THE NINE TREASURES OF A CAKRAVARTIN

There are, in Jaina narrative literature, a number of references to the fourteen jewels (ratna-s) and nine treasures (nidhi-s) which a cakravartin possesses. We read, for example, in the Vasudevahindi that Bharaha, the first cakravartin, became master of the fourteen ratna-s and nine nidhi-s, and in the Uttarajñhayana-ṭīkā we are told that the fourteen ratna-s, beginning with the cakra, and the nine nidhi-s arose and did Sañāṅkaumāra honour. The precise relationship between the ratna-s and the nidhi-s is not entirely clear. In Jacobi's list the nidhi-s are one of the seven inanimate ratna-s, while in the list of the nine nidhi-s found in the Thānāṅga-sutta it is stated that the sarva-ratna nidhi produces the fourteen ratna-s (of which seven are single-sensed and inanimate, and seven are five-sensed and animate).

The story of Bharaha in the Vasudevahindi goes on to say that after becoming lord of the nine nidhi-s he makes use of one of them (Māṇava) to teach various military accomplishments. In the Jaina texts on Universal History we find more references to the nidhi-s and the powers and attributes which they bestow. In the Cauppanamahāpurisacarīya, the nine nidhi-s are referred to by name in the story of Bharaha, and

1. coddasa-rayana-nava-nihi-patisāmi jāto (Vasudevahindi 202, 8-9).
2. Sañāṅkaumāro vi... rajjam anusāle. uppanāni ya cakka-pamuhāni coddasa vi rayanaṇi nava nihiyo ya, kaya ya tesini pūyī (Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhā-raṣṭrī 26, 7-9).
5. The Pāli tradition speaks only of seven jewels, and there a cakkavattin is described as satta-ratana-sampanna. See n. 37 below.
6. tato tassa Māṇavo nāma nihi, teṇapi vāha-rayanaṇo paharanāvarena-vihānāṇi ya uvadiṭṭhāṇī (VH 202, 9-10).
also in the Bambhadatta story, where the fields of activity of all nine are given. We find the same details given in the story of Bharata in the *Trışaṣṭisālākāpurusacaritṛ*, the nine are named, and are said to be attended by one thousand yakṣas each. They are mounted on eight wheels, and are eight yojanas high, nine yojanas broad, and twelve yojanas long. Their faces are concealed by doors of cat’s-eye, smooth, golden, filled with jewels, marked with the cakra, sun, and moon. Their guardians are Nāga-kumāra gods with the same names as the nidhi-s. The gods have life-spans of a palyopama, and inhabit the nidhi-s. The nidhi-s are inexhaustible, and reside, with their guardians, in Māgadhathītha at the mouth of the Ganges. The nidhi-s are also mentioned in connection with the other cakravartins, although the references are more cursory.

The same text gives their fields of activity in detail. In the *nidhi* called Nājārpa is the origin of the building of camps, cities, villages, mines, towns approached by both sea and land, and of isolated towns. In Pāṇḍukha is the origin of bulk, weight and height, and of all numbers, and of grain and seeds. In Pīṅgala is the origin of the whole business of ornaments of men, women, elephants and horses. In Sarvaratna is the origin of the cakravartin’s fourteen jewels, the seven of one sense and the seven of five senses. In Mahāpadma is the origin of clothes of all patterns, both white and coloured. In Kāla is the origin of the knowledge of the past, present and future for three years, labour such as agriculture, and also the arts. In Mahākāla is the origin of coral, slabs of silver and gold, pearls, and iron, and of mines of iron, etc. In Mānava is the origin of abundance of soldiers, weapons, and armour, and also of the whole science of fighting and of the administration of justice. In Saṅkha is the origin of four-fold poetry, concerts, and dramatic art, and of all musical instruments. The details given in the *Trışaṣṭisālākāpurusacaritṛ* are clearly based upon the description of the nidhi-s given in the canonical *Thānāmga-sutta*, although there are some variations, e.g. in the size of the nidhi-s, which are stated in the latter text to be nine yojanas in each direction, although verses quoted there give the same dimensions as the former.


