>3</sup> led to the idea that the daughter of Afrâsyâb was a princess of Han.

## V. 觀貨邏國

This intermingling of names suggests the inquiry whether the country of *Tu-ho-lo*, so constantly named by Hiuen Tsiang, and called the "old territory<sup>4</sup> of the *Tu-ho-lo* country, or kingdom," may not be restored to Tûr, or Tûrya. The middle symbol *ho* represents the rough aspirate, we should thus get Tuhra or Tuxra, from which would come the Greek Tocharoi. At any rate, without going so far as a recent writer,<sup>5</sup> who would find in the *Tu-ho-lo* people the Greek Teuchri, I see no reason why the Tochari, or the people of *Tu-ho-lo*, should be confused with any Turkish horde, or with the Yue-chi.<sup>6</sup> They probably represent an old civilized Turanian people dwelling between the borders of Persia and the centre of the Ts'ung ling Mountains. This was just the territory of Afrâsyâb, until it was broken up by Kai Kosrav; it then became the prey of every invader and

<sup>1</sup> 至那.

<sup>2</sup> "But we must observe that the country of Sêni which is Chînistân (*Xînistân*) was probably the territory of Samarkand and may perhaps be connected with Mount K'ino."—West's Pahlavi Texts, S.B.E., Part i. p. 59 n.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Col. Yule's remark, *Wood's Oxus*, xxiv. n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> 故地, *vid.* Jul. ii. 201 and *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> G. de Vasconcellos-Abreu.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Kingsmill distinguishes the Tochari from the Yueh-ti, identifying the former with the Ta-hia (*J.R.A.S.* Vol. XIV. p. 81).

lost its unity. So in the *Si-yu-ki*<sup>1</sup> Hiuen Tsiang describes the *Tu-ho-lo* country as extending 3000 li from Persia to the Ts'ung ling Mountains, and 1000 li from the iron-gates to the Hindu Kûsh; but he takes care to speak of it as the "old territory"; it had now been overrun by the *Tuh-kiue* or Turks proper, and was no longer an independent state.

## VI. 月支 or 月氏

The Yue-chi are not named in the *Si-yu-ki*, and only once in the "Life of Hiuen Tsiang."<sup>2</sup>

The Chinese characters, however, for the Yue-chi and the Vrijjis, who lived at Vaiśâli, are the same.<sup>3</sup> This circumstance alone would not be sufficient to warrant any conclusion as to their identity. But other considerations seem to support such an opinion. I have referred to these elsewhere;<sup>4</sup> it will be enough therefore to name the sculptures at Sanchi (Pl. xxxviii. *Tree and Serpent Worship*), showing that the Vrijjis were a Scythian people; and also that the Lichchavis or Litsabyis, who were the same as the Vrijjis, are stated by Hodgson and Foucaux to be Scythians.<sup>5</sup>

But if the Vrijjis were Scythians, and their name be phonetically represented in Chinese by the same symbols as the Yue-chi, who were also Scythians, it would follow that the Yue-chi and the Vrijjis were one people.

We have a description of the manners and customs of the Vrijjis, the people of Vaiśâli, in the Parinibbâna<sup>6</sup> Sutta. This description shows that they were not a barbarous tribe like the later Yue-chi invaders (called Indo-Scyths) and the Yetha (*i.e.* Ephthalites), but were an independent, chivalrous, and proud people.

<sup>1</sup> Book I, Jul. i. p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> P. 19 of the original, p. 43, Jul. i.

<sup>3</sup> Compare "Texts from the Buddhist Canon," p. 165, with "Buddhist Suttas," by Rhys Davids, S.B.E. vol. xi. p. 1, n. 1. Cf. also "Le Sutra en 42 Articles," by Léon Feer, p. 74, n. 6.

<sup>4</sup> J.R.A.S. Vol. XIV. p. 39. I regret that in this paper the word *Vrijjis* and *Vajjis* should have been printed *Vrijjis* and *Vaggis*. The paper (owing to its brevity) was not sent to me for correction.

<sup>5</sup> Vid. paper referred to, J.R.A.S. Vol. XIV.

<sup>6</sup> S.B.E. xi. pp. 2 sqq.



A similar account of them is found in the corresponding Sûtra in the Chinese collection,<sup>1</sup> and also in the Chinese version of Dhammapada.<sup>2</sup>

From these books we learn that Ajâtaśatru, King of Magadha, being about to equip an expedition against the Vrijjis, who were encroachers and strangers, had fortified the town of Paṭâliputra against their advance; before entering on the expedition, however, he sent to Buddha to acquaint him of his purpose, and to draw from him some opinion or statement as to the undertaking.

Accordingly the messengers came into the presence of Buddha, and explained the object of their mission; on this the Blessed One spoke as follows:<sup>3</sup>

“So long as the Vajjians hold full and frequent public assemblies, so long they may be expected to prosper.

“So long as they meet together in concord and rise in concord and carry out their undertakings in concord; so long as they enact nothing not already established, abrogate nothing that has been already enacted, and act in accordance with the ancient institutions of the Vajjians as established in former days; so long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian elders and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words; so long as no women or girls belonging to their clans are detained among them by force or abduction; so long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian shrines in town or country, and allow not the proper offerings and rites as formerly given and performed to fall into desuetude; so long as the rightful protection, defence and support shall be fully provided for the Arahats among them, so that the Arahats from a distance may enter the realm and the Arahats therein may live at ease;—so long may the Vajjians be expected not to decline but to prosper.”

From this extract we learn the character of the Vajjians and their government.

<sup>1</sup> Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 119.

<sup>2</sup> Texts from the Buddhist Canon, by Samuel Beal, pp. 165, 166.

<sup>3</sup> S.B.E. xi. p. 3.

In the Buddhacharita by Aśvaghosha<sup>1</sup> we find some further particulars respecting these people :

“At this time the great men among the Lichchhavis, hearing that the lord of the world had entered their country and was resting in the Âmra gardens, went thither riding in their gaudy chariots with silken canopies and gorgeous robes, both blue and red, yellow and white, each one with his own cognizance ; accompanied by their body-guard surrounding them they went, others prepared the road in front, and with their heavenly crowns and flower-bespangled robes they rode richly dight with every kind of costly ornaments.”

In the Pâli translation<sup>2</sup> the account is as follows :

“Now the Lichchhavis of Vesâli heard that the Blessed One had arrived at Vesâli and was staying at Ambapâli's grove. And ordering a number of magnificent carriages to be made ready, they mounted one of them and proceeded with their train to Vesâli. Some of them were dark, dark in colour and wearing dark clothes and ornaments ; some of them were fair, fair in colour and wearing light clothes and ornaments ; some of them were red, ruddy in colour and wearing red clothes and ornaments ; some of them were white, pale in colour and wearing white clothes and ornaments.”<sup>3</sup>

These accounts of the Vrijjis, taken in connection with the Sanchi sculpture and the term Lichchhavi, tend to show that they were foreigners, and as Ajâtasatru was fortifying his frontiers against them, probably they were invaders.

