ILLUSTRATIONS

OF THE

LITERATURE AND RELIGION

OF THE

BUDDHISTS.

By B. H. HODGSON, Esq. B. C. S.

SERAMPORE.

1841.
BIBLIOTHECA
REGLA
MONACENSIS.
PREFACE.

The whole of the following Papers are reprints: the dates of which may be proved by consulting the originals in the Transactions and Journal of the Asiatic Societies of Bengal and London. But it may be worth while to observe that the first Paper was written in 1825, though printed only in 1828, after the tardy usage of those days in such matters. So soon as this paper reached me in print, I corrected it as it now stands.

The rest of the papers retain their original published forms, but in regard to the third I have preferred the later Edition of the Bengal Journal to the earlier, but less full one, of the London Journal. Some of my friends, who seem to have a horror at generalizations, sily fling their squibs at what they call my speculative propensity.

Yet I trust there is no great harm done in attempting to link tedious details into their appropriate concatenation; and I suspect that sundry disjecta membra of this great subject have been, in sundry hands, only made to wear an intelligible aspect by the light of the general views occasionally opened in these papers. If the topic be, in parts, deep and abstract, I cannot help that; but, for facts to support my views, there is surely no lack of them:* and I will merely point to the classified catalogue of the principal objects of Buddhist worship, as a mass of facts painfully elaborated and set in order for the benefit of those who are working and may work at the great and new mine of Baudhda literature which it has been my good fortune to open. I presume not to say that when this mine shall have been indeed explored, all my general views will be found valid. But many, I trust, will; and, in the mean while, all enquiries conducted into this

* See the whole of paper III. and the large appendices to many of the other papers!
new subject with the sole aid of books, may be facilitated, and
curiosity may be both stimulated and directed by them: as, in-
deed, has been actually the case in various places where, I am sor-
ry to add, there has been a rather uncandid obliviousness of the
source of the obligation. I refer the curious in dates, to mine
and other peoples', anent the premises, merely observing that the
'Quotations in Proof,' which form the basis and evidence of my
opinions, were extracted from their several original authorities
between 1822 and 1824, though not published in that form till
several years after, for reasons assigned elsewhere.

A word to the general reader. Don't be alarmed by the anti-
quarian cast of this subject, and be assured that the doctrines and
practises of that religion which, for number of followers, leaves be-
hind it every other on the face of the earth, are well worthy the
attention of all men of sense and information.

With respect to India, though Buddhism has disappeared totally
from the Continent for some ages, there can be no doubt that in
this, its parent country, it long divided the empire of opinion
nearly equally with Brahmanism. Nor, if we consider that Bud-
dhism proclaimed the equality of all men and women in the sight
of God, that it denounced the impious pretentions of the most
mischievous priesthood the world ever saw, and that it inculcated
a pure system of practical morality, can we refuse to allow that
the innovation was as advantageous as it was extensively spread and
adopted. And how was this, the first and last, great moral impres-
sion upon Hindooism accomplished? Beyond a question by turn-
ing the enemy's battery of Sanscrit lore upon themselves, and by
vernacular appeals to the common sense and common interest of
the many.

Those who are now engaged in establishing a sound system of
Education in India, based upon European knowledge, and who
cannot or will not appreciate the value—the supreme value and
efficacy—of vernacular instrumentality in setting a new bias on the
popular mind, would do well to ponder attentively the History of
Buddhist success. And, if they would attempt to neutralize the
argument by pointing to the ultimate failure of these reformers,
I answer that that were mere sophistry; for the failure resulted from obvious defects of Buddhism, such as its cold sceptical philosophy and its mischievous monachism. Let us undo existing errors to a hundredth part of the extent achieved by Buddhism, and our task is accomplished; because we have that wherewith to fill the room of those errors which neither time nor tide could shake.

B. H. H.

Nepaul, January, 1841.
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No. I.

NOTICES OF THE LANGUAGES, LITERATURE, AND RELIGION OF NEPAUL AND OF TIBET.

(Printed from the 16th volume of the Asiatic Transactions of Bengal, A.D. 1828.)