11. egamege yam mahānihi yava-ṇava joyaṇām viṭṭhaṃbhenaṃ paṃṭaṭte. egamegassa yam rāṇo cārunaṃtacakkaṃvaṭṭasssa yava mahānihiyo paṃṭattā, tām jāha: (1) nesappe paṇḍuyāve pīṅgalae savarayaṇa mahāpauine kāle ya mahākāle māna-
The term *nidhi* and the number nine are reminiscent of the nine treasures of Kubera. Although there are references to some of his treasures in the *Mahābhārata*, the full list of nine is found only in lexical texts, and may therefore be relatively late. As Vogel pointed out, the brahmanical tradition probably agreed with the Jaina tradition in giving the same names to both the treasures and their guardians, for while the *Mahābhārata* and the *Amarakośa* both speak of Padma and Śaṅkha as being the chief treasures of Kubera, the former text seems to be speaking of the two as personified when they take all the *nidhi*-s to do homage to their lord.

Eight of the nine treasures of Kubera are given in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* as the names of *nidhi*-s associated with the magical art called Padmini. The same text lists the influences which these *nidhi*-s exercise

vaga mahānihi saṃkhe (2) ṇesappāṇṇī nivesā gāmāgaraṇagara-pattanāṇam ca donyamah-manjādbāṇam khaṇḍhārāṇam gīhānām ca (3) ganiyassa ya biyāna mān-ummānasa ya jaṭi pāmāna ca dhanānasa ya biyāna upatī pariṣte bhaṇya (4) savvā abharaṇavāni purisāṇam jā ya ho mahālānām āsanā ya hatthiṇa ya piṅgalāniṇīṃ sā bhaṇiya (5) raṇavāni savvārayāne coddasa pavarāni cakkavāṭṭaṃ upajjantī egindiyāni pariṃcindiyāni ca (6) vathāna ya upatī ẓipphatti e'va savvabhatṭiyaṃ raṇagana ya dhoṭina ya savvā esā mahāpaume (7) kāle kālaṃyānān bhavva pūrṇānu ca tiss vāsuse sippasattāṃ kammāṃ ya itiṃ paye āyikāraṃ (8) lohaya ya upatī hoi mahākāle āgarāṇāṃ ca rupassa sivamānaṃ ya maṇi-mottī-silapavālanā (9) jodhāna ya upatī āvāraṇaṃ ca paharaṇaṃ ca savvā ya juḍhānī māṇavae damḍaṇī ya (10) nāṭṭaviṃ nāḍagaviṃ kavvassa caupvihassa upatī saṃkhe mahānāṇiṃ tudiyaṃgānān ca savvāṃ (11) cakkaṭẖapatiṭṭhānaḥ aṭṭhusseḥ āyaṃ vā ya vikkaṃ ṣe bārasadiḥ maṇijūsasāṃśiḥiṃ ājanviṃ muhe (12) verūliyamaniṭṭāśi kavagamāyā viviharyanapadiṭṭuṃ sasīṣīracakkalkalakhaṇa anusamajgabāḥvuyāṇaḥ ya (13) palivamaṭṭhiṇiṃ nihiṣaṇāṃ ya tesu khalu deva jesiṃ te āvasā akijjā āhivaccā vā (14) ee te ṣaṇaviḥāo pabhiyadhaṇravarayānasam-cayasamiddhā je vasāṃ uvagacchaṇti savvāṃ ca cakkavāṭṭiṃ (Ṭhāṇaṅgasutta 9, 882 = Suttāgame vol. I, 296-297). Dr. Adelheid Mette has drawn my attention to her monograph (Indische Kultur-stiftungsberichte und ihr Verhältnis zur Zeitaltersage, Mainz, 1973) in which she points out (p. 21) that these verses also occur in the *Jambuddiva-paññatti* (= Suttāgame vol. II, 583), in a context so appropriate that it is probably their original position, from which they were quoted in Ṭhān. The Ṭhān reference probably consisted at one time of nothing more than the initial prose statement and the list of the nine names. The existence of the same list in the *Jambuddiva-paññatti* probably led to the transfer of the verses which follow it to Ṭhān, despite the subsequent contradiction in the measurements.

12. Padma Mahāpadma Śaṅkha Makara Kacchapa Mukunda Kunda Nila and Kharva according to the commentary on *Amarakośa* I, 1, 71. The same names, with Nanda replacing Kunda and with Carcă replacing Kharva in some editions, are found in *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* 90, 193. The use, found in inscriptions, of the word *nidhi* in the sense of the numeral « 9 » shows that the number of the *nidhi*-s was sufficiently standardised to be used in that way, even if the names were not settled (see G. BÜHLER, *Indische Paläographie*, Strassburg, 1896, p. 81).


