THE LIFE AND TEACHINGS OF BUDDHA

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By

Alexander Csoma Korosi

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The Publishers have preferred to retain as far as practicable the language of the original.

The present work is prefaced by a biographical memoir of the author from the pen of W.W. Hunter.

The article published in the Appendix under caption *The Literature of Tibet* is by an anonymous author and first appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* in the from of a review of some Tibetan Works.

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CSOMA DE KOROS: A PILGRIM SCHOLAR*

By W. W. HUNTER

I

THE START

In November 1824 a European descended from the inner Himalayas to the British outpost at Sabathu. He was poorly clad in a native dress, 'the coarse blanket of the country.' But he declared himself to be an Austrian subject; a student of languages who had spent the past five years in making his way, chiefly on foot, from Hungary to Central Asia. He desired the protection of the British Government to enable him to proceed into the unknown regions of Tibet; and he produced a letter of recommendation from the English explorer, Moorcroft, with whom he had passed five months in Kashmir.

Captain Kennedy, afterwards the chief founder of Simla, was then the political officer in charge of the Himalayan frontier Station. He civilly detained the stranger, half as prisoner, half as guest, until he could receive the orders of the Governor-General regarding him. After some characteristic caution, Lord Amherst granted the protection solicited and supported it by a stipend, modest in amount, but sufficient for the still more modest wants of the traveller. Armed with letters to the Himalayan Chiefs, and with a few hundred rupees in his scrip, the stranger re-entered the mountains. The next six years he spent, with an interval of some months, in exploring the archives of Buddhist monasteries in Tibet.

The poor scholar was Csoma de Koros, one of the great original workers of our century. As a Hungarian student, before entering the University, he had vowed, together with two fellow-pupils, to penetrate Central Asia in search of the origin of his nation. Alone of the three, Csoma kept his word. The first thirty-five years of his life were passed in self-preparation in Europe for the task. The next twelve he spent as an humble foot traveller through Asia, or in studying amid cold, privation, and solitude, with Buddhist priests in

* In *The Pioneer*, Allahabad, 1885.

Tibet. His remaining eleven years he devoted in India to publishing a part of the materials he had collected and to constantly adding to them, with an unslakable thirst for learning.

The result of his life was to open up a vast new field to human inquiry. Csoma, single-handed, did more than the armies of Ochterlony, and not less than the diplomacy of Hogdson, to pierce the Himalayas, and to reveal to Europe what lay behind the mountain wall. He has suffered the fate allotted in this world to the pioneers of knowledge. Other men have entered on his labours. They have built their easy edifices from the materials which he with a life's toil amassed: the meaner translating sort, as usual, not fearing to patronise the dead master.

The fame of a solitary worker like Csoma de Koros is, in truth, a plant which grows not on mortal soil nor in broad rumour lies. A hundred years had elapsed from his birth before he found a biographer. To the scholars of this generation he has been a dim Transylvanian figure, lean and homeless among the Himalayas, but projecting a giant shadow from their heights across Central Asia. Last year, the centenary of his birth, his life was at length worthily written. Dr. Duka has brought to his task the enthusiasm of a compatriot, and loving reverence which in this iron age of biography may well excuse some slightness in Oriental research. We purpose very briefly to sketch the life of noble self-devotion which Dr. Duka has so tenderly portrayed, to throw sidelights on certain episodes which he has left obscure, and to indicate Csoma's true position in Tibetan scholarship. The fame of Csoma de Koros should be dear to the English nation; for he was never tired of acknowledging that to English generosity he had owed the means of doing his life's work. It was an old Hungarian fund subscribed in London during the reign of Queen Anne that defrayed his university education at Gottingen. It was English liberality in Persia and Ladakh which enabled him to prosecute his journey across Asia. During his long monastic studies in Tibet, and throughout his eleven years in India, he was supported by grants from the British Government. In the English language the grateful Hungarian published his works. He rests from his labours, on a spur of his beloved Himalayas, in an English graveyard.

Alexander Csoma was born in the picturesque village

of Koros, in Transylvania, April 1784. His family, although poor, belonged to the Szeklers, or military nobles, who throughout many hundred years had held the south-eastern frontier of Hungary against the Turks. The Szeklers, whom Csoma loved to call the Siculian nation, were a warrior tribe of Huns, settled in Dacia since the fourth century A.D. During the Middle Ages they had formed the advanced guard of Christendom; and they still maintained something of their ancient tribal equality, the cultivators being also the owners of the soil. In Csoma's family the military instinct was curiously blended with a love of learning. One of his uncles was a distinguished professor; a cousin was a Protestant pastor; a nephew fell in the street-fighting of the War of Independence in 1849. The school-life of the poorer military nobles of Hungary in the last century was a hard one. Csoma obtained his education as a pupil-servant in the gymnasium or collegiate high-school of Nagy-Enyed, keeping the lecture rooms clean and tidy in return for his board. When he reached the higher classes he gave private lessons to the younger boys, and stored up his humble fees as the means of carrying on his further studies.

At the age of twenty-three Csoma completed his gymnasium course (1807), and was elected Lecturer of Poetry to the college, devoting part of his holidays also to private tuition. It was not till he reached his thirty-first year that he found leisure to pass his *examen rigorosum*, which qualified him to continue his studies at a foreign university. At the beginning of the previous century the Protestant college of Nagy-Enyed had been razed to the ground, and its students dispersed or slain, in the Hungarian Civil Wars of 1804. The tragedy had touched the heart of the British nation. Eleven thousand pounds were subscribed under the auspices of the Archbishop of Canterbury, invested in Consols, and formed into a Hungarian fund, part of which survives to this day. The distressed collegiate town rose anew from its ruins; and in 1816 the managers of the old fund were able, after meeting all expenses, to found two travelling scholarships. Csoma de Koros was one of the first students who benefited by these bursaries. After passing his *rigorosum* in 1815 he proceeded to Germany. During the next three years, supported by one of the travelling scholarships from the English fund, and by a grant for twelve months of the *libera mensa regia* from the Hanover Government, he studied at the University of Gottingen. Having there learned English, and plunged into Arabic,

he returned to his native country in 1818, a finished academician aged thirty-four.

Honours and emoluments awaited the returned scholar. A tutorship in a nobleman's family, a professorship in a public school, were immediately offered; while before him lay the assurance of a first-class chair in the college in which he had passed his youth, and whose fame as a seat of learning his uncle had helped to establish. To these tempting offers Csoma turned a deaf ear. When an humble pupil-servant in that college, he and two fellow-students had devoted themselves to the discovery of the origin of their race. His two comrades had forgotten their vow. To Csoma it became the object of his life. He had endured the long indigence of a poor student to the age of nearly thirty-five in qualifying himself for the task. He now turned from honours and emoluments among his admiring countrymen, to spend his remaining twenty-three years in this world as a poor wanderer, in fulfilment of his vow.

His friends found that their affectionate pleadings only gave him sorrow. Amid the snows of February 1819 he left Transylvania on foot, to master the Slavonic language in Lower Hungary and Croatia. In November he set his face towards the East. His old professor, Hegedus, relates how with an 'expression to joyful serenity which shone from his eyes', Csoma came to bid him good-bye. They drank a farewell cup in old tokay. Next morning the younger scholar started, 'lightly clad, as if he intended merely taking a walk,' on his life's journey through Asia. The professor went with him a little way; then they parted in the fields; the old master wistfully watching his pupil till he reached the bank of the Maros stream, which was to sever him from home and friends for ever. A certain Count, standing at his gate, saw the wayfarer pass by 'clad in a thin yellow Nankin dress, with a stick in his hand and a small bundle'.

Csoma possessed, in addition to his academical equipment, several qualifications for his task. He had a sweet patience which silently won sympathy, and which endeared him in a special manner to his native teachers in India and Tibet. 'I include Csoma,' writes one who knew him from childhood, 'among those fortunate and rare individuals against whom nobody has ever had a grievance: nor have I heard him make a complaint against others.' He could bear severe labour, mental and physicial, without strain; from his child-

hood he had been a great walker ; a stranger alike to artificial stimulants and to fatigue. The poor scholar was also an athletic young military noble ; and his firmly knit frame resisted during fifty-eight years every trial of exposure, bad food, and infectious disease.

Above all, Csoma had learned to do without money. In boyhood he had earned his own education ; his stipend at the university was fifteen pounds per annum. He now started on a five years' journey through Asia with a hardly saved hoard of twenty pounds. To this should be added a promise of ten pounds a year from a friendly Councillor. His admiring countrymen afterwards raised a fund for him ; but he returned the money untouched, to found a scholarship in his old school. Throughout his life he would have no private patron, and shrank from private help of any sort. When at the university, a friend who was leaving tried to make over to Csoma a few books, and indeed his college cap, as Csoma's was worn out. The poor student refused the gift, and the friend had to transfer the articles to him by sale for ten kreuzers, say eight pence. When snowed up in Tibet, with thirty sheep hung for winter consumption in the neighbouring monastery, Csoma could scarcely afford a scrap of the animal food which would have helped him to bear the rigour of the climate. In India we shall find him living like a native on boiled rice, but refusing pecuniary aid, unless it came from the public purse and for a specified public purpose. Everywhere we shall find him 'poor, humbly clad, and reserved,' accomplishing great results with the smallest means ; unconscious of any wants beyond the single coarse suit which he wore, and just enough of the cheapest native food to enable him to work on from day to day.

Against these qualifications for his task must be set one drawback. The task itself was an impossible one. The object of Csoma's life proved to be but a student's dream. He believed that the Hungarians of Europe were of the same family as the Hungars, Yungars or Yugars in Mongolia. To discover his distant kinsmen of Asia and the common home of the race was the subject of his boyish vow ; it remained the central purpose of his mature years ; it formed the theme of almost his last conversation before death. The English officer who noted down his sick-bed utterances states that Csoma summarised the grounds for believing that 'his native land was possessed by the original Huns, and his reasons for tracing them to Central or Eastern Asia.' All his hopes of

attaining the object of the long and laborious search were centred in the discovery of the 'country of the Yugars.' Dr. Duka, with that biographical tenderness which we are told passeth the love of women, would conceal the visionary nature of Csoma's main object under a nimbus of his actual achievements. But the evidence on this subject, although it does not seem to have come before Dr. Duka, is categorical and complete. To quote only a single letter from Csoma's own hand, a letter which his biographer might surely have seen : 'Both to satisfy my own desire,' he wrote from Tehe-ran, 'and to prove my gratitude and love to my nation, I have set off, and must search for the origin of my nation according to the lights which I have kindled in Germany ; avoiding neither dangers which may perhaps occur, nor the distance I may have to travel.

For this and other errors of his old-world philology Csoma needs no apologist. It was not till after he had left Europe that Bopp finally transferred the science of language from the basis of verbal resemblance to that of fundamental structure. Even now, when Aryan scholarship has for long rested on this firm foundation, the Turanian races, who form-ed the subject of Csoma's research, still remain the sport of conjuncture or assertion, according to the modesty or the temerity of the individual student. Vambery places the two epoch-making settlement of the Hungarian people, first the Ural Mountains and the Volga River, and then amid the Slav elements of Pannonia. But the linguistic tools which the Hungarian scholar of our day so dexterously wields were not in the hands of his earlier compatriot. It is Csoma's glory that, starting from one set of old errors, he arrived at quite a different set of new truths ; that in pursuing a dream he accomplished a reality. He never forced his facts to fit his preconceptions. His honesty in work overcame his fallacies of theory. A very few thinkers in this world have seen a great thing to do, seen it and done it. England has produced two such original workers, Newton and Darwin ; for Bacon's performance was different. Csoma, like Browning's Gram-marian, with a great end to pursue, died ere he knew it. His search for the home of his race in Asia was predestined to failure. But by his self-denying labours, during the long dis-appointment of that search, he laid the foundation for a new department of human knowledge.

II

THE JOURNEY

In November 1819 Csoma de Koros crossed the hill frontier of Hungary, with intent to enter Asia by way of Constantinople. The plague in the Turkish capital forced him, however, to turn aside. He therefore took shipping from the European coast of the Archipelago and sailed by Rhodes to Egypt. At Alexandria he devoted himself to Arabic, but another outburst of the plague drove him eastward to Aleppo in Syria. Thence he walked to Mesopotamia dressed like an Asiatic, and floated down the Tigris on a raft to Bagdad. A small gift of money from the English resident in that city enabled him to go forward with a caravan to Persia. He reached the Persian capital, Teheran, in October 1820 after twelve months' march from the Hungarian frontier.

' A year had already been consumed on the road, yet Csoma was still far to the west of the countries which he believed to contain the object of his search. His money was quite gone; and to add to his helplessness, no Europeans were at that season of the year in Teheran. A native servant of the British Embassy received him, however, with kindness and wrote of his forlorn condition to Sir Henry and Major George Willock, two Madras Cavalry officers who had been attached to Sir Gore Ouseley's mission. The distinguished brothers, the uncle and the father of the Bengal Cavalry officer of our day,[1] promptly responded to the appeal. They supplied the poor traveller with money, clothes, and books, and Csoma rested four months under their protection, improving his English and perfecting himself in the Persian tongue. In March 1821 he writes, 'I bid adieu to my noble benefactors.' He resumed his Asiatic name, Sikandar Beg, 'Gentleman Alexander', and again putting on a native dress he set his face towards Mongolia. He left with the brothers Willock all his humble properties, his University certificates, his passport, his few papers, and his European suit, with a

1 Sir Henry Willock, K.L.S., was for eleven years *charge d'affaires* at Teheran, and was the last chairman of the H.E.I. Company. His brother, Major George Willock, was an excellent Persian scholar, and served his country with credit in the East. A second brother, alluded to in the text, was Captain F. G. Willock, of the 6th Bengal Cavalry, who met a soldier's death during the siege of Delhi. Sir Henry's son, Mr. H. D. Willock, B.C.S., accompanied Havelock's force which relieved Lucknow, took part in every action, and remained with the Residency garrison until the second relief by Sir Colin Campbell.

request that they might be sent to his family 'in case I should die or perish on my road to Bokhara.' After traversing deserts, mountains, and steppes, he reached Bokhara only to find his further advance to the east blocked by the rumoured approach of a Russian army. He accordingly turned southwards, and, marching with a caravan, arrived at Kabul in January 1822.

More than two years had now passed on the journey. But Kabul proved to be a perilous resting place, and Sikandar Beg pushed on for the Sikh kingdom in the Punjab, meeting with Ranjit Singh's famous European generals Allard and Ventura, by the way. At the Sikh capital, Lahore, he found himself far to the south of the Mongolian countries, with the Himalayan wall now between him and the object of his search. By June 1822, however, he had made his way through the mountains to the capital of Ladakh. But here again he discovered that further progress eastwards was impossible. He therefore retraced his weary steps towards the Punjab, resolved to seek for some other passage through the Himalayas into Central Asia. Near the Kashmir frontier he met the English explorer Moorcroft. The two solitary Europeans in that wild region joined company and became friends. Csoma opened his sad heart and unfolded his baffled plans. Moorcroft advised him to learn Tibetan as the best groundwork for further success, and gave him his copy of Father Giorgi's 'Alphabetum'. That poor, voluminous compilation, printed at Rome in 1762 from materials sent home by the Capuchin friars, was then the only attempt to open up the language of Tibet to European research.

With the study of this volume, however, Csoma's enterprise for the first time touched solid grounds. He spent the winter of 1822 in Kashmir poring over its pages. Before the spring of 1823 a resolve had grown up within him that he would master, if he died for it, the new realms of learning of which he caught distant glimpse in Giorgi's work. He eked out its uncertain materials by conversing in Persian with a Tibetan resident in Kashmir. But the grammar and literature of Tibet could only be mastered in Tibet itself. Csoma determined to penetrate that unknown land. Moorcroft furnished him with letters and some rupees. The Hungarian, on his side, pledged himself to bring back results that would repay the outlay, and the two friends parted in Kashmir, never again to meet in this world. The solitary scholar plunged into the north-eastern mountains. From June 1823 to

October 1824 he studied Tibetan with a learned priest, or Lama, in the Buddhist monastery of Yangla.

During half the year the cold at that altitude is intense. Even on midsummer day snow had fallen, and the ground was again sheeted with white before the crops were cut in September. In winter the doors were blocked with snow, and the thermometer ranged below zero. Throughout four months Csoma sat with his Lama in a cell nine feet square, neither of them daring to stir out, with no fire, with no light after dark, with only the ground to sleep on, and the bare walls of the building as their sole defence against the deadly cold. Wrapped in a sheepskin cloak, his arms folded tightly across his breast to keep in the last sparks of his animal heat, Csoma read from daybreak to dark, and then relapsed into night for the next fourteen hours. To put forth his hand for a moment from its fleecy shelter was an enterprise of pain and of danger. But before the end of winter he grew quite dexterous in turning over his pages, without getting his forefinger frostbitten.

Of his sufferings Csoma could never be got to speak one word. His reticence as to the hairbreadth escapes and personal privations of his long solitude in Central Asia contrasts with the picturesque frankness of his compatriot Vambery. Of this period of his life he merely says : 'I became acquainted with many literary treasures, shut up in 320 printed volumes which are the basis of all Tibetan learning and religion.' In November 1824 he descended the Sutlej gorge, emerging from the Himalayas at the British hill cantonment of Sabathu, with an epitome of the 320 volumes and the beginnings of a Tibetan dictionary in his bundle.

The apparition of a European, known to the natives as Sikandar Beg and clad in a blanket, issuing forth from the Himalayas, was without precedent in the respectable routine of our frontier station. The officer in charge hospitably detained the pilgrim, and put on him English clothes, but at the same time wrote for orders regarding his disposal. The Governor-General briefly commanded that the stranger should give an account of himself. This Csoma did, in two letters of a simplicity so touching, and with a singleness of purpose so manifest, as to establish himself once and for ever in the confidence of the Indian Government. He only desired to continue his studies, and if the British nation would be pleased to help him, all the results should belong to it. Lord

Amherst accepted the proposal, granted an allowance of fifty rupees a month to the scholar, and had him furnished with letters to the Chiefs on the Tibetan Frontier. Before setting out again, Csoma put on record in May 1825 precisely what he undertook to do. Until he could fulfil his obligations to the Indian Government, he silently gave up his search for the origin of his nation in Mongolia. He agreed to return to Tibet, and to remain there till he had collected the materials for three great works. First, a Tibetan grammar; second, a Tibetan-English dictionary of over 30,000 words; third, an account of Tibetan literature, with specimen of its books, and a succinct history of the country. When he should have gathered his materials in Tibet, he prayed that the Governor-General would permit him to journey to Calcutta, to submit the results to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Henceforward this became the practical programme of Csoma's life. He never, indeed, abandoned the hope of resuming his search for the Mongolian starting-point of his race. That was to be his crowning achievement. But he never permitted this dream to interfere with the work which he had taken public money for doing. On the one hand, writes the Englishman who, as we shall see, visited him in his final monastic retreat, 'his great aim and unceasing anxiety is to get access to Mongolia.' On the other hand, says the same witness, 'he told me with a melancholy emphasis that, on his delivering up the grammer and dictionary of the Tibetan language, and other illustrations of the literature of that country, he would be the happiest man on earth, *and could die with pleasure on redeeming his pledge.*' The capitals are not ours. He deemed it an honour that he had everywhere in Asia won the trust of Englishmen: and he regarded the help which he had received on his journey, not as pecuniary favours, but as free gifts towards the execution of a great work. 'There is yet in Asia,' he wrote in his first letter to the Indian Government, 'a vast *terra incognita* of oriental learning.' 'In the last four years of my travelling in Asia, I have depended for my necessary subsistence entirely upon British generosity.' It was with a proud resolve that he stated the exact work which he purposed to give in return, and re-entered the mountains to accomplish it.

But while Csoma carried back to Tibet a very grateful heart to the Government and to individual Englishmen, his feelings towards the little Anglo-Indian society in which he

had found himself were different. On his travels through Asia he had met with distinguished Indian Officers, the Willock brothers and Moorcroft, men engaged on serious and perilous work. The life of the poor little dining and dancing hill-station of Sabathu, the miniature Masuri of those days, appeared to him altogether distasteful. The well-intentioned officer at the head of it (his name still survives in 'Kennedy' House at Simla) officially described him as 'this learned and enterprising individual'. But the 'learned and enterprising individual' had the blood of a military noble in his veins; and it is difficult to say whether he was more pained by the uncongenial indifference to his pursuits, or by the fitful attentions to his person, as a pet protege of the Governor-General. Csoma, nourishing his great desire 'to enter into the cabinet of curiosity of remote ages,' and a master of ten languages, found himself tongue-tied during his six weary months of waiting at Sabathu. Any momentary outflashing of his true nature was taken as self-assertion, and promptly snuffed out by the gossip of the last flirtation or the odds of the current cricket-match. The only bitter words which he is known to have ever uttered in his life referred to this period; when he was 'treated at Sabathu like a fool, caressed and ridiculed at the same time.'

Indian station-life seldom, indeed, seems to have commended itself to the occasional man of genius who has passed this way. From time to time a commercial traveller of literature comes round, and on returning to his native land puffs the houses along the road at which he has been flattered and fed free of charge. But at the hands of men of letters of the higher sort. our artless Anglo-Indian Society has suffered many things; from the bludgeon satire of Sir Philip Francis in the last century, and the rapier ridicule of Jacquemont early in the present one, to the sarcasms of Macaulay, with his recollections of our Indian dinner-parties as combining the dullness of a State banquet and the confusion of a shilling ordinary. On the one hand, the distinguished stranger finds the subjects, on which he has been listened to with admiration in other countries, of no conversational interest here. On the other hand, our innocent chatter seems to him a jargon, made up of the dialect of the playing-fields and the technical terms of the native land revenue office. We speak, of course, of the time before the great improvement which has of late years taken place in refined Anglo-Indian converse. For now, although bisques, and byes, and ties, and

off-sides, and half-backs, enter more largely into our table-talk; yet native terms, or any expressions implying an interest in the country, are genteelly excluded. As we grow older we grow simpler. The vernaculars of our school sports resurge as the polite conversation of our riper years. The old words revive the old emotions, and we experience all the pangs and pleasures of fifteen at forty-five played over again. Meanwhile the employment of native words, which so strongly flavoured the talk of our predecessors, has become as discreditable as profane swearing. If a guest were to speak of a *jama-wasil-baki* at a dinner-table he would be stared at, amid a solemn hush, as if he were using bad words; and even our familiar friend, the *bandobast*, has been exiled to bachelor parties in remote stations.

Csoma was of too gentle and grateful a nature to indulge in satire on his benefactors. The futilities of the little hill-station struck him with a pained surprise rather than with resentment. His six months of waiting for orders at Sabathu were a period of suppression and silence. In his later Calcutta years, while the honoured friend of the Englishmen best worth knowing in India, and a most interesting companion to those who sought him out, he absolutely refused to go into society, as a thing not tending to profit a man who has a serious aim in life.

In June 1825 Csoma started on foot on his second ascent into Tibet. His first stages carried him up the spur of the Himalayas, which forms the watershed between the river systems of the Indus and the Ganges. Climbing by sheep tracks through heavy forest, and along the ledges of precipitious mountains, he reached a narrow ridge called Semla or Simla; 'a mere halting place, a name given to a few miserable cultivators' huts.' From the Simla ridge, then at places only two or three yards broad, the rain which falls on the western side flows towards the Arabian Sea, while that which drops on the eastern slope starts for the Bay of Bengal. The upper end of that neck of land is now crowned by an English church; a Gothic town hall has risen from its eastern edge; while around, above and below, is dotted the summer capital of India. Csoma made his way painfully into the interior, by much the same route as parties of tourists now canter gaily from stage-house to stage-house out to Narkanda. From this dominating *colle* he dropped by way of Kotgarh into the Sutlej Valley. Kotgarh, now a missionary station with an old graveyard smothered under roses, then formed

the outermost defence-work of British India. Two detachments, raised from the shattered Gurkha armies whom we had lately expelled, controlled from Kotgarh the upper crossing of the Sutlej and the hill chiefs. Here Csoma bade adieu to European faces: and plunging into the gloomy Sutlej gorge, disappeared for the next eighteen months. In August 1825 he reached the village of his former friend and teacher the Buddhist priest, in the province of Zanskar.

That spiritual person was, however, 'absent on some mercantile affairs in the deserts of Tibet.' 'On his return,' continues Csoma, 'he has engaged to dwell and labour with me from November 10 to the summer solstice of next year.' 'Medicine, astronomy, and astrology are his professions. In searching after knowledge he visited in six years many parts of Tibet, &c., and Nepal. He knows the whole system of their religion, has a general knowledge of everything that is contained in their books; and of customs, manners, economy; of the polite language used among the nobility and in the sacred volumes; and of speaking respectfully to superiors.' This accomplished ecclesiastic combined, indeed, many avocations. He was fifty-two years of age, had married the widow of the local Raja, was the chief physician in the great provinve of Ladakh, and on occasion served as the Grand Lama of Tibet. He had a sincere love for Csoma but in time his affection was worn out by the Hungarian's instiable demands for new knowledge. He took effectual precaution, indeed, against being again frozen up for four months with his pupil in a nine-feet square cell by providing an apartment in his own house. Many thousand words he patiently wrote down in Tibet for the stranger, with a register of all the gods, heroes, constellations, minerals, animals, and plants: from the cedar-tree which groweth on the Himalayas, even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall. But by degrees the learned Lama waxed faint over their labours, and after some months he quitely left his pupil. No other teacher could be found in that wild country: and nothing remained but Csoma to return to India with his work unaccomplished.

One more frustration was thus added to this life of disappointed hopes. But although defeated, Csoma did not despair. In January 1827 he re-appeared at our frontier station no longer with a few copied manuscripts in this bundle, but with boxes laden with literary treasures. The Government had now to decide whether it would rest content with

his half-finished work, or enable him to complete it. Lord Amherst resolved to trust the baffled scholar to the end.

III

THE END

In the spring of 1827 Csoma was introduced to Lord Amherst. That nobleman saw nothing rediculous in the extreme simplicity of dress and diet which moved the mirth of meaner spirits. He perceived that Csoma was one of those rare natures whose whole existence is centred in the achievement of a great work, and to whom it is a mere accident whether they accomplish it amid wealth and comfort or in isolation and want. The poor scholar admitted the failure of his second visit to Tibet. He offered either to proceed to Calcutta to work up such materials as he had been able to collect, or to return to the mountains for three years more to complete them. His one fear was that he might exhaust the generosity of the British Government before his task was finished. He had, therefore, husbanded his resources so well, that out of Rs. 500 granted to him more than two years previously about Rs. 150/- remained. He had, in fact, lived in one of the most rigorous climates in the world, and collected a vast treasure of Tibetan manuscripts, on a total expenditure of Rs. 15 a month, or, say, seven shillings a week.

To the Government of India the question was complicated by considerations with which his biographer seems unacquainted. Dr. Duka writes as if Giorgi's 'Alphabetum Tibetanum' of 1762, supplemented by certain doubtful efforts in India, remained in 1827 the sole source of information regarding the language of Tibet. This statement represents the facts with a fair degree of accuracy at the period of Csoma's first arrival in India in 1824. But during the three years which had since elapsed an important advance had been made; and in 1826 a Tibetan Dictionary compiled independently of Csoma, was printed at Serampur. The work was derived from lists of words left behind by a Catholic missionary on the Bhutan frontier. The poor missionary had died, his very name was lost, but his few worldly possessions fell into the hands of an English officer, who passed them on to another missionary in Bengal. From these papers, rich in vernacular terms and in the language of popular Tibetan

literature, but unsifted and unsorted, and without any Tibetan scholar to edit them or to correct the proofs, a Dictionary had been printed at the expense of the East India Company in 1826. When, therefore, Csoma returned to India in 1827, declaring that he had failed to complete his work, he found that that work had just been done by others.

Lord Amherst had to decide whether he would pay for the cost of doing it over again. European scholars had pronounced against such efforts, initiated from the south of the Himalayas. Klaproth in particular had put forth his great authority to cast contempt on the endeavours of the English in India to study Tibetan. To send forth Csoma again was, therefore, not only to incur the expense of doing work twice over in India, but also to run the risk of a double share of ridicule in Europe. Lord Amherst realised, however, that here was a man capable of doing a great work for the British nation. After six months of waiting, Csoma received the sanction of the Government of India to return to Tibet, with an allowance of Rs. 50 per mensem during the three years which he required for the completion of his materials. Accordingly for the third time he re-ascended the Himalayas, penetrating by way of Simla, where a few wood houses had by this time been erected, into the wilds of Kunawar.

He reached the monastery of Kanum about the autumnal equinox of 1827, and passed the next three years, 9,500 feet above sea-level, in silence and solitude, completing his task. Only once was his isolation broken. Dr. Gerard, the earliest medical explorer of the Himalayas, visited him in 1829, and has left a pathetic picture of the life of the hermit scholar. The cold and privation of which Csoma never deigned to speak became terrible realities in Dr. Gerard's letter. We learn, too, that Csoma, in addition to his physical sufferings, had to wrestle with those spiritual demons of self-distrust, the bitter sense of the world's neglect, and the paralyzing uncertainty as to the value of his labours, which have eaten the heart of the solitary worker in all ages and in all lands. Like Buddha he had to bear his Temptation in the Wilderness, alone and hungered: but unlike Buddha, no angels came to comfort him after his struggles with the Doubting Enemy of mankind.

'The cold', writes Dr. Gerard, 'is very intense; and all last winter he sat at his desk wrapped up in wollen from head to foot, and from morning to night, without an interval of

recreation or warmth, except that of his frugal meals, which are one universal round of greasy tea.' Nevertheless the Hungarian had 'collected and arranged 40,000 words of the Tibetan language in a situation that would have driven most men to despair.' His Lama, or Buddhist priest and instructor, continues Dr. Gerard, 'is a man of vast acquirements, strangely disguised under modest confidence of superiority, the mildest and most unassuming address, and a countenance seldom disturbed by a smile. His learning has not made him bigoted or self-sufficient; but it is singularly contrasted with his person and appearance, which are humble, dignified, and greasy. Csoma himself appears, like one of the sages of antiquity, living in the most frugal manner and taking no interest in any object around him, except in his literary avocations; which, however, embrace the religions of the countries around him. In his conversations and expressions he is frequently disconsolate, and betrays it in involuntary sentiment, as if he thought himself forlorn and neglected. He can form no idea of the spirit in which Government will receive his works, and almost fears they may not be considered with that indulgence which is due to his research.'

But although at times feeling 'forlorn and neglected'; Csoma never lost the noble confidence in his work. If no angels came to comfort him in his conflict with self-distrust and Giant Despair, he had at length the encouragement in his loneliness of seeing his labours mentioned with honour in the 'Government Gazette'. A poor form of celestial consoler, perhaps; but the old Company had the grace to make one who was doing difficult and solitary work for it, feel that he was not forgotten. His 'whole earthly happiness,' says Dr. Gerard, 'consists in being merely able to live and devote himself to mankind, with no other reward than a just appreciation and honest fame.' To such a man what mattered it that of his fifty rupees a month one-half was paid to his Lama or teacher; and that this, with other expenses, according to Gerard, 'leaves him less than twenty rupees to provide the necessaries of life, which in that remote and secluded region are very expensive, and must frequently be supplied from a distance of two hundred miles. His chief and almost only meal is tea, in the Tartur fashion, which is indeed more like soup, the butter and salt mixed in its preparation leaving no flavour of tea. It is a repast at once greasy and nourishing, and being easily made, is very convenient in such a country.' What mattered it, as we have

mentioned, that in winter with 'thirty whole sheep hung up for consumption' in the monastery hard by, 'poor Mr. Csoma can hardly afford to taste even a piece of one'? Or that in summer, with the cheap hill fruits in season, he abstained from everything of this sort from a prudent conviction that they would not make him happier'? Dr. Gerard records, not without pathos, these and many other touching details. It formed a great event in the poor scholar's life when he had saved up twelve rupees with which to build for himself a fireplace. But Csoma cared as little for all these things as for the bareness of his hut, without either table or bed. 'Two rustic benches and a couple of ruder chairs,' writes the sympathetic Gerard, 'are all the furniture in his small abode. But the place looks comfortable, and the volumes of the Tibetan works, the "Kahgyur" and "Stangyur", his manuscripts, and papers, are neatly piled up around him.'

'Thus in penury and solitude Csoma accomplished his work. Any offer of private aid he quitely put aside. On leaving him, Dr. Gerard begged his acceptance 'of a cloak which was well adapted for so cold a climate. I sent him also some rice and sugar, but he returned the whole, and out of his scanty resources sent me sixteen rupees to purchase a few articles at Sabathu. Mr. Csoma would accept of assistance only from a public source, because he seems confident of his ability to return a remunerating advantage; but to private individuals, he says, he has nothing to give.'

Even the aid from public sources was on occasion so embittered by the remembrance of official pettiness and neglect that Csoma could not bring himself to accept it. A great literary enterprise, like Csoma's, is in India usually inaugurated by a Governor-General of large views, who clearly sees what the country and the British nation will in the end gain by it. But it is hateful to a certain type of official, especially to a second-rate specimen of the type, cramped by the long formalism of his life, and honestly unsympathetic to any work outside the circumvallations of routine which form the defence-works of his little bureaucratic citadel. Such animosity seldom affects the main results, if the worker has learned to keep his temper and to suffer fools. Indeed, be it said to the honour of the Government of India, that no real worker has ever looked back on a great literary enterprise conducted under its orders without acknowledging that its conduct has been, if not

sympathetic in manner, yet in essentials just. This feeling was always uppermost in Csoma's mind. He found, too, that the narrow second-rate official is not the only official in India, nor in the long run the predominant one. From the men who really made the history of that day, whether Governor-General like Lord Amherst and Lord William Bentinck, or civilians like Metcalfe, Trevelyan, and Prinsep, the poor scholar always received the most delicate regard and kindness. His annoyance from the meaner sort of secretaries was merely the stone-throwing of street boys. The routine official could enforce his general rules in such a way as to inflict a good deal of pain on the solitary worker. But the petty affronts and smarts which a man thus endures in carrying out a great work are no more worth remembering than scratches received in a battle.