The various contributions which I have had the honour to forward to the Library and Museum of the Asiatic Society, and the lists by which they have been accompanied, will have put the Society in possession of such information as I have been able to collect respecting the articles presented. Some connected observations suggested by the principal of them, may, however, be not unacceptable, as derived from enquiry on the spot, and communication with learned Nepaulese, as well as from reference to their written authorities.* I do not pretend to offer a complete detailed view of the Literature or Religion of the Nepaulese. But a few general remarks may be attempted at present, and may prepare the way for further investigation.

Languages of Nepaul.

Within the limits of the modern kingdom of Nepaul, there are ten distinct and strongly marked dialects spoken. These are the Khas or Parbattia, the Magar, the Gurung, the Kachüri, the Haiyu,† the Murmi, the Newari, the Kiranti, the Limbu, and

* See Paper III. or quotations in proof. Extracted from the works quoted between the years 1822 and 1824. Note of 1837.
† Subsequent enquiries have satisfied me that the Haiyus have no connexion with the other races speaking the several dialects named.

Judging by physiognomy, colour, manners, and customs and language, I conclude that the Haiyus are of the Cole race of South Behar. In Nepaul, they form a very small clan, living in a half savage state in the wilds above Sindhuli.
the Lapchan. With the exception of the first (which will be presently reverted to) these several tongues are all of Trans-himalayan stock, and are closely affiliated. They are all extremely rude, owing to the people who speak them having crossed the snows before learning had dawned upon Tibet, and to the physical features of their new home (huge mountain barriers on every hand) having tended to break up and enfeeble the common speech they brought with them.

At present the several tribes or clans to which these dialects are appropriated, can hardly speak intelligibly to each other, and not one of the dialects, save the Newari or language of Nepaul Proper,* can boast a single book or even a system of letters, original or borrowed. The Newari has, indeed, three systems of letters, of which more will be said in the sequel; and it has also a small stock of books in the shape of translations and comments from and upon the sacred and exotic literature of the Newars. But the Newari tongue has no dictionary or grammar; nor is its cultivation ever thought of by those, numerous as they are, who devote their lives to the sacred literature of Buddhism. It may be remarked, by the way, that the general and enduring effects of this addiction to an exotic medium, in preference to the vernacular, have been, to cut off the bridge leading from speculation to practice, to divorce learning from utility, and to throw a veil of craft-

* Nepaul Proper is the great valley and its vicinity, as opposed to the kingdom of Nepaul. The extreme area of the great valley may be about 400 square miles, and its population fully 250,000. Of several proximate and subsidiary vales tenanted by the same race, (Newar), the area may be about as much more, but the population not above 150,000. The Newar tribe, by far the most numerous tribe in the kingdom, comprises nearly a fourth of the entire population of the kingdom. The great valley is probably the most densely peopled district in the world. It contains 250 towns and villages: the soil yields two crops a year besides greens; every yard of the surface is cultivated (the roads being mere foot paths) and the whole of the food raised is for human consumption. Besides which, large supplies of food are poured into the valley from all the neighbouring hilly districts. The subsidiary vales above spoken of, as comprised in Nepaul Proper or the region of the Newars, extend in a broken zigzag, east and west, from Dolkha to Nayakot. Besides the 250,000 Newars of the great valley, there are 20,000 intruders composing the army, Civil List and Priesthood of the new dynasty which conquered the valley 69 years back under Prithivi Narayan, the fifth in ascent from the present Sovereign.
ful mystery over the originally popular and generous practical Institutes of the religion this people profess.

Before proceeding to a brief comparison of Newari and of the language of Tibet, with a view to indicate the northern stock of the former tongue, it will be better to notice the Khas or Parbattia Bhasha, since the subject may be dismissed in a few words and will not need reverence to.