Assuming, then, that the Vrijjis were Yue-chi, we must suppose that one branch of these people had penetrated to the south about the same time that another tribe of the same family had proceeded eastward to Tangut. The centre or nidus of the race would be the region of the Massagetæ, to the eastward of the Jaxartes. We revert, therefore, to the

<sup>1</sup> S.B.E. xix. p. 257.

<sup>2</sup> S.B.E. xi. p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the statement in the *Ching-i* respecting the bright-coloured garments worn by the Yue-ti. *Kingsmill*, J.R.A.S. XIV. p. 80 n. 4.

old theory of Rémusat and Klaproth, that the Yue-ti (or *chi*) were Getæ. M. V. de St.-Martin (*Les Huns Blancs*, p. 37, n. 1), indeed, says that this theory "pêche par sa base," because the Massagetæ are spoken of by Herodotus; whereas the Yue-chi had not arrived in Songaria from Tangut till about the year 128 B.C. But the old home of the Yue-chi was not in Tangut. They were strangers there, different in manners, language, and dress from Chinese and Turks. When they were driven thence by the Hiung-nu, they seem to have proceeded towards their ancient territory on the borders of the Jaxartes; they attacked the Ta-hia from the west,<sup>1</sup> and after this the Parthians; being defeated by these, they were driven south towards India; from this time they became known as Indo-Scyths or Gushans. The old sound of Yue 月 was "Get"; the Chinese symbols would thus correspond with the Greek form *Γέται*. I think the commotions which took place in Central Asia during the reigns of Cyrus and Darius Hystaspes, would quite explain an irruption of a tribe of the Getæ into India, where they were known as Vrijjis, and eastward into Tangut, where they became known to the Chinese.

The Ye-thas,<sup>2</sup> from Sung-Yun's account, were the most powerful of the four tribes (*i.e.* of the Turkish tribes then advancing westward), and remained idolaters and comparatively barbarous, down to the time when they were defeated at the hands of Khosru Naoshirwan,<sup>3</sup> and finally, in 571 A.D., completely shattered by the invasion of the Turkish Khakan. They must not be confused with the Yue-chi; they were the Ephthalites of the Byzantine writers.

I cannot think, then, that Hiuen Tsiang, in referring to the "old territory" of Tu-ho-lo, in which now the Tuhkioue were dwelling, means the old territory of the Yue-chi, or of the Ye-tha, but the kingdom of Tu-ho-lo that spread at one time from Persia to Tush-Kurghan, and was broken up by the Persians, and finally overrun by Northern barbarous tribes.

<sup>1</sup> Kingsmill, *J.R.A.S.* XIV. p. 81.    <sup>2</sup> *Buddhist Pilgrims*, by S. Beal, p. 184.

<sup>3</sup> Wood's *Oxus, Yule's Introd.* p. xxvii.

## VII. 轉輪聖王

Frequent mention is made in the *Si-yu-ki* of the office of a holy Chakravartti king, to which Buddha would have been called if he had not become an ascetic.

“The general meaning of this term is well known; it signifies a universal monarch, a sovereign who exercises his supremacy over the entire earth (*sarvabhaumo rājā*). It is a term equally familiar in Brahmanical books as in Buddhist writings; nevertheless, as it depends on certain cosmological imaginations, which under this special form have only been transmitted to us by the Buddhists, . . . it has every right to be considered and treated as specially Buddhistic.”

These are the words of M. Sénart;<sup>1</sup> the cosmological theories of the Buddhists are, I believe, essentially different from those of the Brahmans, and derived from a different source. This has been frequently referred to, and I have called special attention to it elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

The Buddhist theory of the thirty-three gods dwelling on Mount Sumeru in the Triyastrinshas heaven, refers to the year, the four quarters, and the twenty-eight days of the month.<sup>3</sup> This differs from the Brahmanical interpretation. But it seems to me more primitive and rational. There was a period when Saturnus ruled the gods, and he as “Time” (*Kρονος*) was supreme over the divisions of the year. This was the golden age,<sup>4</sup> and the reiterated accounts of the character of a Chakravartti’s dominion and government, found in Buddhist books, point to this golden age.

It has been noticed that from the word *annulus* still

<sup>1</sup> La legende du Buddha, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Abstract of Four Lectures, p. 146.

<sup>3</sup> In the Commentary to the *Sheu lang Sūtra*, K. vi. fol. 8a. it is said that each of the “four Kings” (*Chaturmahārājas*) has 91 sons, and that these, collectively amounting to 364, look after the world throughout the year. But in the older accounts given by Jin Ch’au (*Catena*, etc. p. 73) it is said that each King has 28 generals; does not this refer to an older mythology, in which the *lunar* month of 28 days was followed? Compare the account of the 30 Izeds who preside over the month. S.B.E. xxiii. p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> So Pausanias says: ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ποιηθῆναι Κρόνον ναὺν ὑπὸ τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ὀνομάζοντο χρυσοῦν γένος.—Lib. v. p. 391, ed. Kuhnii. Compare *Martial* xii. Ep. 62.

surviving, there must have been a root *annus* 'a ring.' So Virgil says: "Atque in se sua per vestigia volvitur annus."<sup>1</sup> So the ring, especially the rolling ring, or wheel, came to represent "Time," and would be a proper symbol or type of the lord of Time.<sup>2</sup> We find it so in a quarter scarcely anticipated. I refer to Grimm's "Teutonic Mythology,"<sup>3</sup> where we read, "Who does not see that Sitivrat is the Sclavic name for Saturn?" and he goes on a few lines down, "I should prefer to give Sitivrat the subordinate meaning of Sito-vrat, 'sieve-turner,' so that it would almost be the same as Kolo-vrat 'wheel-turner,' and afford a solution of that wheel in Krodo's (Saturn's) hand: both wheel (kolo) and sieve (sito) move round, and an ancient spell rested on sieve-turning."

The wheel in Saturn's hand refers to an image of this god, in which he is represented as "standing on a great fish, with a pot of flowers in his right hand and a wheel erect in his left."<sup>4</sup>

It is sufficient to have a hint here given (although, as Grimm says, these coincidences are still meagre and insecure) that Saturn, as the lord of Time, was regarded as the wheel-roller. The Chakravartin monarch also "makes the wheels of his chariot roll without obstacle athwart all lands,"<sup>5</sup> and his was "a golden age of universal peace and prosperity." I think we have authority therefore for supposing that this was the origin of the myth revived, or preserved, in the Buddhist speculations respecting this fabulous sovereign.

There are one or two observations which I will venture to add to the above. Why is the Chakravarti monarch called "holy"?<sup>6</sup> It seems to me, from the idea of perfect truthfulness involved in the idea of Sitivrat, which corresponds to Satyavrata, as it denotes one "who adheres to

<sup>1</sup> Virg. Georg. ii. 402.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Tennyson's words in the poem "The Golden Year:":  
"Universal peace  
Thro' all the circle of the golden year."

<sup>3</sup> Edition by Stallybrass, vol. i. p. 249.

<sup>4</sup> *op. cit.*, p. 248.

<sup>5</sup> Petersburg Sansk. Diet.