Csoma felt them, however, with the acuteness of a sensitive nature, although he seldom condescended to complain. For example, the routine gentlemen had the art of twice making him wait six months for an answer. They had also the triumph of keeping him very poor; always a comforting reflection to the ignoble order of mind which estimates a man's position by his pay-abstract. Csoma seems to have regretted this circumstance, only inasmuch as it disabled him from buying manuscripts. 'If', wrote Dr. Gerard, 'means could be devised to increase his small allowance even to 100 rupees a month, it would be liberality well conferred, and must eventually be well repaid.' They could also starve him in regard to books. This was the one affornt which Csoma never forgot, and could not forgive. It was for books that Csoma first asked on his arrival in India. Yet the Government never supplied him with books or with the means of buying them; while the Asiatic Society, who might well have supplemented the action of Government, delayed during six years to answer his appeal. When at length, stirred by certain nobler spirits, the Society resolved to add fifty rupees a month to the stipend of fifty granted by Government, Csoma refused the tardy aid. He had by that time got beyond the help of books, for he knew more than books could teach him. 'I beg leave,' for he wrote in his quaint English to the Society in 1829, 'for declining to accept the offered allowance and of returning the draft. In 1823, being destitute of books, Mr. Moorcroft, on my behalf, had requested you to send me some necessary works. I have never received any. I was

neglected for six years. Now, under such circumstances and prospects, I shall want no books.'

For now the first part of his task was done. He had surveyed the whole domain of Tibetan classical literature. That literature is arranged in two great collections: the 'Kahgyur' in 104 folio volumes of 500 to 700 pages each, comprising 1083 distinct works, chiefly ethical; and the 'Stangyur', a still more colossal encyclopaedia of science in 225 folios, each weighing about five pounds. A single copy of the 'Kahgyur' sells in Central Asia for 7,000 oxen, and its cost of production at Pekin is officially estimated at 600£ sterling. In the monastery at which Csoma worked these vast compilations were arranged 'in chests or cisterns standing on end and partitioned into cells, each containing a volume which is carefully wrapped within many folds, laced with cord, and bound tightly between boards of cypress or cedar.' In 1831, after eight years' study of Tibetan, Csoma returned to India with a train of coolies bearing his manuscripts; and on arriving in Calcutta 'placed all the literary treasures in his possession at the disposal of the authorities.'

Csoma's first friend, Lord Amherest, had left India; but he had been succeeded by a statesman even greater in peace than Lord Amherst had been memorable in war. From the rule of Lord William Bentinck, the policy of governing India with a single eye to the benefit of the people dates. 'He abolished cruel rites', says Macaulay on his monument, 'he effaced humiliating distinctions, he gave liberty to the expression of public opinion.' But the abolition of *Thagi*, the suppression of *Sati*, the initiation of popular instruction, the enfranchisement of the Press, and the protection of Mysore, were only a part of the debt which India owes to Lord William Bentinck. He diligently searched out the best men for every department, and trained up a school of Indian administrators who converted his beneficent personal principles into a permanent State policy. Before 1831 when Csoma reached Calcutta, the Governor-General had already begun to surround himself with men, almost every one of whom has written his name in bright letters on Indian history. Personal contact with such men at once put an end to Csoma's vexations. His stipend was promptly doubled, then quadrupled; although the original rate was more than Csoma could spend, and as such as, for some time, he would consent to draw. A room was provided for him in the

Asiatic Society's house, with a noble library under the same roof, and appliances for undisturbed research exceeding the dreams, and indeed the wishes, of the scholar. Five thousand rupees were sanctioned for printing his work; and when the publishers' bills came to Rs. 6,412, they were passed without making the author feel as if he were public malefactor.

In January 1834 his Dictionary and Grammar of the Tibetan language were published. In the preface Csoma described himself as 'only a poor student'. But these two books have proved to be one of the most valuable and most enduring contributions which the Indian Government has made to human knowledge. 'They are', says the learned Jaschke, who in our own day placed the cope-stone on the edifice of which Csoma laid the foundation, 'the work of an original investigator and the fruit of almost unparalleled determination and patience.' The studies of Csoma's biographer do not appear to have led him into the Tibetan by-path of Oriental research. He seems to regard Csoma's work as a solitary structure, and there is a want of perspective throughout his narrative which prevents us from estimating the true magnitude of the edifice by comparing it with the labours of other scholars. Csoma's real achievement was this. In place of the old world medley of Giorgi, and the vocabulary published at Serampur in 1826, from the copious but unsifted materials left behind by the poor Catholic missionary who died on the Bhutan frontier, Csoma substituted a new and an original work. He explored for himself the vast storehouses of classical Tibetan, and reduced the language to a Dictionary and Grammar, which made it the common property of the world.

Since Csoma no great original worker has arisen in the same field till within quite recent years. The St. Petersburg Lexicon is a little more than an adaptation of the Serampur Dictionary of 1826, and of Csoma's Dictionary of 1834. The translator, while almost entirely dependent on these two works, has nevertheless ventured to condemn the former in terms which excite indignation, and to patronise the latter with an air of superiority which moves mirth. Csoma stands in need of no such impertinent secondhand eulogies. The real element of incompleteness in his books, apart from defects of method, is due to his having worked too exclusively from the Tibetan classics, to the disregard of the modern literature and language. This imperfection has now been

remedied by the labours of the Moravian missionary, Jaschke. To the British Government belongs the credit of carrying to completion the work which it commenced half a century ago. Jaschke's Tibetan Dictionary was published at the charge of the Secretary of State of India in 1881.

Csoma's Dictionary and Grammar form, in the words on his tombstone, 'his best and real monument.' Of his lesser essays, numerous and valuable as they were, it is unnecessary to speak in detail. They amply redeemed Csoma's third promise, made in 1825, to furnish an account of Tibetan literature. They give a special interest to the Asiatic Society's Journal and Researches of that period. Some of them remain monographs on the subjects of which they treat; but Csoma's central work has enabled later scholars to advance beyond many of his minor contributions. In 1834 the Society elected him an honorary member, at that time a very rare distinction, Sir Charles Trevelyan being his proposer and Prinsep his seconder. Csoma had for some time realised that without a knowledge of Sanskrit no further progress in philology could be made. From 1834 to 1837 he accordingly devoted himself to Sanskrit and its dialects; studying in Calcutta, or travelling by boat or on foot through North-Eastern Bengal. He declined the hospitality of British officers on his route as it impeded his studies, and preferred to live in a hut on tea and boiled rice. His monthly expenses came to three rupees for a servant and four rupees for all other outlay; total, say, 3s. 3d. a week. The accumulated surplus of his stipend, together with 300 ducats presented to him from Hungary, he sent home to his relatives, and in aid of the Hungarian Literary Society.

In January 1837 he returned to Calcutta a competent Sanskrit scholar. The Asiatic Society appointed him their sub-librarian, and gave him quarters in their house. But his invincible simplicity of life and self-concentration in study remained unperturbed. A letter describes how, in the last stage of his life, Csoma arranged his four boxes of books around him, and sat, laboured, and slept on a mat within the little quadrangle which they formed. The work that he had undertaken for Government he had honourably accomplished. But he never forgot, as he says in the preface to his Dictionary, that 'the study of the Tibetan language did not form part of my original plan,' which was to search out, 'the origin and language of the Hungarians' in Central Asia. During

the next four years (from the end of 1837 to early in 1842) he silently girded himself for his final enterprise, meanwhile cataloguing manuscripts and doing much solid work for his employers.

'I saw him often during my stay in Calcutta', says one distinguished visitor, 'absorbed in phantastic thoughts, smiling at the course of his own ideas, taciturn like the Brahmans, who, bending over their writing desks, are employed in copying texts of Sanskrit. His room had the appearance of a cell, which he never left, except for short walks in the corridors of the building.' Against the distinguished visitor, however, Csoma was apt to shut his heart and his door; in fact he kept his room locked from the outside, so that it could not be opened without sending for the keys. To a sympathetic fellow-student Csoma was a different being. 'I found him', says the learned Dr. Malan,[1] (may his memory long flourish at Broad Windsor,) 'a man of middle stature, much weather-beaten from his travels, but kind, amiable, and willing to impart all he knew.' With a compatriot who could talk of his beloved country, he warmed into a thousand reminiscences and a sweet grave mirth. 'He was cheerful,' writes a travelling artist from Pesth, 'often merry, his spirits rose very considerably when he took the opportunity of talking about Hungary. Often, when speaking of our native land, our conversation was protracted till after ten o'clock. I began to suspect, however, that he would never see his native land again, being then already advanced in age,' and enfeebled by his almost 'prison life'.

From this prison life, however, Csoma in due time soared free. By 1842 he felt himself fully equipped for the long-deferred enterprise of his life. He was then 58 years old, but, like the aged Ulysses, he could not rest from travel. Like Ulysses, too, 'he had become a name for always roaming with a hungry heart; and though made weak by time and fate, yet strong in will, he resolved 'to follow knowledge like a sinking star.' His little quadrangle of book-boxes was his dukedom, in which he soberly worked and cautiously reasoned. But beyond this enclosure of real life ever arose visions of the cloud-capt towers and snowy realms of the Himalayas. In February 1842 he wrote a grateful letter of

1 Dr. Malan, Oriental linguist and brilliant scholar, died at Bournemouth, 1894. (See Supplement to Dictionary of National Biography).

farewell to the Asiatic Society, thanking them for their long kindness, and saying that, as he was setting forth 'to make a tour in Central Asia', and might perhaps not return, he left all his books, papers, and savings at their disposal. He travelled the four hundred miles to the mountains apparently on foot, was thus compelled to spend a night in the deadly Terai, and reached Darjeeling on March 24 stricken with fever. Our Political Agent there, Archibald Campbell, was a skilled physician and an enthusiastic Oriental student. Every attention which medical science and admiring veneration could suggest was bestowed on the worn-out scholar. Dr. Campbell records how, in the intervals of the fever, the patient would burst forth into brilliant anticipations of the work which he was now at last to accomplish. 'What would Hodgson, Turnour, and some of the philosophers of Europe not give to be in my place when I get to Lhassa! ' was a frequent exclamation. The poor pilgrim was never to reach Lhassa. After three weeks' illness, he died very peacefully at daybreak on April 11, 1842, without a groan or a struggle.

'The effects', wrote Dr. Campbell, 'consisted of four boxes of books and papers, the suit of blue clothes which he always wore and in which he died, a few sheets, and one cooking pot'. There were also a bag of silver coins and a waist-belt of gold ducats, and a memorandum of Government securities for five thousand rupees, which he had saved from his modest stipend. These went in due course to his beloved country ; but Csoma's bequest to the world was of the kind which neither moth nor rust can corrupt. English officers laid the Master, 'famous clam and dead,' in a fitting spot. Not on any low-lying plain of India, but on a mighty slope of the Himalayas—'that appropriate country where man's thought, rarer, intenser, self-gathered for an outbreak, as it ought, chafes in the censer'—they buired the pilgrim scholar. The Asiatic Society raised a pillar over his grave, with an error as to his age, but with a noble epitaph. The monument is now entered in the list of tombs of Great Men, which the British Government maintains for ever at the public charge. The little child of a Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal lies just behind. Csoma's life was finished: a shoulder of Birch Hill shuts out the snowy ranges beyond which lay the visionary search, which he was destined never to accomplish:

'Here's the top peak ; the multitude below
Live, for they can, there:

This man decided not to Live but Know—
Bury this man there?
Here—here's his place, where meteors shoot,
clouds form,
Lightnings are loosened,
Stars come and go! Let joy break with the storm.
Peace let the dew send!
Lofty designs must close in like effects:
Loftily lying,
Leave him—still loftier than the world suspects,
Living and dying.'

THE LIFE OF BUDDHA

EXTRACTED FROM THE TIBETAN AUTHORITIES

The two principal works treating of the life of Shakya or Buddha are the *Lalitavistara,* and the Tibetan work *Mnon-par-Hbyung-va.* The first is contained in the 2nd and the latter in the 26th volume of the *M, do* class in the *B, kahh-gyur.*

Many of the facts or anecdotes of the life of Shakya, that occur in these two works, have been also introduced in the Vinaya, especially in the third and fourth volumes. Passages from the same works are likewise to be found in several Shastras relating to the life of Shakya.

According to the authority above cited, the principal acts in the life of Shakya are the following (twelve in number): 1: He descends from among the gods. 2. He enters into the womb. 3. He was born. 4. He displayed all sorts of arts. 5. He was married, or enjoyed the pleasures of the conjugal state. 6. He left his house and took the religious character. 7. He performed penances. 8. He overcame the devil, or god of pleasure (Kama Deva). 9. He arrived at supreme perfection, or became Buddha. 10. He turned the wheel of the law or published his doctrine. 11. He was delivered from pain, or died. 12. His relics were deposited.

I

Before his last incarnation, Shakya resided for a long time in Tushita, one of the heavens of the gods; whither he had ascended through his former moral merits, especially through his having been accomplished in the six transcendental virtues; viz. charity, morality, patience &c. when Kashyapa, his predecessor, was about to leave Tushita, and to descend to be incarnated for the purpose of becoming a Buddha, Shakya was at that time a Bodhisatwa of the tenth degree of perfection. He was chosen by Kashyapa for his Vicegerent in Tushita, to be the instructor of the gods, and was also inaugurated by him with his own diadem. As a Bodhisatwa he remained afterwards in Tushita for a long period, or till the time, when men lived only one hundred

years. At a certain occasion, when the gods in Tushita were exhibiting all sorts of musical entertainments, out of respect for him, he was exhorted by the Buddhas of all the corners of the world, to descend from Tushita, and to endeavour to become a Buddha.

He acquainted the gods with his intention respecting his descent into Jambu dwipa. They, knowing that there were at that time many atheistical teachers,[1] endeavoured to divert him from his purpose, but in vain. He assured them that he should overcome them all, that his doctrine would be established and flourish in Jambu dwipa. And he recommended to the gods, that whoever among them might wish to taste of the food of immortality, he should be incarnated among men, in the same division of the earth.

The gods in Tushita, after having agreed on Bodhisatwa's descent, consulted about where he should be incarnated, in what country, nation and family. They all agreed that it should be in central or Gangetic India. But with respect to the tribe and family that differed among themselves. Some proposing one, some another from the ruling tribes or families in central India; but some objection was started to each of them. The ruling tribes or families enumerated by them, were residing at that time, in Ujjayani, Hastinapura (the Pandava race) Mathura, Vaishali or Prayaga (the Lichabyis)[2] in Kaushambi, Rajagriha, Shravasti, in Kosala; and the Badsa Raja.[3] Not being able to agree among themselves, they ask Bodhisatwa himself (Shakya) where he would be incarnated. He tells them in the house of Shudhodana, a king of the Shakya race, residing at Kapilavastu; on account of the purity and celebrity of his family, he being a descendant of the ancient universal monarchs.

Before leaving Tushita, he appoints Maitreya to be his Vicegerent in the same manner as he himself had been appointed by Kashyapa. Maitreya is still residing there, and he is the saint who first will become a Buddha hereafter.

II

There was a consultation again among the gods in what form Bodhisatwa should enter into the womb or body of the woman whom he had chosen to become his mother. A young

1 See No. 1 of the Extracts in the Appendix, Dulva 3rd Vol. leaf 419-478; and 4th Vol. leaf 1-106.
2 See No. 2 3 See No. 3

elephant with six adorned trunks, such as has been judged proper in brahmanical works, was preferred. He therefore, leaving Tushita, descends, and, in the form of an elephant, enters by the right side, into the womb or cavity of the body of Maya Devi[1] the wife of Shudhodana. She never felt such a pleasure as at that moment. Next morning she tells the king the dream she had respecting that elephant. The Brahmans and the interpreters of dreams being called by the king, they propound that the queen shall be delivered of a son, who will become either an universal monarch or a Buddha. The king greatly rejoicing upon hearing these predictions, orders alms to be distributed and offerings or sacrifices to be made to the gods for the safety and happy delivery of Maya Devi, and for the prosperity of the child that was to be born, he himself is very solicitous to do everything according to her pleasure. The gods render her every service, and all nature is favourably disposed on account of Bodhisatwa or the incarnated saint.

III

Maya Devi[2] was delivered of Bodhisatwa or the child, on the fifteenth day of the 4th moon of the Wood-Rat year; when she was in the garden or grove Lumbini whither she had gone with great procession for her recreation. The child (Shakya) came out by her right side, she being in a standing posture, and holding fast the branch of a tree, Indra and other gods, assisted her. Soon after his birth, Shakya walked seven paces towards each of the four cardinal points, and uttered the name of each of them, telling what he was about to do with respect to them. Several miracles happened at his birth, for instance the whole was illuminated with great light or brightness, the earth quaked, or trembled several times; the blind saw &c. &c.

There were born at the same time with Shayka[3] the sons of four kings in central or Gangetic India. At Rajagriha in Magadha, at Shravasti in Kosala, at Kaushambi, and at Ujjayani (as Vimbisara or Shrenika, Prasenjit &c. &c.).

Likewise, at Kapilavastu, there were born of the Kshetriya tribe 500 male and 500 female children, 500 male and 500 female servants, 500 young elephants, 500 young horses or colts, 500 treasures also opened, all the wishes of Shudhodana being thus fulfilled, he gave his son the name of Siddhartha or "Sarva Siddhartha".

1 See No. 4 2 See No. 5 3 See No. 6

Seven days after the birth of Shakya, his mother dies, and is born again among the gods, in the Traya-strimsha (33) heaven.

From Lumbini Shakya is carried with great solemnity to Kapilavastu, is taken to the temple of a particular god of the Shakyas[1] to salute him; but it is the god himself who shows reverence to him. Hence, one of the many names of Shakya, is Devata Deva, god of gods. He is entrusted to Gautami[2] (his aunt), who, together with 32 nurses, takes care of him. On a certain occasion it was found that the strength of Shakya (when yet a child), equalled that of a thousand elephants.

The Brahmans and other diviners observing the characteristic signs on the body of Shakya, foretell that he shall become an universal monarch, if he remains at home; or a Buddha, if he leaves his house and assumes the religious character.

An hermit or sage, called Nag-po (or according to others Nyon-mongsmed) admonished by the great illumination of the world, together with his nephew, Narada, goes to Kapilavastu, to salute the new-born child. He has a long conversation with Shudhodana, and foretells to him that his son shall not become an universal monarch (Chakravarti) as some have foretold of him, but a Buddha. He laments that being too old, he cannot reach the time, in which he shall teach his doctrine. He recommends to Narada to become his disciple.

IV

On a lucky or auspicious day (according to the observations of the astrologers) Shudhodana intending to send his son Shakya[3] unto a school to learn his letters, orders the city to be cleansed and decorated; offerings or sacrifices to be made to the gods, and alms to be distributed. But, when brought to the school-master, he shows that, without being instructed, he knows every kind of letter shown by the school-master. And he himself enumerates 64 different alphabets (among which are mentioned those of Yavana and Huna also; but they are mostly fanciful names) and shows their figures. The Master is astonished at his wisdom, and utters several slokas expressive of his praise. Likewise, in arithmetic and astronomy, he is more expert than all others. He is acquainted

1 See No. 7 2 See No. 8 3 See No. 9

with the art of subduing or breaking in an elephant and with all the 64 mechanical arts with military weapons and machines. He excels all other young Shakyas in the gymnastic exercises; as, in wrestling, leaping, swimming, archery, throwing the discus &c. He clears the roads from an immense tree that had fallen down.

V

Afterwards, when grown up, Shakya, being desired by his father to marry, expresses in writing the requisite qualities of a woman whom he would be willing to take for his wife, if there be found any such. The King orders his Ministers to seek for such a damsel. They find one, Gopa, the daughter of a Shakya, but he declines to give his daughter except the young Prince be acquainted with the practice of every mechanical art. Shakya[1] therefore exhibits his skill in all sorts of mechanical arts, and by this means he obtains Gopa, who is described as the model of prudent and virtuous women. He marries afterwards Yashodhara and another of the name of "Deer-born". The two first are much celebrated. But it seems that frequently both the names are attributed to the same person. By Yashodhara, Shakya had one son named Rahula.

VI

Shakya is stated to have passed 29 years in the court of Shudhodana, his father, enjoying during that time all worldly pleasures. Afterwards the following circumstances determine him to take the religious character.

Riding in a carriage to the grove for his recreation, he observes at different occasions—an old man; a sick person; a corpse, and lastly a man in a religious garb. He talks with his groom about those persons, and turns back at each occasion, and gives himself to meditation, on old age, sickness, death, and on the religious state. He visits a village of the agriculturists, observes their wretched condition, meditates in the shade of a Jambu tree. That shade out of respect for him, ceases to change with the progress of the sun. On his way home, many hoarded treasures open and offer themselves to him. He rejects them.

Notwithstanding all the vigilance of his father and of his relations to prevent him from leaving the court, (since according to the predictions regarding him they hope that he shall

1 See No. 10

become an universal monarch) he finds means for leaving the royal residence. At midnight mounting his horse called the "Praiseworthy" he rides for six miles; then, dismounting, he sends back, by the servant, the horse and all the ornaments he had; and directs him to tell his father and his relations not to be grieved on his departure; for when he shall have found the supreme wisdom he will return and console them. Upon the servant's return there was great lamentation in the court of Shudhodana.

With his own sword Shakya cuts off the hair of his head; he then changes his fine linen clothes for a common garment of a dark-red colour, presented by Indra in disguise of a hunter. He commences his peregrination, and successively goes to Rajagriha in Magadha. The King Vimbisara or Shrenika having seen him from his palace is much pleased with his manners. Afterwards being informed of him by his domestics, visits him; has a long conversation with him, and offers him means for living according to his pleasure. He will not accept anything. On the request of the King, he relates that he is of the Shakya race that inhabit Kapila-vastu in Kosala, on the bank of the Bhagirathi river, in the vicinity of the Himalayas. He is of the royal family, the son of Shudhodana and that he has renounced the world, and now seeks only to find the supreme wisdom.

VII

Leaving Rajagriha he visits afterwards several of the hermits living in the hills. In a short time he becomes acquainted with all their practices and principles. He is not satisfied with them. He tells them that they are mistaken in supposing such practices to be the means of emancipation. Afterwards, he goes to the bank of the Nairanjana river,[1] and during the course of six years performs his penances, subjecting himself to great austerities and privation of food, and giving himself to continual meditation. Three characteristic signs formerly unknown, now appear on his body. Perceiving afterwards privation of food[2] to be dangerous to his mental faculties, he is resolved to make use of necessary food for his sustenance. He bathes or washes himself in the Nairanjana river. On the bank a branch of the Arjuna tree, bows down to help him out of the river. He refreshes himself with a refined milk-soup presented to him by two maids.[3] His five attendants desert him now,[4] saying among them-

1 See No. 11 2 See No. 13 3 See No. 12 4 See No. 14

selves—" such a glutton and such a loose man as Gautama is now, never can arrive at the supreme wisdom" (or never can become a Buddha). They go to Varanashi, and in a grove near that city, continue to live an ascetic life.

VIII

After having bathed in the Nairanjana river, and refreshed himself with food, Shakya recovers his strength, and purposes to visit the holy spot called Bodhimanda or Vajrasana, the place where now Gaya is. He therefore proceeds to that place, sits upon a couch of grass, gives himself to earnest meditation, overcomes all the hosts of the devil, or triumphs over all the temptations of Kama Deva[1].

IX

Remaining fixed in his meditation at last he arrives at the supreme wisdom, or he becomes Buddha. After having arrived at the supreme perfection, the gods from the several heavens[2] successively present him their offerings, adore him, and in appropriate verses sing praises to him, concerning his excellent qualities, and his great acts in overcoming the devil. For seven weeks he remains at Gaya, and is perfected for his great purpose.

*Two merchants entertain him with a dinner, and hear his instructions. They are so firm in their faith that they are said by Shakya to become Bodhisatwas. The four great kings of the (fabulous) Meru offer him each a begging plate. He, being somewhat ill-disposed, the devil advises him to die; but, being presented by Indra with a fruit of the Jambu tree, he recovers. He is defended by the Nagas against the injuries of bad weather with their expanded or hooded necks.

X

After having found the supreme wisdom, Shakya, thinking that men cannot understand his profound doctrine, refuses to instruct them except he be solicited by Brahma, and other gods to do so. They appear; and on their request he commences to teach his doctrine.[3] He reflects to whom he should first communicate his principles. Several of them whom he judged fit to understand him, are dead. He proceeds to Varanashi[4]—five persons, formerly his attendants, being now

1 See No. 15 2 See No. 16
* Gagon and Bzang-po. 3 See No. 17 4 See No. 18

convinced of his having found the supreme wisdom, pay homage to him and become his disciples. Their names are as follows: 1. Ajnjana Kondinya; 2. Asvajit; 3. Pashwa; 4. Maha Nama; 5. Bhadrika. Shakya instructs them in his doctrine:[1] explains the four excellent truths: 1. There is sorrow or misery in life, 2. It will be so with every birth, 3. But it may be stopped, 4. The way or mode of making an end to all miseries.

Five other persons likewise become his disciples; as also many others following him. On his way to Rajagriha, at once 60 persons take the religious character, and follow him. The King of Magadha, Vimbisara invites him to Rajagriha,[2] and offers him a Vihara called after the name of a bird, Kalantaka Shariputra and Mongalyana (afterwards styled a pair of his principal disciples) enter into his religious order. Katyayana becomes his disciple, and is sent afterwards by Shakya to Ujjayani to convert the king and his people. He there meets with great success.

A rich householder at Shravasti in Kosala having adopted Buddhism, makes a religious establishment with several large buildings, in a grove called the Prince's grove (Jetavanam). He invites thither Shakya, and offer him and his disciples the buildings for their residence. Shakya passes 23 years there; and the greatest part of the Sutras was delivered or propounded by him at this place, or as generally is stated, at Shravasti.

Prasenajit the king of Kosala, residing at Shravasti, adopts Buddhism. There are several stories of him, both in the *Vinaya* and the *Do* class.

Shudhodana, the father of Shakya, successively sends eight messengers to invite him to Kapilavastu. They all remain with Shakya and take the religious character. At last he sends Charka, one of his Ministers. He also takes the religious character, but he returns and brings intelligence to the King respecting Shakya's intention to visit him. He orders therefore the Nyagrodha convent (Vihara) to be built, near Kapilavastu.

After an absence of 12 years Shakya visits his father. Several miracles are displayed on the occasion of the meeting of the father and of the son. There are told several stories of how the Shakyas adopted Buddhism,[3] and how they, mostly, took the religious character.

1 See No. 19 2 See No. 20 3 See No. 21

Both in the *Vinaya* and in the *Do* class, there are many stories concerning Shakya's peregrination; and how several individuals either singly or in company turn Buddhists: but, it seems, many of the stories are fanciful. The scene of the principal transactions in the life of Shakya, is generally, in Central or Gangetic India, or the countries from Mathura, Ujjayani, Vaishali or Prayaga (Allahabad) down to Kama Rupa, in Assam; and from the Vindhya mountains to Kapilavastu in Rohilkhand.

The two kings of Panchala, on the Northern and Southern side of the Ganges, are reconciled by Shakya, and are stated to have adopted Buddhism. The King of the Northern Panchala becomes an Arhan, and that of Southern Panchala is foretold by Shakya to become a Bodhisatwa of the first rank.

On a certain occasion Shakya cedes or yields the half of his sitting couch or pillow to Mahakashyapa, one of his principal disciples, to sit on with him, by which act he tacitly appoints him his successor, as an Hierarch after his death.

XI

The death of Shakya, as generally stated in the Tibetan books, happened in Assam, near the City of Kusha or Kama Rupa, under a pair of Sal trees.

This event is told at large in the 8th volume of the *Do* class in the *Kah-gyur*. As also, in two other volumes following the *Do* class, titled Mahaparinirvanam, the "great final deliverance from pain."

All animal beings, admonished by a mighty voice of the approaching death of Shakya, haste to present him their last offerings, to ask him about the doubts they had on some articles of his doctrine, and to hear his instructions thereupon. The substance of his doctrine is repeated in these volumes, with respect to some metaphysical subtleties. There are many discussions on the nature or essence and the qualities of Tathagata or Buddha (God), as also on that of the human soul. On the state of being under bondage and liberated. On the means of obtaining final emancipation. On the six transcendental virtues, especially on charity. On causal concatenation and on several other articles.

Previous to his death, Shakya tells how anciently the universal monarchs were used to be burnt and orders his disciples to do the same with his body. Accordingly, after

having washed the corpse several times with all sorts of scented or perfumed water, they put it into an iron chest, fill it with sweet scented seed oil, and keep it so for seven days, then taking out the body, they envelop it first with soft cotton, and wrap it up afterwards in several (five hundred) whole pieces of cotton cloth; then they replace the body again in the chest, fill it with sweet scented seed-oil, and after having kept so for seven days, they burn it with sandal and other precious sweet-scented woods.

XII

The corpose being burnt in the above manner, they gather together the ashes. There are found 8 measures (Drona) of them. They are put in 8 urns. These 8 precious vessels being placed upon 8 richly adorned stately seats or thrones, sacrifices and adorations are offered up to them during several days, after which they are deposited in a magnificent pyramidical building (Chaitya) in the city of Kusha or Kama Rupa.

The princes in central India among whom Shakya had lived, hearing of his death, and being desirous of obtaining his holy relics, some of them go themselves, others send their men to take a portion of them. The people of Kusha permit them to visit the Chaitya, and to pay their respects to the holy relics, but they refuse to give them any share of those remains.[1]

After the death of Shakya his doctrine was first compiled by his principal disciples: Kashyapa who succeeded him in the Hierarchy, compiled the *Prajnyaparamita* or the metaphysical works. Ananda the Sutras, or the *Do* class. And Upali the *Vinaya* or *Dulva*. These compilations were called *Tripitakah* (the three vessels of repositories). And also *Prabachana,* chief precept. All these works are now too voluminous. The extent and contents of them show evidently that they are referred all to Shakya. One hundred and ten years after the first compilation, there was made a second in the time of Asoka, a celebrated King, who resided at Pataliputra. A third compilation was made again in the time of Kanishka, a celebrated King in the North of India, after there had been elapsed more than four hundred years

1 It is somewhere stated in the Tibetan books that these relics were divided and deposited at eight different places, but I cannot cite the Vol. in which it is stated. See note on the Death of Shakya, See *Leaf* 651.

from the death of Shakya. The Buddhists were divided about that time into 18 sects, under four principal divisions, as followers of Shakya's 4 disciples, viz. Rahula, Upali, Kashyapa and Katyayana.

The Names of the Masters, Divisions, and Sub-divisions, extracted from the Vocabulary, in the Stan-gyur, are as follows.

Masters	*Divisions*	*Sub-Divisions*
Rahula	1. Arya Sarvasti-vadah	a. Mulasarvasti-vadah
		b. Kashyapiyah
		c. Mahisasakah
		d. Dharma guptah
		e. Bahushrutiyah
		f. Tamrashatiyah
		g. Vibhajya Vadinah
Upali	2. Arya Samma-tiyah	a. Kaurnakullakah
		b. Avantakah
		c. Vastiputriyah
Kashyapa	3. Maha Sanghikah	a. Purva Sailah
		b. Avara Sailah
		c. Hemavahah
		d. Lokottara Vudinah
		e. Prajnyapti Vudinah
Katyayana	4. Arya Sathavirah	a. Maha Vihara Vasinah
		b. Jeta Vaniyah
		c. Abhaya giri Vasinah

NOTES AND REFERENCES

Note 1. (i) *Atheistical teachers.* The name "tirthika", is applied by the Tibetian to the Hindus in general. At the first beginning of Buddhism in Central India, it was applied to those sophistical teachers that opposed Buddhism. There are mentioned six principal teachers of them, viz. 1. Purna Kashyapa. 2. Maskari Goshaliputra. 3. Sanjayi Vairahiputra. 4. Ajita Keshakambalah. 5. Akuda Katyayana. 6. Nirgrantha Jnati.

Their gross atheistical principles or tenets (according to the representations of the Buddhists) may be seen in the first volume of the *Dulva* class of the *Kah-gyur*, from *leaf* 33-40, told by themselves, on the request of Shariputra and Mongolyana (afterwards Shakya's two principal disciples).

In general, according to the *Kah-gyur* and *Stan-gyur* and all Tibetan authorities, among the several Hindu systems the Tirthikas are those that are most extravagant in their tenets and practices, and that have been always the greatest antagonists of the Buddhists.

The above mentioned six teachers resided mostly at Rajagriha and Sharvasti. They had frequent contests with the disciples of Gautama, by whom, at last, they were entirely defeated at Sharvasti, and afterwards they dispersed in the mountains near the Himalaya.

They were surpassed by Gautama, especially in the performance of miracles.

(ii) Vidiha or Bidiha (tall body, or one with a tall body) is a family name; as also, it is the name of the fabulous great continent to the East from the Meru. Also signifies one of the Videha tribe or family.

Note 2. The name of Litsabyi or Lichavyi, is applied to a race or tribe of men, whose principal city is stated to have been at Vaishali, i.e. Prayaga, or the modern Allahabad. They are frequently mentioned in the *Ka-gyur* and *Stan-gyur*, and are described as rich and very splendid in their equipage and furniture.

Tibetan writers derive their first king, Nya-Khri-Tsan-Po (about 250 years before Jesus Christ) from the Litsabyis; stating that there have been three kinds or tribes of the Shakya; as 1. Shakya Chhen-po, 2. Shakya Litsabyi, and 3. Shakya Rikhrot-pa (living in the mountains), and that

1 These Notes and References, in form of answers, had been written (were written) to the queries of H. H. Wilson.

Nyakhri-tsanpo was of the Shakya Litsabyi tribe, who, being expelled took refuge in Tibet.

Note 3. The name and residence of this prince are thus expressed. Udayana Vadsa raja, the son of Shatanika at Kaushambi.