The only language of southern origin spoken in these Hills is the Khas or Parbattia—an Indian Pracrit, brought into them by colonies from below (13th to 15th Century of Christ) and now so generally diffused that, in the provinces west of the Kali river,* it has nearly eradicated the vernacular tongues, and, though less prevalent in the provinces east of that river, it has, even in them, as far as the Trisul Gunga, divided the empire of speech almost equally with the local mother tongues. The Parbattia language is terse, simple, sufficiently copious in words, and very characteristic of the unlettered but energetic race of soldiers and statesmen who made it what it is. At present it is almost wholly in its structure, and in eight-tenths of its vocables, substantially Hindee. Yet several of its radical words still indicate an ancient barbarous stock. And I have no doubt that the people who more especially speak it (the Khas) were originally what Menu calls them, viz. barbarous† mountaineers of a race essentially the same with the several other races of Nepalese Highlanders. Few persons except Brahmans are regularly taught the Parbattia language; but most gentlemen speak, and may read and write, it with ease and correctness; the Court, where all so often assemble, being the nucleus of unity and refinement. This language, however, has no literature properly so called, and very few and trivial books. It is always written in the Deva Nagree characters, and, as a language of business, is extremely concise and clear.

* The Kali, Ghagra or Sarju, is now the limit of Nepal to the westward, so that the provinces beyond that river can only be adverted to in relation to the kingdom of Nepal, such as it was prior to 1814.

† This word in the mouth of a Hindoo of Madhya Des has the same sense which it had in the mouth of a Greek, that is, stranger to the race of the user of it.
The Gorkhas speak the Parbattia Bhasha, and to their ascendancy is its prevalence, in later times, to be mainly ascribed.

Considering that Nepaul Proper or the country of Newars, has long been the metropolis of Gorkha power, it is rather remarkable that the fashionable and facile Parbattia has not made any material impression on the Newari language. The causes of this (not wholly referable to modern times) are probably, that the fertility and facility of communication characterising the level country of the Newars, soon gave consistency and body to their speech, whilst their religion (Buddhism) made them look with jealousy, as well on the more ancient Hindoo emigrants, as on the more modern Hindoo conquerors. In the mountainous districts, strictly so called, the case was different; and, besides, from whatever reason, the tide of emigration into these regions from the south set chiefly on the provinces west of the Trisul Gunga.* There too, to this day, Brahmanical Hindooism principally flourishes, its great supporters being the Khas, and, next to them, the Magars and Gurungs. For the rest, the population of the kingdom of Nepaul is principally Baudha; preferring for the most part the Tibetan model of that faith: the Newars are the chief exception. Between the Buddhism of Tibet and that of Nepaul Proper, (or of the Newars) the differences are,

1st. That the former still adheres to, whilst the latter has rejected, the old monastic institutes of Buddhism; 2d. that the former is still, as of old, wholly unperplexed with caste; the latter, a good deal hampered by it; and that, lastly, the Tibetan Buddhism has no concealments, whilst the Nepalese is sadly vexed

* These Southern emigrants were refugees from Moslem bigotry: and were so numerous as to be able to give the impress of their own speech and religion to the rude and scattered Highlanders. The prior establishment of Buddhism in Nepaul Proper prevented these Brahmanical Southerns from penetrating there, where, however, ages before, some Southerns had found a refuge; these latter were Buddhists, fleeing from Brahmanical bigotry. They came to Nepaul Proper about two centuries after Christ. Buddhism had previously been established therein, and these emigrants were too few to make a sensible impression on the speech or physiognomy of the prior settlers, already a dense and cultivated population.
with a proneness to withhold many higher matters of the law from all, but chosen vessels.

Connexion of the Language of Nepaul Proper with that of Tibet.

I proceed now to indicate that affinity of the language of the Newars to the language of the Tibetans which I have already adverted to. I had extended this vocabulary (in an amplified form) to the whole of the languages above-mentioned: but the results were, for several reasons, liable to question in detail, so that I prefer holding them back for the present, though there can be no doubt of the general facts, that these dialects are of northern origin, and are closely connected.