<sup>6</sup> 聖.

truth." So Buddha (as we have seen above) "sowed in the field of truth," and "scorned to lie";<sup>1</sup> and so in the Introduction to the Pratimoksha it is laid down that an essential qualification for confession, was "the utterance of the truth;" and that no one could be a disciple of Buddha who framed a lie. Herodotus also tells us that the Persians (who worshipped the Sun especially) held it to be disgraceful, "to lie"; now all this, as it seems to me, was derived from the truthfulness of Time, considered in the abstract; and I think it a reasonable supposition that the origin of the myth of Saturn's dethronement and the confusion in heaven and the decay of the golden age, is to be found in the first discovery or rather realization of the apparent untrue movements of the Sun, and the disarrangement of time, as the equinoctial points advanced, and the seasons in consequence appeared to change.<sup>2</sup> In any case there is no difficulty in seeing why Buddha claimed to be of the holy race of "the wheel-turning kings," represented by Satyavrata, or Saturn, the veracious.

If the "golden year" was represented by a wheel, it would appear that the *Roman* Saturn "was furnished with a sickle"<sup>3</sup> and not with a wheel." Why so? Because they regarded the Moon rather than the Sun as the arbiter of time. So we read in Ovid<sup>4</sup> that when the people seceded to the Sacred Hill, food failed them, and then

"Orta suburbanis quædam fuit Anna Bovillis,  
 Pauper, sed mundæ sedulitatis anus.  
 Illa, levi mitra canos redimita capillos,  
 Fingebat tremula rustica liba manu.  
 Atque ita per populum fumantia mane solebat  
 Dividere: hæc populo copia grata fuit.  
 Pace domi facta signum posuere Perennæ,  
 Quod sibi defectis illa tulisset opem."

Was this figure (signum) of Anna Perenna, the *sickle*?

<sup>1</sup> Romantic Legend, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Martial, Lib. xii. Ep. 62, "Antiqui, rex magne, poli, mundique prioris," referring to Saturn.

<sup>3</sup> Grimm, *op. cit.* i. p. 248.

<sup>4</sup> Ovid, *Fast.* iii. 667.

the symbol of the crescent moon and the type of progressive time?

With respect to the seven gems possessed by the Chakravartti sovereign, it may be they originally represented the seven days into which the week was, from remote time, divided. But I leave this as a mere possibility.<sup>1</sup>

### VIII. 鑛石 or 鑛鈔

There is frequent mention made in the *Si-yu-ki*<sup>2</sup> of a stone called *Yu-shih*, sometimes *thow shih*, which Julien translates by "brass"; but it appears to be "calamine stone." Calamine stone is the *cadmia* of Pliny, "fit et e lapide aëroso quem vocant Cadmiam,"<sup>3</sup> so called because Cadmus is supposed to have discovered its use in the composition of brass. Calamine stone is, I believe, a silicate of zinc, and from remote antiquity has been used in the manufacture of brass. Long before zinc was procured in its metallic form, this calamine stone was calcined and powdered, and, being mixed with grain copper, or copper clippings and charcoal, was exposed to great heat in crucibles, and so the brass was formed. In the *Si-yu-ki* the calamine stone is spoken of as brass—reminding us of the saying, "out of their hills they shall dig brass." But it is only by accommodation, or licence, that it is so named. The stone itself is the silicate of zinc spoken of. But why is it called calamine? The Chinese tell us it is found in the *Po-sse* country, and thence exported. By the *Po-sse* country we must understand Persia, because Hiuen Tsiang tells us so in the 11th book of the *Si-yu-ki*, and the 22nd page.

I should suppose, then, that it was called "Calamine stone" either because of its resemblance to the μέλι τὸ καλάμινον τὸ λεγόμενον σάκχαρι, "honey of a reed called sugar,"

<sup>1</sup> I am aware of M. Sénart's learned explanation of the Chakravartti and his insignia. Nothing that I have said is designed to interfere with his theory; I think, however, the earliest idea of the Universal monarch must be sought in the primitive conception of the 'golden year.'

<sup>2</sup> K. ix. 1<sup>2</sup> with k. xi. 2<sup>2</sup>, and *vid.* Medhurst sub. 鑛鈔.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny, N.H. II. xxxiv. 2.

which was exported from Baragya;<sup>1</sup> or else from the name of the town Kalamina, which, according to Cunningham, was the capital of Indo-Scythia,<sup>2</sup> the same as Minnagara; and this last place the same writer seems to identify with Patala or Potala, the capital of lower Sindh.<sup>3</sup>

We come now to consider a probable origin of this word Kalamina. General Cunningham "feels inclined to derive it from Kara-Mina, the black Mina, to distinguish it from the older city of Min in Sakastene."<sup>4</sup> He adds in a note that "Calamine may also be interpreted as Kilah-mina, or the "fort of Min," as Sir H. Rawlinson has shown that "the original Semitic word for a fort was *Kar*, which was corrupted very early to *kal* and *khal*, as in Khalasar, the Fort of Asshur, *Kalwâdeh*, the Fort of Wad," etc.

Father Kircher quotes Steph. le Moyne, who says, "Calaminam existere tantum in Utopiâ et cerebro malé feriato."<sup>5</sup> Kircher himself reads *Calurmina* for *Calamina*, and says that the word signifies "upon a stone," because the Malabars say that St. Thomas (who was martyred at Calamina, according to some accounts) was pierced by a Brahmin on a stone figured with crosses, which is still shown.<sup>6</sup>

But if we remember that Pótala, the Portus of the Indus (compare *Portus* on the Tiber, opposite Ostia, from being bishop of which place Hippolitus derived his title *Portuensis*), was from time immemorial the seat of the Ikshvâku sovereigns, of the Śākya race, we may perhaps arrive at a natural derivation of the name Kalamina. It was a Greek form<sup>7</sup> of the abode or town of the "Ikshus," the family of "the sweet sugar-cane" (*Calamus*). The first lines of "The Life of Buddha" (*Buddha-charita*) written by Aśvaghosha just at the beginning of our era, and who himself was a follower of Kanishka, are these:

<sup>1</sup> Muller, *Geog. Græc. Min.* I. Proleg. cviii.; Periplus, by McCrindle, p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Arch. Survey, vol. ii. p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. of India, Index*, p. 586, s.v. Patala, with p. 291 of the same work.

<sup>4</sup> *Arch. Survey*, vol. ii. p. 60.

<sup>5</sup> Hough's *Christianity in India*, p. 39, n. 3.

<sup>6</sup> *op. cit.* p. 38.

<sup>7</sup> Compare Pattalene, from Pattala, or Patala.



“A descendant of the sweet sugar-cane family,

“An invincible Śākya monarch, pure in mind, and of unspotted virtue, and therefore called Śuddhōdana, etc.”

The title of “sweet sugar-cane,” therefore, was still applied to the Śākyas in the time of Aśvaghosha.