Note 4. I do not find any mention made in the Tibetan books of Maya Devi's virginity, upon which the Mongol accounts lay so much stress.

Note 5. Shakya's birthday is differently stated in different authors.

Note 6. The names of the four princes, &c. are: a. Vimbisara or Shrenika, the son of Maha Padma, King of Magadha, at Rajagriha. b. Prasenajit, the son of Aranemi, King of Kosala, at Shravasti. c. Udayana Vadsa Raja, the son of Shatanika, at Kaushambi. d. Pratyota, the son of Anantanemi, the King of Ujayin.[1]

Note 7. The divinity of the Shakyas. It was an idol representing a divinity of the Yaksha kind, and was kept in a temple. The *M Do, Kh,* leaf 94, states that the inanimate images of several gods, as of Indra, Brahma, and others, as soon as Badhisatwa (Shakya) put the sole of his right foot into the Temple, stood up and prostrated themselves at his feet.

Note 8. Gautami was of the Gautama tribe—an aunt of Shakya.

Note 9. His precise age is not stated, it is said only, that when he grew up he was sent into the school to learn his letters. And that there was celebrated a great festival on that day, the whole city being cleansed and decorated &c. The teacher's name is expressed as the "teacher of children, friend of all."

The superior education of a courtesan in India, as in Greece, is marked by her being versed in the Shastras.[2]

The text says : "Who, like a harlot, is wise in understanding the rites of the Scriptures."

1 The gods in Tushita, when seeking for a pure tribe for the birthplace of Shakya, and finding fault with each enumerated tribe or family, objected against the Pandava race that they have brought great confusion into their family descent, by calling Yudhisthira, Dharmaputra, Bhima, Vayuputra, Arjuna, Indraputra, and Nakula and Sahadeva, the Aswinis.

2 See the paper on the requisite qualities of the woman whom Shakya was willing to marry—printed in the *Journ. As. Soc.* Vol. III page 57.

Note 10. It is stated in general terms that Shakya excelled all others in the letters and mechanical arts. He had shown his skill in arithmetic, and his knowledge of several kinds of letters. But it was especially in the athletic exercises that he surpassed all other young men of the Shakya race, at Kapila—especially in archery, and in throwing the discus. It is frequently mentioned, that, in all these exhibitions Devadatta was one of Shakya's rivals, and that he looked on him with great indignation and hatred, on account of his superior talents. But there is no mention made of any rivalship with respect to the damsels whom Shakya had married.

Note 11. The Nairanjana river must have been not far from Gaya, since it is stated that Bodhisatwa (Shakya) went on foot to that river, and being much pleased with the situation of an inhabited place or village, (abounding in tanks or ponds) having a turfy or grassy ground and many shady or bushy trees, he remained there for six years devoted entirely to meditation and using very little food.

Note 12. Some Tibetan writers say that his five first disciples were sent to Shakya from Kapila, by his father and grandfather (on the mother's side) to attend on him. But in the *Kha* volume of the *Do* class of the *Ka-gyur, leaf* 180, it is stated that he had found them at Rajagriha, as the disciples of a certain teacher whom he had visited, to learn his metaphysical theory. Shakya having perceived in a short time his whole system, these five persons, admiring his great talents, and supposing that he would soon arrive at the supreme perfection, and that they would have then an opportunity to be instructed by him, when he left Rajagriha to live an escetic life, accompanied him, and remained afterwards with him when he left Rajagriha to live an ascetic life, accompanied him, and remained afterwards with him, until he gave up his abstinence from food.

Note 13. Shakya's mortifications differed from those of other patients, inasmuch as others mortified only their bodies, by subjecting themselves to several sorts of rigid practices, without exercising their understanding. Shakya abstained from food and exposed to the vicissitudes of weather in order that he might keep in subjection his body during the exercise of his mental faculties in his meditations. (*leaf* 194). Shakya declares to the Priests out of his own experience, that the mortifying of one's body, as some ascetics do, is not the right way to obtain thereby perfection or eman-

cipation. But that it is only by the right application of one's understanding to meditation and reflection, that one may be freed from the sorrows of birth, sickness, old age and death in a future life.

Note 14. These maidens are differently spoken of in different places. In one place it is said that they were the daughters of a headman of the village in the vicinity of which Shakya lived. In another place it is said that he was presented with a refined and honeyed milk soup by a maiden of that village, and that her name was "Well-born." There are mentioned ten other maidens of the neighbourhood, who visited frequently Shakya, and prepared his victuals, after he has commenced to take food regularly.

Note 15. With respect to Shakya's temptations by the Devil; *leaf* 192-194: Shakya tells to his Priests that, during the six years of his ascetic life, he was continually followed by the Devil or Satan (Mara or Kama, the god of pleasures). He is caled also 'the lord of death'; and his host (the troops of the lord of death) who sought every opportunity of seducing him; but that he never could succeed; although he used a very sweet language, and employed every means to persuade him to enjoy worldly pleasures and to renounce his abstinence, since it is difficult to subdue entirely one's mind or passions. Satan thus said to him: "give alms, offer sacrifices of burnt offering; by these means you shall acquire great moral merits. But to what purpose is abstinence?"

Bodhisatwa (Shakya) said to him: "I must soon triumph over thee Satan;. thy first troop is wish or desire; the second is displeasure; the third is formed of hunger and thirst; in the fourth stand passions or lust; in the fifth dullness and sleep; in the sixth fear or dread; the seventh is thy scruple or doubt; the eighth are anger and hypocrisy. Those that seek only for profit or gain, for praise (bestowed in verse) honour, 'ill got) renown; men praising themselves, blaming others. These are the troops that belong to the army or the black Devil."

He said further to the Devil: "To such Priests and Brahmans, who have subdued their passions, who possess self-presence, who apply well their understanding, and do every thing conscientiously, what canst thou do? Ill-minded!"

After having said thus, the Devil vanished much dejected, on account of his ill success.

But Bodhisatwa (Shakya's) final victory over the Devil (or the troops of Kama Deva) was under the holy tree (ficus Indica) sitting on Vajrasana, the diamond seat, (the spot of the essence of holy wisdom) at or in the neighbourhood of the modern Gaya, in south Bihar.

Shakya, after having recovered his strength, leaving the Nairanjana river, visited that spot with the intention to become Buddha, as his predecessors had done. He sat down there under the holy tree, on a seat of grass, with the resolution or vow, not to rise from that seat, till he had found the supreme wisdom. The Devil seeing, that, should he become Buddha, all animal beings instructed by him, will grow judicious and wise, and then they will not obey his commands or orders, endeavours by all means to thwart his object. But all his efforts are in vain. Bodhisatwa cannot be overpowered—Shakya, after being victorious over all the assaults of the Devil, passes through several degrees of deep meditation and ecstasies, and at last, about day break, arrives at the supreme wisdom (in the 36th year of his age).

In the 21st chapter of the *Lalita Vistara,* there is a long description, both in prose and verse, how the Devil (Mara), or the Ishwara of the Kamadhatu was informed of Bodhisatwa's approaching exaltation. Of his (the Devil's) thirty-two inauspicious dreams—of his hosts—of the monstrous and horrible form of the fighting angels—of the several kinds of their weapons—of the manner of their fighting—of the desertion of Kama by several gods—of the dissensions of his sons —of the two parties: the white and the black, standing on the right and left sides of Kama. Those of the first party under Kartikeya, their leader, stand for Bodhisatwa, and endeavour to dissuade their father (or Kama) from attacking that saint, since he cannot be over-powered. Those on the left side remain with Kama, and exhort him to fight, since it is impossible not to conquer with such troops. On both sides, there are uttered, alternately, by different individuals, many ingenious verses! Kama being defeated with all his troops, sends his daughters to endeavour, by their charms and female craft, to seduce Bodhisatwa. But all in vain.

Note 16. Hymns or Praises of Tathagata (Shakya) are uttered by the gods of several heavens successively, commencing with the gods of the highest heaven, down to the gods that dwell on the surface of the earth.

Leaf 259. 1. The gods of "the pure or holy mansion,"

after having circumambulated Tathagata, sitting at Bodhimanda (the holy essence) and having caused a shower of divine sandal powder, thus praised him, in verse.

"There has arisen the Illuminator of the World—The World's Protector—the Maker of light, who gives eyes to the world that has grown blind, to cast away the burdens of sin. Thou hast been victorious in the battle. Thy intention is accomplished by the moral excellence. All thy virtues are perfect. Thou shalt now satisfy men with good things.

"Gautama is without sin. He is out of the mire. He stands on dry ground. He will save other animal beings also that are carried off by the mighty stream.

"Great Genius! thou art eminent; in all the three worlds there is none like thee. To this world sleeping for a long time, immersed in thick darkness, cause thou the light of understanding to arise.

"The living world has long been suffering the disease of corruption. The prince of physicians is come to cure them of all their diseases. Protector of the world! By the appearance, all the mansions of distress shall be made empty. Henceforth, both gods and men shall enjoy happiness. None of those who came to see thee, the chief and the best of men, shall for a thousand ages (Kalpas) go to hell (or see the place of damnation). They who, hearing thy instruction grow wise and sound, shall not be afraid at the destruction of the body. They having cut off the bonds of distress, and being entirely freed from all further incumbrance, shall find the fruit of the greatest virtue (or enjoy the greatest happiness). These are the persons on whom alms may be bestowed, and that may receive them. Great shall be the reward of such alms—they shall contribute to their (the offerers') final deliverance from pain."

Leaf 260. Shakya, addressing the priests, says: Priests!

The gods from the heaven, after having thus praised Tathagata, saluted him, by putting their hands, together, and then sat aside.

2. Then came the gods from the Abhaswara Heaven, and after having presented their several offerings, and having their circumambulated Tathagata, thus praised him.

"Reverence be to thee, Oh Muni! whose mind is profound, whose instruction is very pleasing. Thou art the prince of Munis. Thy instruction is sweet (or pleasing) like the melody of the daughter of Brahma. Thou hast found

the highest degree of perfection. Thou art the most Holy. Thou art our shelter, our refuge and our aid. Thou with a loving kindness, art the Protector of the world. Thou art the best physician that takest away every pain and curest all diseases. Thou art the maker of light. Lord! do thou assuage the afflictions of both gods and men, by pouring on them a shower of the food of immortality. Thou art immovable, firm, fixed like Meru, (or Olympus) or the sceptre in the hand of Indra. Thou art constant in thy vow or resolution. Thou, possessing all good qualities art like the Moon &c. &c.

3. *Leaf* 260. Then came the gods from the Heaven of Brahma and said:

"To thee, whose virtue is immaculate, whose understanding is clear and brilliant, who hast all the 32 sacred characteristic signs; who possessest a good memory, discerning understanding, and fore-knowledge, and who are indefatigable, reverence be to thee, we adore thee falling down with our heads at thy feet.

"To thee who art clean or pure from the taints of sin, who are immaculate, spotless; who art celebrated in all the three worlds; who hast found the three kinds of science, who givest an eye to know the three degrees of true emancipation; reverence be to thee.

"To thee, who with a tranquil mind, clearest up the troubles of evil times, who instructest with a loving kindness all moving beings in their destination, reverence be to thee.

"Muni! whose heart is at rest, who delightest much in explaining every doubt; who hast undergone rigorous suffering on account of moving beings, thy intention is pure, thy practices are perfect. Teacher of the four Truths! Rejoicer in emancipation! who, being liberated, desirest to set free others also; reverence be to thee.

"The powerful and industrious Kama (Mara) coming to thee, when thou overcomest him by thy understanding, diligence, and mildness, thou hast found at that time the supreme standard of immortality. Reverence be to thee who hast overcome the host of deceit."

4. *Leaf* 261. Then came the white party from among the sons of Kama, or the good angels that favoured Bodhisatwa (Shakya) and said:

"O Mighty one! who by thy great power, without moving thy self or standing up, and without even uttering a

single word, hast defeated in a moment our strong, fierce and dreadful host, O most perfect Muni! in whom all the three worlds pay homage with sacrifices; reverence be to thee.

"The innumerable troops of Kama, that surrounded the holy tree (ficus Indica) the prince of all trees, were unable to disturb thee (or could not remove thee).

"Now, sitting under this tree, after having suffered innumerable hardhips thou appearest this day most beautiful.

"Since during the course of thy holy life thou hast parted from thy dearest wife, child, servants; as also thy gardens, towns, countries, kingdoms, thy head, eyes, tongue, feet, &c. to-day thou appearest most beautiful.

"Thou hast now obtained thy wish, as thou hast desired to become a Buddha, that thou mightest save, in a vessel of true religion (or faith) those that have been carried off into the ocean of distress. Thy wish is fulfilled. Now they will be saved by thee.

"Chief of men! Giver of eyes to the world! We all rejoice in thy moral merits and final happiness, and pray that we ourselves, after being accomplished in perfection, such as all the Buddhas have praised, and having triumphed over the hosts of desire, may arrive at omniscience and final beatitude.

5. *Leaf* 262. Then came other gods and said:

"Thy instruction is without fault. It is exempt from all confustion. It is free from the principles of darkness and contains the precepts of immortality. It is worthy to be reverenced both in heaven and on earth. Reverence be to thee, possessed of such a brilliant discriminating understanding. Do thou make glad both gods and men by thy delightful instruction. Thou art the patron, the refuge, the shelter of all moving beings &c. &c.

6. *Leaf* 263. Then came those of Rapprul and said:

"Having put off the three kinds of spots or impurities, thou becamest an excellent light of religions. Those that delighted to walk in a wrong way, thou madest enter into the true path of immortality. Sacrificial offerings are made to thee both by gods and men. Thou art a wise curer of diseases. Thou art the giver of immortal happiness. Thy wisdom is wonderful. We, bowing down with our heads, do arore thee."

7. *Leaf* 263. Then came the gods of Tushita and said:

"When thou wast in Tushita (heaven) thou hadst then

fully instructed the gods in many moral virtues. All thy precepts are there still in continual use. We cannot be satisfied with looking on thee, not with harkening to thy instruction. Ocean of good qualities! Light of the world! We bow down with our heads and hearts before thee. At thy descent from Tushita, all the disagreeable places of future birth were cleared up by thee. At the time when thou comest to sit under this holy tree (fiscus Indica) the afflictions of all moving beings were assuaged. Since thy wishes have been fulfilled, having found the supreme perfection (as thou soughtest for) and having defeated Kama also, run now thy religious course, turn the wheel of the Law. There are many who wish to hear thy moral instruction. Many thousands of animal beings are waiting here. We beg, therefore, that thou wilt be pleased to run thy religious race, and to instruct them at large, and to deliver them out of the orb of transmigrations &c. &c.

8. *Leaf* 264. Then came the gods of Tap-pral and said:

"There is none like thee, in morality, meditation and wisdom; where is then thy superior? To thee, O Tathagata! who art wise in the means of piety and emancipation, be reverence. We bow down with our heads at thy feet.

"We have seen the great preparations made by the god of the holy tree—such sacrificial offerings, made by the god and men, belong only to thee (there is none other worthy of them). Thou art not disappointed in having taken the religious character and in having lived a rigid life; since, having overcome the deceitful troops (of Kama) thou hast found the supreme perfection. Thou hast shed light on the ten corners of the world. Thou hast enlightened, with the lamp of understanding, all the three worlds. Thou art become a dispeller of darkness. To thee, who givest to man an eye like that of the supreme intelligence, no praise can be sufficiently said, even through the course of a whole Kalpa. Ocean of perfections! Tathagata! the most celebrated in the world! We prostrate ourselves with our heads at thy feet, we adore thee".

9. Then came Indra with the other gods of the Trayastrinsha heaven and said:

"Muni! who art undisturbed, spotless, who remainest always in a graceful sitting posture like the mountain Meru, (or Olympus), who art renowned in the ten corners of the

world, on account of thy shining wisdom and brilliant moral merits; reverence be to thee.

"Muni! thou hadst offered in old times, pure sacrifices to many hundred Buddhas; by the merits of those offerings thou becamest victorious over the hosts of Kama, at the foot of the Holy Tree. Thou art the source of morality, of law, of meditation, of ingenuity, and the standard of wisdom. Thou art the overcomer of old age and of death. Thou art the true physician, the giver of eyes to the world. Muni! thou hast put away the three belmishes or spots. Thy senses are quiet, thy mind is at rest.

"Shakya! the chief of men! the spiritual king of all walking beings (men)! we repair to thee for protection (or we take refuge with thee). By thy diligent application thou hast acquired the infinite good practices of the eminent saints (Bodhisatwas), thou hadst the powers of wisdom, method, affection, and prosperity, at thy first becoming a Bodhisatwa; now sitting at Bodhimanda (Holy essence, or the essence of wisdom) thy ten powers are complete.

"The gods were in much fear and anxiety, seeing the infinite hosts that were surrounding thee, saying among themselves: will not that prince of the priests, who is sitting at Bodhimanda, be overpowered?

"Thou hast not been afraid of those evil spirits—thou wast not even moved. By knocking with thy hand upon a heavy load, they were all afraid, and thou becamest victorious over all the hosts of Kama. As the former Buddhas had found the supreme perfection (on this holy spot) by sitting on their thrones (lion-chair), thou having followed their examples, hast equalled them both in mind and spirit, thou hast acquired omniscience by thyself. Therefore, thou art the holy, the self-produced of the world, the ground on which all moving beings may rest their prosperity (or moral merits) &c. &c.

10. *Leaf* 265. Then came the four great kings (gods residing of the four sides of the Sumeru, and said:

"Thy instruction is agreeable; thy voice is pleasing—thy mind being very placid, is clear like the moon. Thou hast a cheerful countenance. Prince of Munis! that makest us glad; we adore thee.

"When thou dost speak, the melody of thy voice surpasses all those of both gods and men. All the distresses, caused by lust, passion, and ignorance, are assuaged by thy words. They produce in all animal beings the purest joy.

All they, that harken to thy instruction, will be liberated. Thou dost not disdain the ignorant. Thou never wast proud with the superiority of thy wisdom. Neither art thou puffed up (in prosperity) nor dejected (in adversity). As the Sumeru arose from among the waters, so thou art eminent from among men."

11. *Leaf* 266. Then came the gods of the enlightened void space above, or atmosphere, and said:

"We come to see thee, O Wise Muni! after having observed carefully the practices of moving beings. Pure animal being! when we look on thy behaviour, it is only thou (from among all) whom we find with an undisturbed mind, &c. &c.

12. *Leaf* 267. Then came the gods residing on the surface of the earth and said:

"Thou having enlightened every atom in the universe, all the three thousand worlds became a temple of sacrifice for thee, how much more so thine own persons!"

"We take up the whole body of water below, all moving beings on the surface of the earth, all earths in the three thousand worlds, we offer them all to thee, and beg thee to use them according to thy pleasure: and we wish that at every place where thou sittest, walkest, or liest, or the spiritual sons of Gautama, the Sugata (thy spiritual sons) shall preach the Law, all the hearers and believers of the word, on account of our moral merits, may find the supreme perfection or beatitude."

(Note: of some of the hymns or praises under the above 12 heads, a part only has been translated; and the specification of the several offerings presented to Tathagata by each class of gods at their arival, has been left out.)

Note 17. The substance of Brahma's address is:

Leaf 284. "It is unbecoming to him (Shakya) to remain so indifferent after having acquired such great perfection and wisdom. There are many in the world who both desire to learn and can understand his doctrine. Brahma, therefore, with Indra and several other gods, beg him that he will please to teach his doctrine (or that he will beat the drum, blow the shell or tumpet, and kindle or light the lamp of religion and cause to fall a shower of religious instruction). And that he will please to save or deliver men out of the ocean of transmigration, to cure their moral diseases, to assuage their afflictions, to bring into the right way those that are

gone astray, and to open the door of emancipation (or final liberation from bodily existence).

Note 18. The Mongols say he ascended a throne at Varanasi. There are at Varanasi (according to the dreams of the Buddhists) one thousand (spiritual) thrones (lion chair) for the 1,000 Buddhas of this happy age (Bhadra Kalpa) four of whom have appeared, and the rest are to come hear-after. Shakya, after becoming Buddha, when first visited Varanasi, paid respect to the thrones of his three predecessors by circumambulating each of them, and then he sat down on the fourth throne.

These 1,000 Buddhas are described in the first volume of the *Do* Class of the *Kah-gyur* to which beg to refer. Some wealthy Tibetians delight to keep the images of these 1,000 Buddhas, made of silver or other metal, and to pay respect to them.

Note 19. With respect to the four truths little further explanation is afforded. Ignorance is the source of almost every real or fancied misery; and right knowledge of the nature of things, is the true way to emancipation; therefore, they, who desire to be freed from the miseries of future transmigrations, must acquire true knowledge of the nature of divine and human things.

Note 20. Shakya had accepted the Vihar (in the Kalantaka grove, near Rajagriha) offered him by Vimbisara, where he passed afterwards several years, and many of his lectures were delivered in that Vihar. There was, likewise, another place near Rajagriha, called the Griddhrakuta parvata, where he gave several lectures, especially on the *Prajnaparamita.*

Note 21. The principal female persons of the religious order established by Shakya, were: Gautami (his aunt), Yashodhara, Gopa and Utpalavarnna (his wives).

Lechin Devadatta and Shakya (or Siddhartha) were the sons of two brothers. The former, of the eldest, the latter, that of the youngest. Each had one brother. Devadatta had Ananda, Shakya had Nanda.

In the *Vinaya,* and in several Sutras, Devadatta is represented always as inimical to Shakya. He slew with his fist an elephant sent by the Lichavyies of Vaishali as a present to Shakya, when he was yet at Kapila. He hired some persons to destroy Shakya by hurling on him a large stone. He caused many times dissensions among his disciples.

ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH OF SHAKYA

Translated from the Dulva, Volume D, page 635.

As soon as Buddha Bhagavan was delivered from pain (was dead) this great earth shook, ignis fatuus also fell, the corners of the world also were burning (with meteors), and from the enlightened void space above (from the air or heaven) there was also heard a sound of drums made by the gods.

At that time the life possessing A'yusman Maha Kashyapa being at Rajagriha, in a residence in the grove called after the Kalantaka bird, was awakened by that earthquake, and reflecting on what it would signify, he perceived that Buddha Bhagavan had been entirely delivered from pain. And knowing the nature of things, he said: "This is the case with every compound thing."

He, reflecting within himself, that the king of Magadha Ajatashatru not being yet well grounded in his faith (having a faith without roots) should he hear of the death of Buddha Bhagavan he would certainly die in vomiting out warm blood; therefore he thought of means to prevent it.

He said thus to Maha Mantra, the chief Officer of Magadha, a Brahman: Maha Mantra! may it be known to you, that Buddha Bhagavan being delivered from pain, if the king Ajatashatru, whose faith has not yet taken root, should he hear that Buddha Bhagavan is delivered from pain, he may die by vomiting warm blood, therefore be you instructed in the means of preventing it.

He (Maha Mantra) said: Venerable Sir, please to command or tell the means one after another. He said: Maha Mantra, come, go speedily into the king's garden or grove, and make to be represented in painting, how Buddha Bhagavan was in Tushita; how he, in the shape of an elephant descended into the womb of his mother. How he, at the foot of the Banyan tree (ficus Indica) has found the supreme perfection, or become Buddha. How he, at Varanasi, at three different times, turned the wheel of the law of twelve kinds (has taught his doctrine). How he, at Shravasti, displayed great miracles. How he, at the city of *S,gra-chen,* descended from the Trayastrinsha (33) heaven of the gods, whither he had gone to instruct his mother; and lastly, how he, after having accomplished his acts in taming

men, in his doctrine, at several places, went to his last sleeping bed, in the city of Kusha in Assam.

Take you seven long basins or troughs filled with fresh butter and one filled with Tsandan goshirs'ha (a kind of sandal wood or resin) and place them in that part of the garden. When the king shall come out to the door then beg him that he may be pleased to go and see the garden. If he take notice of the picture and ask of you: what is this? then tell him, at large, thus: Sire! This place is Kapilavastu; in this corner here has been born Buddha Bhagavan. This, here, is the bank of the Naranjana river. This, here, is the spot where Buddha Bhagavan sitting on a diamond-seat or Vajrasana, arrived at the supreme perfection, or became Buddha. This again is the city of Varanasi; Buddha Bhagavan three times passed over to this spot and turned the wheel of the law of twelve kinds. Here is the city of Shravasti, where Buddha Bhagavan displayed his great miracles. This, again, is the city of Sgra-chen. It is here that Buddha Bhagavan, alighted, when he came down from among the gods in the Trayatrinsha heaven. This, again, is the city of Kusha where Buddha Bhagavan, after having accomplished his acts in disciplining men, at such and such places, went to his last sleeping bed! Tell him so, and when, upon hearing these, he shall faint then plunge him into the long basin filled with fresh butter, and when the butter shall be melted, then lay him in the second basin, and so on, till the 7th basin, then take out and lay him into that filled with Tsandan-go shirs'ha, and so he will recover. After having said this, the Ayusman Maha Kashyapa departed for the city of Kusha.

Maha Mantra having soon got the pictures ready, when the king appeared abroad, begged him that he would please to go and see the garden. The king entering to the garden, and seeing the pictures asked of Maha Mantra, what is this? He answered, and told him at large (as above has been described) till: 'this is Kamarupa (the city of Kusha, so called from the Kusha grass) where Bhagavan Buddha went to his last sleeping bed.' He said: "What say you! Maha Mantra what! Buddha Bhagavan has been delivered from pain?' said he: but Maha Mantra remained silent. Then the king Ajatashatru having fainted fell motionless to the ground. Maha Mantra laying him successively in the long basins or troughs filled with fresh butter, and afterwards taking out

and laying him again in a long basin filled with Tsandan goshirs'ha, he then recovered.

As soon as Buddha Bhagavan was dead, at the foot of the pair of Sal-trees, which scattered over him with flowers, and he was sleeping like a lion, a Priest thus said, in verse:

"A pair of beautiful Sal-trees, in this grove of excellent green trees, are scattering flowers upon the Teacher delivered from pain."

As soon as Buddha Bhagavan was dead, Indra said, in verse: "Alas! the compound thing is not lasting; from its being produced it is of a perishable nature. Since it is produced, it perishes. It is a happiness for such to be at rest (to be assuaged).

As soon as Buddha Bhagavan was delivered from pain, Brahma, the Lord of the Universe (Sahalokesha), thus said, in verse: "All things gathered together in this world by all creatures, must be relinquished. This man, who had no equal in the world, Tathagata, who has found great powers, and clear eyes, such a Teacher also, at last, has died."

As soon as Buddha Bhagavan was delivered from pain, the life-possessing A'yusman Aniruddha said in verse:

"He who with a firm mind was a protector, he that had found steadiness and tranquillity, the letting out and taking in of breath (respiration) being stopped, the clear-eyed, at last, is dead. When the Teacher, who was excellent in every kind, was delivered from pain, I was very much troubled; my hair stood on end. He was without fear; he was above the senses (or the objects of sense), his mind was evolved. Such a light is now extinguished."

As soon as Buddha Bhagavan was delivered from pain, some Priests rolled on the ground; some clasping their arms, uttered great ejaculations; some being depressed by sorrow, sat still; some depending on religion, said: Buddha Bhagavan, who instructed us in many things, that were pleasing, agreeable, and delightful to the hearts of all, is now separated, annihilated, destroyed, and divided from us.

Then the life-possessing Ayusman Aniruddha said to the life-possessing Ananda: "Ananda if by degrees and by soft means, you will not appease the Priests, the gods that live for many hundred kalpas, will reproach, revile, and say contemptuously; there are many priests that took the religious character according to the excellent precepts of the *Vinaya*, but that are without judgment and reflection."

Ananda asked of Ayusman Aniruddha: 'Do you know how many gods there are present?' "Ananda, in all the space that is from the city of Kusha to the river Yig-dan from the grove of the pair of Sal-trees to the Chaitya (adorned with a head ornament by the Champions) 12 miles, (each of 4,000 fathoms) in circumference, there is not a single spot left which is not occupied and filled by wise gods of great power; there is not left so much place by the inferior gods where you could fix a staff. Some of these gods roll on the ground; some grasping their arms utter ejaculations; some, being oppressed by great sorrow, sit still; some depending on religion (or on the nature of things) thus say: "Buddha Bhagavan, who instructed us in many things, which were pleasing, agreeable, and delightful to the hearts of all, is now separated, annihilated, destroyed, and divided from us."

In that evening the life-possessing Ayusman Aniruddha, after having expressed some moral reflections, sat down in the manner of a venerable wise man keeping silence.

'Then, the night being over, the life-possessing Ayusman Aniruddha thus said to the life-possessing Ananda:

"Ananda, go you, and tell thus to the Champions, the inhabitants of Kusha: "Inhabitants, (citizens), this evening, at mid-night, the Teacher has been delivered from pain, with respect to the five aggregates of his body; perform now your duty, and work out your moral merits." And tell them not to take into their minds to say: "Men dwelling in the neighbourhood (environs) of our city (or beloved brethren) our Teachers being dead, henceforth we cannot make him sacrifices (offerings) and do other things that are required." After Ayusman Aniruddha had said this, Ananda putting on his religious garb accompanied by other priests, went to that place, where the Senate-house of the Champions, that inhabit Kusha, was, and where there were assembled at that time about 500 Champions of the City of Kusha to consult about some affairs. Then Ananda said to them: 'Intelligent citizens, assembled Champions of Kusha, please to hear: At midnight this evening, the Teacher has been entirely delivered from pain, with respect to the five aggregates of his body. Perform now your duty, and make your moral merits. Do not take into your minds to say: "Men dwelling in the neighbourhood of our city, our Teacher being dead, henceforth we cannot make him sacrifices and perform other rites that are required." After Ananda had said thus, some of the

Champions that inhabit Kusha, roll on the ground, some clasping their hands, utter ejaculations; some being oppressed by sorrow, sit still; some depending on religion say: "Buddha Bhagavan, who taught us so many things, that were pleasing, agreeable and delightful to every man's heart, is now separated, annihilated, destroyed, and withdrawn from us."

Then the Champions of Kusha taking to themselves from the whole City, flowers, garlands, incense, sweet scented powders, and musical instruments; together with their children, wives, male and female slaves, labourers, publicans, their friends, relations, magistrates or officers, and their kindred, going out from the City of Kusha, and proceeding to the grove of the pair of Sal-trees after having arrived there, show every kind of respect, reverence, honour and worship to Buddha Bhagavan (who was sleeping like a lion) by sacrificing to him with myrrh, garlands, incense, sweet scented powders, and with music.

Then the principal men from among the Champions of Kusha thus said to the life-possessing A'yusman Ananda: Venerable Ananda (or Reverend Sir):

We are willing to sacrifice to Buddha Bhagavan (or show honour to his memory) please to instruct us how we should perform the funeral ceremonies." "Citizens! in like manner with those of an universal Monarch (Chakravartti).

'Venerable Ananda! how they are performed to an universal Monarch?' 'Inhabitants! (citizens) the corpse of an universal Monarch is wrapped first in cotton of cotton-tree (made into flat leaves or blades) and afterwards it is wrapped up in 500 pieces of cotton cloth, then it is placed in an iron coffin filled with seed-oil; and from above it is covered with a double iron covering; then heaping together all sorts of sweet scented woods, it is burnt with them; and the fire is extinguished with milk; then his bones being put into an urn of gold, and building a Chaitya for the bones, on such a place where four roads meet and fixing an umbrella, banners and long narrow hanging pieces of stuff or cloth, they show respect, reverence, honour and worship, with myrrh (or fragrant substances) garlands, incense, sweet scented powders, and musical sounds, and then they celebrate a great festival. Citizens! such things are performed at the funeral of an universal Monarch. For Tathagata, the Arhan, the most accomplished Buddha, you must do yet more.'

'Venerable Ananda! we will do accordingly as you have

commanded; but as it is not easy to get soon together the things required, in seven days hence, we will make every thing ready, and then we will perform our funeral sacrifices with fragrant substances, garlands, incense, sweet scented powders, and musical sounds, showing respect, reverence, honour and worship to Buddha Bhagavan who sleeps on the lion-throne (or lies on the stately funeral bed.)'. 'Do you, therefore, said Ananda, 'accordingly'.

Then they went away, and in seven days prepared every thing. And on the seventh day, having prepared also golden biers (or frames) bringing together all fragrant substance, garlands and all sorts of musical instruments that were found within the space of 12 miles from Kusha to Yig-dan river; from the grove of the pair of Sal-trees to the Chaitya with a head ornament, (ornamental pinnacle) they came out from the City, and proceeding to the grove of the pair of Sal-trees, paid respect, reverence, honour and worship to him, who was sleeping on the lion-throne with all sorts of fragrant substances, garlands, incense, sweet scented powders, and musical sounds.

Then the principal Champions of Kusha thus said to the Champions that crowded together from all parts: "Hear ye, intelligent citizents! the wives and the maids of the Champions, shall make canopies of cloth over the corpose of Buddha Bhagavan: the wives and lads of the Champions shall carry the bier of Buddha Bhagavan; and we showing respect, reverence, honour, and worship to him, with fragrant substances, garlands, incense, sweet scented powders and music, so we shall enter at the western gate of the City, and after having perambulated the whole space within, we shall go out, by the eastern gate of the City; and after having passed over the Yig-dan river, we shall stay by the Chaitya (called the Chaitya that has a head ornament tied on by the Champions) and there we will burn the corpse."

The Champions answered them, and said: "We will do accordingly." The wives and the maids of the Champions formed canopies of cloth for the corpse of Buddha Bhagavan: but the wives and lads of the Champions, wishing to lift up the bier of Buddha Bhagavan, could not take it up. Then Ayusman Aniruddha said to Ananda: "Life-possessing Ananda, the wives of the Champions of Kusha could not lift us the bier of Buddha Bhagavan: and why?" "Since such is the will of the gods." "Life-possessing Ayusman

Aniruddha ! and what is the will of the gods?" "That the bier be carried by the Champions and the young Champions of Kusha." "Life-possessing Ananda ! it must, therefore, be done accordingly as the gods will have it."