15. bhedāḥ Padma-Śaṅkhādayo nīḍhēlu (Amarakośa I, 1, 71).

16. With Kharva/Carcă excluded and following the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* in preferring Nanda to Kunda (Mārk. Pur. 68, 5).
over men as follows: Padma is supported by goodness. A man dominated by Padma may become the perfection of politeness. He amasses immense quantities of gold, silver, copper and other metals, and buys and sells them. He also makes sacrifices, and bestows the sacred fee. He causes a palace to be built and temples for the gods. Mahāpadma is also supported by goodness. A man dominated by Mahāpadma amasses rubies and other gems, and buys and sells them. He gives to those who are disposed towards religious devotion, and has dwellings constructed for them. He himself becomes so disposed, and so do his descendants. Makara is composed of darkness. A man dominated by Makara becomes ignorant. He collects together various sorts of weapons and shields, and becomes friendly with kings, and is generous to heroic kings. He finds pleasure only in buying and selling weapons. Kacchapa is composed of darkness, and a man dominated by Kacchapa is ignorant. He performs all the rules of life, but merely as acts. He makes no gifts, nor does he enjoy what he has.

Mukunda is composed of the quality of passion, and a man dominated by Mukunda becomes passionate. He collects together various sorts of musical instrument, and is generous towards singers, dancers and musicians. Nanda is composed of passion and darkness, and a man dominated by Nanda becomes firm. He collects together minerals and precious stones, and grain and other articles, and buys and sells them. Nīla is composed of goodness and passion, and a man dominated by Nīla becomes good and passionate. He collects together cloth, grain, fruit, pearls, timber, etc. He constructs ponds, tanks and embankments, and plants trees. Saṅkha is composed of passion and darkness, and a man dominated by Saṅkha has the same qualities. When alone he enjoys food and clothing which he himself has made. His family have poor food and clothing. He is mean and ungenerous, and thinks only of himself.

Although at first sight there seems to be a great deal of similarity between this list and that already quoted from Jaina sources, it is surprising to find at closer examination that of the names of Pādmini's eight nidhi-s only two coincide with the Jaina list, and even the attributes of those two do not agree. There is no mention of size, or of dwelling place.

Buddhism also has knowledge of nidhi-s, but there they number only four. It is noteworthy that the various traditions in Buddhism do not agree among themselves about the nidhi-s. There is a list of four in the Divyāvadāna which has Saṅkha in common with both the Jaina and the brahmanical traditions, and has Pāṇḍuka and Piṅgala in com-

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18. The text seems to read Lila here, although it reads Nīla in 68, 5.
19. atha catvāro mahārājāḥ caturmahānīdiḥsthāḥ/Piṅgalaḥ ca Kaliṅgeśu Mithilaṁ ca Pāṇḍukaḥ/Elāpatraḥ (MSS Ela-) ca Gāndhāre Saṅkho Vārānasipure (Divyāvadāna 61, 1-4).
mon with the Jaina list, but has Elapatra as an exclusively Buddhist feature. The list in the Mahāvastu 20 has Elapatra, Saṅkha and Piṅgala in common with the Divyāvadāna, but replaces Paṇḍuka by Paduma, who appears in the brahmanical list, but not in the Jaina list. In the Divyāvadāna they are called mahārāja-s, but in the Mahāvastu they are called mahānāga-s. As in the case of the Jaina tradition, it can be deduced that the Buddhists too gave the same names to the nidhi-s and to the guardians, for the Mahāvastu names Elapatra as one of the nāgarāja-s 21, having just spoken of one of the treasures by the same name.

In Pāli the list of nidhi-s is found in commentaries only 22, and other examples can be given of the close relationship which can sometimes be found between the canonical tradition of one sect and the commentarial tradition of another. The Pāli list has Saṅkha and Ela in common with the other Buddhist traditions, but Uppala and Puṇḍarīka are not found in any other lists. There is no reference in Pāli to nāga-s or rāja-s guarding the nidhi-s, but there is mention in Pāli of a nāgarāja called Erakapatta whose verses are the same as those attributed to Elapatra in the Mahāvastu 23, which suggests that originally Ela and Eraka(patta) were the same.