The language of Nepaul Proper or the Newari, has, as already intimated, much in common with that of Bhot or Tibet. It is however a poorer dialect than that of Lassa and Digarchi; and it has, consequently, been obliged to borrow more extensive aid from Sungskrit, whilst the early adoption of Sungskrit as the sole language of literature has facilitated this infusion. The following is a comparison of a few terms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Newari</th>
<th>Bhotiya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The World.</td>
<td>* (S.) Sansar</td>
<td>Jambu Ling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God.</td>
<td>(S.) Bhagawan</td>
<td>Lhá.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man.</td>
<td>(S.) Manno, or Majan</td>
<td>Khiyoga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quadruped.</td>
<td>(S.) Pasu, Pepanchu</td>
<td>Tendú.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insect.</td>
<td>(S.) Kicha</td>
<td>Bú.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fire.</td>
<td>Mih.</td>
<td>M̕ha and M̕it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Air.</td>
<td>(S.) Phoy</td>
<td>L̕ha-phú and Lhawa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earth.</td>
<td>Chú.</td>
<td>Sha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sun.</td>
<td>(S.) Suraj</td>
<td>Nima.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Moon.</td>
<td>(S.) Chandrama</td>
<td>Dawa.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The (S.) indicates a Sungskrit origin.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Newari</th>
<th>Bhotiya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A River</td>
<td>Khussi.</td>
<td>Changbo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Boba and Opju.</td>
<td>Ava and Aba.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Mā.</td>
<td>Amma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandfather</td>
<td>Adjhu.</td>
<td>Adzhi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandmother</td>
<td>Adjhama.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Boy</td>
<td>Kay Mocha and Bhajú.</td>
<td>Phú.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Girl</td>
<td>Miah Mochu and Mejú.</td>
<td>Pamú.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncle</td>
<td>Kakka.</td>
<td>Aghu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aunt</td>
<td>Mamma.</td>
<td>Ibi, Asa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summer</td>
<td>(S.) Tápullá.</td>
<td>Chapaha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>Cho.</td>
<td>Tho.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barley</td>
<td>Tacho.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage</td>
<td>(S.) Biah.</td>
<td>Páma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death</td>
<td>Sito.</td>
<td>Lhesin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Stone</td>
<td>Lohu.</td>
<td>Ghara? To.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Brick</td>
<td>Appa.</td>
<td>Arpa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Image</td>
<td>Kata Malli, Patima.</td>
<td>Toto, Thu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Bridge</td>
<td>Ta and Taphu.</td>
<td>Sambá.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Tree</td>
<td>Sima.</td>
<td>Ston-bba or Tongbá.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Leaf</td>
<td>Sihau and Hau.</td>
<td>Loma or Lapti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Flower</td>
<td>Swang.</td>
<td>Meto, or Mendo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Fruit</td>
<td>Si.</td>
<td>Brebú.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Horse</td>
<td>Sallo.</td>
<td>Tapu or Tábá.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Bull</td>
<td>Doho.</td>
<td>Sandhí.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Cow</td>
<td>Máśa and Sá.</td>
<td>Pago.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Buffalo</td>
<td>Mia.</td>
<td>Mye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Dog</td>
<td>Khicha.</td>
<td>Khigo or Khibo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Newari</td>
<td>Bhotiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
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<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own Family.</td>
<td>Thajho &amp; Tha Mannu.</td>
<td>Pin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Head.</td>
<td>Chong.</td>
<td>Wu or Go.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Hair.</td>
<td>Song.</td>
<td>Tar, or Ta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Face.</td>
<td>Qua.</td>
<td>Tongba.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Eye.</td>
<td>Mikha.</td>
<td>Mhi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nose.</td>
<td>Gniá.</td>
<td>Gná</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Arm.</td>
<td>Laha, Lappa,*</td>
<td>Lakpa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Leg.</td>
<td>Túti.</td>
<td>Kangba.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Month.</td>
<td>Lá.</td>
<td>Lá-wa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Year.</td>
<td>Dat'chí.</td>
<td>Lochik.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day.</td>
<td>Gni or Nhi.</td>
<td>Nain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Night.</td>
<td>Chá,</td>
<td>Chan.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With regard to the Newari words, I can venture to say they may be relied on, though they differ somewhat from Kilpatrick's, whose vocabulary, made in a hurry, exhibits some errors, especially that of giving Sungsrit words instead of the vernacular. It is remarkable that the Newars, (those that pretend to education, and those who are wholly illiterate), are apt to give to a stranger, a Sungsrit, instead of their own Newari, name for any object to which their attention is called for the purpose of naming it.