Then as soon as the bier was lifted up by the Champions and the young Champions, the gods dwelling in the enlightened etherial space above, scattered about divine flowers, such as Utpala, Padma, Padmakarpo, Kumuda, &c. sweet scented powders of Akarn, Tamala ; and made divine music, and let down many cloths or garments. Then some of the principal Champions said to the others, 'let us lay aside the music of men and the other things, and let us perform the funeral ceremonies with divine music, and divine flowers and incense.' Afterwards they performed the funeral ceremonies accordingly (as has been stated above) till they reached "the Chaitya, where the corpse was burned.

At Kusha there fell at that time so much of the divine flower Mandaraka, that it reached up to the knees. A man, taking with him a great deal of that divine flower, went to the town of Dig-pachen on some business.

At that time Maha Kasyapa, together with a train of 500 persons, (or priests) was on the road to Kusha, to pay his last respects to the inviolate body of Buddha Bhagavan. He, having met that man on the road between Kusha and Dig-pachen, asked of him whence he came, and whither he was going. He answered to him : 'Venerable Sir, I come from Kusha, and, on some business, I go to Dig-pachen.' 'O man ! do you know my Teacher?' 'Yes, Venerable Sir, I know him ! it is Shramanah Gautama. There has been now seven days elapsed, since he is dead. This Mandaraka divine flower I have taken from among those flowers with which sacrificial respects were paid to his relics.'

The Champions of Kusha, wishing to burn the body of Buddha Bhagavan, could not kindle the fire. Ayusman Aniruddha said to Ananda : 'Ananda, the Champions of Kusha cannot burn the body of Buddha Bhagavan, and why? Because it is the will of the gods.' Ayusman Aniruddha ! according to the will of the gods, Maha Kashyapa, with 500 persons, is on his way between Digpachen and Kusha, and wishes to pay his respects to the inviolate body of Buddha Bhagavan, before it shall be burned. Ayus-

man Aniruddha ! we must do accordingly as the will of the gods has been.'

Then Ananda thus said to the Champion of Kusha : 'Hear ye O assembled multitude of the Champions of the City of Kusha. The dead body of Bhagavan Buddha could not be burnt, and what was the reason thereof ? because the gods would have it so.' They said : 'We must, therefore, do accordingly as the will of the gods has been.'

Afterwards Maha Kashyapa arrived at Kusha : from afar he was perceived by those of his followers, who went before him with fragrant substances, garlands, incense, sweet, scented powders, and all sorts of musical instruments, and after having prostrated themselves at his feet, they followed him. He, accompanied by an immense number of people, went to the place where the dead body of Bhagavan Buddha was. And removing all the sweet scented woods, he opened the iron coffin, took off all the wrappings (consisting of 500 pieces of cotton cloth and of cotton) and then he paid his adoration to the entire or inviolate body of Buddha Bhagavan.

There were at that time, on the whole surface of this great earth four great hearers (Shravakas) of Buddha : 1. Kaun-dinya. 2. Chunda. 3. Dusa-Bala Kashyapa. 4. Maha Kashyapa.

Among these, Kashyapa having more knowledge and moral merit than others, had found many garbs (or clothes) alms, beddings, medicaments and necessary utensils. He thought thus within himself : I myself will make a sacrificial offering to Bhagavan Buddha. Therefore, instead of the former wrappings, &c. he made all new and then laying the body in the iron coffin, he covered it with a double covering ; then heaping together all sorts of sweet scented woods, he went aside, and the wood was kindled by itself.

Then the Champions of Kusha extinguished the fire with milk, and the relics were put by them into an urn of gold, placed on a golden bier or frame, and after having paid to it all sorts of respect (as has been described above) they carried it into the city and deposited it in the middle of the City of Kusha.

The Champions inhabiting the country or town of Dig-pachen, being informed that there have elapsed seven days, since Buddha Bhagavan has been delivered from pain, and that the inhabitants of Kusha have built a Chaitya for

his relics; therefore putting on their armour, with four kinds of troops (elephants, horse, chariots, and infantry) they go to Kusha, and thus say to the Champions of that City: 'Hear ye! O assembled multitude of the Champions of Kusha, Buddha Bhagavan being from a long time dear unto us, and now being delivered from pain while he was tarrying in the neighbourhood of your City, we desire and request of you that you will give us a share of his bodily relics, that we may take them to Dig-pachen, and build a Chaitya there; then we shall pay all sorts of respects and worship to them, and will establish a great festival to the memory of Buddha." The Champions of Kusha answered them! "Buddha Bhagavan has been dear also unto us; he died in the environs of our City, we will give to you no share of his relics.' They said: 'If you will give, well, if not, we will take by force, with our troops.' Then the Champions of Kusha said: 'We will do accordingly.'

There were, besides those of Dig-pachen, six other pretenders to share in the relics of Buddha Bhagavan. Their names are:

1. The Buluka royal (or kshetriya) tribe residing in rTogs-pa-g, yova (of wavering judgment).

2. The Krod'tya royal race, in the City of Ssgra-sgrogs.

3. A Brahman residing in Khyab-h, jug-g, Ling (Vishnu's region).

4. The Shakya royal (kshetriya) tribe, at Kapilavastu.

5. The royal (kshetriya) tribe, Litsabyi, residing at Veshali or Prayaga.

6. The King of Magadha, Ajata Shatru.

The King of Magadha, Ajata Shatru, wished to go himself and conduct his troops, but remembering Buddha Bhagavan, he fell down motionless from his elephant. Then he was put on horseback but he again fell down. Then he entrusted his troops to Maha Mantra, a Brahman and chief officer, and directed him to give his salutation to the Champions of Kusha, and to ask of them a share of the Relics of Buddha Bhagavan, since he had been dear to him, and he would build at Rajagriha a Chaitya for those relics and pay every kind of respect and worship to them, and would establish a great festival for them. Maha Mantra did accordingly as he had been directed, by the King; but the Champions of Kusha will give no share to him.

They say : "Maha Mantra ! Buddha Bhagavan has been dear to us also from a long time ; he became our Guru and he died in the vicinity of our City ; we will therefore, give you no share of his relics." Then Maha Mantra said to them : "If you will give, well ; if not, we will take by force, by our troops." They said : "We will do accordingly."

When the Champions of Kusha saw the great multitude of troops that came to take away, by force, the relics of Buddha Bhagavan, they exercised their wives and children in shooting arrows. And when their City was besieged by those seven different troops, they came out to fight with them. But a Brahman, with a drona in his hand (a measure, the 20th part of a bushel) seeing the bad consequences of coming to blows, endeavoured to persuade the Champions of Kusha to 'share with them the relics of Buddha Bhagavan's body ; since Buddha had been from a long time very patient, and had many times praised the virtue of patience. And he told them that it was unbecoming that they should kill or destroy each other's lives, on account of the relics of Buddha Bhagavan. He reconciled afterwards both parties, and made them agree that the relics of Bhagavan Buddha should be divided into eight parts.

Leaf 651. He therefore divided them thus :

1. One part to the Champions of Kusha.

2. The 2nd part to the Champions of Dig-pachen.

3. The 3rd part to Buluka of the royal or kshetriya tribe, residing in rTogs-pa-gyova.

4. The 4th part of Krodtya of the kshetriya tribe, residing in the City of Sgra-sgrogs.

5. The 5th part to the Brahman residing in Khyab-hjug-gLing.

6. The 6th part to the Shakya royal tribe, in Kapilavastu.

7. The 7th to the Litsabyi royal tribe, in Vaishali or Prayaga.

8. The 8th part to Maha Mantra, a Brahman of Magadha, the King's Envoy of that Country.

And they all built Chaityas in their respective countries, and shewed all kinds of respect, reverence, honour and worship to them ; and established each of them a great festival in honour of those relics.

The urn or vessel, in which the relics were first deposited in the Chaitya, was given afterwards to that Brahman, who acted as Mediator between the different parties. He took with him the vessel, and in his own city, called the City of Brivoang Nyampa, built a Chaitya, and paid all sorts of respects to the relics of Buddha Bhagavan, and in honour of them established a great festival.

Afterwards a young Brahman called Nyagrodha, requested the Champions of Kusha that they would cede him the ashes or coals of fire in which the dead body of Buddha Bhagavan was burned. Having obtained his request, he built in the village of Nya-grodha-trees, a Chaitya called that of the Coals; and paying all sorts of reverence and worship to them, he established a great festival in honour of them.

Leaf 652. There were now in Jambu-dwipa (India) ten Chaityas of the relics of Buddha Bhagavan, eight were styled those of the remains of his body; one that of the Urn or Vessel, and one that of the Coals.

The four eye teeth of Buddha Bhagavan were thus divided: One was taken up into the Traya-strinsha heaven of the gods. The 2nd was deposited in "Yid-du-hong-va" (the delightful town.) The 3rd is in the Country of the King of Kalingha. The fourth is worshipped by a Nagaraja in the City of Sgra-sgrogs.

The King Asoka, residing at Pataliputra, has much increased the number of Chaityas of the seven kinds.

Leaf 652. Buddha Bhagavan was born at Kapila-vastu. In Magadha he arrived at the supreme perfection (or became Buddha). At Kashi he turned the wheel of the Law (or promulgated his doctrine). At Kusha he was delivered from pain.

Leaf 653. In this is related how, after the death of Buddha, Maha Kashyapa made arrangement for the compilation of the doctrines of Buddha, contained in the *Dulva Do* and *Mamo, Vinaya Sutra* and *Matri Abhidherma, Prajnya paramita.*

ANALYSIS OF THE DULVA

A portion of the Tibetan work entitled the Kah-gyur

The great compilation of the Tibetan Sacred Books, in one hundred volumes, is styled *Ka-gyur* or vulgarly *Kan-gyar* i.e., "translation of commandment"; on account of their being translated from the Sanskrit, or from the ancient Indian Language by which may be understood the Prakrita or dialect of Magadha, the principal seat of the Buddhist faith in India at the period.

These Books contain the doctrine of Shakya, a Buddha, who is supposed by the generality of Tibetan authors to have lived about one thousand years before the beginning of the Christian era. They were compiled at three different times, in three different places, in ancient India. First, immediately after the death of Shakya; afterwards, in the time of Asoka a celebrated king, whose residence was at Pataliputra, one hundred and ten years after the decease of Shakya. And, lastly, in the time of Kaniska, a king in the north of India, upwards of four hundred years from Shakya; when his followers had separated themselves into eighteen sects, under four principal divisions of which the names both Sanskrit and Tibetan, are recorded.[1]

The first compilers were three individuals of his (Shakya's) principal disciples. Upali compiled the *Vinaya Sutram*, Ananda, the *Sutranath;* and Kashyapa the *Prajnya-paramita*. These several works were imported into Tibet, and translated there between the seventh and thirteenth centuries of our era, but mostly in the ninth. The edition of the *Ka-gyur* in the Asiatic Society's possession appears to have been printed with the very wooden types that are mentioned as having been prepared in 1731 of the last century; and which are still in continual use, at *Snar-t'hang*, a large building or monastery not far from *Teshi-lhun-po*.

The *Ka-gyur* collection comprises the seven* following great divisions, which are in fact distinct works.

I. *Vinaya* or "Discipline" in 13 volumes.

1 See p. 25 in the Life of Shakya, in the Ka-gyur collection.

* 1 Dulva. 2 Shr-ch'hin. 3 P'hal-ch'hen.
4 D, kon-seks. 5 Do-de. 6 Nyang-das. 7 Gyut.

II. *Prajnyaparamita,* or "Transcendental Wisdom" in 21 volumes.

III. *Buddha-vatan sanga* or "Bauddha Community" in 6 volumes.

IV. *Ratnakuta* or "Gems heaped up" in 6 volumes.

V. *Sutranta* "Aphorisms" or Tracts, in 30 volumes.

VI. *Nirvana,* "Deliverance from pain" in 2 volumes.

VII. *Tantra,* "Mystical Doctrine, Charms" in 22 volumes, forming altogether exactly one hundred volumes.

The whole *Ka-gyur* collection is very frequently alluded to under the name,† *Tripitakah,* the "free vessels or repositories" comprehending under this appellation—1st—The *Vinaya*—2ndly, the *Sutra* with the *Buddha-vatan Sanga* or Bauddha Community, *Ratnakuta, Nirvana* or Deliverence from pain, and the *Tantra,* 3rdly, *Prajnyaparamita* with all its divisions or abridgments. This triple division is expressed by these names: 1. Vinaya, 2. Sutra. 3. Abhidharmah. It is the common or vulgar opinion that the *Vinaya* is a cure against cupidity or lust; the *Sutra* against iracundy or passion; and the *Abhidharmah* against ignorance.

The *Vinaya,* which will form the subject of the present analysis, treats generally of the religious Discipline or Education of religious persons. The following are the subdivisions of this work:

1. *Vinaya-Vastu,* "The basis of discipline or education" in 4 volumes.

2. *Pratimokha Sutra,* "A Sutra on emancipation," in 30 leaves.

3. *Vinaya vighaga,* "Explanation of education" in 4 volumes.

4. *Bhikshuni pratimoksha Sutra,* "A Sutra on emancipation for the Priestesses or Nuns" in 36 leaves.

5. *Bhikshuni Vinaya vighaga,* "Explanation of the discipline or education of the Priestesses or Nuns" in 1 volume with the preceding tract.

6. *Vinaya kshudraka Vastu,* "Miscellaneous minutiae concerning religious discipline" in 2 volumes.

7. *Vinaya Uttara grantha,* "The chief text book (or the last work of the Dulva class) on education" in 2 volumes.

† De-not-sum: 1 Dulva. 2 Do. 3 Sher-ch'hin.

Some make only four divisions of the whole Vinaya, thus, 1. *Vinaya Vastu.* 2. *Pratimoksha Sutra* and *Vinaya vighaga.* 3. *Vinaya kshudraka Vastu* and 4. *Vinaya Uttara grantha.* And this division is called the four classes of precepts. But in the collection with the Society the sub-division is as exhibited above.[1]

Under this title "Vinaya" there are thirteen volumes marked with the thirteen first letters of the Tibetan Alphabet. On each leaf, on the margin of the left side, when the lines begin, this title is expressed; then follows the letter under which the volume is registered, accompanied by the number of that leaf in words.

On the first page are seen three images representing Shakya with his son on his left, and one of his principal disciples on his right, with these sentences or inscriptions below them "salutation of the prince of Munis", "Salutation to the son of "Sharika", "salutation to Rahula".

The titles of the great divisions of the *Kah-gyur*, and of some particular works, are frequently entitled both in Sanskrit and Tibetan.

After the title of the work, follows the "salutation to the three holy ones" in Tibetan, which in Sanskrit is expressed thus—*Namo Ratna Trayaya.* Then follows a special salutation to Shakya, in one sloka, of which the meaning is this: "He that has cut off entirely all bonds (of human affection), has overcome the determinists (*Thirthika*), and has really subdued the devil with all his hosts, he has found the supreme perfection (Bodhisatva), I adore him."

I proceed now to take a view of the contents of the several divisions of the Vinaya class.

The first, *Vinaya vastu,* "basis of education," consists of several treatises on the disciplining of those religious persons, who became followers of Shakya, and entered into the religious order of that Buddha or Sage. Besides many others, seventeen such treatises are contained in the first four volumes of the Vinaya. The contents may be conveniently arranged with reference to the volume of the class and the leaf of that volume, in which they are found.

FIRST VOLUME OF THE VINAYA

On the second leaf the subject of the Essays in this class are expressed in two slokas, the meaning of which is this—1. The

1 Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

entering into the religious order. 2. Confession or general supplication. 3. Prohibition or censure of immoral actions. 4. The passing of the summer at a certain place. 5. Leather, hide or skin. 6. Medicament, garments or clothes. 7. Mat. 8. Kaushambi (a city). 9. Works. 10. Dmarser-chan. 11. The inward man. 12. Alteration. 13. The omission or leaving off of the celebration of the feast of confession. 14. Bedding and furniture. 15. Disputing. 16. The causing of divisions amongst the priests.

The contents of the first article are thus specified—the son of Sharika. Tirthika (a determinist?). Two young priests or monks. The murder of an Arhan. One with a maimed hand, &c. or all these contents are reduced thus—the son of Sharika (Shariputra) holy order; ordination or consecration of priests.

Upasena and other bands of religious persons adopt the doctrine of Shakya, become his disciples, and follow him withersoever he goes.

From *leaf* 2 to 10 is related how the kings of Anga (or Angadha) and Magadha, made incursions into the territories of each other with troops composed of such as fought from elephants, horses, chariots and on foot, when Shakya was not descended from the paradise of the gods.

The king of Anga (whose capital was Champa) conquers the king of Magadha (whose capital was Rajagriha) and makes him his tributary; haughty expressions of the king of Anga in his letter to the king of Magadha, the officers of this monarch advise him to surrender to the king of Anga, and repeat before him a sloka, to this meaning. "When one's kingdom and life are both in danger, one should have most care for one's life—for on consideration it will be evident that one may find another kingdom but not another life". The king of Anga keeps afterwards Magadha, for several years, in subjection and his publicans, or tax-gatherers, make great exactions there.

An earthquake and a great light are stated to occur at the descent of Shakya, when he enters the womb of his mother (*leaf* 4) and again at his birth; names of the four kings in the four capitals of central India, and of their sons, that were born at the same time with Shakya, why such names were given to those young princes (*leaf* 5).

In Magadha the young prince born to the king of the

country is called Bimbisara, why so called; his eight nurses (Dhatri), two for holding him in their laps, two for sucking him, two for cleansing him and two for playing with him. There were born in Magadha at the same time with this prince the sons of five hundred officers.

Bimbisara, when grown up is well practised in all arts, whence his surname (*leaf* 5—6) Shrenika or Shrenya. He takes notice of the tax gatherers of the king of Anga, prohibits them from collecting any further tribute in Magadha. They have recourse to the father of the young prince, who permits to continue gathering the tribute or tax in the same manner as before. Afterwards the young prince, finding them again collecting the taxes, menaces them and orders them to cease absolutely from all tax-gathering. They go to the king of Anga, tell him how they have been treated by the young prince of Magadha and repeat before him a sloka of this meaning, "As long as a tree is young it can be cut off with the nails of the fingers; when it has grown large it is difficult to cut it down even with a hundred axes." The king of Anga sends his envoys or messengers to the king of Magadha, and demands of him that the young prince, tied by the neck, should be sent to him; an answer is returned to him; they both prepare for war.

The king of Magadha appoints his son commander of the army. Bimbisara summons those five hundred sons of officers that were born at the same time with him—acquaints them with his own circumstances; tells them that he is resolved to make war against the king of Anga; appoints them his officers. They all cheerfully engage in his cause, and assure him that his circumstances will be their own. The prince utters a sloka, of which the meaning is this: "In whose house there is renown and glory (or a sacred person) it must be defended by all means. When honour is lost all is gone; as when the nave of a wheel is broken, the spokes are of no use." The officers assure him of their attachment to him in these words: "where your feet are there are our heads." He assembles the four kinds of troops. His father expresses his wonder at the great number of his son's army—thence Vimbisara's surname "the king that has many troops". Since the king of Anga had yet more troops than he himself —he causes him to be slain by a stratagem. He occupies afterwards the whole of Anga and takes up his residence at Champa till the death of his father. Afterwards he makes

his residence at Rajagriha, and this Bimbisara is represented in the *Vinaya* as the king of Magadha in the time of Shakya whom he greatly esteemed, honoured and patronized.

From *leaf* 10. A young Brahman from Magadha, or Central India, travels towards the south of India, searching after mysteries or the Tantrika doctrine. He goes to a celebrated Brahman; is well received by him; general reflections on the character of the people in the east, south, west and north of India. Praise bestowed on Central India (*leaf* 10—11) Many wish to see it. A celebrated Brahman goes with the former to Rajagriha; pays there a visit to the king; desires to dispute with any of the brahmans in Magadha; the king calls on a certain brahman of Nalada (Nalanda), a learned man who overcomes him in a dispute; the king is greatly satisfied with it, makes him a donation of Nalada, his native place or town (*leaf* 13). He returns to Nalada; marries; after nine months his wife is delivered of a son, who is named "Stod-rings"—why so; is entrusted to eight nurses (*leaf* 13) —when grown up, is well instructed in all the arts and sciences (*leaf* 14), in the Rigveda, Yajurveda, Samaveda, Atharvaveda &c. Afterwards his wife is delivered of a daughter, who having eyes like those of the Sharika bird, is called Sharika—she is instructed in the letters; overcomes her brother in a dispute.

Again, a certain Brahman, desirous to be acquainted with the Tantrika doctrine, or with the mysteries; travels from Central India towards the south; is instructed there in the Lokayata system, by a learned Brahman, Tishya. Reflections on the characters of the people of the four corners of India and the praise of Central India, (in the same terms as above). This Tishya, wishing to visit Central India, successively goes to Rajagriha; pays there a visit to the king; requests him for his patronage and expresses his wish for disputing with any learned Brahman; the king calls on a certain brahmin of Nalada (or Nalanda). Tishya defeats him in a dispute and he is consequently deprived of Nalada, which village is conferred by the king to his successful adversary; the former is much grieved, and is about to leave Nalada, and go to another place when Tishya cedes one half of his income to him, that he might remain there; he accepts it, remains, and gives his daughter to Tishya for his wife.

Leaf 18. The brother of Sharika, travels towards the south of India to learn the Lokayata philosophical system.

As a layman he is not admitted to hear that philosophy; he enters into the religious order of the Parivrajaka ("going every where"); will not cut his nails till he has learned that philosophy; thence he is surnamed afterwards "he with long nails, or the long nailed".

Leaf 19. Sharika enters into a dispute with her husband, Tishya: she is overcome. She becomes pregnant with a child of wonderful character; her dreams; explication of her dreams. She disputes again with her husband; now she overcomes him; this is attributed to the wonderful child in her womb; she is delivered of that child; it has several tokens on his body of being imbued with extraordinary qualities. After the name of his father, he is called Upatishya; after that of his mother, Sharika's son or Sharipûtra. *Leaf* 20. His qualifications in all the branches of science, and the practices of the brahmans. He excels his father in understanding the true meaning of the text of the ancient brahmanical works. (*leaf* 21.)

From *Leaf* 22. The history of Mogallana or Maugalyana. His father's name, residing place and rank. He (the father) marries; desirous to have a son; addresses his prayers to all sorts of gods; at last he obtains one; sagacity of women with child in distinguishing whether that child be a male or female; precautions which the minister takes with respect to the diet of his wife; tastes and savours of meat and drink enumerated; she is delivered of a child with a perfect body; the child is called "Lap-born", why so? and also "Mongalyana" and why so? Hence he is called sometimes Lap-born, Kolita, sometimes Mongalyana, one of the Mongol family or race. His nurses, his education, his qualifications in all the sciences and practices of the brahman (*leaf* 24). He surpasses his father in understanding the true meaning of the ancient works. He is entrusted with the instruction of 500 young brahmans in reading the brahmanical works. How they pass the time when they are not reading. The two masters or teachers, Upatishya, and Kolita, acquire great renown by their disciples; they are desirous to see each other. The first is very ingenious or intelligent, the latter very rich. Their parents will not permit them to go and see each other. They meet at the occasion of a festival at Rajagriha, whither they were sent by their parents. They sit near to each other. Their behaviour during the several exhibitions of spectacles; their mutual addresses; after the shows are over; their

answers, each in a single stanza, (*leaf* 28). They acquire an affection for each other; eager to acquire knowledge, they resolve to enter into some religious order. Kolita begs his parents to permit him to take the religious character; he is not permitted. His parents, his relations, his coetaneous friends use several arguments to dissuade him from his purpose; they cannot prevail on him. He will absolutely not partake of any repast until he is permitted. At last he obtains his parents' leave, goes to Nalada (or Nalanda) to meet there Upatishya, who very easily obtains his parents' leave to take the religious character; reflections thereupon by Kolita (*leaf* 33). They proceed together to Rajagriha, where about that time there are supposed to have been six celebrated teachers, the masters of six schools of different principles (whose names both Sanskrit and Tibetan are on record). Successively they go before each of them; address them, each in these terms; "Master! (knowing) what is the method of your doctrine? what advice do you give to your pupil? what is the fruit of an honest life? (or of good moral practices), what are the benefits thereof"? Each master addresses them thus: Brahman sons! and each tells them his own opinion or principles: they are with none of them satisfied; they make on each their reflections in the same terms; in one stanza, the meaning of which is this: "He is an ill minded, wrong teaching, and mean fellow, although he is celebrated for a master: if his own professed principles are such, what are those which he does not profess." They leave them with disdain or contempt, on account of their gross atheistical principles. (The names and philosophical principles of those six teachers or masters may be seen, from *leaf* 33 to 40 of the first volume of the *Dulva*.

Leaf 40. They become afterwards the pupils of "Yang-dag-rgyal-va-chan." He entrusts them with the instruction of his five hundred disciples. In his sickness, these two young brahmans make every effort to assist him. The one attends on him, the other seeks after medicaments. The cause of his smiling once. He tells them the birth of Shakya, and that he has become a saint or Buddha. He advises them to become his disciples, but not to mention their caste and family name, but leaving off every pride, to practise good morals before him, if they wish to find the food of immortality (*Amrita*). *Leaf* 41. A stanza on the instability of

human things: "All gathered treasures will end in want; the end of those on high is downfall; the end of meeting is separation or parting; the end of being alive is being dead (or is death)." He dies—they burn his body decently, and mourn for him. They are convinced that their deceased master has been a sage, and that he had found the food of immortality. They regret much that he has not communicated to them. They both make a law among themselves, that whichever should find first the *amrita* should communicate it to the other. The circumstances of their afterwards becoming disciples of Shakya. He declares them the first pair of his principal disciples—Upatishya or Sharadwati, "the chief of the ingenious of intelligent" and Mogallana "the chief of those that make miracles or prodigies or illusory spectacles."

Leaf 42. Shakya declares that his privation and austerities, during the course of six years, were to no effect; he could not find what he sought for. He refreshes himself with substantial food, recovers his vigour, gives himself to meditation, and arrives at perfection, or becomes a Buddha. On the request of Brahma, the god, he goes to Varanasi, performs there his first religious course, teaches his doctrine first to five men, who had been formerly his attendants. Afterwards he disciplines there fifth young persons of high descent; ordains and consecrates them, (*leaf* 43). At other different places he finds many other disciples; goes to Rajagriha. The king of Magadha (Bimbisara) offers him a residing place in a grove (called Venu-vanam Kalandaka nivasa) It is there that the above described Upatishya and Kolita become his disciples.

Leaf 44—45. Enumeration of several qualifications of Shakya—his seeing and knowing all things. The method he used in bringing to his doctrine or faith the before mentioned two young brahmans; farther circumstances thereof, (*leaf* 45—50.).

Having been told by one of Shakya's disciples that he teaches in this manner: "What things are they that arise from causes and what are the causes of their existence and of their cessation?[1] these young brahmans are much pleased with

1 *Ye dharma hetu prabhava, hetu teshan Tathagato hyavadat Teshan cha yo nirodha, evam vadi Mahasramanas.* Of this formula which is found on most of the images of Buddha dug up at Banaras, in Tirhut, and elsewhere, a full account has been given in the *Journal Asiatic Society,* Vol. IV. pages 133 to 211.

and go to him, to become his disciples, *leaf* 50. Rumours at Rajagriha upon hearing that the two principal disciples of Yang dag rgyal va chan have become the followers of the Shakya.

Leaf 51. A brahman learned in the Lokayata philosophical system pays a visit to Shakya; is very impatient at first, afterwards, being convinced by Shakya of his wrong principles, he yields and begs him to receive him into his order, *leaf* 57. Terms used by the new comer and by the master at entering and at receiving one into the religious order.

Leaf 58—65. On the enquiry of the priests, how it came that the son of Sharika possesses such admirable talents? Shakya tells them his religious and moral merits in his former generations. *Leaf* 65. Likewise, he tells them those of Mogallana.

Leaf 68. Shakya commits to the assembled body of the priests the power of receiving neophytes into his religious order, and to ordain priests when qualified. Many inconveniences arising from there being to Head or President in the congregation of the priests; regulations for electing two principals; and five sorts of teachers. Rules to be observed. Instruction how to perform the rites and ceremonies at the receiving and ordaining of the priests. Terms used at that occasion.

What sorts of men may be received into the religious order and admitted to become priests. Questions to which a new comer must answer directly. Names of several diseases and sores, *leaf* 79. Persons infected with, or subject to those maladies are prohibited from admission into the order. Several rules respecting the conduct or religious persons.

Leaf 91. A priest should not abuse any one (in words) even when himself abused; should not become angry when irritated; should not beat when beaten; nor rail when railed.

Leaf 92. Enumeration of several things which a religious person or priest may not do without having previously asked the principal's and the teacher's leave.

Leaf 102. Shakya having passed the three months of the summer in the grove near Rajagriha, will make a tour to the hills towards the south. He makes known to the priests, that whoever likes may go with him. Excuses of the priests, both of the old and young, for not being able to accompany

him. Cause or reason why but a few disciples were now with him.

Leaf 104. How any Tirthika may be admitted into the religious order or Shakya. Regulations thereupon.

Leaf 108. No priest is to be ordained that is below twenty years of age. Reasons thereof.

Leaf 109. No one shall be received into the religious order below fifteen years of age. Indecent conduct of two young priests or students.

Shakya at Shravasti in Kosala. The story of two slaves or servants, who successively had been received into the religious order of Shakya. *Leaf* 110—113. No slaves are to be admitted into that order.

Leaf 113—115. Stories of two persons who, being in debt, had taken the religious character. Shakya prohibits the admission into the religious order of any one who is in debt.

Leaf 115. The story of a young man who, having run away from his parents, had entered into the religious order. Shakya refuses to admit anyone into that order without the consent of his parents. Regulations thereupon.

Leaf 116. The story of a young person who had been received into the religious order of Shakya by a high priest. Resolution not to receive any one without the consent of the whole congregration of the priests.

Leaf 118—121. The story of a sick person; no sick man is to be received into the religious order. Every new comer to be questioned as to the state of his health.

Leaf 121. Shakya in the Nyagrodha Vihar near Kapilavastu. Great lamentation of the women of Kapila, upon their fathers, husbands, brothers, &c. taking the religious character and leaving their houses. Suddhodana's (the father of Shakya) complaint before Shakya. He again prohibits their receiving any one into the religious order without the consent of his parents, and orders that they should always ask first whether a candidate has leave from his parents except in cases of those, who have come from a far country. *Leaf* 123.

Leaf 123—127. The story of Ananda's sister's two children. How they were encouraged to read and study diligently.

Leaf 127—133. Several births according to one's moral or religious merits, described by Shakya applied to the before-mentioned students or young monks.

Leaf 133. The wonderful effects of Shakya's smiling. Reasons thereof. Order prohibiting the seduction of nuns or of priestesses by the monks or priests.

Leaf 136. A man passing clandestinely sometime amongst the priests, without having been admitted regularly, is made acquainted with their doctrine and religious practices. His reflections thereupon. Scandals arising therefrom. Shakya's order for ejecting or expelling him, and not to suffer afterwards any one to cohabit clandestinely with the priests. *Leaf* 138.

Leaf 138—139. Shakya at Shravasti, in Kosala. Several kinds of men of doubtful sex or of hermaphrodites. Prohibition against receiving any such into their religious order. They should always ask when receiving a newcomer whether he is hermaphrodite.

Leaf 139. Shakya at Shravasti. The story of an illusory serpent Naga.

Leaf 142. Prohibition against receiving into the religious order any illusory man. Thenceforth they shall always ask when admitting one into the religious order, whether he is a "illusory man"—Five kinds of natural Nagas; the rest all illusory ones.

Leaf 143—145. Good services rendered by an illusory Naga, to several religious persons. The priests should distinguish an illusory monastery from a real one and not resort to such places.

Leaf 147. Shakya forbids the giving of religious instruction to any one, unless asked, except when one is invited to a public entertainment.

Leaf 147—163. The story of Dge-hdun—hts'ho. His birth—his beautiful body—his becoming the attendant of the son of Sharika—his accomplishments—his accompanying five hundred merchants to the sea—his great services and religious instructions to many. Marvellous stories of Nagas &c.

Leaf 163. The way of the ancient sages discovered by Shakya, illustrated by a parable. Description of that way or method.

Leaf 167. Dge-hdun-hts'ho returns to Shakya—presents

his converts, they are received by him into his religious order —the great perfection they acquire afterwards by their assiduity and earnest endeavour.

Leaf 168. At the request of Dge-hdun-hts'ho, Shakya relates what have been the actions in former lives of several individuals whom he had found deficient in virtue, and monsters of iniquity.

Leaf 170. Again, on the request of the priests in a body. Shakya relates the religious and moral merits of Dge-hdun-hts'ho.

Leaf 172. The story of Kashyapa. An ancient Buddha, living at Varanasi, instructs his disciples where to perform their meditations; and advises them to live such a chaste and pure life that they may not repent it afterwards. The disciples of Shakya will imitate those of Kashyapa in performing their meditations—they commit many excesses; restrictions and prohibitions thereupon.

Leaf 175. Shakya at Shravasti. A monk (Tirthika) once, on the 14th of the month, on the confession day of the Buddhists, enters into their Vihar, admires their furniture and the mode of living and says: "The Buddhists excel us in furniture (or household stuff) and in good fare; but we excel them in religion and good morals." To enjoy both in their proper places he purposes to make profession of both religions—is detected and expelled. A rule is established that thenceforth no one shall be admitted into the order, who had become formerly a Tirthika or a brahmanist in general.