Now it was just at this time that St. Thomas is supposed to have come to Calamina. He was commissioned to repair to this place to build a palace for Gondoforus. In the Saxon life of St. Thomas, which is ascribed to Elfrie, the legendary account is: “The Saviour himself came to him from heaven and said, ‘A king of the Indians, who is called Gundoforus, will send his gerefā to Syria’s land to seek some labourer who is skilful in arts. I will soon send thee forth with him.’ Thomas answered, ‘Send me whither thou wilt except to the Indians.’ But on the command to go being repeated he assented: and when the regal officer came they went together to the ship, and reared their sail and proceeded with the wind; and they sailed forth then seven nights before they reached the shore; but it would be long to tell all the wonders he did there. They came next to the king in India, and Abannes boldly brought Thomas to the speech of the king, who said to him: ‘Canst thou build me a kingly mansion in the Roman manner?’ Thomas tried and succeeded, and had then liberty to preach, and baptized and constructed a church, and Migdonia the king’s sister believed what he taught.”—Cott. MS. A. 14, pp. 112–118.

The story in the Golden Legend differs somewhat from the above, but is to the same effect as regards the mission of St. Thomas to build a palace for Gondoforus.

With regard to Gondoforus or Yndopheres we read in von Sallet:

“At first nothing of this king existed but a mass of coins which were according to their style relegated to a tolerably late date soon after the last Azes-coins. Then the coins of ‘Abdagases, the brother’s son of Gyndepher(es),’ were added. Abdagases, according to Tacitus, was a Parthian dynast; therefore the Parthian descent of Yndopheres became

probable ; which, as well as the immediate contact of his boundaries with those of the Arsakedan realm, is satisfactorily proved by the pure Greek drachm of the Berlin Museum, coined exactly in the type and style of the Arsakedes, as discovered by me. . . . . Sanabaros must have produced his coins about 80 A.D., and Yndopheres had died at this date.”<sup>1</sup>

Accounts seem to agree that St. Thomas, if he was ever in the East, laboured among the Parthians, Medes, Persians, Armenians, Hyrcanians, Bactrians and Margians,<sup>2</sup> confining his sphere to N.W. India, or rather the borders of the Indus (at this time in possession of the Parthians). It was here we take it Calamina, the capital of the Ikshus, must be placed, and from them took its Greek name.

With regard to St. Thomas at Madras, the curious agreement of Bodhidharma's name, *Ta-mo*, who left that neighbourhood for China A.D. 516, would be sufficient to explain the stories about the Apostle having flourished in that neighbourhood, and having gone thence to China. This has been noticed by other writers ; M. Margrot, Bishop of Conon, writes thus : “ One Tamo, as notorious a rogue as ever visited China, who became chief of one of the subdivisions of the sect of Foe, which they call the sect of the contemplatives, has been mistaken by the missionaries for St. Thomas.”<sup>3</sup>

That Bodhidharma (*Ta-mo*) went to China, from South India, about the beginning of the sixth century, and became the first patriarch of the sect of Fo, in that country, admits of no question ; but this cannot affect the tradition recorded by Eusebius and other early writers respecting the Apostle St. Thomas in Parthia, or his death at Calamina.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Antiq. vol. ix. part cxi. p. 260.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Asseman. Bib. Orient. Tom. iii. part 2, p. 25, quoted by Hough, *op. cit.* p. 35 n.

<sup>3</sup> Hough, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 94.

<sup>4</sup> I will here merely add the names of some of these writers : Origines (Lib. ii. in Genes.) ; Eusebius (Lib. iii. Histor. Eccl. cap. 1) ; Rufinus (Lib. i. cap. 9) ; Auctor libri Recognitionum (Lib. ix. c. 29) ; Socrates (Lib. i. cap. 15) ; alique, Parthiam Thomæ obtigisse scribunt ; Persidem Fortunatus Parthiæ substituit (Lik. i. Carm. 1) Parthiam, Persidem et Indiam Thomæ assignat Hippolytus.

There is some ground, therefore, for the belief that Calamina, where tradition states St. Thomas was martyred, was a town of Parthia, bordering on the Indus.

A curious illustration of this point will be found in Josephus "against Apion," where, in Whiston's translation, he is made to say that Aristotle told Clearchus that there was in India a sect from whom the Jews derived their name or their character. "These Jews," he says, "are derived from the Indian philosophers named by the Indians *Calami*, by the Syrians *Judæi*."<sup>1</sup>

The texts, indeed, agree in giving *Καλάνοι* for *Καλάμοι*, and I am quite unable to state from what text Whiston translated (or whether my copy, the ordinary edition by Howell of Liverpool, is defective), but I am quite prepared to agree with Lassen in the *Rhenish Museum* ("Indian Sects named by Greek Authors") that the use of the word *Kalanoi*<sup>2</sup> is the work of some sciolist, who had in his mind the name of Kalanus, who came to Alexander, and so coined the term of the Indian sect. I quite assent to that opinion, and I believe that the true reading should be *Kalamoi*. Were these Calami<sup>3</sup> or Calani the holy tribe of the Ikshvâkus of Potala?

In proof that the Ikshvâkus of Potala were considered a holy or righteous tribe, I will only add two passages. In the *Si-yu-ki*<sup>4</sup> we are told that four of the Śākya youths were banished by their clansmen from Kapilavastu, because they had withstood the marauding force of Virûḍhaka; such an act of violence was unworthy of a tribe in which a succession of holy kings had appeared; they ought rather "patiently to

Loca prædicationis Sophronius apud Hieronymum sic recenset, 'Thomas Apostolus, quemadmodum traditum est nobis, Parthis et Medis et Persis et Carminis et Hyrcanis et Bactris et Margis prædicavit Evangelium Domini (Sophronius Cap. 8).' Given by the Rev. J. Hough, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 35 n.

<sup>1</sup> Against Apion, Whiston, p. 640.

<sup>2</sup> There is however a Sanskrit word *Kalana*, as well as *Kalama*, signifying 'a reed,' or 'cane.' Cf. the word *καλάμος* applied to St. John the Baptist. The query is whether the term *καλάμος*, like *καθάρος* among Christians, was applied to any one of a marked religious character.

<sup>3</sup> The Sanskrit *Calama* means both "rice" and "a reed"; the Calamus of Ezekiel (xxvii. 19) is the Hebrew *Koneh*.

<sup>4</sup> Jul. ii. p. 317.

have endured wrong, than bring disgrace upon their name by acting cruelly and revengefully.”

So again, in the account of the banishment of the four Śākya princes from Pôtala, it is said,<sup>1</sup> “When they had proceeded sixteen miles from Benares, a council was called. The princes said, ‘We have so large a retinue that there is no city in Jambudwipa that could withstand us; but if we were to seize on any kingdom by force, it would be unjust and contrary to the principles of the Okkâka (Ikshvâku) race: nor would it be consistent in us as princes to take that which belongs to another; we will therefore erect for ourselves a city in some unpeopled wild and reign in righteousness.’”

Such principles as these seem to connect the Calani or Calami, named by Aristotle, with the Ikshvâkus of Pôtala.

### IX. 正覺 (*Samyak Sambuddhi*).

There are frequent allusions in the *Si-yu-ki*<sup>2</sup> to the condition of Samyak Sambuddhi, which constitutes the condition of enlightenment peculiar to a Buddha.

The corresponding phrase in Pâli is Sammâsambodhi, which Childers translates “perfect knowledge of the truth.”<sup>3</sup> The Chinese symbol 正 also implies perfection.<sup>4</sup> I do not profess to explain the radical force of *sami-añé*, or *sami-acé*; but there seems to be a similarity, at least a verbal one, between *Sambuddhi* and *συνειδήσις*. Perhaps this deserves some notice.