The Divyāvadāna states that the nidhi-s and their guardian mahārāja-s live in Kaliṅga, Mithilā, Gandhāra, and Benares 24. The Mahāvastu agrees with the Divyāvadāna in placing Piṅgala in Kaliṅga and Saṅkha in Benares, and puts the replacement Paduma in Mithilā, and Elapatra in Takṣaśilā 25. The Khotanese Book of Zambasta places Elapatra in Gandhāra, Campaka in Mithilā, Piṅgala in Surāśṭra, and Saṅkha in Benares 26a. Other Buddhist traditions sometimes vary the place names 26b. The Vimalakīrtinirdesā states that the four nidhi-s are filled with jewels, and like the Jaina nidhi-s are inexhaustible 27. The Chinese version of the Maitreyavīkārana states that the four nidhi-s are filled with gold, silver, maṇi, and vaḍārya 28a. The Khotanese tradition gives their size, and states that they contain seven jewels 28b.

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20. catvāro mahānādirhiyo Saṅkho Vārāṇasyāṃ Padumo Kaliṅgeśu Piṅgalo Takṣaśilāyāṃ Elapatro (Mahāvastu III, 383, 18-19).
21. tatra ca Elapatrea nāgarājñā praśnā sthāpītā (Mahāvastu III, 384, 1).
22. Saṅkho Elo Uppalo Puṇḍariko ti catatāro nidhayo upagatā (Sv 284, 8-9 = Ps III, 420, 13-14). See also notes 34 and 35 below. The names Phala and Uthala given by R. SPENCE HARDY, A manual of Buddhism, p. 149, n. 84, in place of Ela and Uppala, would seem to be errors, the former resulting from the misreading of Sinhalese e- as pha.
24. See n. 19 above.
25. See n. 20 above.
27. Ibid., p. 167 (aksayamahānīdhāna sarvaratnaparipūrṇa).
28a. Ibid., p. 167, n. 34.
28b. « Each treasure will extend ten gāmphas. They will all be full of the seven jewels for the welfare of the meritorious » (EMMERICK, op. cit., p. 315).
The Divyāvadāna states that the four mahārāja-s who guard the nidhi-s will come to do homage to the cakravartin Śaṅkha²⁹ at the time of the birth of Maitreya, and other Buddhist authorities also mention their appearance at the time of Maitreya's advent. Some traditions, however, state that the nidhi-s are already in existence and are made use of by the local inhabitants every seven years on the seventh day of the seventh month.³⁰ The Mahāvastu mentions a monthly festival in honour of Śaṅkha,³¹ but says nothing about when the nidhi-s appear, or for whom.

In the Pāli tradition we find the nidhi-s referred to as nidhi-kumbhi-s,³² which appear on the same day that a Bodhisatta or Tathāgata is born,³³ and they are accordingly included among the list of the seven co-natals (saha-jāta-s).³⁴ In that list they are occasionally called simply nidhi-s.³⁵ Strangely enough, however, they are not mentioned in particular connection with Metteyya. There is in the Cakkavattisīhanāda-suttanta a passage referring to the coming of Metteyya,³⁶ which corresponds closely to the passage just mentioned in the Divyāvadāna, but although the cakkavattin Śaṅkha is said to possess the seven ratanas-s, as is also stated in other Pāli texts,³⁷ there is no reference to the four nidhi-s doing homage to him, nor to their appearing at the time of the birth of Metteyya. Nor is there any mention of nidhi-s in other texts which refer to the coming of Metteyya, e.g. the Anāgata-vamsa and the Dasabodhisattupattikathā. The latter text deals with the future appearance of ten Bodhisattas, but the only reference to nidhi-s in that text is the statement that by the power of the future Buddha Dhammassāmi one nidhi will appear, and the people will live happily depending upon it.³⁸