Leaf 177. Shakya at Shravasti. The murder of a mother—the circumstances preceding and following it; various advice given to the matricide by the Tirthikas (that he should throw himself into fire—take or swallow poison—precipitate himself from a steep place; or strangle himself by a rope). In his confusion he takes refuge in the monastery of Shakya's disciples; hears there accidentally from the mouth of a priest reading, that "he who opposes good actions to a committed crime, may shine even in this world like the sun and moon, after having escaped from a cloud." He repents, and, that he may yet efface the horros of his crime by good actions, he resolves to take the religious character; he does so, and, in a short time by his earnest application, he arrives at great perfection. Shakya is informed by the priests of his being a matricide, orders him to be

expelled and makes a rule that no matricide is to be admitted into that order; and that thenceforth they should always ask a new comer whether he is a murderer of his mother. The farther adventures of his same matricide related—his death and his new birth, first in hell (*leaf* 179), and afterwards in heaven amongst the gods.

Leaf 183 to 188. The murder of a father—circumstances that preceded and followed it, (told in the same manner, and nearly in the same words as above, in regard to the murder of a mother.)

Leaf 188. Shakya at Shravasti. The edicts of the kings of Magadha and Kosala (when they adopted Buddhism) that in their realms no robbery should be committed. Robbers, if detected, are to be expelled from their country, and restoration of damage to be made from the king's treasury. Robberies and murders committed on the confines of Magadha and Kosala—some traders, that have escaped, go to the king of Kosala and inform him of the event; the king sends his troops; the robbers are defeated; some escape; some are killed; sixty taken alive and brought to the king, together with the things and effects found with them. The examination of the robbers by the king—their answers. They are put to death, one escapes when carried to the place of execution, takes his refuge in a monastery of the priests of Shakya, enters into the religious order. He is found afterwards to have been a robber, and the murderer of an Arhan (Saint). The circumstances of that detection; a rule is made that thenceforth no murderer of an Arhan shall be received into the religious order, and that they shall ask of every new comer whether he is a murderer of an Arhan.

Leaf 190. Upali asks of Shakya whether one, who has caused divisions amongst the priests, is to be received into their religious order. No such shall be admitted—likewise, no one shall be received into the order, who with an ill intention to a Tathagata has shed blood; nor any that may previously have fallen off, by having committed any of the four great crimes.

Leaf 191. All such persons as have any defect in their body, members or limbs, are prohibited from admission into the religious order of Shakya. They are thus specified; one with a maimed hand or foot, one without lips, one having a cicatrized body, too old, too young, lame or crippled, blind

having maimed fingers, crooked, a dwarf, having a goitre, dumb, deaf, leaning on a staff in walking, creeping or crawling, having swollen feet with corrupt matter in them, effeminate, broken under burden or by much travelling &c., *leaf* 193.

With this concludes the subject of entering into the religious order of Shakya, entitled Pravrajita vastu.

From *leaf* 193 to 335, inclusive, is occupied with the description of the confession or self-emendation, and general supplication. Shakya at Rajagriha. The celebration of the confession, or general supplication at the end of every half month, i.e., at every new and full moon—occasion of its being ordained—preparation thereto—rites and ceremonies thereof, *leaf* 195. Explanation of sitting, and meditating, or abstract meditation. The priests of Shakya carry to excess the giving themselves to abstract meditation. *Leaf* 201. Five sorts of *ghantis* (plates of mixed metal to be struck instead of bells)—for what use. *Leaf* 202. Praying and the recitation of the *Pratimoksha Sutra.*

The great court-yard for the celebration of the feast of confession. Kapina, a brahman. His scruples about whether he should go or not to that festival. On the exhortation of Shakya he goes there. Designation of the place for the reception of the great congregation. The officiating priest. The terms he uses in addressing the priesthood. Garbs or garments which the priests are permitted to take with them into the congregation. Description of the smaller court-yard or enclosure, *leaf* 219. Instruction for reciting the Pratimoksha Sutra (or the tract on emancipation). How to intercede for any priest who may have been arrested or taken, on this day, by the king, by the robbers, or by the enemy. Then follow several instructions, how to celebrate this great day of confession elsewhere, *leaf* 335. And thus ends the second part of the *Vinaya vastu,* on confession of general supplication.

From *leaf* 335 to 357 is the enumeration of immoral acts or faults. Censure thereof. Reproof and prohibition of immoral actions. A reprover or censor is elected for that purpose. Several instructions given, how to perform the office of a reprover or censor of manners, rites and ceremonies.

From *leaf* 357 to 378 is on the summering, or passing the summer. Shakya at Shravasti. The occasion of esta-

blishing the custom of making a vow for passing the three months of the summer at a certain place, without leaving it even for a single night—for what purpose is was ordained. Several instructions, concessions, restitutions, and exceptions. The manner in which they passed that season. Mutual compliments after the return of the priests to their respective colleges or monasteries. Several questions and answers how they have passed the summer.

From *leaf* 378 to 408, or the end of this volume, and in the beginning of the next volume (from *leaf* 1 to 10), contained the subject of leather or skin.

The story of Gro-bzhin-Skyes, his birth, his growing up, his voyage at sea—is received into the religious order by Katyana, arrives at great perfection (*leaf* 396). Several sorts or skin or leather are enumerated. His private audience at Shakya's. Katyana's complimentary address to Shakya, presented by him—Shakya's answer thereto, *leaf* 405. Permission (to the disciples of Shakya) to use a vehicle or carriage—the occasion or circumstances of that permission—excesses in the use of carriage—they are prohibited except to the old, the weak and the sick.

Leaf 406. Leave (to the disciples of Shakya) to acquire a practice in swimming—occasion of that leave being given —excesses made in that practice. Indecencies committed in the Ajirapati river. They are prohibited from touching any woman ; according to this prohibition they will not save even one that has fallen into the river—modification of the former prohibitive precepts.

Leaf 407. They are prohibited from seizing a cow by the tail, in swimming over a river—occasion thereof. They may seize the tail of a fine elephant, fine horse, bull, buffalo and yak, but they must at the same time make use of a leather bag (glove?). Improprieties committed with the leather bags. They are prohibited from wearing wooden shoes—occasion of that prohibition. They are permitted to wear them in their own houses—what was the reason thereof. What to do with the wooden shoes presented (or offered) to them by the people. *Leaf* 408.

The first volume of the Vinaya terminates here : Note : the scenes of the transactions it contains, and indeed of the whole Vinaya, are represented to have been, with a few exceptions, Rajagriha in Magadha, and Shravasti in Kosala, or more properly the groves near those cities.

THE SECOND VOLUME OF THE VINAYA

This volume contains 563 leaves. It is divided into 30 parts or books or from the 25th to the 54th book inclusive.

From *leaf* 1 to 10 is the continuation of the first volume, or the treatise on leather or hide; or in general, on the priests being allowed to wear shoes. In the Index, the subject of the whole volume is said to be on medicaments. But there is very little on that subject, except from the 10th to the 40th *leaf*.

From *leaf* 1 to 10. Several sorts of shoes of the religious class are enumerated, together with the stories of their being brought into use and prohibited afterwards by Shakya. Such are those made of reed leaves; of the fibres of the muṇja grass; of thread of yarn &c.

From *leaf* 10 to 19. Shakya in the grove near Shravasti. On medicine and drugs prepared from the roots, stalks or stems, leaves, flowers, fruits or nuts, juices or sap, and gums of certain plants and trees. Nuts of an acrid taste, as that of the Amra tree, Arura, Skyurura, and Parura. Kinds of salt. Stories of particular diseases and maladies. What sort of medicament was prescribed by the physicians for each disease, how such medicaments were permitted by Shakya to be used. Permission given by Shakya to his disciples to keep always with them a certain quantity of medicine (previously consecrated or blessed). What gave occasion to that leave. Medicaments to be used daily, at a certain period of the day, for seven days, through one's whole life, diet in meat and drink. *Leaf* 15, medicament for the eye. The story of a mad man. Stories of particular meat or flesh having been used by the disciples of Shakya in the time of famine. Prohibitions against such practice.

Leaf 19. Shakya enters from Kashi into Varanasi. The story of a tribune's (headman's) wife there—her piety and her former moral merits.

Leaf 27. The king of Magadha (Shrenika Bimbisara) pays a visit to Shakya in a grove near Rajagriha, and begs his acceptance of an entertainment for three months with every thing necessary for him and his train or suite.

Leaf 30. The story of a priest suffering from hemorrhoids (piles). Haughty and malignant behaviour of the king's physician to that person, though he was sent by the king to cure him; he called Shakya also the son of a female slave. His punishment.

Leaf 33—34. Names of the six remarkable places or capitals in Central India, as 1. Shravasti. 2. Saketana. 3. Varanashi. 4. Vaishali. 5. Champa. 6. Rajagriha.

Leaf 34—35. What sort of medicament was employed by Ananda in curing Shakya in a disease. The story of Gango-po, *Leaf* 40.

Leaf 80 to 87. The king of Magadha invites Shakya into Rajagriha. With what solemnity he receives him. The procession of the sage thither together with his train; the order thereof, and to what things it has been likened. Several miracles or prodigies that happened at his entrance into that city.

Leaf 83. The king of Magadha afterwards pays a visit to Shakya and begs him to accept of an offer of entertainment for himself and suite during the three months of the winter, with all things that should be required (with dresses, a religious garment, meat and drink, beddings, medicaments and utensils.)

Leaf 83. Shakya is invited afterwards (on the occasion of an epidemic malady) to Vaishali, (Allahabad). A chief man in that city in a dream, is admonished by the gods, that they should implore the aid of Gautama. They consult about it, and send an embassy to him. At the request of the envoys from Vaishali, the king of Magadha permits Shakya to visit that city, provided that they shall treat him in the same manner as he has been treated in Rajagriha; form of salutation or compliment used by the envoys from Vaishali.

Leaf 120 to 132. Upon Shakya's arrival at Vaishali, he is, first of all, invited and entertained by a rich courtesan,* whose residence was without the city, in a grove. Afterwards he is entertained by the citizens, who were of the Lichabyi race; (they seem to have been republicans). Their splendid dresses, horse, furniture, carriages and chariots &c. &c. This city is frequently compared by Shakya to the residence of the gods, where Indra presides. Ananda directed by

* Amara-skyong.

Shakya, advancing to the gate of the city, solemnly utters several mantras or set of forms of charms (in Sanskrit) for purifying the city from all evil spirits, and causing to cease the epidemic malady. The charms begin thus "Vasirata" (four times repeated)—"Munchata" (twice)—"Nirgachchhata" (four times)—&c. and are followed by benedictory verses for the prosperity of the city.

Leaf 132. On quitting that city, Shakya passes through several other places in his peregrination and relates to Ananda their ancient history—makes several reflections on them, and in many places gives instructions to those that visit him.

From *leaf* 155 to 192, is contained the story of the meeting of a brahmin† with Shakya. This celebrated brahman hearing of Shakya's being in the neighbourhood on his peregrination, sends to him one of his principal disciples of great acquirements, with several old brahmans of respectable character, to learn through them, whether it be true what is rumoured respecting the accomplishments of Gautama, whether he has really all the characteristic signs of a sage. The conduct of the disciple and his conversation with Shakya or Gautama. He calls those of the Shakya race upstarts, or such as are known but of late, *leaf* 160. Shakya tells him the origin of the Shakya race, as also that of the family of the disciple. He is much ashamed, and cannot return any answer to Shakya; but is comforted and afterwards begs for instruction. Then the teacher tells him the tenor and contents of the doctrine of a Buddha; and the several moral duties both of the Brahman and the Buddhist priests, which they should observe and perform religiously. He afterwards relates many superstitious customs, and declares that every true Brahman and Buddhist priest should desist from all such.

After the return of the disciple, the brahmin hearing of his having been unable to answer Gautama, was so much displeased that he smote him with his shoes on the head, and would have gone immediately himself to Gautama, had it not been too late in the evening. The next day mounting a carriage, and taking with him many prepared victuals, he visits Gautama, is much satisfied with his conversation, and arranges a mode of salutation and return whenever they should happen to meet in the street; He assigns as reason

† Padma-snying-po.

thereof, that courteous ceremonies are a mode of maintaining respect and renown amongst their followers.

Leaf 192. Terms of salutation; those in which men of quality or rank send their compliments, and ask after a friend's health by their messengers or servants. A full enumeration of the terms is given, in which the King of Kosala* sends his compliments to Gautama. (The catalogue occurs many times in the *Ka-Gyur* and is also introduced into the Sanskrit and Tibetan vocabulary.)

Leaf 193. The King of Kosala pays a visit to Gautama —asks him about several things: what difference there is between four castes? Gautama replies to the King so as to lead his own mind to the conclusion, that there is really no difference between the four castes. He asks him afterwards whether there exists gods—whether the god Brahma does really exist? The answer contains several modifications, and declares, if the king means such gods as have fleshly passions, and which delight in injuring and hurting others, there are none of that kind.

From *leaf* 201. In Rajagriha, and in several other places, at different occasions, Shakya gives many moral instructions, citing instances or parables.

From *leaf* 214. The story of Yul-rk'hor-skyong—how he enters into the religious order—his reflections—moral instructions to his parents.

Leaf 240. Shakya, accompanied by Gnod-sbyin-lag-nardorje—converts many in the North of India.

Leaf 290. Account of a neatherd†, with five hundred others entering into the religious order.

Leaf 302. Shakya, visiting several places, tells to Ananda their ancient history and whence they derived their names.

Leaf 303. The king Utphoshadha born at Saketana.

Leaf 306. Terms for expressing great joy (by comparison).

From *leaf* 327 to 390. Fragments of history of several universal monarchs, (Chakravartti).

Leaf 390. The story of Nor-Bzangs, a royal prince and of his mistress. This contains many fine poetical

* Gsal-rgyal.

† Dgah-vo.

descriptions and ingenious verses expressive of an affectionate mind; it is a kind of romance or fairy story.

From *leaf* 408. Several anecdotes are told by Shakya, to show the fruits and consequences of the merits and demerits of several individuals in former generations. He relates to the king of Kosala his own acts, how he arrived at Bodhisatwa, and the many benefits he afterwards endeavoured to bestow upon all animal beings. This division abounds in judicious sayings and moral maxims—apologues or moral tales—their application, virtue and vice depicted in lively colours.

From *leaf* 496. On the request of Ananda his principal attendant, addressed to him in verse, Shakya relates (also in verse) the acts which he has performed from a very remote age to arrive at the state of a Bodhisatwa.

Leaf 505. Shakya together with 500 Arhans, visits in a miraculous manner, the great lake Manassarovara in the north.

Leaf 506. The four great rivers that take their rise there: The Ganga, Sindhu, Pakshu and Sita.

From 508 to 563 or to the end of the volume, as also from *leaf* 1 to 20, in the next or 3rd volume. On the bank of the Manassarovara lake. Shakya and 36 persons of his principal disciples, tell (in verse) the course of their lives in former generations—or the consequences of good and bad actions. End of the 2nd volume.

THE 3RD VOLUME OF THE VINAYA

Comprising 478 leaves, from the 55th to the 82nd book or section, inclusive.

General Contents. The latter part of the subject of "medicaments" in the 2nd volume. On garbs or garments, mats, spreading cloths; Kaushambhi; works or moral actions; the inward man, or manalteration (regeneration). Omission or the leaving off, of the celebration of the confession, or general supplication. Dispute or quarrel: the first part of the subject "of causing divisions amongst the priests."

From *leaf* 1 to 20. The continuation of Shakya's narration of his former births. The story of a courtezen and her gallant, in the time of the king Brahmadatta in Varanasi, cited by Shakya and applied to himself. He tells his disciples, why he mortified his body for six years; what was the cause thereof in his former lives. His disciples ask him several things, whence comes such and such a blemish or misfortune in his present life—he tells them his former immoral actions, and says that they are the consequences of these. The story of an ascetic, a good moralist, *leaf* 14.

Leaf 20. Shakya, after his return from the Manassarovara lake to Shravasti together with the 500 Arhans, is invited and entertained by a lady.* His instructions to her at that occasion.

Leaf 21. On his peregrination in Kosala, Shakya is invited and entertained by the Brahmans and landholders of the town Thigs-pa-chan. The request of 500 Yidags (fancied beings representing the condition of a miser) made to him. His answer to them—their excuses. His reflections (in verse) on the wrong judgments of men—that "men are ashamed of those things of which they ought not to be ashamed, and vice versa." He takes them with him to the entertainment, and afterwards makes his benediction to his hosts for the future prosperity and happiness of those Yidags.

Leaf 23. Dispute amongst the citizens of that place, whether Gautama and his disciples are covetous or not. They are tried by an entertainment and are found to be moderate in their wishes and temperate in their living—afterwards, by

* Sa-ga.

the same person, the Brahmanists also are invited and tried; but they are found to be the contrary of the former.

Leaf 24. The use of puram or burm (molasses) is permitted to his disciples. How Smra-hdod-kyi-sen-ge was enlightened and became an Arhan. He is declared by Shakya to be the chief of those who are enlightened by using agreeable things.

Leaf 25. From Spong-byed, Shakya goes to Vaishali and take up his lodgings without the city in a house on the bank of the "Apepond". The citizens make a law that none of them shall invite Shakya privately to a dinner, but they shall treat him publicly; since he will not remain long enough there, to be invited by them successively. A rich citizen,† having no notice of that established law, invites Shakya privately. The same do also his wife, his son and his daughter-in-law, on the three next following days—*leaf* 26 to 31. The citizens wish to punish him; how he obtains their pardon; his riches, he and his whole family, take refuge with Buddha, or adopt Buddhism. Their former religious and moral merits, *leaf* 32.

Leaf 35. On the occasion of a famine, the priests of Shakya are permitted to cook for themselves—difficulties about where to cook. The ten places in which they may not prepare their victuals. What the physician prescribes to a sick priest. How permission is obtained from Shakya, and how he makes use of the medicament—*leaf* 36-37. How a proper place is chosen and rendered fit for cooking for a priest.

Leaf 37—38. Shakya at Vaishali. The use of flesh, with what restriction it is permitted to his disciples.

Leaf 38. At Shravasti, in the time of a famine, the Buddhist priests suffering from hunger are much dejected. Several concessions granted to them by Shakya.

Leaf 40. At Shravasti the Brahmans and the laymen complain, that the priests of Shakya will not accept of several things which they are willing to offer them, to acquire moral merits for their future happiness—Shakya gives them permission.

Leaf 40—41. The sickness of the son of Sharika, the

† Nov-chan.

physician's prescription—Mogallana's endeavour to procure that medicine.

Leaf 42 to 45. The story of Lug and Bzang—Byed—their happiness—family—their great qualities; Shakya is proceeding to visit them—the malice of the Tirthika sect, Shakya's enemies to prevent his entrance—by what means he enters into that place.

Leaf 48. How a priest may give his benediction to any quantity of physic for seven days, to be used by such persons as are pure of life. Several concessions from Shakya to sick persons, in their diet.

Leaf 50. Several anecdotes that happened at Varanasi, in the time of famine, that was foretold to continue for 12 years, on account of there being no rain.

Leaf 53. The wonderful effects of alms-giving to a holy man or Rishi, or the consequences of religious and moral merits in former lives. Shakya is in a place called Uduma. His lectures to the (fabulous) four great kings, residing on the Sumeru or Meru. He recommends his doctrine to the care of those four great kings or gods, and to that of Hod-srung, to defend it after his death. They all promise him that they will defend it, *leaf* 57. He tells his disciples the former moral merits of those four great kings or gods.

Leaf 59—60. Shakya is presented with eight sorts of liquor or drink, by a Rishi, called the son of Kena, he tells his disciples the use and medical virtues of them. Rivo, a hermit (Rishi) together with his 500 pupils, becomes the disciple of the Shakya. The son of Kena also having entertained Shakya and his disciples (with a dinner) enters into their religious order, together with his pupils. To whose care these young pupils are committed by Shakya for instruction, how they are qualified in a short time, *leaf* 62.

Leaf 64 to 71. Eulogium on Shakya's qualities by the son of Kena, *leaf* 71. The story of two monks (or religious persons) father and son, formerly barbers, at Kashi.

Leaf 72. Shakya, from Gyad-yul, goes to Sdig-chan, is invited and entertained there publicly, according to the measures the citizens had taken previously in his behalf.

Leaf 74—75. Stories of several entertainments to Shakya and his disciples. *Leaf* 76. The story of a man bitten by a snake, how he is cured. The Bidya Mantra also

is exhibited; (it seems to consist of significant Sanskrit words) in three lines. Ancient fables are told and applied to present circumstances.

Leaf 78. Here ends the subject on medicaments and commences that on the garments of the priests.

The story, a minister (of state) and his king in Videha; the minister escapes to Vaishali and settles there. He first declines to give his advice in the assembly of the people there, but afterwards renders them great service by his prudent counsel.

Leaf 80 to 83. Three tribes of the Lichabyis is at Vaishali: marriages prohibited between different tribes. The before-mentioned minister is made chief tribune there, and after his death his second son. His elder son retires to Rajagriha in Magadha, to Bimbisara. This king marries, on his recommendation, the daughter of his brother at Vaishali.

Leaf 87. The story of a celebrated harlot* at Vaishali. *Leaf* 90 to 92. Bimbisara's amours with her—a son is born and sent afterwards to the King of Rajagriha—he is named "the intrepid youth".†

Leaf 92. Bimbisara commits adultery with the wife of a chief merchant at Rajagriha—the circumstances thereof—a son is born and sent to him. *Leaf* 94. The education of the two natural sons of Bimbisara. They wish to learn some art or handicraft, Hjigs-med learns carpentry, and Htsho-Obyed studies physic. The latter after having made great progress in his art, goes to Taxashila (the Taxila of Ptolemy) to learn there the opening of the cranium from a celebrated physician—his genius and great abilities—several instances of his dexterity and learning, his integrity and great experience in the art of physic. *Leaf* 104. He acquires great renown by treating several diseases successfully—is declared at three different times, the prince of all the physicians, by the king of Magadha. *Leaf* 107—108. Medical science—his meeting with Shakya—his improvement in curing the diseases both of the body and of the mind.

Leaf 111 to 114. The disciples of Shakya are permitted to wear three pieces of religious clothing of a dark red colour, for distinction's sake; what gave occasion to that permission, instruction how to prepare those garments.

* Amara-Skydng-ma.

† Gzhonnu-hjigs-med.

From *leaf* 114. The story of Sa-ga-ma, a young girl from Champa, married afterwards to the son of a chief officer at Shravasti in Kosala. Her modest and prudent conduct—description of modest and of impudent women; she is represented as the model of modest, prudent, wise, frugal, and in many respects accomplished woman. Her mother's enigmatical instruction to her with respect to her future conduct when about to be married.

Leaf 124—125. Explication of those enigmatical terms. Her father-in-law expresses himself thus: "You mother has been wise in having given you such enigmatical instructions, but you are more wise than she in having understood and practised her enigmatical advice."

Leaf 126. Sa-ga-ma is proclaimed the mother of Ri-dags-hdsin and the sister of the king of Kosala. A Vihar is founded in her name; she is delivered of thirty-two eggs, from which thirty-two young boys came forth; their adventures —they are destroyed by the king of Kosala, and their heads sent in a basket to their mother.

Leaf 129 to 131. Shakya's lessons to the king of Kosala on that subject, Sa-ga-ma's former moral and religious merits, as also the demerits of her thirty-two sons, told and applied by Shakya.

Leaf 133. The story of an astrologer. His ill-grounded prognostication—he becomes a disciple of Shakya—is convinced of the absurdity of his astrological predictions.

Leaf 135. Sa-ga-ma at Shravasti invites and entertains Shakya with his suite. Among other offerings she presents some pieces of cotton cloth, for the monks and nuns (or male and female religious persons) to make bathing clothes of them, since she had been informed that they bathed naked. Shakya at Vaishali recommends to his disciples to be clean in their bedding and clothes and to make a proper use of the offerings made to them by their faithful followers or hearers.

Leaf 141. They are ordered to keep clean mattrasses (or couches to sit and lie on); excesses in restrictions; itch, leprosy—how to treat such priests as are infected by those diseases.

Leaf 142. What sorts of religious garments are permitted by Shakya to his disciples. Some of them wish to wear such and such garments, of such and such colours; to wear turbans; others to go naked. Shakya tells them the impro-

priety and indecency of the latter and prohibits it absolutely; and rebuking them adds, that such a garb, or to go naked, is the characteristic sign of a Tirthika.

Leaf 143 to 147. A moral tale on impudence; several prohibitions respecting the dress of the priesthood; gifts must be divided equally among the priests—exceptions—many impostures committed.

Leaf 147 to 152. The story of two foolish old monks—how they were deceived by a certain Upananda illustrated by a moral tale characterising the idiot and the crafty or imposter, *leaf* 153. Other stories of Upananda's Imposture.

Leaf 162. The death of Upananda. His immense riches. Measures taken by the king to secure for himself part of that treasure. He renounces afterwards every pretension, hearing of Shakya's representation to him, made by Ananda. The whole substance (thirty thousand tolas of gold) was divided at first amongst the whole body of priests at Shravasti, but afterwards the priests of all the six cities of Central India (as of Saketana, Varanasi, Champa, and Rajagriha) having alleged their claims, were admitted all to share with them, *leaf* 164. The ceremony with which it is divided, *leaf* 165. A moral tale on covetousness, told by Shakya and applied to the above described Upananda.

Leaf 166. How to divide the effects of deceased religious persons; several stories on the subject; intermixed with moral tales, mostly relating to Shravasti.

Leaf 185. Here ends the subject "on the garbs or garments of the religious persons" and follows that "on mats and spreading cloths."

Leaf 186. Several religious persons after having passed the three months of the summer at Saketana, go to Shravasti to pay their respects to Shakya, who had summered there. They went thither much tired on account of the jungle, morasses and great heat on their road and were covered with dust. The use of any cloth or thing to spread on the ground, for sitting and lying on or a mat is permitted by Shakya. Several ceremonies—of what; how to prepare, and how to use them, *leaf* 200.

From *leaf* 200 to 219. Kaushambhi (a city); (Shakya in the Ghoshavatyarama); several priests at Vaishali, well read or well versed, go to Kaushambhi and dispute with the priests of that place, who were likewise well versed in those

scriptures; thence many disputes and quarrels upon various points, for twelve years; they are rejected by the citizens, on account of their conduct. They will no longer give them alms. They repair to Shakya at Shravasti, are ill received by him, and not admitted till they have repented, confessed their faults and have begged pardon for them.

Leaf 219 to 229. Stories of the misconduct of some religious persons; discussions on what is lawful and unlawful (or against religious discipline) in the common practices of the priests.

Leaf 229 to 272. Stories of several priests, that had violated the established rules of discipline—the proceedings of the priesthood against them; several priests at Shravasti—the cause of many quarrels and disputes among the priests. Shakya's orders, how much persons are to be admonished of their misbehavious and treated by the community. *Leaf* 235 to 239. A priest, on account of his several faults, is rebuked solemnly in the congregation—begs pardon and obtains it—the circumstances thereof. *Leaf* 239. The faults of two other priests are enumerated; they are ejected from the community: under what conditions may such again be received. The story of a dissolute priest.

Leaf 272 to 291. "On the inward man". The recollection of any committed fault or sin, the confession of it to any priest. Alteration or self-emendation—time granted for one's repentance by the congregation of the priests. The rites and ceremonies of obtaining pardon for one's smaller sins or faults. Several instances of committed, and afterwards confessed, sins or faults.

Leaf 291 to 293. "On the changing of one's self"; after committing sins or faults and on repentence; how to ask the priests' forgiveness.

Leaf 298 to 306. The putting aside or leaving off the feast of the confession. (There are several passages descriptive of the general degeneration and corruption of the priests).

Leaf 306 to 365. On lodging and bedding (or dwelling place, utensils, furniture &c). The circumstances of several establishments (called Vihar) being made for Shakya and his disciples, especially a large one at Shravasti, in Kosala, by a rich landholder. Many rules and instructions respecting religious discipline.

Leaf 365 to 418. On disputes and quarrels of the monks, several instances thereof, with their circumstances.

Leaf 418 to 478. To the end of the volume is "the causing of divisions among the priests," (as the general subject is stated on the 418th *leaf*; but there is nothing to be found of that kind).

Leaf 418—419. Is a specification of the names of the persons whose histories are about to be mentioned. Names of several (fabulous) universal monarchs (Chakravartti) in ancient India.

From *leaf* 419 to 446. The (fabulous) history of the Shakya race, told by Maugalyana or Moggallana (P) or Maudgalyayana (Sk.). The circumstances thereof (Shakya being at a certain time in the Nyagrodha Vihar, near Kapilavastu, the inhabitants of the Shakya race, desirous to know the origin and history of their nation, go in great number to him, and request of him to acquaint them with the history of their origin, that they may satisfy others on the subject. Shakya directs Maugalyana, one of his principal disciples, to tell them their origin, in an instructive manner, and he himself lies down to sleep during the narration.). Maugalyana addresses the inhabitants thus: "Descendants of Gautama!" and commences his narration by telling them, how the world was renewed after its former destruction. How the animal beings were successively propagated. The origin and causes of the different kinds, sexes, colours, qualities—their degeneration. The origin of property, laws, magistrates, universal monarchy, their descendants till the time of the grandfather of Shakya. Here ends the narration of Maugalyana. Shakya much approves it and recommends to the hearers to keep it in their memory. The rest of the volume, from *leaf* 446 to 478 contains the circumstances of the birth and education of Shakya. His bodily and intellectual accomplishments; his several acts or performances; his marriages; his leaving his father's house to live an ascetic life. Here ends the 3rd volume of the *Vinaya*.

THE 4TH VOLUME OF THE *VINAYA*

Containing 470 leaves, 27 parts or books, from the 83rd to the 109th book, inclusive

Subjects: From *leaf* 1 to 22. The continuation of the circumstances that determined Shakya to take the religious charter. His reflections on old age, sickness, death and religious state. His seeing the wretched condition of the agri-

culturists, or labouring class. A miracle with the shadow of a tree (jambu tree). His marriages. The circumstances thereof. His earnest desire to take the religious character. The precautions which his father takes to prevent him from leaving the court—his wife's and other dreams. His being exhorted (in verse) by Indra, Brahma, and by other gods, to renounce the world; his replies, his exit or departure—the circumstances thereof. His discourse with the groom; his fine horse, *leaf* 22.

Leaf 23. He commences his ascetic life. *Leaf* 24. He arrives at Rajagriha, the king (Bimbisara) observes his conduct, is much pleased with it; sends some of his men to see who and what sort of man he is—they make their report. Afterwards the king himself with his officers pays a visit to him—their conversation (in verse). Shakya tells him, that "there is in the neighbourhood of Himalaya (or Kailasha) a country called Kosala, full of riches and grain or corn, inhabited by the Shakyas, the descendants from Ikshwaku, of the Surya Vansha or Angirasa; that he is of the royal tribe, and that he has renounced all worldly desires, *leaf* 25.

Leaf 26. He quits Rajagriha, goes to the Griddhrakutu hill and successively visits several hermits of different principles—is easily admitted by each, but seeing the absurdity of their tenets and practices, he leaves them soon; he outdoes them all in their motifying practices, hence he is styled the great priest (Maha Sramana).

Leaf 29. The manner in which he gives himself to meditation, and performs his mortifications, on the banks of the Nairanjana river, *Leaf* 38—39. He finds great delight in meditation, but perceiving privation to be hurtful to his mental faculties, he resolves to make use of nourishing foods —he is presented with a refined milk-soup by two maids. He is deserted by his five attendants on account of his new mode of living.

Leaf 43. He proceeds to Vajrasan near the modern Gaya, gives himself to meditation, overcomes the devil, and finds the supreme wisdom—becomes a saint or Buddha; great joy in his father's court upon hearing of his exalted state—why such names were given to Rahula and Ananda, his son and cousin, at Kapilavastu, who were born on the same night he became a saint, *leaf* 51—52.

Leaf 59. On the exhortation of Brahma, the god of the

universe, he resolves to communicate his doctrine to others also, according to their capacities. He goes to Varanasi. Those five attendants, that left him lately, on account of his welfaring, being convinced of his perfections, first of all become his disciples. Afterwards the number of his followers rapidly increases. All sorts of ascetics—men of different tribes and professions go over to him and adopt the Buddhistic doctrine. There are in this volume several detailed accounts how such and such persons, at such and such places, have adopted his doctrine. Instructions. Compliments. The four truths.

Leaf 106. The birthplace of Shakya near the Himalaya, on the bank of the Bhagirathi not far from Kapilavastu.

Leaf 107—8. The king of Magadha, Bimbisara Shrenika, offers to Shakya and his priests a support in all necessary things, as long as he shall live.

Leaf 109. The five insignia of royalty (of Bimbasara)—1. An ornamented pillow or throne. 2. An umbrella or parasol. 3. A sword. A chowrie of cow-tail, the handle beset with jewels. 5. Particoloured shoes.

Leaf 123. Terms for rousing or calling on the domestics, and giving them orders for making ready breakfast.

Leaf 128. The history of a religious establishment of several large buildings (Vihar) in a grove near Shravasti, in Kosala by a rich landholder. *Leaf* 137. Shakya is invited thither—his journey—miracles that happened there at his arrival.

Leaf 142. The king of Kosala, in a letter informs the king Suddhodana the father of Shakya, that his son has found the food of immortality, with which he is recreating all men. His father, desirous to see him, sends several messengers to invite him; they all enter into his religious Order—not one returns even to give intelligence. At last, Char-ka, his minister, begs leave to go himself, and bring intelligence to him. He promise that, in every case, he will certainly come back. With a letter from the king he repairs to Shakya at Shravasti. He too becomes a convert to Buddhism, but he is permitted to go back, as a priest, to inform the king of these events, and to predict that in seven days he should see his son at Kapilavastu. Shakya's instructions to Char-ka how he should behave himself at Kapilavastu, and answer the king's inquiries.

leaf 144, *Leaf* 145. Comparison of great and small things. Preparations for the reception of Shakya.

Leaf 146. Orders from the king to his officers, to build in the Nyagrodha grove, sixteen large and sixty smaller rooms. Shakya, with several of his disciples, goes to meet his father at Kapilavastu.