The *Si-yu-ki* states that Bodhisattva arrived at this condition of “perfect enlightenment” (*samyak sambuddhi*) under the sacred tree at Gayâ, in agreement with the general statement in other Buddhist books.

This condition of intellectual perfection is described thus in the *Buddha-charita* :

“That which behoves the world to learn, but through the

<sup>1</sup> Spence Hardy's *Man. of Bud.* pp. 131, 132.

<sup>2</sup> Jul. ii. pp. 309, 312, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Pâli Dict. s.v. Sammâ.

<sup>4</sup> It denotes the point of culmination also, a star, for instance, coming to the meridian.

world no learner found, I now myself and by myself have learned throughout, 'tis rightly called Sambódhi." <sup>1</sup>

This is the statement of Buddha "the enlightened," to Upaka the student, who met him on his way to Banârâs. He had refused to argue, but self-reliant he stated his own independent superiority; he had reached himself, and by himself, enlightenment.

I can hardly say whether this is not Stoicism pure and simple. "Chrysippus, like other Stoics," says Dr. Lightfoot, "had no belief in argumentation, but welcomed the highest truths as intuitively apprehended." <sup>2</sup>

Buddha also asserted he had reached the highest truth intuitively. "Self-taught in this profoundest doctrine, I have attained to that which man has not attained (intuitive truth)." <sup>3</sup>

Again, Dr. Lightfoot observes: "The Stoic being a Pantheist, and having no distinct belief in a personal God, was not a prophet in the ordinary sense, but only as being the exponent of his own inner consciousness, which was his supreme authority." <sup>4</sup>

Again, "The Stoic was essentially a philosopher of intuition." <sup>5</sup>

I need not dwell on the points of agreement between the two systems; they may be summed up as embracing (1) a common belief in the supreme good, derived from the practice of virtue, (2) the self-reliance and assertion of conscience, and (3) the reality of intuitional apprehension of truth.

It is singular that this agreement of thought should be supplemented by two striking historical facts. 1st, Zeno was a child of the East, a native of Citium, a Phœnician colony of Cyprus, and called "the Phœnician." Dr. Lightfoot asserts that "Stoicism was in fact the earliest offspring of the union between the religious consciousness of the East and the intellectual culture of the West." <sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Fo-sho*, etc. v. 1206.

<sup>2</sup> Lightfoot, *Epist. to the Philippians*, Excursus ii. p. 276.

<sup>3</sup> *Fo-sho*, p. 169, v. 1205. Compare n. 1, p. 170.

<sup>4</sup> Lightfoot, *op. cit.* p. 276 n.

<sup>5</sup> *op. cit.* p. 275.

<sup>6</sup> *op. cit.* p. 273.

Again, the same writer says: "To Eastern affinities Stoicism was largely indebted for the features which distinguished it from the other schools of Greek philosophy. To this fact may be attributed the intense moral earnestness which was its most honourable characteristic."

Dr. Lightfoot attributes the Eastern affinities to contact with the Jews, or Jewish schools. I should be inclined, in the presence of such marked resemblances of detail, and even of verbal similarities, to believe that Zeno, the Phœnician, was indebted for his inspiration to the further East.

The second historical fact is this, that the Antigonus Gonatas of Macedon of the Edicts of Asoka<sup>1</sup> was the patron, if not disciple, of Zeno. Whilst residing at Athens he attended his lectures and earnestly invited him to his court. Was Antigonus entirely ignorant of the doctrine of Buddha, accepted and patronized by Asoka? At least it is strange that the same man named by Asoka in his edicts should be a follower of Zeno!

On all grounds I think the condition of Sambuddhi or Sambôdhi, is allied to the *συνειδήσις* of the Greek philosopher.

## X. 一切義成

I may call attention to the Chinese rendering of the name *Sarvarthasiddha*, the secular appellative of the young prince who afterwards became the Buddha. This name is otherwise given as *Siddhârtha*, and it is rendered into English by Prof. Max Müller,<sup>2</sup> "he by whom the end is accomplished," and by Prof. Monier Williams as "one by whom all things are effected."<sup>3</sup> I cannot say that either of these renderings agrees with the Chinese translation of the word. The translation as given in *Si-yu-ki* is *Yih-tsai-i-shing*,<sup>4</sup> which is thus rendered by Dr. Eitel, "the realization of all the meanings, sc. which were attributed to the various miracles that happened at the moment when Śâkyamuni was born."<sup>5</sup> I

<sup>1</sup> Edict xiii. *Corpus inscript. Indic.* p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> Chips, i. p. 217.

<sup>3</sup> Sansk. Dict. s.v. *Sarva*.

<sup>4</sup> 一切義成.

<sup>5</sup> Handbook, s.v.

think, however, the key to the meaning of the child's name will be found in the explanation given in the Life of Buddha, which I have translated as "The Romantic History"; it is there stated that he was so called because of his perfect endowments and gifts. So that the Chinese phrase *Yih-tsai-i-shing* may be rendered "omni ratione perfectus"; the symbol *i* corresponds with *ratio*, and it need not be confined to its common signification of "reason" or "meaning"; in this way it denotes "perfection," both as to personal appearance and propitious circumstances. I should therefore simply translate Siddhârtha, by "the perfect" or "the perfectly accomplished," or "perfected with every excellency."

There is a curious illustration of this meaning of the word Siddhârtha in the *Si-yu-ki*. In the account given of a Master of Śâstras called Bhâvavivêka, in the 10th book,<sup>1</sup> it is stated that he was able by the recitation of some magic formula to enter a cave of an Asura, where he is now supposed to be, awaiting the arrival of Maitrêya. In the translation of Wong Pûh's life of Buddha,<sup>2</sup> there is an account of this proceeding of Bhâvavivêka; we find that he repeated a magic formula called *Kin-kong* (i.e. the *Diamond dhârani*), before the door of an Asura cavern, and then knocking at the rock it opened. But there is an expression used before the account of his knocking, which is the difficulty—*chiu pih kae tseu*<sup>3</sup> "enchanting a white mustard seed," he knocked at the face of the rock; does this mean he enchanted the seed and then threw it against the rock? or does it mean he repeated his magic sentences (*pirit*) to a mustard seed, i.e. perfectly (*ad unguem*)? It may mean, as Julien supposes, that the white mustard seed was enchanted,<sup>4</sup> and I find, in confirmation of this, that, in the preface to the Liturgy of Kwan Yin, one of the directions for preparing the sacred precinct, or Maṇḍala, is to take some white mustard seeds, and

<sup>1</sup> Jul. iii. p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> Journal of the Royal Asiatic Soc. Vol. XX. Part II. p. 210.

<sup>3</sup> 呪白芥子.

<sup>4</sup> Childers gives a compound *paritta-suttain*, 'charmed thread.'—Pâli Dict. s. v. *parittâ*.

then repeating the dhâraṇi to throw them, looking to the four quarters;<sup>1</sup> but in either case what is the signification of the "white mustard seed"?