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²⁹ enaḥ ca yūpam ādāya Śaṅkhasya rājāta upanāmayiṣyanti (Divy 61, 5).
³⁰ LAMOTTE, op. cit., p. 167, n. 34.
³¹ Vāraṇaśīyam Śaṅkhasya māsika samājo vartati (Mvu III, 383, 19-20).
³² Miss Horner, The clarifier of the sweet meaning, London, 1978, p. xlvi, states that the contents of these nidhi-kumbhi-s are «somewhat baffling». She assumes that the names refer to the contents, but this would seem not to be so.
³³ Tathāgatassa pana jātadivaye yeva... cattāro nidhayo upagatā (Sv 284, 7-9 = Ps III, 420, 12-14). The apocryphal Sudhamukunāra-jātaka adds the detail that the nidhi-kumbhi-s were covered with dust: atha mahāsattassārūabhāvena rājapāsādassā ca tātusā passu cattāro nidhi-kumbhiyo jātakabhāmiyaṁ paṁsu-paṁchamā aṭṭhaṁsu (Paññāsa-jātaka, ed. P. S. Jaini, London, 1981, vol. I, 130, 4-6).
³⁴ Rāhulaṃtā devi Channo amacco Kāludāyi amacco Ānando rājakumāro Kankhako assarājā Mahābodhi rukkho cattāro nidhi-kumbhiyo ca jāta... ime saha jāta nāma, Ja I, 54, 6-9 ≠ Bv-a 276, 9-13 ≠ Ap-a 58, 27-31 ≠ Mpv I, 301, 13-15. In the list at Bv-a 131, 16, we find nidhi-kumbhā; at Bv-a 298, 8, -kumbho; and at Sv 425, 9, -kumbhi.
³⁵ Ap-a 358, 26; 532, 1; Thag-a II, 221, 13.
³⁶ D III, 75 foll.
In the Pāli tradition the nidhi-s are spoken of as being of great size. They are said to be 1/4, 1/2, 3/4 and one yojana in size⁴⁰, but there seems to be some confusion about what the measurements refer to. One tradition states that these figures refer to the space which the pots occupy⁴⁰, while another states that they refer to the depth of the pots⁴¹. Another tradition states that for Bodhisattas the size of the rim was the same for all the pots, while below (at the base?) they had the same circumference as the earth⁴².

There seems to be one reference in Pāli literature to the appearance of the nidhi-s for anyone other than a Bodhisatta, and that concerns Jotiya (or Jotika) for whom Sakka, king of the gods, provided a palace with a nidhi-kumbhi at each corner at the time of his marriage. It is specifically stated that, although the depth of his pots was the same as for a Bodhisatta, the size of each rim was not known⁴³. Jotiya and his iddhi power are mentioned in the Pāli canon⁴⁴, but there is no reference to his nidhi-kumbhi-s there, which again emphasizes the fact that mention of the nidhi-s occurs only in the commentarial tradition in Pāli⁴⁵.

We see, therefore, that the Jainas, Hindus, and Buddhists all have traditions about nidhi-s. The fact that the Buddhist tradition in Pāli texts differs in a number of respects from that preserved in Buddhist Sanskrit works probably indicates that the idea of nidhi-s was common

38. Buddhānubhāvena eko nidhi uppajjissati. sabbe janā taṁ nissāya sukkha
attānaṁ jivāpeessanti (Dasabodhisattappattikathā § 32). In some of the traditions the nidhi-s are referred to as nidhāna-s, and it is therefore possible that the mahā
nidhānaṁ spoken of at Bv-a 215, 10, as appearing on the day of Mahāpurisa's birth were nidhi-s. The reference to them, however, is strange: sucirakālanihitānī kulapa
taramparāgatāni mahānidhānāni dhanaśānākā paññabhīmsu = « The owners of wealth acquired great stores which, laid aside for a long time, come to a succession of families » (I. B. Horner, The clarifier of the sweet meaning, p. 310). G. P. Malalasekera
(Mhv-5 61, n. ☞) quotes Bv-a as saying that on the day of his birth treasures that had long lain buried came to the surface of the earth. Unless he was following a different version of the text, it would seem that this note is somewhat misleading. The Mahāpurisa was presumably thinking of himself as the nidhāna, cf. Vimalakītinirdesa p. 186, where the Buddhas are spoken of as inexhaustible treasures for the poor (daridrāṇāṁ ca satvāṇāṁ nidhāna bhonti akṣayāḥ).


40. tesu pi gahita-gahitāṁ thānaṁ pūrati yeva, Ps III, 420, 15-16 / Sv 284, 11-12.


42. Bodhisattasā na vatta-nidhi-kumbhānaṁ ānā ekaṁ mukhappamānāṁ ahosi, hetā paṭvā-paryantā vahesuṁ, Dhp-a IV, 208, 12-14.