Leaf 149. Description of their meeting—their mutual compliments and conversion (in verse), *Leaf* 150 to 152. Religious instruction: the Shakya race adopts his religion, and from every family or house one person takes the religious character. The stories of several individuals of the family of Shakya. *Leaf* 164, a barber of the Shakya, enters into that religious order, acquires great perfection—he is the pretended compiler of the *Vinaya*.

Leaf 171. The history of Kohudinya, one of the principal disciples of Shakya, as also that of others.

Leaf 242—3. Ananda is made the chief disciple of Shakya.

Leaf 341. Ajatashatru causes his father's (Bimbasara's) death. By whom he is comforted in his great troubles or anxieties.

Leaf 349. Devadatta, one of Shakya's cousins—his great hatred and malice towards Shakya. Several instances quoted, and many moral tales told by Shakya and applied to himself and to this Devadatta, or to any other individual; for under the name of Devadatta is frequently understood any malicious character, or wicked man

Leaf 392. The circumstance of Devadatta's proceedings to cause divisions among the disciples of Shakya. Several stories are told and applied to Devadatta and to the king of Magadha, to show the ill consequences of bad morals.

Leaf 417 to 449. Shakya's moral instructions to the king of Magadha.

Leaf 449. Devadatta's further plots for injuring Gautama (Shakya), Several stories and instructions.

Leaf 470. Here ends the subject of "causing divisions amongst the priests", which terminates also the general subject of "religious discipline" *Vinaya Vastu.*

These four volumes of the *Vinaya* (*Dulva* collection) were translated from the Indian or Sanskrit language in the 9th century of our era by Sarvajnya Deva, Vidya Kara Pra-

bha and Dharmakara, learned Pandits; the first and the third from Kashmir, the second from India. They were afterwards corrected and set in order by the Indian Pandit Vidyakara Prabha.

In the next four volumes of the *Vinaya* is an enumeration of the several laws or rules (Khrims), 253 in number, respecting the conduct of the priests and an explanation of those rules, in several detailed stories or parables.

In the beginning of the 5th volume, from *leaf* 1 to 30, is the treatise on emancipation, Pratimoksha Sutra.

CONTENTS OF THE TREATISE OF EMANCIPATION

Adoration of the All-knowing, or salutation to Buddha —Praise and importance of this Sutra. The several blessings arising from the practice of good morals. Celebration of the confession, on every new and full moon. Rehearsal of the established rules or precepts, pronounced by the chief (or other officiating) priests. Exhortation to the priests to examine themselves and to confess their sins with a loud voice, if they have any. The compendium or sum of the Buddhist doctrine in one sloka is this:

"No vice is to be committed,
Virtue must perfectly be practised,—
Subdue entirely your thoughts.
This is the doctrine of Buddha."

On *leaf* 30th. Commendation of the Buddhist faith, in the following two slokas: (vol. 5, *leaf* 30.)

"Arise, commence a new course of life—turn to the religion of Buddha. Conquer the host of the lord of death (the passions), that are like an elephant in this mud-house (the body), (or conquer your passions like as an elephant subdues every thing under his feet, in a muddy lake); whoever has lived a pure or chaste life, according to the precepts of this *Vinaya*, shall be free from transmigration, and shall put an end to all his miseries."

An assertion follows that the *Pratimoksha Sutra* has been recommended by each of the seven last Buddhas, who are styled here the seven Buddha champions (Vira, Champion or Hero). The names of those seven Buddhas, on the 30th *leaf*, are thus given: 1. Vipashyi. 2. Sik'hi. 3. Vishwabhu. 4. Kakutsanda. 5. Kanakamuni. 6. Kashyapa. 7. Shakya Muni.

From the 30th *leaf* of the 5th volume to the end of the 8th volume, is contained the "explanation of the religious discipline *Vinaya vibhanga* (better *Vibhaga*).

In these four volumes, are several stories of immoral actions, committed by some one of the religious persons belonging to the disciples of Shakya. The crime, generally, becomes divulged amongst the people, who blame the conduct of the priests. Shakya is informed afterwards of the fact. The delinquent is cited before the congregation; confesses his fault; and is rebuked by Shakya; who then explains the immorality of the act, makes a law thereupon and declares that whoever shall violate it, shall be treated as a transgressor.

The stories, in general, are of little importance, and many of them too indecent to be introduced here.

The two hundred and fifty-three rules to be strictly observed by the priests are of five kinds (or there are five kinds of sins or faults provided against in those rules).

1. There are some for the violation of which they are expelled from the Order. Such are the laws or rules against adultery or in general, fornication; robbery or stealing; murder or destruction of animal life; and the giving out (or selling) of human doctrine as a divine revelation.

2. By the violation of a second class of rules they become outcasts from the priesthood, or are degraded. Such crimes are—emissio seminis; indecent behaviour; immodest talk; the causing of divisions amongst the priests; the blaming of the secular state &c. &c.

3. In the 3rd class are recokoned thirty faults—as the keeping or wearing of more clothes than is permitted—neglecting to wear religious garments—the deposition of them at any place &c.,—prohibited materials for clothes &c.

4. In the 4th class are enumerated ninety faults.

5. The 5th kind of faults or sins are such as must be confessed. Besides these rules, are numerous instructions regarding decent behaviour, dress, attitude or posture of the body, manner of eating and drinking, and when giving religious instruction to others.

On *leaf* 30 to 32. Praise of religious discipline in general, (in verse).

From *leaf* 33 to 74. Several stories on fornication or adultery. A priest commits adultery. Shakya is informed of the fact. He is cited—rebuked and expelled. A rule is

made that thenceforth all adulterers shall be expelled. The circumstances of this story may be seen. *Leaf* 33 to 40, together with the terms Shakya used in rebuking the guilty.

From *leaf* 74. On stealing or robbery.

Anecdotes—kinds and modifications of theft—several instances of cheating, tricks and frauds in eluding the duties at custom houses &c.

Leaf 105. There are likewise several instances, how traders have defrauded the custom houses, in putting some of their precious things into the bags of the monks.

Leaf 155 to 166. The consequences of lust and theft—fabulous history of the origin of evil in the world.

From *leaf* 162 to 239. Several stories of suicide and poisoning amongst the monks, or of causing themselves to be slain or deprived of life, out of grief or despair, upon hearing of the various kinds of miseries or calamities of life. Shakya prohibits discoursing on the miseries of life, so as to bring others to desperation thereby.[1]

Leaf 270 to 274. Pretended supernatural knowledge attributed to the communication or inspiration of any divinity. Terms for rebuking such pretenders.

Leaf 306. Several women of respectable families, at Shravasti, visit the Vihars (colleges and halls) in a garden near that city, conducted by Char-ka, a priest, who tells them whose Vihars and halls they are with some biographical notices. His immodest behaviour. The stories of several immoral actions, by which a priest loses his character or rank and becomes an outcast from the priesthood. On making dissensions amongst the priests.

There are thus in this volume 439 leaves, to 30 first of which are occupied by the Treatise on Emancipation, in two books, 700 Slokas. The rest of the volume contains the first books of the "Explanation of Religious Discipline."

1 For a similar story, see Ainsworth's Dictionary under Hegesias in the Index Nom. prop.

"Hegesias, a philosopher of Cyrene, who displayed the miseries of life with such eloquence, that several slew themselves to be out of them; which reason he was commended by Ptolemy to discourse no more on that subject."

THE 6TH VOLUME

Containing twenty-one books or 431 leaves

Continuation of the subject (begun towards the end of the 5th volume) on causing divisions amongst the priests. Devadatta's endeavours to seduce the disciples of Shakya to his party.

Leaf 34. Shakya visits Kaushambhi, and takes his lodgings in the Ghos'havatyarama—stories of discontentment. The disciples of Shakya, on account of their being of different tribes, families, houses, &c. are likened to an assemblage of all sorts of leaves fallen from the trees, in autumn, and brought together by the wind.

Leaf 57 to 61. The priests of Shakya are said to have so many clothes that for each business they make use of a different suit; and that through dressing and undressing themselves, they have little leisure to read and study. They are prohibited from keeping superfluous garments or clothes. Several rules concerning superfluous clothes and other utensils of the priests. As also, rules concerning the wearing and omitting religious garments and depositing them or utensils at any place, *Leaf* 61 to 93.

Leaf 93 to 143. Rules concerning the washing of clothes. Several stories told of the uncleanness of the priests. The birth of Shakya. Correspondence between the king of Kosala and Suddhodhana, the father of Shakya. *Leaf* 102. A letter from Suddhodhana to Shakya—his life—he is invited —he visits his father. Dialogue (in verse) between them. *Leaf* 110—111. Description how the Shakya race adopted Buddhism. *Leaf* 131. Expressions of enthusiasm, devotion and joy uttered by five hundred of the relations of Shakya, upon their being instructed in his doctrine.

From *leaf* 325 to 431, or the end of the volume, are several stories on hoarding or laying up stores, on lying and falsehood, and on ridiculing or despising others.

THE 7TH VOLUME OF THE *VINAYA*

Containing twenty books (from the 43rd to the 63rd) and 446 leaves

In this volume is the continuation of the stories of several faults or slight crimes committed by the priests. Such faults are reckoned ninety in number. The same are introduced

into the Sanskrit and Tibetan dictionaries; but, since they are of little importance, it is unnecessary to specify them in this place. The Sanskrit generical name for this class of faults, is *Shuddha prayash chittakah*. "what are mere faults, or venial faults." The volume commences with stories on abuse or foul language and ends with narratives regarding culpable priests, that had been ordained before they had reached the age of twenty.

THE 8TH VOLUME OF THE *VINAYA*

Containing 21 books (from the 63rd to the 83rd inclusive) and 417 leaves

This volume is filled with the continuation of stories on faults or slight crimes of the same kind with those in the preceding volume. It commences with the narration of a fault committed by digging the ground, and ends with anecdotes on the adjustment and quelling of quarrels and disputes.

THE 9TH VOLUME OF THE *VINAYA*

(In 483 leaves)

This volume regards the nuns or female religious persons of the Buddhist faith. The subjects are the same as those of the last four volumes for the priests. And the stories are told in the same terms, with the exception of some additions and applications.

From *leaf* 1 to 36, in 2 books, is the treatise on emancipation for the priestesses. *Bhikshuni pratimoksha Sutra.* (See the beginning of the 5th volume).

From *leaf* 36 to 483 or to the end of the volume, in 28 books, is the Explanation of the religious discipline of the priestesses *Bhikshuni Vinaya vibhanga,* (or *Vibhaga*), in the same manner, order, and in the same words, as in the former four volumes, with the exception of some stories, and a few instances not mentioned there.

Leaf 61. Ajatashatru, the king of Magadha. How and by whom he is comforted after he had caused the death of his father Bimbasara.

Leaf 78 to 87. Stories of several religious persons having put an end to their lives, out of despair. *Leaf* 85. Several kinds of robbers.

Leaf 108 to 109. A priestess or nun, the pattern of a lewd, cunning and wicked woman. There are several stories under her name in this volume.

Leaf 193. Devadatta, one of Shakya's cousins, the model of a malignant and rancorous person. How he endeavours to acquire the knowledge of the magical art, or of performing prodigies. He applies to Shakya—and upon his refusal, to his principal disciples. They all refuse to instruct him. He is advised by each of them first to acquire true and useful knowledge. He endeavours to excite dissensions, and to make divisions among the priests—as also among the priestesses.

Leaf 216. Stories on the multiplity of clothes and garments of the female religious persons. Prohibitions against them by Shakya.

Leaf 272. The king of Kalinga sends to the king of Kosala, a piece of fine linen cloth, as a present. It comes afterwards into the hands of a lewd or wicked priestess, she puts it on, appears in public, but, from its thin texture, seems to be naked. The priestesses are prohibited from accepting or wearing such thin clothes.

Leaf 282. Mention is made of the four Vedas of the Brahmans. *Leaf* 284—5. Several terms peculiar to the loom and to other mechanical arts, are enumerated. Defects in the body of a nun. Censure of others. *Leaf* 286. Moral tales on secret slander.

Leaf 302. Several parts of the *Vinaya* enumerated.

Leaf 331. Parivrajaka "going every where" is said to be the same with Shakya.

Leaf 362. Names of several diseases. The rest of the volume is occupied with stories respecting the conduct of the nuns. Several rules to be learnt and observed. The scene of all these stories is, in general, Shravasti in Kosala.

The five last volumes were translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan, first, (in the 9th Century) by Jinamitra, a pandit of Kashmir, of the Vaibhashika philosophical sect, and by a Tibetan Lotsava, or interpreter. Other translators also are mentioned.

TENTH AND ELEVENTH VOLUMES OF THE *VINAYA*

In 60 books, of which the 10th volume contains 17 or 324 leaves and the 11th. 33 books, or 708 leaves

These volumes are entitled *Vinaya Kshudraka Vastu,* "Miscellaneous minutiae on religious discipline."

The 10th volume, after the title of these two volumes has been expressed, commences by—"reverence to the All-knowing". The subject is then set forth in three stanzas, as —things relating to the discipline and conduct of the religious persons of the Buddhist sect, and the manners and customs of the people of Central India, the scene of the several acts, described in the *Vinaya.*

Leaf 2. Shakya at Vaishali, or Vishali, Pryaga of the ancients, the modern Allahabad. The city is inhabited by the Lichabyi race. Descriptions of its gardens or orchards, music, gymnastic exercises, baths. The disciples of Shakya incur scandal there by rubbing themselves with tiles or bricks with too great a noise. They are prohibited by Shakya from rubbing themselves with tiles, except their feet.

Leaf 5. Shakya at Shravasti. Forbidden to rub themselves with fish-gills, instead of tiles or bricks—to anoint themselves with fragnant substances, except when prescribed by the physician. What to do with the fragrant substances that are offered them by their pious followers.

Leaf 7. Mention is made of some fanes or chapels, Chaitya, where the hair or nails of Buddha are deposited, and reverenced as sacred things.

Leaf 11. Seals are permitted to the priests—excesses in regard to seal rings. They are forbidden to have them of gold, silver or precious stones. They are prohibited from wearing rings. But they may keep seals or stamps made of copper, brass, bell-metal, ivory, horn—excesses in regard to the figures cut on them.

Leaf 12. A man of the religious order must have on his seal or stamp, a circle with two deer on opposite sides, and below them the name of the founder of the Vihara. A layman may have either a full length human figure or a head cut on his signet.

Leaf 25. Predictions by Shakya and by a gymnosophist, of a child that was to be born. Its miraculous birth. It is named "fire born". His education and adventures.

Leaf 28. The veracity of a Buddha is expressed thus—"the moon together with the hosts of stars, may fall down; the earth, together with the mountains and forests, may lift itself up into the void space above; the vast ocean may be dried up; but it is impossible that the great hermit (Maha Sramana) should tell a falsehood."

Leaf 58 to 61. Several false charges or calumnies at Vaishali, especially that of Lichabyi-ch'hen-po. The priests of Shakya were wont to put under ban or interdiction any person, or family, according to the following ceremony:—In their congregation, after having been informed of the facts, they turned an alms-dish or goblet, with the mouth downwards; declaring by that act, that thenceforth none should have communication with him or his house, (according to the text, no one should enter his house, neither sit down there, nor take alms from him, nor give him religious instruction.) After reconciliation had been made, the ban was taken off, by replacing the alms-dish.

Leaf 64 to 66. Shakya prohibits his disciples from learning music, dancing and singing, or visiting places where they are exhibited. Several stories are told of the practices of the religious persons.

Leaf 105. The use of garlic is interdicted to the priests, except when prescribed as a medicine—how to be used there.

Leaf 111. Permission to keep umbrellas. Excesses regarding, using too costly stuffs, adding too many trimmings, or adjoining the handles of them with gems, pearls, and precious metals.

Leaf 141 to 144. The king of Kosala, being dethroned by his son goes to Rajagriha, to Ajatashatru, king of Magadha, alights in a grove or garden near that city, belonging to the king, and sends him intelligence of his arrival. The king of Magadha orders preparations for receiving him solemnly. But in the mean time he dies in the garden, suddenly, from indigestion, caused by an immoderate use of turnips and fresh water. His funeral, Shakya's instruction to the king of Magadha.

Leaf 145 to 160. The king of Kosala at the instigation of Mala Qnod, makes frequent attacks on the Shakya race at Kapilavastu, at last he takes their city and massacres many of them. Those that escaped, dispersed themselves in the hills; many of them are said to have gone to Nepal. During

that war, a certain Shakya, Shampaka is banished from Kapilavastu. At his parting request, Shakya grants him, in an illusory manner, some hairs of his head, some nail-parings, and teeth. He goes to a country called Bagud or Vagud, is made king there, and builds a fane or chapel (Chaitya) for those holy relics, called afterwards the fane or chapel of Shampaka, *leaf* 149—150.

Leaf 160. The death of the king of Kosala caused by a conflagration. Relation of the circumstances that preceded it.

Leaf 182—183. Gautami and 500 other nuns die. Earthquake and other miracles that accompanied that event. A moral tale upon their former religious merits told by Shakya, *leaf* 185.

Leaf 202 to 248. Shakya gives to Nanda instructions and lessons on several subjects, especially on the state of existence in the womb and the gradual formation of the human body.

Leaf 273. Instruction how to build and cover a fine house. After which to the end or to *leaf* 324, there are many short stories, respecting the conduct, dress, victuals &c. of the religious persons.

ELEVENTH VOLUME OF THE *VINAYA*

In 708 leaves and 33 books, counting from the 18th to the 60th inclusive

Subject: The title of this and of the preceding volume (miscellaneous minutiae on religious discipline) evinces the nature of the materials to be found here. They are of little consequence, except a few allusions to events, persons, customs, manners, places or countries. These volumes are mostly filled up with religious instructions, rules for the conduct of the priests, and their several transgressions. Upali the supposed compiler of the *Dulva* collection (*Vinaya*) puts questions to Shakya how he is to act in such and such cases and receives his instructions thereon.

Leaf 1—2. Nanda, a priest with Shakya at Shravasti receives from his former wife from Kapilavastu several finely bleached clothes calendered or glazed with ivory.

Leaf 53. When wood is not procurable to burn a dead

body, neither is there any river to throw the corpse into. it may be buried.

Leaf 61. The death of the son of Sharika. Shakya's reflections on him. A Chaitya is built over his remains by a rich landholder at Shravasti, and an anniversary festival established in his memory. The king of Kosala orders that, at the celebration of those festivals, merchants, who come from other countries, shall pay no duties or taxes, *leaf* 68.

Leaf 126—127. Katyayana becomes the disciple of Shakya, who tells him how other philosophers are in two extremes, and that he (Shakya) keeps a middle way. He acquaints him with some of his principles, especially with the four great truths, and the twelve casual concatenations.

Leaf 130. Katyayana, with 500 other priests, is sent by Shakya to convert to his doctrine the king of Ujjayani or Ujjain in Malawa, Raja Pradyota (called the passionate or cruel), together with his consorts, son and officers. He passes on his way through Kanya Kubja a place where he had an acquaintance, a Brahman, who was dead at that time. The story of that Brahman's daughter. with the beautiful hair. His arrival, how he was received by the king. His successes there. How the king afterwards married the damsel. Anecdotes regarding.

Leaf 194. He erects Vihars and makes several donations to the companions of Katyayana. *Leaf* 197 to 207. Many witty sayings (in verse). *Leaf* 207 to 209. The ten powers of Bauddha.

Leaf 227. Various defects of the human body are enumerated in verse. Such as have them, prohibited from being received into the religious order of Shakya.

Leaf 230 to 253. Account of the great prodigies exhibited by Shakya, at Shravasti in Kosala. The six Tirthika teachers, being discontented with the treatment they meet with from the king, the officers, the brahmans, and the people in general, (who all show much favour to Gautama and his followers,) so that they can hardly gain their livelihood, endeavour to vie with Gautama in exhibiting prodigies to show their skill and power. They are defeated; for shame some of them put an end to their existence, others retire to the hills on the north of India. *Leaf* 248, the great astonishment of all at the miracles of Gautama—their applause.

Leaf 253 to 307. The story of a king in Videha and

other tales told by Shakya, political intrigues. The further history of the before mentioned six teachers.

Leaf 276. The story of Sman-ch'hen, the son of Gang-po, in a town of Purna kachha, a hilly country. *Leaf* 321 to 325. A cunning woman. Ingenious stories of female craft. *Leaf* 326. Mention made of the Hbal-gumata river, on the banks of which the priests of Shakya used to exercise themselves.

Leaf 326. Shakya in the Nyagrodda grove near Kapilavastu. Gautami, with 500 other women of the Shakya race, goes to Shakya, and begs of him to receive them into the religious order. He will not permit, and recommends to them to remain in the secular state, to wear clean clothes. They will not desist. They follow him afterwards in his peregrination through the Brija country to Nadika. They beg him again and again to receive them. At last, on the request of Ananda, he permits them to take the religious character. Several rules and instructions respecting the order of nuns. Various stories of these females that happened mostly at Shravasti.

Leaf 488 to 524. The story of a celebrated Brahman in Kosala. This is repeated from the K'ha volume of the *Dulva* (*Vinaya*) *leaf* 155 to 192, whence the general tenor may be gathered.

Leaf 581. Shakya in his peregrination proceeds to Gyad-yul the country of the Champions, and at Kamru or Kamarupa, in Assam, anciently the residence of the great king Kusha Chan, stays for a certain time, under two Sala trees.

Leaf 591. The circumstances that preceded the death of Shakya.

Leaf 635 to 636. The death of Shakya. The principal acts of his life enumerated by Hod-srung to Vyar-byed, an officer of the king of Magadha, who instructs him how to inform the king of his decease (by representing, in pictures, the several scenes of his life). Reflections on life, by several gods. The funeral raises disputes among eight tribes or cities, on account of the relics of Shakya. They are pacified by having each their share. Chaityas are built for those relics.[1]

1 See my MS. Translation of *The death of Shakya.*

Leaf 667. After the death of Shakya, Kashyapa becomes head of the sect. By his direction, five hundred accomplished priests, Arhan, assemble in a place called the cave of the Nyagrodha tree, near Rajagriha, and make the first compilation of the doctrine taught by Shakya. The *Sutra* class, is compiled by Ananda. The *Vinaya* by Upali, the *Abhidharma* by Kashyapa. He presides over the sect for several years, appoints Ananda his successor and dies on a hill near Rajagriha. *Leaf* 679.

Leaf 684. Ananda after having been for many years the head of the Buddhist sect, intrusts the doctrine of Shakya to Shanahi-gos-chan, appoints him his successor and dies in the middle of the Ganges (on an imaginary island) between Vaishali and Magadha. His body is divided into two parts. The one is taken by the Lichabyi race at Vaishali or Allahabad who erect a Chaitya to contain it; the other part by the king of Magadha, who likewise builds a Chaitya at Pataliputra or Patna over his share of relics.

Leaf 687. Nyi-mahi-gung is received into the religious order by Ananda, is ordained and instructed how to introduce the faith into Kashmir, as it had been foretold by Shakya, *leaf* 688. How he civilized the Serpent race and their chief Haluta—how he planted and blessed the saffron there, and how he laid the foundation of the Buddhist religion in the Kashmir country, one hundred years after the death of Shakya, who had mentioned that country as a suitable place for dwelling and contemplation.

Leaf 690. Shanahi-gos-chan instrusts the Buddhist doctrine to Nye Sbas, he to Dhitika, he to Nag-po and he to Legs-mt'hong.

One hundred and ten years after the death of Shakya the priests at Vaishali violate in many respects his precepts—Many disputes about trifles—At last, seven hundred accomplished priests, Arhan, make a new compilation of the Buddhist works to which was given (something similar to our Septuagint) the name of "that has been very clearly expressed by the seven hundred" (accomplished priests.).

Thus ends the 11th volume, translated (in the 9th century) by Vidyakara Prabha and Sharma Shri Prabha, pandits from India, and by the Tibetan interpreter. On the last three leaves, from 706 to 708, are some remarks on the defects of these two volumes (by a Lama in the monastery of

Snar-thang not far from Teshi-Lhun-po) such as obsolete terms, bad translation, incorrect texts, repetition of stories told before &c. He advances several reasons, why the sacred volumes have been left in this state by the ancient reviewers.

TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH VOLUMES OF THE *VINAYA*

The first has 458, the last 473 leaves: There are in the two volumes 64 books

Vinaya Uttara Grantha "The chief text book (or last work) of religious discipline."

Subject: Upali—the supposed compiler of the *Dulva* collection (*Vinaya*) puts to Shakya several special cases,—to which class of transgressions particular faults or sins should be referred; or whether it be lawful to do or use such and such a thing. And Shakya answers him as to each. He addresses Shakya, by the term "Reverend".

Upali in this last volume, is always mentioned by his Indian name except in the eleven first books, which form a distinct work. At the end of this volume are the words "all the queries of Upali are ended or finished."

The names of the translators or pundits of these two volumes are not mentioned. It is merely stated that they were translated in the time of a celebrated interpreter.

I may here close my Analysis of the *Dulva* collection, from the tenor of which may in some measure be judged what is to be found in the remaining eighty-seven volumes of the *Kahgyur*. Of the whole of this voluminous compilation I have, however prepared a detailed Analysis with occasional translations of such passages as excited curiosity, particularly the relation of the Life and Death of Shakya. The whole are deposited in manuscript among the archives of the Asiatic Society and will at any time be available to the scholar, who may also consult the first volume of the Society's *journal*, page 375, for a general view of their contents by the late Secretary, H. H. Wilson.

20th October, 1835.

APPENDIX

THE LITERATURE OF TIBET*

People, at the present day, are warmly interested in all that is to be learned concerning Tibet. She remains as of old a standing mystery. If you go to India, the adjoining country, you seem as far away as ever from reaching or understanding her. And yet Calcutta itself is distant not two hundred miles from the Tibetan border-line. You may ascend, moreover, to Darjeeling, the hill-station nearest to the frontier; but the forbidden land shows there only as a chimerical region impenetrably locked away from exploration by gigantic *chevaux de frise* of mountain peaks, placidly combing the horizon.

Now, there at Darjeeling, one of those giant sentinels—a five-headed monster—attracts your attention always. This mountain is the far-famed Kinchinjunga, the highest peak of which rises 28,156 feet above sea-level. The real name is Kang-chhen-dzonga; it is Tibetan, and signifies 'The Five Treasure Chests of the Great Snows.' There is, of a surety, a poetical ring about any such name as that; and, if we inquire more closely, we shall learn that the races beyond those mystic heights are by no means destitute of poetry and fancy—nay, further, that they wrote whole bookfuls of verse and fable some time before our own old Chaucer flourished. As a matter of fact, a whole arsenal of surprises is stored behind those mountains in the Tibetan land. One of the most surprising, long known to the few, but little discussed, is this—that Tibet possesses an extensive literature.

Near as our territory abuts on Tibet, curiously enough the British Museum is still without a single Tibetan book; though of Chinese, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Sanskrit manuscripts we possess here the best collections in the world. A few scraps inscribed with Tibetan characters do indeed exist, hoarded away in a drawer in the Museum Library; but these are valueless—a dozen pages or so, torn from one of the commoner treatises. However, it may not be generally known, that in 1838 there were deposited at the old East India Company's House no fewer than 339 native-printed Tibetan volumes. These are no longer hidden away, but are now stored up at the India Office in the custody of Dr. Reinhold Rost. Probably the Oriental scholar hardly needs remind-

* Edinburgh Review, 1890.

ing that the bulk of these volumes form two works only, labyrinthine encyclopædias, the Bka-agyur (sounded Kan-gyur in modern Tibetan) and the Bstan-agyur (pronounced Ten-gyur). These two prodigious works to be found at our India Office are assuredly the classics of Tibetan literature ;[1] but they do not, as is commonly thought by Orientalists, form even the bulk of the writings current in the country. Although the Kangyur and Tengyur comprise a complete library of treatises on every conceivable subject, so industrious has Tibetan authorship proved itself in the past two and a half centuries that the number of books, in every possible department, found outside those encyclopædias, reaches to more than one thousand volumes. Moreover, there is a peculiar value attaching to the later productions, in that they are, many of them, historical works, and such as deal not alone with the affairs of Tibet, but also with the annals of China, Mongolia, and other adjacent lands.[2] Again, the strange phases of Buddhism, both philosophical and popular, which have developed themselves in those mysterious snowy fastnesses beyond the Himalayas, impart a unique interest to the more modern writings wherein alone they are set forth and explained.

Tibetan literature is chiefly Buddhistic, but not wholly so. The capital of Tibet, Lhasa ('the seat of the gods'), is indeed the Rome of Buddhism, and in no other country does that religion attract higher patronage, and nowhere else is its philosophy more ardently studied. Nevertheless, the whole of the inhabitants are not Buddhists. A considerable number of the people, estimated at one-fifteenth of the entire population, cling to the ancient faith of Tibet, the Bon religion. Now the Bon-pa, as they are styled, have books of

1 The copy of the Kangyur at the India Office has been bound, English fashion, in 100 volumes, whilst the 225 volumes of the Tengyur are kept in their original Tibetan coverings, each volume having the leaves loose like a pack of cards, rolled up in *yellow* cloth, the parcel being then placed, sandwich-wise, between two heavy boards. At Calcutta, the Asiatic Society of Bengal possesses an imperfect copy of the Kangyur in *red* wrappings, indicating its origin as from a Nyingma or heterodox monastery. This society is at present negotiating with Tibetan agents for a copy of the Tengyur for which 3,000 rupees are to be given.

2 Vast numbers of Tibetan works exist in the three great libraries of St. Petersburg—over 2,000 volumes. These were obtained chiefly from Buddhist lamaseries in Siberia and Mongolia. Professor Vasilev procured also hundreds of books at Pekin and many of the later productions by means of secret native emissaries despatched by him to Lhasa.

their own, and their works are alleged to be directly opposed to Buddhism. Casual inquiry, however, goes to show that the Bon writings, though belonging to a system which existed long previous to Buddhism, are in their philosophy, which arose after Buddhism, mere imitations of that propounded by the later cult. Certain little tractates, however, exist which deal with specified necromantic rites quite unconnected with Buddhism; as, for instance, the cleansing of the hearth from pollution when milk has boiled over upon it, the offering of hogs, &c. Yet we shall be scarcely wrong in averring generally that, no matter what the branch of knowledge treated of, whether it be mathematics, medicine, or grammar, it is in a Tibetan book placed on a Buddhist basis. Thus it may be said that in Tibet every book is a religious book. It follows that the vast stores of works existing in that land derive their chief importance from their portrayal of the minutiæ and intricate philosophy of Buddhism, both ancient and modern.

The literature of Tibet may be conveniently divided into two great departments. One—comprising all the more ancient writings—consists wholly of translated works, the majority of which are faithful renderings of Sanskrit classics; but many others, of perhaps later date, are translations from the Chinese. Some of these Sanskrit importations were not brought into Tibet until the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D., and in those cases where the Sanskrit originals have been utterly lost, the Tibetan versions claim a special value. The second department embraces the purely native compositions, as well as the many works written in the Tibetan language by learned Mongol authors. Tibetan, it should be remembered, is the Latin of the Buddhists of both China and Mongolia, and is even to be heard in Europe in the temples of the Kalmuk tribes of Southern Russia.

We have no need to introduce here the narrative of the introduction of caligraphy and Sanskrit works and, together with these two, the Buddhist creed, into Tibet. Sufficient it is to remind our readers that the first department of Tibetan literature was chiefly due to the exertions and piety of the kings, Srong-tsan-Gampo and T'isrong Deu-tsan. Most of the translations were made by Indian pandits, who were assisted by Tibetan interpreters, known as *lotsawas*, between the years 650—800 A.D. King Ralpachan in the ninth century had these translations revised, adding as well a goodly

number of new works, principally from the Chinese. All these expositions are of course Buddhistic, and include the main canon of the Sanskrit Buddhist Scriptures, but with interesting variations and considerable additions not to be met with in the Indian books. Numbers of these works were being continually introduced until the twelfth century closed. However, it was not until the fourteenth century that the whole of the translations (which existed as detached books in different monasteries) were massed together into series. Bu-ton, the Tibetan historian, is accredited with this herculean editorial task. He is reported to have collected all the compositions he could find, including many native Tibetan treatises, and at length to have compiled the two labyrinths of Buddhistic lore already mentioned. The Kangyur and the Tengyur are said in this way to have been first put into shape *circa* 1340 A.D. A recension of the text and the introduction of a few further works took place when the whole mighty series were printed for the first time in bulk at Narthang[3] between 1728 and 1740.

We now proceed to examine into the contents of the Kangyur and Tengyur; and it will prove worth while to do this somewhat analytically and categorically, pointing out at the same time those special features which render the Tibetan versions and narratives of much value in ascertaining the doctrines of early Buddhism and the historical positions derivable from such writings.

In the Kangyur are contained all the best known Sanskrit treatises, together with some the Sanskrit originals of which have been lost (that is, if they ever actually existed), but the contents of which are ascertainable by means of these Tibetan versions. The whole encyclopædia is divided into seven great sections:

I. Dulva, 13 vols. II. Sher Chhyin, 21 vol. III. Phal Chhen, 6 vols. IV. Kon-tsek, 6 vols. V. Mdo, 30 vols. VI. Myang-das, 2 vols. VII. Gyut (*Rgyud*), 22 vols.