This seems to be answered by turning to Childers' Pâli Dictionary, where we find the meanings of Siddhattho to be "white mustard: Gautama Buddha's name when a prince." I find this also to be a meaning of the Sanskrit Siddhârtha; does it then imply "perfection," *i.e.* that when the mustard seed is used, the dhâraṇi are *perfectly* repeated, or is the white mustard seed used as a symbol or emblem of success? Siddhârtha? Anyhow, the virtue of the white mustard seed is so great, that in the case of Bhâva-vivêka, the rock opened and the cave was freely entered.

It is possible that we have here the explanation of "Open Sesame" in the tale of Ali Baba.

But to return to Siddhârtha, the prince. When his renown as "possessed of every perfection" spread to Persia, it may have laid the foundation for the legends about the *perfect* knight Arthur (Siddhârtha), and his round table (chakra?). The story of the holy grail, at least, seems to be connected with the history of the Pâtra,<sup>2</sup> and there are other particulars in the two legends which seem to be closely connected. Of these I will not speak here.

## XI. 衆許摩訶帝經

It appears from the *Si-yu-ki*,<sup>3</sup> that the majority of the Buddhists in the neighbourhood of the Sindhu province belonged to the school called Sammatiya; this was the case at Fa-la-pi (Vallabhî), Mo-la-po (Mâlava), Ânandapura, Surâshṭra, Pitâsilâ, Avaṇḍa, and other countries.

In the Life of Buddha according to the Sammatiya school,

<sup>1</sup> Compare Colebrooke, *Essays*, § iv. p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> With regard to this, I think Col. Yule was the first to point out the similarity of the story of the Pâtra and Holy Grail (Marco Polo, vol. ii. p. 266, 1st edition). In my *Report on the Buddhist Tripitaka* I called attention to the same circumstance, p. 114. I may now add that the Chinese equivalent for Pâtra, *Ying K'i* 'a proper measure dish,' seems to agree with grail (graduale).

<sup>3</sup> Jul. iii. pp. 162, 180.



which I apprehend is the same as the *Chung-hu-mo-ho-ti-king*,<sup>1</sup> we have a lengthened account of the kings of Pôtala (the Ikshvâkus), and the descent of Śâkyas; this we should expect in a work belonging to a school so largely diffused in the region of the Indus, whose chief port was Pôtala.

But there is an adventure recorded concerning the youthful *Siddhârtha* in this book, which I have not found anywhere else. It occurs on the 17th page of the 4th kiouen, where we find him encountering a fiery dragon in the Lumbinî garden. This poisonous beast dwelt in a cave near the river Lu-ho-ka (Ruhaka?), and by his noxious breath afflicted the people who were engaged in the attempt to remove a tree that had fallen across the stream and caused a drought. The young prince was summoned to assist them, and on his way through the garden the fiery dragon came forth from his den and disputed the way. On this the royal prince drew his sword and speedily killed him, whilst the poisonous vapour from his mouth spread around the spot. The dragon, because of his colour, was called Kâlanâya (Kia-lo-na-i) "the black worm."

This adventure with the dragon naturally brings to mind the legend of St. George and the Dragon.

In the first place St. George, according to one version of the legend, destroys a dragon who is guarding a spring of water, whilst the country is languishing for irrigation. "St. George, we are told, restores to the land the use of the spring by slaying the dragon."<sup>2</sup>

Secondly, the epithet "St. George the victorious" is quite parallel to the accepted title of Buddha (or Bodhisattva in his contest with Mâra) as *Jina*, "the conqueror" or "victorious"; this epithet is applied to all the Buddhas in virtue of their conquest over Mâra.

Thirdly, there is an agreement in the seven years' torture which the Saint underwent at the hands of Dacian, Emperor

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Nanjio (*Catalogue*, no. 859) gives another title to this Sûtra. But, in the first Chapter of the original, *Chung-hu* is made to represent *Sammata*, and I would suggest that *Mo-ho-ti* is *Mahatî* (as in *Mahatî kathâ*), or simply *Mahat Sûtra*.

<sup>2</sup> *Myths of the Middle Ages*, by S. Baring-Gould, p. 311.

of the Persians, "who was stirred up by the Devil," and the seven years' suffering of Bodhisattva ere he became a Jina by overcoming Mâra; "for seven years Mâra (the devil) pursued the Bodhisattva up to the last vain attack he made upon him under the tree;"<sup>1</sup> here we have "*satta vassâni*," seven years, expressly named, and during all this time he was pursued by Mâra.

But the veneration paid by the Turks to St. George indicates a non-Christian element in the tradition. "The Mussulmans say that El Khouder (Al Khedr) is not dead, but flies round and round the world, and that chapels are built wherever he appears."<sup>2</sup> This sounds very much like a Buddhist myth;<sup>3</sup> it occurs also in the Arthurian legend;<sup>4</sup> the dish of Buddha, moreover, flies here and there, and shrines were raised to it.

Al Khedr, the companion of Moses (according to the Mussulmans) is alluded to in the Coran (Surat lxxvi. 21), and elsewhere. He is believed to have been Phinehas, whose soul passed into Elias and thence into the "sacred rider" Girgis, or Jergis (St. George), after whom the bay of Beyrout is named, where tradition says he met the dragon.

The term "sacred rider" would very appositely belong to Bodhisattva mounted on his steed Kantaka. By referring to the beautiful central disc found on Plate xlix. *Tree and Serpent Worship*, 1st edition,<sup>5</sup> this will be readily allowed. His sacred character as he rode forth is evidenced by the graceful light about his head, whilst round him angels (dêvas) cluster, and support the horse's hoofs. This scene, it is well known, has given name to the history of Buddha called Abhinishkramana, and in the translation of that work from the Chinese,<sup>6</sup> it has been placed on the cover of the book as the key to the whole story. The scene is found elsewhere, and I believe it forms part of the Lahore collec-

<sup>1</sup> Oldenberg, Buddha, p. 420.

<sup>2</sup> Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 274.

<sup>3</sup> Each Tathâgata has a successor awaiting (in heaven) his time "to come." Tathâgata therefore never dies.

<sup>4</sup> "Arthur is come again; he cannot die."—Tennyson, *Morte d'Arthur*.

<sup>5</sup> Also Pl. lix.

<sup>6</sup> The Romantic Legend of Buddha.

tion.<sup>1</sup> I will give Aśvaghosha's account of this scene:<sup>2</sup> "The devas then gave spiritual strength; and unperceived the horse, equipped, came round with even pace; a gallant steed, with all his jewelled trappings for a rider. High-maned, with flowing tail, broad-backed, short-haired and eared, with belly like the deer's, head like the king of parrots, wide forehead, rounded claw-shaped nostrils; breath like the dragon's, with breast and shoulders square, true and sufficient marks of his high breed. The royal prince, stroking the horse's neck, and rubbing down his body, said: 'My royal father ever rode on thee, and found thee brave in fight and fearless of the foe; now I desire to rely on thee alike, to carry me far off,'" etc. The account then proceeds: "Having thus exhorted him, he bestrode his horse; grasping the reins, he sallied forth; the man, like the bright sun, the horse like the white floating cloud; . . . four spirits held the horse's feet; . . . thus man and horse went forward strong of heart, now lost to sight like streaming stars, but ere the eastern quarter flushed with light they had advanced three yojanas."