43. Jotiya sā na vattittā-nidhi-kumbhānaṁ mukharpimānaṁ na kathitaṁ, sabbā mukhācharinata-lāpalahāṁ viya paripūrṇaṁ vā uṭṭhāhimsu, Dhp-a IV, 208, 13-15. The story of Jotiya is also told at Patīsa-a 677, 6-22, but no comparison is made with a Bodhisatta's nidhi-kumbhi-s there.

44. Joti kassā gahapatīsa puññavato iddhi, Patīs II, 213, 15-16.

45. For other examples of the close relationship between the canonical tradition of one sect and the commentarial tradition of another, see K. R. Norman, The dialects in which the Buddha preached, in H. Becht (ed.), The language of the earliest Buddhist tradition (Göttingen, 1980), pp. 72-3.
to both the Northern and Southern schools before the Theravādins became cut off from India, but thereafter began to develop in different directions. The similarity in the number of nidhi-s in the Jaina and Hindu traditions suggests that there was some connection between the two, but as we have seen the differences between the two are greater than the similarities. The fact that the two versions to mention the great size of the nidhi-s are the Jaina and the Buddhist traditions, which may be supposed to have been in geographical contact in the Magadha region in the early stage of their development, may be an indication that there was a connection between them, but again the differences outweigh the similarities. The sizes are quite different, the number of the nidhi-s is not the same, and the Theravādin tradition speaks of nidhi-kumbhī-s, which is an idea not found in the Jaina tradition. The fact that, with very few exceptions, the three traditions connect the nidhi-s with three different classes of persons — cakravartins, men in general, and Tathāgatas or Bodhisattvas — also suggests that there was no very direct contact between all the traditions.

Jones suggested that the names of the nidhi-s probably came into existence before the attributes were fixed. An examination of all the names of the nidhi-s reveals that the only one which is common to all the lists is Saṁkha but such an examination reveals the fact that many of the names, even when they are not specifically stated in the texts to be nāga-s, are in fact known to us from other sources as such, and there cannot be any doubt that the origin of the nidhi-s is to be sought in a nāga cult, as Vogel's investigations made clear. The Jainas actually call the guardians of the nidhi-s Nāgakumāradeva-s, which must be a reflection of the fact that they were originally nāga-s, and in fact more than half of them appear in lists of nāga-s elsewhere. Of the Padmānī list in the brahmanical tradition, only Mukunda is not known as a nāga, to which can be added Kharva/Carcā in the list of Kubera's attendants, and it is possible that a closer look might find these names in lists of nāga-s somewhere. The Northern Buddhist tradition in the Mahāvastu calls the guardians of the nidhi-s nāgarāja-s, and if in the Pāli tradition Ela is indeed the same as Erakapatta, who is the same as the Northern Elāpatra, then we can, with Lüders, see in him the ancient nāga Airavata. Vogel comments on the fact that nāga-s are often called by plant names, and the two Pāli innovations in the list of nidhi names, i.e. Uppala and Puṇḍarīka, are indeed known from elsewhere as nāga-s, as is the Khotanese innovation Campaka.

46. According to the Pāli tradition, as reported by Buddhaghosa (Ps I, 1, 23), the commentaries as well as the canonical texts were brought to Ceylon by Mahinda. There seems to be no reason to doubt that some, at least, of the commentarial material was brought from North India.
48. See Appendix.
Nāga-s were traditionally regarded as being guardians of buried treasure, and we can see that in the traditions we have been examining the treasures have been given the names of the nāga-s guarding them. There is evidence that the treasures which nāga-s guarded were not always jewels or material wealth. In the Kharaputta-jātaka King Senaka obtained jewels from a nāgarāja and also charms (mantra-s) which enabled him to see his nāga companion and to understand the speech of animals. It is not difficult to see how this type of treasure could develop into those which we have seen in the Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra and the Mārkandeya Purāṇa, for it would be very appropriate for nāga-s to be connected with a magical type of knowledge such as Padmīnī.