The first section, the *Dulva* or Discipline, is held to be the Tibetan edition of the Sanskrit *Vinaya*, of which in lengthy

3 Narthang is still the leading religious printing establishment in Tibet. It is a monastery in the province of Tsang; and the half million of heavy thick boards on which has been carved the letter-press of the two monster encyclopædias, and from which they are transferred to paper, have been stored in orderly stacks in the same buildings for the last 150 years. Other editions are printed at two other presses in Eastern Tibet—Choni and Chhab-do. At Pekin also a very illegible series of these works has been issued.

portions it is a faithful rendering. Much of it, however, at present has not been met with in Sanskrit works. Here are set forth the rules of admission of male and female disciples to the sacred guilds which Shakyamuni is commonly believed to have personally instituted. Here, too, are to be found enumerated, and then in other volumes explained and illustrated, the duties and ceremonials, the virtues and vices, of these religious orders. The Tibetan Ge-long and Ge-long-ma, the male and female 'beggars of virtue,' are of course synonymous with the Indian Bhikshu and Bhikshuni. The rules of life and monthly ceremonial are nearly identical. At what period in the history of Buddhism these guilds and their ceremonial were introduced may be looked upon as a question almost incapable of solution. That the hero of this religion himself was the promulgator of them, no unprejudiced inquirer can profess to believe. If one tithe of the hostile criticism which has been exercised of late upon the books of our Old Testament were directed in a similar manner to the appraisement and analysis of the earliest Buddhist records and narratives, it is hard to say whether or not even a single legend or dogma found in these lucubrations could be fairly proved to have an origin anterior to the fourth century A.D. No anciently written manuscripts have been preserved to afford ocular and contemporary proof of the age and genuineness of Buddhism as set forth and developed in Buddhist writings. Even the inscriptions on Asoka columns and the sculptures in cave temples can only with difficulty be made to correspond with the guild rules and statements of supposed events contained in the books. The Tibetan versions, made in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D., at least prove the currency of these works prior to that epoch in India. Then, too, if we may accept the more reasonable of the dates to which Chinese scholars of the less haphazard type have thrown back the Chinese Buddhist writings, we may put back the proofs to the fourth century. How long previously the Sanskrit and Pali originals were composed is decidedly not a question of actual evidence, but one of mere supposition and of fanciful theorising. We have in the case of the Buddhist compilations none of the dry historical facts and tangible documentary relics which have survived in such extraordinary abundance for the use of those who desire to prove the antiquity of the Hebrew Scriptures and the early composition of the books of the New Testament. We are, on the other hand, at least certain that nothing written in the

Sanskrit language could have possessed any, save an oral, existence previous to the first century B.C., as it was not until that century that the graphic and literary arts were introduced into India. As to the guild rules and confessional rites for Bhikshu and Bhikshuni set forth in the books, the style of language used, as well as the incidental allusions in the text, preclude all possibility of their having been put into writing in the early ages of Buddhism.

Several volumes of the *Dulva* are filled with descriptions of the offences, venial and heinous, which a Gelong or male member of the Buddhist guild may commit; and these faults are illustrated by anecdotes related at great length. Stories in unpleasant detail of immoral doings are chiefly narrated. Volumes ix. and x. are occupied with similar regulations and stories concerning the gallantries of female members of the community. For example, there is an extraordinary anecdote of twenty pages about one Gtsug Dga-mo, who was eccentric enough to be content with apparelling her body in a single vestment of transparent muslin! Finally, 253 rules are laid down for the observance of the religious. These include prohibitions against the use of garlic and the wearing of gold rings; directions how mattresses and bedding may be freed from vermin, and as to the proper style of clothing, no sleeves being allowed to be worn. Permission is granted to wear finger rings and seal rings of brass, horn, copper, or ivory, carved with a prescribed device. Moreover, the antiquity of umbrellas is clearly proved by the direction that each member may carry and make use of two, one to guard against the sun, the other against rain.

One cannot fail to notice in reading all these rules and stories, a something in their very atmosphere, as it were, which disagrees with that in which we have been brought up and which we have been taught to breathe as wholesome. The moral tone differs essentially from the morality and purity enjoyed by Christianity and even by Judaism. In the anecdotes above referred to, the immoralities perpetrated are not spoken of as wrong in themselves or unworthy of the noble standard a good man should set up for himself. They are alleged to be unholy merely because they are illusory and nourish the affections belonging to existence; and they are forbidden to a Gelong lest they should fill him, not with wicked, but with *human*, feelings. None of those wondrous histories wherein sin is shown to bring inevitably its own

Nemesis of sorrow and retribution even in the lives of those otherwise good and noble, are ever to be met with in Buddhist narrative. Such fine moral lessons concerning sin and temptation and repentance as may be drawn, for instance, from the biographies of Jacob and David in the Jewish Scriptures, would be impossible in a Buddhist book, where indeed a Jacob or a David would have been represented as incapable of the weaknesses of ordinary humanity.

We must not forget to mention that the first four volumes of this *Dulva* section are in great part taken up with a discursive presentation of events in the life of Buddha—or rather the Buddha of the current age—Shakyamuni, or Shakya T'ubpa as he is termed in Tibetan. These probably comprise the earliest-written accounts of the hero of Buddhism. There is given the history of the Shakya race, with a narrative of the birth of the hero himself, and his early career is slightly reviewed; after which follow lengthy recitals of how he was led to discover the hollow mockery of life—that age, disease, and death summed up the lot of man—that the only escape from these was to conquer the desire to live, and so be freed from the innumerable cycles of existence which await every living creature. The circumstances of the Buddha's life, as told in the Tibetan version, do not vary greatly from the history of Gautama as set forth in the Burmese and other southern versions of the Pali school. There are the same meagre incidents, prolixity in describing petty matters, and utter absence of any connected style in the relation of events, as are common to all Indian narratives. Shakya T'ubpa is allotted three wives in the Kangyur history—Sats'oma, Grags-dzinma, and Sbedma. He has several children; but the name of only one is given, whom, after a seven years' absence from home, he accosts and converts to Buddhism. His Hamlet-like propensity to pause for the purpose of soliloquising upon the mysteries and troubles of life is well set forth; but there is this paradox: though Shakya is alleged to have been the one discoverer of the way of escape from misery, a Brahmin he consults seems to have known it all before him. None of the trivial parallel circumstances between the lives of Christ and Buddha, of which Arnold has made so much, have been found by us in these early Tibetan versions. It is only in the later biographies of Shakyamuni, wherein the simpler particulars are expanded and added to, that any of the alleged parallels are to be read. These amplified versions

(two of which are included in the Mdo section of the Kangyur) could not have been written, as we know, until the fifth century A.D., long after the latest possible date to which the Gospels have been ever assigned.

Adjourning to the fifth section of treatises, we find a set of thirty volumes classified as Mdo, that is 'Sutras.' These are very important and are of much interest to the student as displaying Buddhism in its second age and stage, when it had fully passed from its pristine simplicity into a complex system which professed to explain and govern not only man's religious aspirations, but all departments of knowledge, both secular and spiritual. In this second era, moreover, began that dabbling in the magic rites and unmeaning mummery of the Brahmins, Shamans and Bonpa, which presently, under the guise of 'Tantrik ceremonial,' completely destroyed the loftier ethics of Buddhism, and which in our own time makes up nearly the whole of modern Buddhism. Expanded memoirs of Shakya's career were now composed. The disjointed fragments of his biography gathered from the earlier writings were pieced together, minute particulars introduced, and new stages in his life, such as the overthrow of demon tempters, invented. We have referred to these enlarged versions already. They are to be found in the second and twenty-sixth volumes of the Mdo section; the first of these being practically a Tibetan edition of the Lalita Vistara of Sanskrit literature; and the second being the Abhinishkramana. It is from these Sanskrit works that Sir Edwin Arnold, following the lead of Seydel the German, has derived such of his 'striking parallels' in the lives of Buddha and Christ as have a more substantial origin than his own imagination. Volume viii. of this series relates in full the circumstances of Shakya T'ubpa's death under two sal trees at Rtswa Chhog in Assam. Many thousands of men, animals, birds, and even insects, are alleged to have assembled to mourn over the Buddha's departure from the world. The Tibetan narrative ascribes his death to some acute spinal disorder, in contrast to the Sin'halese accounts, which aver that he died from making an excessive meal of pork!

The assignment of an historical date to the period when the hero and founder of Buddhism actually existed on earth has long occasioned much controversy. Various fixtures ranging from 1054 B.C. to 380 B.C. have been proposed as the real year of his decease. However, if we are to accept

the Tibetan canon as trustworthy, a still further reduction in the estimate of his antiquity will have to be conceded. In the Mdo Sutras we have more than one account of the Buddha during his mundane existence encountering King Asoka, who at the time of meeting was, it is there alleged, a young boy. Our most ardent Buddhist scholars do not venture to assign a date earlier than 280 B.C. to mark Asoka's birth. Consequently, accepting the Tibetan and Chinese anecdotes of the meeting with Asoka, the year of Buddha's demise will of necessity have to be brought forward beyond the latter date.

This point is a subject of some importance in the study of Buddhism; and, as the further advantage of introducing a specimen of Tibetan authorship will be likewise compassed, we make no apology for translating here the anecdote alluded to as given in Mdo, vol. xxviii. Ours is a close translation without embellishment:

'Chomdandas (i.e. *Bhagavan* or Buddha) was residing in a haunt of the victorious prince—the Garden of All Joy of Gonmedzasjin. During that period Chomdandas was once walking with Kungawo and collecting alms. Certain lads on the pathway were amusing themselves moulding with soil, which they were fashioning into cottages and treasure chests and precious things. One boy said to the others: "I am very glad because I see Buddha (Tib. *Sangs-rgyas*) in the distance walking this way; and I am thinking of making him a present." Lifting up a handful of the earth which had formed a treasure chest, he prepared to offer it to Buddha. Being a small lad, not reaching to any height, he said to one of his boy-companions: "Stoop down and I will climb upon you and pour the earth into the alms bowl." His friend replied: "Do so." The boy having climbed on the shoulders of his playmate, offered the handful of soil to Buddha. Buddha, lowering his alms bowl, accepted what was offered, and when he had received it handed it to Kungawo. "Make clay of this earth," he commanded, "and plaster it on the college temple (Sansk. *Vihara;* Tib. *Tsug-lag-khang*). O Kungawo! When you have received that which the little boy with joyful heart offered to me just now and have plastered it on the temple; by the merit of that, many years hence, when I have been delivered from misery, he will become King Ashoka, so to be called. The other lad will be his chief minister. Ashoka will rule in Zambuling and proclaim the virtues of the Three Most Precious Things in all lands; and

sacrifices will be made universally to his relics. At Zambuling will be set up 84,000 different chhortens (i.e. Chaityas or cenotaphs). Thus will it come to pass."

"Kungawo, rejoicing exceedingly, spake these words to Chomdandas: "Has any Tathagata ever obtained such merit that so many chhortens have been erected over his relics?" Chomdandas replied: "Listen closely and hold it in your mind, and it shall be shown you! Innumerable ages back there arose in Zambuling a king, Salt'ub by name, who ruled over 84,000 feudatory princes. At that time a Buddha, Bursha by name, appeared in the world. The monarch with his officers had prepared four different kinds of things and offered them to the Buddha and the assembly of gelongs. At that time the king and the men of the country used to meet with Buddha constantly, and did reverence and propitiated him. As to the principalities, the feudatory princes and men of barbarous lands, because they would merely sit down to obtain good luck, did not obtain it. The king accordingly resolved: "Figures of Buddha shall be drawn and presented to the vassals." Assembling many artists, he thus ordered: "Draw in pictures representations of Buddha." So the artists went into the presence of Buddha, and having noted his characteristics and features, painted the picture; but in drawing one part they made it out of proportion to the other. Thus the artists were unable to execute the picture. Then Buddha having himself prepared the paints, delineated his own figure and taught it those artists. 84,000 representations duly proportioned were executed, and to each feudatory prince was a separate one given. "Let the prince and all men of the country do sacrifice and homage to that picture with flowers and incense and all that is necessary!" Thus was it ordered. The feudatories and the men of those lands, when they beheld the figures of the Tathagata, rejoiced with exceeding great joy and did homage to them."

'Then King Salt'ub said: "From the merit of having drawn in that way the 84,000 figures of the Tathagata and bestowed them on the vassals and all men of those lands; and having been born in every possible way and in the heavens born as Indra, I have now acquired the graceful contour, the thirty-two distinguishing marks, and the eighty exquisite symmetries: I myself am now manifestly Buddha." When he was delivered from misfortunes about 84,000 chhortens were raised over his remains.'

The foregoing is a specimen of the kind of anecdotes with which all Buddhist works abound. Every opportunity possible is seized upon to introduce some story, which, as a general rule, seems to have no application to the statement which led to its being told. Prolixity and utter want of sequence in argument and illustration are the main features of Buddhist narrative and Buddhist philosophical disquisition. The ingenuity with which the translators in Max Muller's 'Sacred Books of the East' have supplemented and often completely built up the logic, or rather want of logic, of their authors, forms indeed a curious feature in the history of European interpretation of Oriental philosophy.

A great portion of the higher and mystical mythology of Buddhism is broached in these Tibetan Sutras of the Kangyur. What kind of being, as an example, it may be asked, is a Bodhisattwa ? This species of creature, so frequently referred to in Sanskrit Buddhist literature, is fully dissected and described in volume v. of the Mdo section. By Tibetans he is known as Byang-Chhub-Sem-Pa, which signifies 'the brave-minded piece of perfection ;' and in this volume we find discussed the various theories of their position and existence, and how the state is obtainable by certain men. In truth, a Bodhisattwa occupies a position in Buddhism not easy to define. He is loosely explained as a saint who has risen to the rank next to that of a Buddha. Shakya T'ubpa, in the earlier stages of his career, is often called by this title. As now understood in Tibet, however, the Bodhisattwa are those who, having attained to a sanctity deserving of Nirvana, voluntarily forego the reward from an insatiable desire to extend the blessings of the doctrine to all mankind. Thus, to our way of thinking, the Bodhisattwa fulfils a higher ideal in the system than any Buddha.

The particular Bodhisattwa who has taken Tibet under compassionate patronage is Spyan-ras-gzigs Dbang P'yug, or 'the rich mighty seer with a garment of eyes,' known colloquially as Chenraisi. He performs his missionary work by becoming repeatedly incarnate in the persons of the successive Grand Lamas of Lhasa. He is a Dhyani or celestial Bodhisattwa, asserted to have been begotten by the Dhyani Buddha Amitabha in the celestial region of De-wa-chen, where in some way he sprang forth from a lotos ; and yet in opposition thereto, in one of the Tantras (§Rgyud : xiv. ff. 455—57),

Chenraisi himself gives a glowing description of his mother.[4] He has 108 names and 1,000 arms, and is frequently represented with eleven faces. Every large temple in Tibet contains two or three effigies of this the patron saint of the land of snow, the Blessed Eleven-faced Chenraisi. In the 4th sutra of the 7th volume of the Mdo we can find a full history of the origin, life, and good works of the Bodhisattwa. His miracles and moral merits are specially dwelt upon, together with the efforts he made to rescue those gigantic demons the Yi-dak from torment. Altogether, this treatise may be regarded as the most popular sutra in Tibet, where it bears the name of 'Zamatog Kodpa.'

The last or seventh section of the Kangyur, styled Ryyud, is a collection of Buddhist Tantras. Tantras, as we know. set forth the ritual to be observed and the invocations and "mantras' to be ejaculated in propitiating deities and coercing demons, together with other mystic ceremonies. One of their most important spheres, moreover, relates to the various methods of artificial meditation whereby miraculous powers may be acquired. These treatises resulted from the many fanciful channels into which Buddhism ran in the third or later period of its prosperity. At the present day in Tibet. the most honoured priests and those held to be the most learned are they who are most expert in Tantrik and magic ceremonial.

In order to understand the place which such knowledge and such services occupy in modern Buddhism and in the profound tenets of the different philosophical systems, one fact has to be remembered. When Buddhism was developed into a literate religion, it adopted much of the mythology of ancient India ; and again, when introduced into other lands, the local deities of each country were forthwith incorporated and were utilised so as the more thoroughly to popularise the system in the inner life of the people. From the first, we find the greater deities of Brahminism mentioned in Buddhist writings. In the second volume of the Dulva the cosmogony of Buddhist mythology is set out prominently. We have Mount Sumeru, the abode of the gods, the centre of the universe, localised by Indian writers as beyond the Himalayas

4 He is best known to Orientalists by his Sanskrit appellation of Avalokitesvara or *Padmapani* (the lotos-born). He is a popular saint in Japan as well as in Tibet. There is a very fine bell-metal image of him with sixteen faces in the British Museum, which was brought from Japan.

near Lake Manasarowar in Tibet. And when Buddhism was introduced into Tibet, the people found this mythological mount as a real summit in their own country; and, though they knew better, they implicitly accepted all the legends concerning it.

On the top of Mount Sumeru or Rirab (as the Tibetans give the name) dwell the thirty-three principal gods of Buddhism, such as Indra (Gya-jin), Vishnu (Kyab-jug), the Yaksha king Kuvera, &c. These are defended by the Four Dik Rajas or Protecting Kings of Buddhism (Tib. *Gyal-po Chhenpo*) who reside on the edge of the summit. Just below them down the slope, dwell the Lha, or lesser deities, in which class have been included the local gods of Tibet. These protect the summit of the mount from being invaded by the creatures who occupy the next highest stage on the slope. The latter are called Lha-ma-yin (Sansk. *Asura*) and are ever engaging in battle against the Lha. Below these again prowl the Noi-jin (Sansk. *Yaksha*), Shrin-po, male and female (Sansk. *Rakshasa*), Lu (Sansk. *Naga*), and Driza (Sansk. *Gandharva*), each in their own sphere of the mount.

All these beings play an important part in the vicissitudes of the celestial and terrestrial worlds and of the living creatures residing in both. In order to coerce and guide them to our advantage, to be protected from disease and to be saved from untimely death, these deities have to be cajoled and controlled by different rites and charms such as the expert lama well knows how to employ. Furthermore, to the saint their aid is invaluable in his endeavours to acquire miraculous powers. In the Tantrik treatises we have the ritual books and technical instruction connected with occult operations of that kind.

In the Rgyud division of the Kangyur are to be read many Tantrik manuals, but a much larger collection occurs in the corresponding division of the Tengyur. However, the earlier volumes of this part of the Kangyur are not mere ritual books, but they deal with a subject of wide interest, entering as they do largely into the general principles of the opposing systems of Buddhism which had recourse to such rites. The history and philosophy of the Kala-chakra, Madhyamika, Prasanga, and Yogacharya systems are fully detailed; and a certain amount of information concerning the lives of the inaugurators of these the primitive schools of

differing thought is to be gathered in the course of their treatises.

Buddhism, it must be remembered, was from the sixth century onwards rent by schisms of a marked type, no history of which has yet been made available to European readers. The first controversies strove around such questions as the nature and origin of matter, whilst the problem of the immortality of the soul, which is distinctly avoided in the earlier Buddhist works, which pronounced no opinion on the subject, was soon likewise made matter for discussion. It is indiscreet in writers such as Rhys Davids to assume the position of being able to decide whether primitive Buddhism was or was not atheistic from the tenor of one or two isolated treatises which run on materialistic lines. Buddhism seems to have begun by laying down nothing dogmatic as to the continuance of individual consciousness in the subsequent births which would successively perpetuate the *karma* of the current life. She avoided legislating on such problems, probably in order that she might draw upon a larger constituency in converting men to her main and more important doctrines. evidently deeming the question beyond her province to adjust, at least in her opening days. Later, there can be little doubt that sides were taken on the subject of the soul's immortality; and thenceforward there can be as little doubt that non-materialistic views overwhelmingly predominated in the majority of Buddhist schools of thought. Moreover, to label modern Buddhism as anything but distinctly anti-atheistic and anti-materialistic, would be of course absurd. The religion of Oriental Buddhists at the present day decidedly regards the transmigration of *karma,* not in any abstruse psychical sense, but as the real transference of one's soul, in full consciousness, and as the veritable ego, from body to body.

The first important division in the Buddhist cult, however, was concerned with the method of reaching Nirvana. A new and more excellent way whereby the transit from one degree of sainthood to one still higher might be rendered more expeditious, was devised. The new path had also the merit of appealing more directly to the senses, as well as being more accessible to the general herd of mankind. This departure was designated the Mahayana system—the system of the Greater Vehicle—the larger, swifter, and more popular conveyance from stage to stage on the upward pilgrimage; whilst

the older, slower, and more exacting way was styled the Hinayana, or Lesser Vehicle. It was the Greater Vehicle system which dealt most richly in the ceremonial of the Tantras, and it gave a fresh impulse to the concoction of new and elaborate forms of mysticism, and the incorporation of new orders of supernatural creatures into the Buddhist Kalendar. The Buddhism introduced into Tibet—primarily, as we have seen, during the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries A.D.—was almost exclusively based on the Mahayana system. But this system did not long, either in India or in Tibet, continue one and homogeneous. The Tantras formed the theme of endless controversy, and 'subsequently the cause of new subdivisions of the Mahayana school. Nagarjuna (or *Lu-dub*, as he is named in Tibetan literature) is alleged to have so reformed and remodelled the system as to produce its most popular variety—that known as the Madhyamika school. Another schism presently followed, giving shape to the famous Yoga-charya sub-system, which in Tibet is now professed by all who belong to the great Nying-ma sect of unreformed Buddhists. The distinctive features of this school are : the division of tutelary deities into two great classes, namely *Zhi-wa*, or mild deities, and *Drag-shed*, or wrathful deities ; its having thirteen stages to which saints attain in the progress towards Nirvana ; and its eclectic or artificial methods of systematic meditation. Other offshoots from the Madhyamika philosophy were the Prasanga and Atiyoga (Tib. *Rdzogs-chhen*) sects ; the latter founded by Padma Sambhawa, with a large following still existing in Tibet and Sikkim under the name of Urgyen-pa.

One development further in general Buddhist evolution, as distinguished from the many particular sects peculiar to Tibet, remains to be mentioned. This is the Kalachakra system (Tib. *Dus-kyi Khorlo*), which launched into Buddhism the doctrine of a Supreme Deity with a dominion over the universe tantamount to that of the Hebrew Jehovah and Christian God. Adi-Buddha is this highest intelligence, and he seems to be assisted in his government of the world by the series of Dhyani Buddhas and Dhyani Bodhisattwas to which we have already made allusion, and who reside with him in the celestial region of Dewachen. These Dhyani Buddhas are the astral counterparts of the human Buddhas sublimated into nothingness in Nirvana. In a similar manner it is further taught that the greater saints on earth, by dint of strenuous

meditation, beget a celestial copy of themselves which exists in Dewachen, with the Dhyani Buddhas, concurrently with their human form, which continues its career on earth. As the ascetic on earth gradually acquires profounder powers of complete abstraction (*bsam-glan*), so does his ghostly 'double' in the heavenly regions grow more and more perfect in the Buddhist sense—namely, by divesting itself of every personal quality, whether good or bad. This system is believed to have originated in Central Asia *circa* 900 A.D., and in many respects, it must be allowed, it bears singular analogy to the gnostic heresies prevalent among the Mesopotamian Christians five or six centuries earlier. Many of the Tantras in this section of the Kangyur are devoted to expositions of the tenets of the Kalachakra philosophy, and sublime ideas concerning the nature and influence of the Supreme Governor of the universe are ennuciated in some of the volumes. When the Buddhist thus at length arrives at that profound conclusion to which all mankind seem eventually constrained to attain, his conception of the Deity is as fine as it is touching.[5]

The Tengyur is much larger in bulk and more varied in contents than the Kangyur. It is apportioned into three distinct sections, comprising respectively one volume, 87 volumes, and 136 volumes, which with the index make up a grand total of 225 volumes.

One large volume, the first of the series, forms the whole of Section I. It contains a collection of verses, hymns, and poems, mostly brief and dealing with a wide range of subjects. One of the poems seems to be a lengthy extract from the Mahabharata. Many are of an adoratory character, such as:

'A Hymn unto Him whom the mind cannot understand.'
'A Hymn unto the holy wisdom of the Sacred Jampal.'
'A Praise concerning Shakya T'ubpa.'
'A Hymn concerning the Kon-chhog Gsum (Buddhist Trinity).'

Others partake of the nature of psalms, such as:

'Praises to be uttered on rising up very early.'
'Thanksgiving upon the deliverance of a Buddha from misery.'

5 The finest Tantra in the whole series is one of the Dus-kyi-Khorlo treatises contained in vol. vii. upon 'The True Knowledge of All Mysteries.' Ssoma Korosi characterises it as being full of majestic thoughts concerning the Supreme Being. Other interesting Tantras in the Kangyur are found in vols. xi., xiv., xvii. and xviii. of the Rgyud section.

The title of the whole collection thus contained in Section I. is 'Bstod Ts'ogs' (pronounced Toets'o) or 'Collection of Praise.'

In Section II. we have the Rgyud division of the Tengyur, in 87 volumes. These include innumerable Tantrik rituals, as already referred to above. Particular directions for constructing the magical geometrical figures around the images of deities to be coerced or propitiated, are here set out at large. Such figures differ in pattern according to the school to which the 'offerer' belongs. Some are circular, some elliptic, some square in their outline, which is to be traced in flour and in other powdery substances, often brilliantly coloured. All of them are styled Kyil-khor (in Sanskrit, *mandal*), and the celebrant, who draws and decorates them with mystic syllables on the flooring of temples, much after the style of our London pavement artists, is said to *offer* the Kyil-khor or *mandal*. Grains of wheat and other seeds are also arranged to form figures of this kind. Countless pages of these volumes are filled with endless strings of syllables to be uttered on these and other occasions. They are nearly all entirely meaningless, especially the Sanskrit ejaculations winding up each series. Men acquire fame by inventing fresh combinations of the magic words, which are really the famous Dharani of Sanskrit philosophy, but which by the Tibetans are named *Sung-ngak* (gzungs-sngags, 'spell-holders'). Perfect accuracy is required in repeating whole pages of the syllabic incantations, and, particularly, correct pronunciation of the Sanskrit gibberish, concerning which the treatises lay down rules.

No fewer than 136 volumes are embraced in the third or Mdo section of the Tengyur. A great variety of subjects are here treated of. We have 'The Clearing-up of One's Sorrow,' 'The Ten Immoral Actions,' &c. A few treatises describe the different doctrinal schools, Sankhya and Madhyamika, in some fresh aspects. Other distinctive branches of knowledge and science are fully analysed. There are medical works, such as *Gso-wai Rig-pa*, 'The Art of 'Healing,' *Sbyor-wa Brgyad-pa*, 'The Eight Mixtures,' and another, 'The most powerful Elixir for subduing every 'Sickness and invigorating the Body.' Others are akin to these, but pharmaceutical, as the tract in vol. cxxiv. on the preparation of perfumes, and in cxxii. on the preparation of quicksilver.

The whole science of Tibetan medicine, we may here

remark, smatters of charlatanry and sorcery ;[6] but for its more special characteristics, apart from the general theories of treatment derived from India, one must not consult the Tengyur expositions, but the later indigenous Tibetan writings by native writers. We may just enumerate among these the *Waidurya Ngon-po*, or 'Blue Lapis-Lazuli,' the *Shad-gyud*, the *Sman Ngag-gyud*, and the *Rtsa-rgyus*, or 'Directions for feeling and interpreting the Pulse.'

To proceed: there are several grammatical treatises in this section, together with Tibeto-Sanskrit lexicons and certain mysterious 'clear explanations' of words terminating in the magic syllable 'ti,' but quite beyond comprehension to the European inquirer. In other volumes are discourses upon the cosmogony of the world, the art of disputation, the calculation of the cycles of time in the kalendar, the prognostication of coming weather, mechanics, and ethics. One of the most entertaining, and, with modern Tibetans, certainly the most popular, work in the Tengyur, is that known as 'A Guide for the Journey to 'Shambhala,' contained in one of the concluding volumes of Section III. Shambhala is a supernal city, supposed to exist on the borders of Mongolia; and every Mongol pilgrim visiting Lhasa prays the great deities and the living celebrities of the place to grant that at his next re-birth he may be born in the blessed groves of Shambhala. This work is probably of Tibetan authorship.

However, the jewels of Buddhist literature have yet to be noticed. Difficult though it is to pick out much of real literary worth amid the general dross; yet gems—though rare gems—are certainly to be found. In the Tengyur are included two lengthy poems, which form marked exceptions to the mass of Buddhist lucubrations. The shorter of these poems is the Tibetan rendering of the popular Sanskrit epic by Kalidasa—the *Meghaduta* or 'Cloud Messenger.' In the Tengyur it occurs under the designation Sprin-gyi-P'onya in volume cxvii., and the Sanskrit original is too well known to call for comment here. The second poem occupies an entire volume of more than 300 pages, and is deserving of high praise and more extended notice than can be admitted into the present article. The title may be rendered 'The Tree of Cogitation;' and the poem is ingeniously divided into 108 *yal-dab* or 'leafy boughs'—each 'bough' being, as it were, a

6 But see a curious and perfectly accurate account of Tibetan medical science in Huc's 'Travels,' vol. ii. pp. 94-5.

canto of the poem. A great deal of Buddhist history is introduced by the author, one Gewai Dbang-po, and the imagery in places is decidedly poetical. So elegant was this poem deemed, that a Sanskrit translation of it was circulated as the original work of the Kashmiri Kshemendra. Two manuscripts of the Sanskrit edition, under the title *Avadana Kalpalata*, have long existed in the Cambridge University Library; and it is only lately they have been found to be identical with the 93rd volume of the Tengyur.[7] In order to illustrate the style of the composition, we have made a literal translation of a short portion, which we venture to quote forthwith. It affords a fair specimen of the grotesque patchwork to be found in the best of Buddhist writings—noble conceptions never worked out to any real conclusions, intermingled with a childish show of subtle philosophy and many flashes of genuine poetry:

In the City of Ser-kya, so to be styled,
Situate in the forest of Nya-grodha;
In times gone by a thousand years,
Did Chomdende[8] teach the Faith.
In cool shade like that of the sandal-wood tree—
Itself the refreshment of joyous throngs of lower beings—
The nectar of what can be spoken, whole granaries
of what may be heard,
Were imbibed by those possessed of virtue.
Among such as came together to listen to the Doctrine,
Did King Za-tsangma[9] obtain happiness free from taint
From the waters which showed his destiny to be nigh.

7 The full Tibetan title of the poem is, 'Byang Chhub Sems-dpa-i Rtogs-pa Brjod-pa Dpag-bsam-gyi aKri Shing-ma.' We are aware that it is now claimed to have been originally a Sanskrit production; and under this impression an edition, Sanskrit and Tibetan, in parallel columns, is in course of publication by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The internal evidence, however, proves it to be Tibetan. Curiously enough, there has been recently found in London another copy of this poem, which had been brought from Himis Monastery, Ladak, by a French marquis. It has been a most handsome specimen of Tibetan workmanship, consisting of massive ebony pages, the letterpress in embossed silver; but the damp has ruined it.

8 Behom-Idan-adas, one of the Tibetan appellations of Buddha, corresponding to the Sanskrit *Bhagavan*, and signifying: 'He who, possessed of victory, has passed beyond;' or, 'He who has passed beyond, sated with conquest.'

9 The royal father of Chomdende or Buddha, who is thus converted by his son.

Then did that king,
Born from the race of the great name of Shakya,
When there he had heard the precepts of Faith,
Proceed to his own home and say :
"Lo, indeed ! have we heard, with great profit,
The words of him, who having gained and enjoyed
The assembly of the blest and the doctrine of
victorious Sang-gye,[10]
Hath thereafter emerged to be Buddha."
Then Da-od, the moonlight, his spouse,
When she had learned all those precepts in detail,
And had gained true conceptions of happiness,
Said to him :
"Ye beings possessed of a blessed destiny
Are worthy to lay hold of
The means ordained by Chomdende.
We, women, being of inferior worth,
Have no claim to his mystical guidance."
On hearing these words, did the husband reply :
"Good woman ! Not from persons of lofty rank
To be recipients of his compassion,
Doth Chomdende make choice.
To all he desires to show the light of the Sun ;
From the clouds he would draw down the Rain.
Commiserating every living creature,
Chomdende desires them as his witnesses.
In the evening, after the shining of the Great
Mistress of Mankind,
Will be your opportunity (of coming)
Unto Chomdende."
Having heard the speech of the Master, those very
words which King Za-tsang was saying,
The mass of the women of Shakya,
Having performed circumambulation,
Thence to Chomdende's Pure Forest of Virtue
Departed.
There the Tree of Cogitation and Courage was seen.
With fruits and flowers of Bravery most huge ;
With its elixir of Repose—with that poured forth in
reality.
And, like as the tree was bent down by the wind,

[10] Sang-gye, colloquial pronunciation of Sangs-rgyas, Tibetan equivalent of the title 'Buddha.'

So there, from afar, did they make salutation
With movements that stirred the jewels in their ears.
Then, as those decked with gems that gleamed
with golden light—
As those became visible,
So was the darkness more completely dispersed.
Then the Ge-long Kungawo, so to be styled,
To these striving after extra-adornment, remarked :
"Women, women ! This your apparel,
Inflated with pride and devoid of restful excellence,
Has been gotten, where it should be hard to be had,
In the forest—a place free from what burns in the
human family.
Here grow none of those trashy gewgaws
By which Art has allured Lust ;
For we know they are not worthy to be grasped.
They who live here possess faces
Which are absolutely ashamed of a fine voice and
fine figure."
And thereupon, all being seated,
Chomdende caused them to be taught purity.
He made a beginning by minute instruction
In the innate transitoriness of matter,
From which he caused them to comprehend
That when the love of life had been weakened,
They would live as if that which was eternal in itself
Were always essentially transitory.