This scene, so famous and widespread, if applied to St. George, would well account for his name, "the sacred rider."

The story of Yambûshâdh related in the book of Nabathæan Agriculture, written by Kuthâmi, the Babylonian, and translated by Ibn Wa'hshiya al Kasdani, who lived apparently at Bagdad about A.D. 900, is curiously parallel with the history of St. George, so much so that Mr. Baring-Gould says that the legends about Tammuz (with whom Yambûshâdh is associated) is but a heathen form of the history of St. George.<sup>3</sup> But who then was Yambûshâdh? Kuthâmi says: "I believe in the story of Yambûshâdh, and when they read it and weep, I weep along with them, and the reason is this, that the time of Yambûshâdh is nearer to our own

<sup>1</sup> So "sacred" was the group considered that at one time (by a stretch of fancy) it was confounded with the entrance of Christ into Jerusalem. See Dr. Leitner's Lecture on "Græco-Buddhistic Sculptures" (quoted in *The Hour*, Feb. 27th, 1874).

<sup>2</sup> S.B.E. xix. p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> Baring-Gould, *op. cit.* pp. 233, 284.

than the time of Tammuz, and his story therefore is more certain and worthy of belief.”<sup>1</sup>

And then he observes : “The contemporaries of Yambûshâdh assert that all the sekâ'im of the gods and all the images lamented over Yambûshâdh after his death, just as the angels and the sekâ'im lamented over Tammuz.” So that, whoever Yambûshâdh was,<sup>2</sup> one reason why St. George is associated with him seems to be on account of the weeping of the gods at his death. But this is also a particular connected with Buddha ; was it not rather borrowed from his history and referred to St. George ?

<sup>3</sup>“The sun and moon withdrew their shining ; the peaceful streams on every side were torrent swollen : the sturdy forests shook like aspen leaves, whilst flowers and leaves untimely fell around, like scattered rain.

“The flying dragons, carried on pitchy clouds, wept down their tears ; the four kings and their associates moved by pity, forgot their works of charity.

“The pure devas came from heaven to earth, etc.”

And so all accounts describe the circumstances of the Nirvâna.

Lastly, it is perhaps worth remarking that the story of St. George and the dragon first appeared in the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine. It is to this legend we owe the revival of the story of St. Thomas and King Gondoforus, and the death of the Christian martyr at Calamina.

If the account of the Apostle's death was derived from traditions surviving at Potala<sup>4</sup> (Tatta), or the neighbourhood, we must also remember that it was in this neighbourhood the legendary history of Bodhisattva contained in the work named at the head of this section was widely circulated, and in this work is the account of the battle of the prince and the dragon, and the deliverance of the land from drought.

<sup>1</sup> *op. cit.* p. 280.

<sup>2</sup> Yambûshâdh was one of the three wise men (Ssâgrit, Yambûshâdh and Qutâmâ), who wrote a work on Nabathæan agriculture, he is supposed to have lived some 7000 years ago. It is an old Chaldæan name.—Dr. Malan (a private communication).

<sup>3</sup> *Fo-sho*, etc. S.B.E. xix. p. 308.

<sup>4</sup> Calamina (?).

XII. 摩王 (*Mâra*).

There is much said in the *Si-yu-ki* about *Mâra*, the Tempter. The question is one of interest, what was the Buddhist conception of this "author of evil"? In any case he was not the lord of the "under world," but rather the prince of the "upper world." There are apparently two representations of him in the Sanchi sculptures: the first in pl. xxx.,<sup>1</sup> where he is represented as placed above the Trâyas-trimshas heaven, in which they are celebrating the festival of the chudamâni; supported by his wives (or daughters), he is regarding with dismay the determined purpose of the Bodhisattva to reach the condition of a Buddha. Secondly in pl. xxvi. fig. 1, where he is exhibited, with his five female attendants, as in the former plate, approaching Buddha for the purpose of dissuading him from continuing in the world "a kalpa."

There is no sign in these plates of the idea of a degraded form of being; he was prince of the world of desire, the ruler of the *Kâma-loka*, the personification of lust, of sin and death, the arch-enemy of all goodness, residing with legions of subordinates in the heaven *Parinirmita Viśavartin*,<sup>2</sup> situated on the top of the *Kâma-loka*; he is also called "the wicked one"<sup>3</sup> (*Pisuna*), or "sinful love"; another name for him is "the murderer."<sup>4</sup>

One of his chief attributes is the power of fascination. He fascinated *Ânanda* so that he failed to ask Buddha to remain in the world a Kalpa. And he endeavoured to fascinate the Bodhisattva himself with thoughts of worldly power, and sensual love, but failed.

There is a curious passage in the *Si-yu-ki*, in the 7th book, p. 55,<sup>5</sup> which seems to exhibit his character in this light, and which may perhaps help to explain the origin of the phrase "night-mare."

<sup>1</sup> 1st edition.

<sup>2</sup> Eitel, *Handbook*, s.v. *Mâra*.

<sup>3</sup> 波旬.

<sup>5</sup> Beal's translation.

<sup>4</sup> 殺者.

“To the east of the ‘deer forest’ 2 or 3 li, we come to a *stūpa* by the side of which is a dry pool about 80 paces in circuit, one name of which is ‘saving life,’<sup>1</sup> another name is ‘ardent master.’ The old traditions explain it thus: Many hundred years ago there was a solitary sage (*a sorrowful or obscure master*) who built by the side of this pool a hut to live in, away from the world. He practised the arts of magic, and by the extremest exercise of his spiritual power he could change broken fragments of bricks into precious stones, and could also metamorphose both men and animals into other shapes, but he was not yet able to ride upon the winds and the clouds, and to follow the *Ṛishis* in mounting upwards. By inspecting figures and names that had come down from of old, he further sought into the secret arts of the *Ṛishis*. From these he learned the following: ‘The spirit-*Ṛishis* are they who possess the art of lengthening life.’<sup>2</sup> If you wish to acquire this knowledge, first of all you must fix your mind on this—viz. to build up an altar enclosure 10 feet round; then command an “ardent master” (*a hero*), faithful and brave, and with clear intent, to hold in his hand a long sword and take his seat at the corner of the altar, to cover his breath, and remain silent from evening till dawn.<sup>3</sup> He who seeks to be a *Ṛishi* must sit in the middle of the altar, and, grasping a long knife, must repeat the magic formulæ and keep watch (*seeing and hearing*). At morning light, attaining the condition of a *Ṛishi*, the sharp knife he holds will change into a sword of diamond (*a gem-sword*), and he will mount into the air and march through space, and rule over the band of *Ṛishis*. Waving the sword he holds, everything he wishes will be accomplished, and he will know neither decay nor old age,

<sup>1</sup> There is no expression for ‘pool,’ as in the French translation.