The varying place names in the Northern Buddhist tradition probably represent a state of affairs where nāga cults were connected with different places, and the authors and redactors of texts could vary the names to suit local conditions. With the exception of Benares and Kaliṅga, the other places named in Buddhist texts are in the West and North-West, and it is understandable that the Chinese and Khotanese sources, which are dependent upon Sanskrit and Prakrit texts from the North-West, would reflect this fact, and sometimes place Piṅgala in Surāśṭra, not in Kaliṅga. If we assume that the number four, being smaller, represents an earlier stage of the cult, then we can postulate that the Jaina tradition increased the number to nine, and also changed the attributes of the treasures from jewels under the influence of the same forces as produced the Padmīnī list in the Mārkandeya Purāṇa. The Jainas also changed the dwelling places of the nidhi-s to Māgadha-tirtha at the mouth of the Ganges, doubtlessly because the strength of Jainism was at that time in the East rather than the West and North-West.

Besides the changes in dwelling place and attributes of the nidhi-s, it is also possible to see a tendency towards the removal of specific nāga features in connection with the nidhi-s. As we have seen, the Jainas decided that the guardians were not nāga-s, but Nāgakumāradeva-s. In the Buddhist tradition, the Mahāvastu mentions nāgarāja-s, but in the Divyāvadāna they have become mahārāja-s. The Pāli tradition makes no comment about the nature of the guardians. A comparable development can be seen elsewhere in the Buddhist tradition. In the Mahāvastu it is stated that the Buddha uttered a benedictory hymn over the two merchants Trupṣa and Bhallika, after they had visited him. In that hymn he invokes the blessing of Virūpākṣa, the nāgādhipa. The same nāga is included in the account of the same happening in the Lalitavistara, where he is described as sarvanāgādhipati. There is, however, no men-

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52. Ja III, 275-81.
53. See nn. 26a and 26b above.
tion of the nāga king in the account as found in the Catusparisatsūtra⁵⁶ nor in the Pāli version⁵⁷. The separation of Ela from Erakapatta in the Pāli tradition must also represent an attempt to remove the nāga element.

Other signs of change and development can be seen. We have noted that the Divyavadāna speaks of the nidhi-s, or their mahārāja-s, doing homage to the cakravartin Saṅkha, although elsewhere in Buddhism (with the exception of Jotiya) they are connected with Bodhisattas. The omission of this detail in the version of the story in the Cakkavattisīkanāda-sutta must also represent a later and more developed form of the story, with a deliberate suppression of any mention of the nidhi-s. We have seen that in the Anāgatavamsa and the Dasabodhisattuppattikathā, both medieval Pāli texts, any idea of a link between nidhi-s and the appearance of Bodhisattas has been lost.

If the origin of nidhi-s is to be sought in folk religion and beliefs, then we can see that although such beliefs were assimilated to some extent into the Jaina, brahmanical and Buddhist traditions, nevertheless there was a conscious attempt to get rid of them. Although, to judge from the references in the Triṣaṣṭiśālākāpurusacaritra, one might assume that the concept of nidhi-s was still prevalent when that text was written in the twelfth century, it must be remembered that the passage already quoted above is based almost verbatim upon the much earlier canonical Ṭhānāmaṇa-sutta and Jāmbuddiva-paṇṇattī and cannot be taken as an indication of contemporary belief. A better indication is perhaps to be obtained from the confusion about nidhi-s which is shown in other texts. For example, the name Nāgakumāradeva, used as we have seen of the guardians of the nidhi-s in the Jaina tradition, is quoted in the Abhidhānacintāmaṇi⁵⁸ (by the same Hemacandra who wrote the Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpurusacaritra) as a class of deities among the Bhavanādhiśa-s who guard the treasures of Kubera. This seems to indicate a confusion of Jaina and brahmanical ideas, which possibly is more indicative of popular thinking at the time. It is also very interesting to note a very late reference to the nine nidhi-s of Kubera in Pāli in a portion of the Mahāvaṃsa⁵⁹ which dates from a time when Sanskrit influence was strong in Ceylon.

We seem justified in concluding that when the authors of Jaina medieval narrative literature included in their works references to the nine treasures of a cakravartin, they were merely repeating one of a stock list of attributes, together with his fourteen jewels. The fact that this particular term had its origin in a nāga cult had long since been forgotten.

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⁵⁷ Vin I, 4.
⁵⁸ Abhidhānacintāmaṇi 90, 193.
⁵⁹ saṃbhata... Kuberena saṅkhādi va nidhi nava, Mhv LXXXVII, 31.
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**Appendix**