The earliest works, the *bona fide* composition of native Tibetans, are ascribed to King Srong-tsan Gampo, *circa* 640 A.D., and are of the deepest possible importance, as bearing upon the strange developments of Buddhism to be found in Tibet at the present day. One principal production is alleged to have been written by this monarch, and is known by the title of 'Chhos Skyong-bai Rgyal-po Bsrong-btsan 'Rgam-poi Bka-Abum' ('The 100,000 Words of Srong-tsan Gampo, the King who defended the Doctrine'). We have not personally been able to procure a copy from Tibet, but a Buriat lama, one Kalsang Gompo, long resident in St. Petersburg, has made an analysis of the twelve parts existing in the museum there.[11] It is evidently an historical com-

11 A translation of this work in the Mongol language, with the title 'Mani Kambum,' is one of the six Mongol manuscripts existing in the British Museum Library.

pilation of much value. It contains a mass of curious information concerning the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet; a succinct retrospect of the original rise of that religion up to the date of such introduction; a description of the death of King Srong-tsan; and a copious explanation of all the meanings which are expressed in the famous formula of Tibetan Buddhism, 'Om mani padme Hum.' The latter exposition is of great interest. At every turn in Tibet is this saying of the king's presented to the eye—carved on stone slabs, painted on flags, printed in endless repetition on the paper scrolls in prayer-wheels, cut in gigantic letters on the face of cliffs; but, for all that, it is never once mentioned in Sanskrit classics, nor yet in the classical Tibetan works of the Kangyur and Tengyur. 'Om mani padme Hum,' signifying 'O jewel sprung from the Lotus!' was addressed by the king, in chorus with the petty deities, to Chenraisi when he made his first appearance on earth. It is therefore a prayer not to Buddha, but to the patron saint of Tibet. Prayer in this land is regarded not so much as petition to a divine person as coercion of him. The repetition of this invocation is to coerce Chenraisi's spirit, incarnated in the Dalai Lama, to favour the repeater. This can be accomplished with the lips, but more effectually by turning round a prayer-wheel cylinder which holds wound round its axis a scroll on which the prayer has been printed some thousands of times. Each revolution, of course, is thought to be equivalent to that same number of prayers. Large barrel prayer-cylinders, turning by the automatic power of descending mountain streams, are not uncommon in some districts. At the Darjeeling Gompa, we have seen several large prayer barrels driven round by clockwork. Soon, perhaps, electricity and steam may lend their powerful aid to this wholesale prayer system—at least when Tibet lies open to Europeans!

Chronologically speaking, the next author to be named is Buton, an historian. He was born 1290 A.D., and no fewer than forty volumes are to be found under his name. In the 'Chhos-jung' and 'Deb-ter Ngon-po' he has furnished details of all kings of Tibet from the earliest times to his own day. His chronological statements as contained in the 'Khapabka 'Ts'ad' are those which, through the medium of the Jesuit missionaries of last century, have found a place in most European summaries of Tibetan history. Buton was head lama of the Shalu monastery, still a flourishing esta-

blishment, twelve miles south-east of Tashi-lhumpo. We have previously referred to him as the editor of the Kangyur.

Buton was closely followed by one who made a much greater stir in the religious and literary world of his country. The famous reformer, Tsong-khapa, was the founder of the Gelukpa school of Buddhism, which is now the ruling and most popular sect in Tibet. This man, whose real name was Lobzang Gragspa Dpal, and who was a native of the valley of Tsongkha in Eastern Tibet, flourished 1380—1410 A.D. He was not the first reformer of the Tibetan development of Buddhism. The whole country had become so absorbed in the sorceries and mysticisms of Tantrikism that two hundred years previously Atisha, the pandit from India, had striven to recall the metaphysical and moral teachings of the faith by the foundation of the Kadampa sect; and Bromston, the philosopher, had refined and carried on the traditions on this school. However, it was reserved to Tsongkhapa to produce a reformation which should be at once popular and learned. He aimed at combining the metaphysics of the Madhyamika system and the soul-sustaining theories of Providence to be found in the Dus-kyi Khorlo philosophy with the ethics of primitive Buddhism. He certainly did not despise an ornate ritual, and the whole tribe of gods and goddesses peculiar to Tibet were given important positions in the services of the temple. He moreover established the Smon-lam Chhenpo, or annual season of intercessory prayer, when Chenraisi and the chief deities were to be worshipped simultaneously at Lhasa, at Tashi-lhumpo, and at all the great religious houses of the Gelukpa community in the land. Tsongkhapa wrote voluminous treatises, the originals of which are still preserved in the Galden monastery. These works include the 'Mnyam-med Tsongkhapa Chhenpos Mdzad-pai Byang Chhub Lam Rim Chhenpo' ('The Mighty Series of Stages to Perfection which the great unrivalled Tsongkhapa laid down')—a book of 481 leaves: the 'Sung Bum,' or '100,000 Sayings;' and the 'Dorje Chhang Chhenpoi Lam-gyi Rimpa'—the principal text-book on the Tantrik ceremonial practised by the Gelukpa school.[12] None of these works have been read, much less analysed, by European scholars as yet. The first of those

12 In 1888, strange to relate, copies of two of Tsongkhapa's works—the first and third of the three mentioned in the text—were discovered in an old hinduised temple, known as the Ghusari Bhot Math, situated on the banks of theHugli, opposite to Calcutta. It seems that these books, as well as effigies of several Tibetan deities, had been placed in this temple 120 years ago, by a priest

mentioned is nevertheless celebrated throughout Tibet as the most important work of mediæval or modern times. The Abbe Huc, it may be remembered, asserts that these writings are in parts clearly traceable to the teachings of the Christian missionaries of the Middle Ages. Certain it is that the Nestorians, long before the time of Tsongkhapa, penetrated far into Mongolia, and most probably entered Tibet. Moreover, much of the ritual prevailing in the 'gompas' of the country at the present day, and alleged to have been introduced by the Gelukpa reformer, approximates in many particulars to the ceremonial of both the Nestorian and Armenian Christian Churches. Chandra Das epitomises the leading doctrinal rules set forth by Tsongkhapa somewhat as follows:

1. Constant meditation about the attainment of Bodhisattwa-ship.

2. Universal compassion towards all living beings.

3. Adoration of Buddha, his doctrine, and the church (i.e. the Buddhist Trinity or 'Three Most Precious Things').

4. Renunciation of both business duties and pleasure, and residence as far as possible in solitude.

5. The outward conduct to accord with the disciplinary laws of the Dulva.

6. Practice of the meditative exercises, holding the while the orthodox theories of universal illusiveness and voidity.

7. Comprehension of the essence of the Madhyamika philosophy, whereby ultimate saintship is made a certainty.

Perhaps the work which would shed most light on the asserted Christianised innovations is that which delineates the ordinary ritual introduced by the reformer, a copy of which is in the library of the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg. A huge biography of Tsongkhapa, in both the Mongol and the Tibetan tongues, lies also unexamined in the University of St. Petersburg. In the end, we know, he founded the Galden Monastery, still the headquarters of Gelukpa learn-

whose services had been utilised by Warren Hastings for the conduct of negotiations with the Panchhen Lama of Tashi-Ihumpo in Tibet. Hastings provided the temple for the use of Tibetan traders to Calcutta at the request of the great Lama. These books are now in the hands of the Bengal Asiatic Society; but they are in poor preservation compared with the copies of Tsong-khapa's works belonging to the three Oriental libraries in St. Petersburg. S. C. Das is said to have been commissioned by the Asiatic Society to prepare the 'Lam Rim Chhenpo' for publication.

ing, where in a large casket of pure gold his remains lie embalmed, and his meditation cell with petrified footprints are pointed out. Life-seized images of the saint abound in all temples.

We ought now to refer to the writings which concern the peripatetic hermit Milaraspa, who, however, lived some time previous to Tsongkhapa. He is the poet laureate among Tibetan verse-makers; and his songs, his contentions with heretics, and his miracles, are mentioned with pride everywhere not only in Tibet but in the wilds of Tartary also. With regard to the compositions accredited to Milaraspa, they at least can claim the merit of considerable originality. The poet himself is reputed to have flourished in the eleventh century A.D.; and yet it is noteworthy that the works bearing his name are written in a vernacular differing little from that now generally current as the colloquial idiom of the people, and for the same reason differing greatly from the old classical treatises both in grammar and vocabulary. Probably the writings ascribed to him were the productions of a later age. According to these texts, Milaraspa seems to have spent his days wandering from place to place chiefly in those districts immediately adjacent to the Himalayas. He preached in verse and dabbled in magic; his main efforts being directed against the adherents to the old Bon faith still lingering then as now in the remoter districts of Tibet. He was accompanied during his peregrinations by a large retinue of disciples, who divided their time between meditative exercises and listening to the sage's doctrinal expositions. In spite of the icy temperature of his favourite haunts, the ascetic went about clad only in one thin vestment. He thus describes himself in one of his exordia :

I am Milaraspa great in fame,
The direct offspring of Memory and Wisdom.
Yet an old man am I, forlorn and naked;
From my lips springs forth a little song,
For all nature at which I look
Serves me for a book.
The iron staff that my hands hold
Guides me o'er the ocean of changing life.
Master am I of Mind and Light,
And in showing feats and miracles,
Depend not on earthly deities.

The particular Buddhist sect to which Milaraspa belonged was a hybrid one, formed of the Ka-dampa school, already referred to, and the Ka-gyud-pa school, which had been started in rivalry. A powerful deity, Lag-na Dorje, prince of the Noi-jin, or gods of the mountains, was held to preside over the sect, and was, in fact, the tutelary deity of Milaraspa. The leading theories set forth in the sage's songs are those of the universal illusiveness of all thoughts and possible conceptions as well as of all material things, and the advantages of various mechanical methods of meditation principally induced by suppressing one's breath, and so forcing it to enter certain specified bloodvessels of the body. On the first theory one of his many ditties thereanent may be extracted:

My sons, depart not, depart not in the midst of a lesson!
For if you depart in the midst of instruction,
Sometimes there ariseth the semblance of Food.
Whensoever the semblance of Food shall arise,
Instead of Food, swallow untainted Contemplation;
Know all the sweetest flavours to be illusions.
Sometimes there ariseth the appearance of Raiment;
Whensoever the appearance of Raiment shall arise,
Instead of Raiment, be clad in the blessed warmth
of the Tumpo;[13]
Know all that is soft and fine to be illusions.
Sometimes there ariseth the appearance of Wealth;
Whensoever the appearance of Money shall arise,
Instead of Money, seize on the Seven Jewels of the Saints;
Know all things costly to be illusions.
Sometimes there ariseth the appearance of Friends;
Whensoever the appearance of Friends shall arise,
Instead of Friends, confide in Wisdom that is self-sprung;
Know all comrades and friends to be illusions.
Sometimes there upriseth the appearance of a Lama;
Whensoever the appearance of a Lama arises,
Place your requests in the very crown of his
imperishable head,
Meditate as it were in the depths of his unforgetful heart;
Yet even a Lama is an illusive dream.

13 *Tumpo*, in the higher mysticism, is the delicious feeling of warmth and lightness which the blood and the whole body acquire by means of holding back the breath and drawing it inwards during meditation. See on this, *Contemporary Review*, February 1890, p. 267.

Nevertheless, knowing all things to be illusions,
That which is profound may arise—the Hare
with a Horn.
That Horn is like a king seated on the divan;
Behind, it is like a white flag uplifted on a hill,
In front, it resembles a mound heaped with
precious things;
At the summit, it resembles a jewelled cock's-comb;
It is as officers bending low on seven mountains;
It is like a *mandal* of gold in a wooded meadow.
Those destined for conversion are on the shoulder
of such a hill as that;
And you, when you have gone thither, accomplish
their conversion.

There can be no question that this quaint old sage had an eye for the beauties of nature—all nature, as he asserts, was to him a book— and therein consists his main claim to be deemed a poet. Tibet abounds with the most fantastic phenomena of geology—everything on a large scale, weird, forbidding, mysterious. The influence which mountains, darksome glaciers, and unfathomable gorges, exercised over the writer of Milaraspa's works is evidenced in almost every page. And it is this sense of the romance of God's handiwork in its wildest developments which justifies the claim we set out with in this paper— that the Tibetans are a people by no means devoid of poetical taste. The chief production ascribed to Milaraspa is the 'One Hundred Thousand Songs,' comprising a narrative of a portion of the worthy man's wanderings plentifully interspersed with his ditties and metrical expositions of doctrine; these, however, number less than 200, instead of 100,000 as stated in the metaphorical title. A second work is known as the 'Namt'ar,' or autobiography of the saint, a smaller and scarcer book, more of a consecutive narrative than the Songs. Another Milaraspa volume is also reported, and this is said to be a narration of his miracles.[14] Perhaps one of the most interesting features of the sage's writings is the insight they afford us into the characteristics of that part of Buddhist mythology which is distinctively Tibetan. We may take a final glance at our author's style with a short translation made from a couple of folios taken by us haphazard from the first-named book:

"The Reverend Milaraspa was abiding on a mountain

14 The full title of the first work is, 'Rje-btsun Milaraspai Rnam-t'ar

range, together with the various persons who were his own spiritual sons. It was a lonely place just on the border line between Nipal and Tibet—a lofty and rugged hill named Snyi-shang Gur-ta. Clouds and mist were creeping around; whilst snow and rain were falling without intermission. On a mountain to the right were high craggy rocks, where wild beasts were calling without hoarse voices, and vultures and eagles were soaring. On a mountain to the left were grassy hills, rich and smooth, where game—stags and gazelles and antelopes—were roaming at will, frolicking and playing. In front of them was a fine forest, wherein bloomed various kinds of flowers. There, long-tailed monkeys and apes were exercising with agility; and peacocks and jolmoes were uttering songs and lifting up their voices in harmonious chorus with long-drawn cries, fluttering and ever transposing their plumage. Down below, in front of the cavern where they were meditating, rust-coloured streams and snowy rills and slate-coloured rivulets were falling incessantly, throwing up tuneful talk as they descended. It was pleasant to the mind and lonely. They were in a cavern, Katya by name, a solitary spot which combined security with a favourable situation. Those who were not men of the white side[15] performed necessary duties as well as sat in the very depth of contemplation of the flowing of the waters.

"One night, up above that place, there arose the sharp barking of dogs, and, after that, a loud groaning voice. At first it came into the mind of the Reverend One: "There is a great increase of meditative exercises in this place!" Then again he thought: "Is it some accident that has occurred?" He went to the entrance of the cave, and on the side of a huge boulder sat engrossed in deep compassion, though without any exercise of the imagination.[16] Close in

Rgyas-par p'ye-wa Mgur-abum.' Our own copy of the work, which is a block print of 264 leaves printed on both sides, was purchased from a Sikkim lama of Pema-yangtse Monastery. Our copy was printed in Khams; whereas the St. Petersburg specimens are the larger and partly illegible editions of Narthang, of 342 leaves. The second work has the title, 'Rnal-abyor-gyi Dbang P'yug Dampa 'Rje-btsun Milaraspai Rnam-t'ar' (Biography of the Holy Rich Power of Meditation, the Reverend Milaraspa).

15 '*White side;* a poetical term signifying the snowy land of Tibet.

16 The words we have thus translated form a technical expression of Buddhist philosophy, meaning the pity which the accomplished saint feels towards all beings, not from sympathy with their bodily sufferings, but because they are not as he is, but are still subject to ignorance and mistakes.

front of him there sprang up a black deer, to all appearance prostrate with terror, and with dusty drops falling from the roots of every single hair. Great and irresistible pity arose in the mind of his Reverence. The effects of the deeds of a former existence lay hold of the body like this! However innocent one may be in this life, still it is necessary to suffer unendurable misfortunes such as these—ah! poor creatures! Revolving the diffusion of plans for continual happiness by means of expositions of the doctrine of the Greater Vehicle[17] to such as these, he sang this ditty to the deer:

"I bow to the feet of Marpa,[18] saint of the
Southern Rock!
May the blessing be vouchsafed to mortals,
That their misfortunes may be soothed!
Thou, thinking creature, with a deer's body
and a head of thorns,
Listen to Mila's song—'The Deer's Body and
the Thorny Head'.[19]
While roaming to and fro in the outer world
You were unliberated from the diseases of
Ignorance and Illusion.
Be not therefore disheartened when about to
abandon the exterior body and mind!
When the time arrives for resigning Illusion and
want of knowledge,
The real reward of one's deeds[20] is very swift.
The outward phantom body having fled, then is
set free the important part.
On that flight, the inward Soul also takes its departure;
That very Soul passes on to the Place of Perfection.
The other,[21] when fled, though released,
is deceived with desires:
It remains here with a mistaken mind.
As to you, on your now rising up,
To die will be intolerable to your heart;
But we each must pass on to the slope of some
further hill,

17 The Mahayana method for attaining Nirvana.
18 Marpa was the teacher and spiritual father of Milaraspa.
19 It will be seen that the song or exposition which followed has nothing specially to do with the not unpoetical title he attached to it.
20 I.e. the Tibetan *las* or Sanskrit *karma*.
21 I.e. the phantom body.

When we have done with the slope of the nearer one;
And Hope and Fear from their very nature
wander in circles.
To you have I now spoken and given a lesson in the
Six Doctrines,
I have exhibited a meditation of the Great Sacred Seal."

'Thus he spake. And on hearing a song of Brahma such as this, it (the deer) listened and was enthralled; and because a song was uttered which stole away the mind, it went out from the path in which it was going. Later, the mind of the Reverend One calmed the fright and distress of the deer sufficiently for it to draw near. It shed a few tears; and casting aside its fear of the Reverend One, it licked his robe and remained lying down to the left side of him.

'It occurred to the mind of the Reverend One: "From that noise of dogs overhead, there was certainly some animal injuring and torturing this deer." He was on the point of reflecting "What was it like?" when a red bitch, with a collar made of the black tail of the yak twisted, and with its four claws torn by the rocks, and its foaming tongue lolling out a little, appeared. Emitting a violent cry with most angry dangerous intent, it sprang toward the deer with a flash like that of lighting overhead. Observing that this was about to occur—the perpetration of injury and torment to the deer, and that that which was a reality of the external world was decidedly this dog. Accepting it as a foe, he thought: "Would that I could soothe the anger of such a being, which is not separated from a wrathful disposition!" Accordingly he sang to the bitch a song which will ever extract all aversion from the mind and make compassion manifest.

. . . . . .

Thus he sang. And by virtue of the mighty pity of his Reverence, he spake the Doctrine in this song of Brahma. The bitch was soothed from her anger. Whining forth cries through her nose, she wagged her tail at his Reverence and licked his garments, making signs of respect of various kinds. Then, on the right-hand side of the saint, having thrust its muzzle between its two paws, its eyes overflowed with tears; and it lay down with the deer as if they had been mother and son.'

Other popular writers are Padma Jung-nai, whose sayings in the Padma T'ang-yig ('Lotos Picture Writings') are in the

mouth of every traveller ascending the weary passes of the Himalayas; Kun-lek, a rhymester much quoted by the corpse-seekers and vagabonds of Lhasa; and the author of the *Rinchhen T'eng-wa*, or 'Precious Rosary,' a volume of sententious axioms.

Historical works form the most readable section of the indigenous literature. The various histories are valuable in studying the annals not merely of Tibet, but of the neighbouring kingdoms to the north-east and north-west. In chronology Tibetan writers are infinitely superior to Pali and Sanskrit authors, whose statements of dates and periods of years are grossly unreliable. We have in the Gyalrabs a history of the kings of Tibet written 250 years ago by the Fifth Grand Lama of Lhasa. It is replete with anecdote, and full of mythological ramblings; but in the chronicling of the landmarks of Tibetan history is fairly accurate. The Waidurya Karpo, or 'White Lapis Lazuli,' is a chronological composition, giving under the different dates pithy summaries of events connected with the great men and leading monasteries of the country. It was written by the Lhasa Regent, Tisri, about two hundred years ago, in addition to his other works on political economy and medicine. Then also must be mentioned 'A Clear Mirror of the Race of Kings,' an account of the ruling monarchs of Ladak and Yarlung, a work which was discovered in Ladak by the brothers Schlagintweit, and subsequently published with a German translation by Dr. Emil Schlagintweit at Munich. In the eighteenth century another popular historian came to the front. This was Chhoi-kyi Nyima Pal Zang-po, of Amdo, who in 1740 A.D. produced some remarkable chronicles concerning the rise and progress of Buddhism in Nipal, Tibet, Mongolia, and China. He also wrote a history of the Bon religion, the primitive creed of Tibet.

We have no space to dwell further on these and other works. Medical writings would require a special section, and include such treatises as 'The Hundred Thousand Vegetables,' and those already mentioned above. The philosophical treatises and biographies written by the Pekin and Mongal Lamas likewise deserve mention. These number two hundred at least.

The days of Tibetan authorship have by no means passed away. Even in our own times ecclesiastics in

Mongolia, as well as in Tibet, continue to busy themselves in the compilation of heavy tomes in the sacred language. One of the most interesting of modern works is a Life of Lobzang Paldan Yeshes, the celebrated Panchhen Lama, who visited China in the last century, a two-volume work of two thousand leaves. Chandra Das mentions, moreover, in his Confidential Report to the Indian Government, that when, in 1882, he visited Tashi-lhumpo, he found the Abbot of the Ngag-pa Ta-tsang (the great Tantrik college of the monastery there) just about sending to press an historical work dealing with the eighteen schools of Tibetan Buddhism. Furthermore, it would seem, this learned individual was not so ignorant of European science as one might have imagined, as he is said to have been intent upon the production of another book also—on photography !

We are concerned in the present article solely with the writings of native authors. However, in referring to the production of modern works, it behoves us at least to mention the translations of Holy Scripture, as well as numerous Christian tractates issued of late in the Tibetan language by the Moravian missionaries of Lahul. During the greater part of the year snowed up in the fastnesses of the Himalayas, these good men are at once their own bookbinders, printers, authors, and publishers. Through the industry of H. A. Jaeschke,[22] F. Redslob, and A. W. Heyde, in this way many small educational works, secular as well as religious, have been composed and printed ; whilst the Pentateuch and the whole of the New Testament have been translated and published ; and the Psalms and Isaiah, prepared by the missionaries, are being printed at Berlin during the present year.[23] The correctness and purity of style of these books and translations have been remarked upon even by Tibetan Buddhists. In the version of the Bible the phrases of the modern colloquial have been judiciously combined with the formal and elaborate style of the ancient classics which every Tibetan deems essential in religious writings. Thus in our own time the most accurate and readable compositions in the language are the work of Europeans and non-Buddhists.

22 H. A. Jaeschke, author of the voluminous and learned 'Tibetan Dictionary,' published by Government, died in September 1883.

23 Of the original compilations, the best written are 'A Voyage to Europe,' by Jaeschke, and 'A Look into the Universe' and 'The Rope,' by Heyde. A collection of over two hundred hymns in Tibetan is another remarkable achievement.

Taken as a whole the study of Tibetan literature must be pronounced disappointing, though only so far as the complete range of Buddhist writings, in whatever language they are written, proves disappointing to the most enthusiastic students. Admitting the existence of some poetical thoughts and certain novel philosophical tenets, we presently find how poor is the store of these, and with what perseverance and kaleidoscopic talent the meagre stock is arranged and rearranged. In this respect Tibetan history and biography, however, are superior in variety and originality to the same departments in Sanskrit literature. But neither the Tibetan nor—be it whispered—even the best Indian author has much notion of what a continuous and progressive narrative should be. He begins to recount a tale or write a biography, and, being apparently unable to carry it on, he diverges into stale Buddhist platitudes and vapid repetitions of what has gone before. The Arabic story spinner, or the Hebrew annalist, is capable of making progress with, and of inspiring real and human interest in, his recital; but all Buddhist and Hindu authors—Tibetan, Pali, or Sanskrit—seem utterly deficient in the faculty of 'getting on,' and almost as powerless to vary matter and style as an organ-grinder to alter the sequence of his tunes. Take the narratives—stirring, strong, and pithy—to be found in the Hebrew books of Genesis, Judges, and the Kings (written, perhaps, three thousand years ago, and yet thrilling to children and adults in England even now), and compare any of the stories there with selected passages from the Mahabharata, written thirteen hundred years later; then where at all shall the latter be ranked? Let us read consecutively, for instance, the story of Esau's lost blessing, and the account of Shakyamuni's 'Great Renunciation,' even though embellished with Sir Edwin Arnold's choicest bathos. Can Sanskrit poetry take any comparable place beside Homer, Euripides, or the Persian 'Gulistan' of Saadi? We indeed speak feelingly, as having expended some years of our life over the turgid vapourings of Indian authorship. A vague fascination, a wild hope that something better is surely coming, keeps one up. Such trust is rarely rewarded. Still there is much that is alluring in the philosophical spirit with which these old writers set about examination into matter and spirit and all the occult problems of life. The grievance is that the promise is so great, the performance so little. Such elaborate preparations are made for any inquiry—the start is good—an intellectual treat, you imagine, lies in store; and

then comes in the weakness of Indian logic—conclusions totally beside the subject, impotent, inadequate, childish. Nevertheless, the vistas opened out into unexplored regions of psychology are valuable, or at least suggestive, to the modern ethical student. In this respect the treatises of Tibetan writers, such as Tsongkhapa, composed about four hundred years ago, display an acute power of psychic analysis which one looks for in vain in the pages of the much-vaunted 'Prajna Paramita.' If the Oriental scholars of Europe could only overcome that exclusive pedantry which keeps them chained to the narrow furrows of Pali and Sanskrit studies, they might discover, here and elsewhere, fields of curious learning equally, and even better, worth turning over than those where they have been so long ploughing.[24]

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2. *Bstan Agyur.* Encyclopædia of Religious, Philosophical, and General Treatises in the Tibetan Language, in 225 volumes. (In the Library of the Secretary of State for India.)
3. *The Tree of Cogitation.* A Tibetan Poem, in 108 cantos. (In the possession of Mr. A. Braunstein.)
4. *The Hundred Thousand Songs of the Reverend Milaraspa.* (Block-print in possession of the Reviewer.)

24 The lectures of Sir Monier Williams on 'Buddhism' have been collected and republished in a volume of considerable learning and interest. But the author has acquired his knowledge of the Buddhist texts either from Sanskrit translations of them or from the Pali records of Ceylon. He claims no acquaintance with Tibet or the Tibetan language and literature, and the lectures devoted to Tibetan Buddhism, or, as he calls it, Lamaism, are composed of materials taken from Koeppen. Csoma Korosi, Huc, and other writers. In our opinion, this is to omit the most essential part of the subject. The principal seat of Buddhism is in Tibet. Sir Monier says himself that the Tibetan language is the orthodox language of Buddhism, just as Latin is that of the Church of Rome. Yet our English Orientalists are far behind those of France, Germany, and France in the study of it. They have been deceived by the theory that Buddhism is a development of Brahmanism, instead of having recourse to the original sources and records of the Buddhist faith in Tibet.

GLOSSARY

English, Sanskrit and Pali Proper Names and words and Their Tibetan Equivalents

Abhaswara (heaven)—Hotsal
Abhidharmah—Ch'hos-mnon-pa or Mnon-pa-mdsod
Abstract meditation—rnal-hbyor
A Hermit called Nag-po
Ajatashatru, king of Magadha—Maskye's-D, gra or Lus-hp'hags-mahi-bu
Ajnana Kondinya—Kun-shes-kondinya
Ajnana Kaundinya—Kun-shes-Kaundinya
Amrita—Bdud-rtsi
Ananda—Kun-dgavo
Arhan (saint)—Dgra-Bchom-pa
Ashwajit—Rta-t'hul
Asoka—Mya-nan-met
Asvajit—rTa-thul
Ayusman Aniruddha—Magags-pa
Ayusman Maha Kashyapa—ts'he'-dang-ldan-pa-hod-srung-ch'hen-po

Bairotsana (Tibetan Lotsawas)—Ye'she's-sde
Banyan tree (ficus Indica)—Changchubshing
Bhadrika—Bzang-po
Bhagirathi—Skal-ldan-shing-rta
Bhikshuni pratimoksha Sutra—Ge-long-me-so-sor-t'har-pe-do
Bhikshuni Vinaya vibhaga—Ge-long-me-dul-va-nam-par-jet-pa
Bimbisara—Qzugs-chan-snying-po
Bimbisara = Shrenika—Gzugs-chan-snying-po
Bodhimanda—Chang-chub snying-po
Bodhimanda or Gaya in Magadha—Byang-ch'hub-snying-po
Bodhimanda = Vajrasana
Brahma—Ts'ha'ngs-pa
Brahmadatta—Ts'hangs-byin
Buddha Bhagavan—Sangs-r, gyas Bchom-dan-hdas
Buddha-vatan sanga—P'hal-ch'hen

Chaitya—Mch'hod-rten ; vulg. Chorten
Champa—Champa

Charka—Ch'har-ka
City of Kusha=modern Kamarupa in Assam
City of Kusha—Sa-chan or Sachok
Confession or self-emendation—Gso-sbyong

Devadatta—Lhas-byin
Devata Deva (god of gods)—Lhahi Lha

Four classes of precepts—Lung-de-zhi

Gautami—Skye-Dguhi-Bdagmo-ch'hen-mo
Ghoshavatyarama—Dvyangs-Idan-gyi-kun-dagh-ra-va
Gopa (wife of Buddha)—Sa-hts'ho-ma
Gridhra kuta parvata (near Rajagriha in Magadha)—Bya-rgod-p'hung-pohi-ri

Hermaphrodite—Maning
Himalaya or Kailasha—Gangs-ri
Holy life—Chang-chub

Ikshwaku, of the Surya vansha or Angirasa—Puram shing-pa
Indra—Br, gya-byin

Jetavanam—rgyal-bu-rgyal-byed-kyi-ts'hal

Kama—Mara
Kapila—Ser-skya
Kapilavastu—Ser-skyahi-gzhi
Kashyapa—Hod-srung or Hot-srung
Katyayana—Katyahi-bu
Kena, son of—Kenahi-bu
Kolita—Lap-born (Maugalyana)—Pang-skyes
Kosala, king of—Gsal-rgyal

Lalitavistara—r gya-ch'her-rol-pa

Magadha—Lus-hp'hags-rigs
Mahakashyapa—Hod-srung-ch'hen-po
Maha Mantra (the chief officer of Magadha)—Yarchet
Maha Nama—Ming-ch'hen
Mahaparinirvanam—Yongs-su-Mnya-nan-las-Hdas-pa-ch'hen-po
Maha Sramana—Dge-sbyong-ch'hen-po

Maitreya—Cham-ba
Naitreya—Cham-ba or Byams-pa
Malva—Hp'hags-rgyal
Manassarovara (lake)—Ma-dros
Mara (Ishwara of the Kamadhatu)—dut
Mathura—Bchom-rlag
Maugalyana—Mohugal-gyi-bu or Mongal-gyi-bu
Maya Devi—Lhamo-sgyu-phrul-ma
Meru—Rirab
Meru (Olympus)—Rirap
Minister—Dum-bu

Naga (serpent)—Klu
Nagarjuna—Klu-sgrub
Nanda—Gavo
Nanda—Dagh-vo
Narada—Mis-byin or Mes-byin
Nirvana—Nyang-das

Pataliputra (Patna)—Skya-nar-gyi-bu
Parivrajaka—Kun-tu-rgyu
Pashwa—rLangs-pa
Potala (mountain)—Gru-hdsin
Prabachana—Gsung-rab
Prabachana—Lung-rap
Pradyota, Raja—Gtum-po-rab-Sang
Prajnaparamita—Sher-ch'hen
Prasenajit—Gsal-rgyal
Pratimoksha Sutra—So-sor-t'har-pe-do
Ratnakuta—D,kon-seks
Pravrajita vastu—rab-tu-byung-vahi-Gzhi
Pratimoksha Sutra—So-sor-t'har-pahi-mdo
Priest—Gelong

Rahula—Grachendsin
Rajagriha—Rgyal-pohi-k'hab
Ratnakuta—D,kon-seks
Rishi or hermit—tran-srong

Saketana—Gnas-bchas
Sakya, grand father of—Sengehi-hgram
Sankhya—Grangs-chan
Sarva Siddhartha—Don-thams-chad-grub'pa

Shakya—Bchom-zdanhdas
Sharadwati or Upatishya—Sharihi-bu or Sharadvatihibu
Shrenika or Shrenya—Bzo-sbyangs
Sharika, son of—Sharihi-bu
Sharika, brother of—Stod-rings
Shariputra (son of Sharika)—Sharihi-bu
Shravasti—Mnyen yod or Mnyan yod
Shrenika = Shrenya—Bzo-sbyangs
Shudhodana—Zas-gtsang or Zas Gstang-ma
Siddhartha—Don-grub
Sumeru or Meru—Ri-rab
Sutra—Do
Subhuti—Rab-hbyor
Sutranta—Do-de
Sutrantah—Do-class

Tantra—Gyut
Tathagata—De-bzhin-gshegs
Taxashila—Rdo-Hjog
Tirthika—Mu-stegs-chan
Tishya (husband of Sharika)—Skar-rgyal
Tripitakah—Sde-mod-sum or De-not-sum
Tushita (heaven)—Galdan or Dgah-ldan
Twelve acts of Shakya—Mdsad-pa-Bchu-gnyis

Ujjayani—Rab-snang
Upali—Nye-var-khor = Nye-var-Hkhor
Upananda—Nye-dgah
Upasena—Nye-s,de
Upatishya—Nye-rgyal
Upatishya—Sharadwati—Sharikaputra = son of Sharika
Utphoshadha—Gso-sbyong-hp'hags

Vaishali—Yangs-pa-chan (modern Allahabad)
Varanasi—Varanasi
Vajrasana—Dorjedan or Rdo-rje-Gdan
Vajrasana (diamond seat)—Torjedan or Dorjedan
Venu vanam, a grove near Rajagriha—Hod-mahi-ts'hal
Venu-vanam Kalandaka-nivasa—hod-mahi-ts'hal-bya-ka-lan-da-kahi-gnas
Veshali or Prayaga, modern Allahabad—Yangs-pachen
Videha—Lus-Hp'hags
Vihara—Gtsug-lag-khang

Vimbisara, king of Magadha—Gzugs-chan-snying-po
Vinaya—Dulva
Vinaya kshudraka Vastu—Dul-va-p'hran-ts'hegs-kyi-zhi
Vinaya Kshudraka Vastu—Hdul-va-p'hran-ts'hegs-kyi-Gzhi
Vinaya Sutram—Dul-ve-do
Vinaya Uttara grantha—Dul-va-zhung-lama or Hdul-va-Gzhung-blama
Vinaya vibhaga—Dul-va-nam-par-jet-pa
Vinaya vastu—Dul-va-zhi or H,dul-va-Q,zhi
Vicegerent—sku-tshab
Vihara—Gtsug lag-k'hang

Yasadhara—Grags-Hdsin-ma
(Yogi) Inward man or man-alteration (regeneration)—Dmar-ser-chan or Gang-zag-Gzhi