<sup>2</sup> The magic art of lengthening life, or of a long life. The ‘elixir of life’ and the art of transmuting metals had been sought after in the East long before the Arabs introduced the study of alchemy into Europe. The philosopher’s stone is the *tan sha* of the Chinese, *i.e.* the red bisulphuret of mercury, or cinnabar. See an article on *Tauism* in the *Trans. of the China Branch of the R.A.S.*, part v. 1855, article iv., by Dr. Edkins, p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> We may compare with this the ceremonies observed anciently on conferring the dignity of knighthood, especially the vigil before the altar. (Ingulphus, quoted by Mr. Thoms in his *Book of the Court*, p. 138.)

nor disease nor death.’<sup>1</sup> The man having thus obtained the method (*of becoming a Rishi*), went in search of such an ‘ardent master.’ Diligently he searched for many years, but as yet he found not the object of his desires. At length, in a certain town, he encountered a man piteously wailing as he went along the way. The solitary master seeing his marks (*the marks on his person*),<sup>2</sup> was rejoiced at heart, and forthwith approaching him, he inquired, ‘Why do you go thus lamenting, and why are you so distressed?’ He said, ‘I was a poor and needy man, and had to labour hard to support myself. A certain master seeing this, and knowing me to be entirely trustworthy, used me (*engaged me for his work*) during five years, promising to pay me well for my pains. On this I patiently wrought in spite of weariness and difficulties. Just as the five years were done, one morning for some little fault I was cruelly whipped and driven away without a farthing. For this cause I am sad at heart and afflicted. Oh, who will pity me?’

“The solitary master ordered him to accompany him, and coming to his cabin (*wood hut*), by his magic power he caused to appear some choice food, and ordered him to enter the pool and wash. Then he clothed him in new garments, and giving him 500 gold pieces, he dismissed him, saying, ‘When this is done, come and ask for more without fear.’<sup>3</sup> After this he frequently bestowed on him more gifts, and in secret did him other good, so that his heart was filled with gratitude. Then the ‘ardent master’ was ready to lay down his life in return for all the kindness he had received. Knowing this, the other said to him, ‘I am in need of an enthusiastic person.’<sup>4</sup> During a succession of years I sought for one, till I was fortunate enough to meet with you,

<sup>1</sup> The account of this magic gem-sword may be compared with the ‘great brand, Excalibur,’ of King Arthur:

‘But ere he dipt the surface, rose an arm  
Clothed in white samite, mystic, wonderful,  
And caught him by the hilt, and brandished him  
Three times.’ — *Tennyson*.

<sup>2</sup> *Siang*, the marks indicating his noble character.

<sup>3</sup> *Wu-wai* may also mean ‘seek it not elsewhere.’ Julien translates it “do not despise me.”

<sup>4</sup> ‘A brave champion.’—Julien.

possessed of rare beauty and a becoming presence, different from others.<sup>1</sup> Now, therefore, I pray you, during one night (*to watch*) without speaking a word.'

"The champion said, 'I am ready to die for you, much more to sit with my breath covered.'<sup>2</sup> Whereupon he constructed an altar and undertook the rules for becoming a Rishi, according to the prescribed form. Sitting down, he awaited the night. At the approach of night each attended to his particular duties. The 'solitary master' recited his magic prayers; the champion held his sharp sword in his hand. About dawn suddenly he uttered a short cry, and at the same time fire descended from heaven, and flames and smoke arose on every side like clouds. The 'solitary master' at once drew the champion into the lake,<sup>3</sup> and having saved him from his danger, he said, 'I bound you to silence; why then did you cry out?'

"The champion said, 'After receiving your orders, towards the middle of the night, darkly, as in a dream, the scene changed, and I saw rise before me all my past history. My master<sup>4</sup> in his own person came to me, and in consolatory words addressed me; overcome with gratitude, I yet restrained myself and spoke not. Then that other man came before me; towering with rage, he slew me, and I received my ghostly body<sup>5</sup> (*I wandered as a shade or shadowy body*). I beheld myself dead, and I sighed with pain, but yet I vowed through endless ages not to speak, in gratitude to you. Next I saw myself destined to be born in a great

<sup>1</sup> So I translate the passage, but it may be 'your beauty (or figure) corresponds to the ideal portrait I had formed of it.' So Julien translates; but *si yau ta* would more naturally be rendered 'unlike that of any other.'

<sup>2</sup> From this it seems that the portion relating to 'holding the breath' is omitted in the previous sentence.

<sup>3</sup> That is, to escape the fire.

<sup>4</sup> That is, 'my lord or master whom I now serve'—the solitary master or Rishi. It cannot be my old master, the one who treated him so cruelly (as Julien construes it), for he comes on the scene in the next sentence. The symbols *sh sse* are not to be taken with *chu*, as though it were 'my old master'; but with *kin*, as I have translated it, 'there arose before me the former events of my life.'

<sup>5</sup> This ghostly body or shade (*chung yin shan*) corresponds with the *εἶδωλον* of the Greeks—

Ψυχὴ καὶ εἶδωλον, ἀτὰρ φρένες οὐκ ἐνὶ πάμπαν.—*Iliad*, xxiii. 104.



Brâhman's house in Southern India, and I felt my time come to be conceived and to be brought forth. Though all along enduring anguish, yet from gratitude to you no sound escaped me. After awhile I entered on my studies, took the cap (*of manhood*), and I married; my parents dead, I had a child. Each day I thought of all your kindness, and endured in silence, uttering no word. My household connections and clan relatives all seeing this were filled with shame. For more than sixty years and five I lived. At length my wife addressed me, "You must speak; if not, I slay your son!" And then I thought, "I can beget no other child, for I am old and feeble; this is my only tender son." It was to stop my wife from killing him I raised the cry.'

"The 'solitary master' said, 'All was my fault; 'twas the fascination of the devil.'<sup>1</sup> The champion, moved with gratitude, and sad because the thing had failed, fretted himself and died. Because he escaped the calamity of fire, the lake is called 'Saving the Life,' and because he died overpowered by gratitude, it has its other name, 'The Champion's Lake.'

P.S. After this paper was written and corrected, I was enabled, by the kindness of Mr. Vaux, to compare my remarks on the Yue-chi with the investigations of M. Specht (*Journ. Asiatique, Série viii. Tome ii. pp. 319 seq.*). I am gratified to find his opinion bears me out, so far as the Ye-tha are concerned. I wish to call attention to the Mæso-Gothic words *maiþa* (greater) and *minniþa* (less), and to suggest that we have here the origin of the names *Massagetæ*, and the Mins, the *ta* Yue-chi (great Yue-chi) and the *siau* Yue-chi (little Yue-chi). I wish also, in reference to the name Al-Khedr, or Khûder, to point out the curious coincidence between this Arabic name for St.

<sup>1</sup> Or Mâra: it is plain that this weird story, taken in connection with the dream, the inability to move or speak, and the actual reference of it all to Mâra, is but an account of "the enthusiastic hero's" suffering from "nightmare."

George, and the Chinese 瞿曇, the common mode of representing the Sanskrit Gôtama, *i.e.* Buddha. The first symbol is phonetically equivalent to *Khu* or *Kiu*, the second, although generally equal to *Tan*, is in numerous cases used for *dhar* (as in *dharma*). So that the sound of the two would be *Kiu dhar*, *i.e.* Khûder, or St. George.

---