* Lappa, (almost identical with the Bhotiya Lakpa) means the true arm, or upper half of the limb. Laha means the whole.
This habit owes its origin to the wish to be intelligible, which the Newars know they cannot be in speaking their own tongue.* The real poverty of the Newari is, also, no doubt, another cause, and its want of words expressive of general ideas: thus, Creation, God, have no Newari names, and the Sungsanskrit ones have therefore been borrowed of necessity: the like is true of the word Mankind, for which, as well as for the two former words, I have not been able, after great pains, to obtain any vernaculars. When a Newar would express the idea of God, without resorting to Sungsanskrit, he is driven to periphrasis, and says Adjhi Deo, which word is compounded of Adjhu, a Grandfather, and Deo; and thus, by reverence for ancestors, he comes to reverence his maker, whom he calls, literally, the father of his father, or the first father. I am quite aware the foregone and following meagre examples of Newari will not go far to establish the affinity of this language. The subject must be reserved for the future; but, in the mean time, I may observe that the northern stock,† and intimate affinity of Newari and of the other dialects before enumerated, (excepting the Khas or Parbattia), are written as palpably upon the face of these languages as upon the physiognomy, and form of the races who speak them.

As for the Bhotiya words, I cannot wholly vouch for them, few as they are, having obtained them from a Lama, who was but little acquainted with Newari or Parbattia. The majority are, I believe, sufficiently accordant with the Lhassa model, but some may be dialectically corrupted. Still, however, they will equally serve, (as far as they go), to illustrate my assertion that the root and stock of Newari are Trans-himalayan and northern; for there are many dialects on both sides of the snows, and some of the in-

* Our Hindoo servants of the North West Provinces learn to speak the Parbattia language in a year by merely casual use of it. But they never acquire the least use of Newari though they remain here for ten years, in constant commerce with Newars. This is a simple but satisfactory proof of what is alleged in the text as to the essential character of both languages.

Our people could as soon learn Chinese as Newari: but Parbattia 'comes natural to them.'

† Let any one try to refer the Newari words above given, few as they are, to any dialect spoken in the plains of India; and he will be satisfied that he has got into a new lingual region, disconnected with the South.
ferior Tibetan dialects may, very probably, come nearer to Newari than the best or that of Lhasa.

The twelfth word in the Newari column, or Water, is given according to the sub-dialects of the Valley. Water is Lo, at Patan, Lûk at Katmandu, and Gnà, at Bhatgong; these places being the capitals of as many kingdoms before the Gorkha conquest, though situated in very close vicinity to each other.

With respect to the numerals of the decimal scale, the resemblance is strikingly close.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bhotiya</th>
<th>Newari</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5. Gnah.</td>
<td>Gniah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Tûn.</td>
<td>Nha or Nhasso.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Chu (Thampa, an expletive- Sânho. merely.)</td>
<td>Saran-chi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Chu (P.) sûm, (the letter (P.) written but scarcely audibly uttered.)</td>
<td>Saran Pih.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Né shu (thampa.)</td>
<td>Saran Sanho.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Ni Chi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhotiya</td>
<td>Newari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Né shu (thampa.)</td>
<td>Ni Nasi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Ni Swong.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Ni Pih.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Ni Gniah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Ni Khú.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Ni Nhi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Ni Chiah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Ni Gún.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Súm chú (thampa.)</td>
<td>Ni Sanho.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Swi Chi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Swi Nasi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Swi Swong.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Swi Pih.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Swi Gniah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Swi Khú.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Swi Nha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Swi Chiah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. Zhe-chu (thampa.)</td>
<td>Swi Sánho.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Pi Chi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Pi Nasi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Pi Swong.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50. Gna-chu (thampa.)</td>
<td>Gniayú or Pi-Sanho, or merely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>by pausing on the last letter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of Gniah or 5: and thus also</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>60, 70, &amp;c. are formed out of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6, 7, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60. Tukh-chu (thampa.)</td>
<td>Qui.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70. Tun ditto.</td>
<td>Nhaiyu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90. Gu (P.) ditto.</td>
<td>Guye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100. Gheah (thampa.)</td>
<td>Saché.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000. Tong-tha-che.</td>
<td>Do-ché.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000. Thea.</td>
<td>Zhi-dot.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100,000 Búm.</td>
<td>Lak-chi.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nor is the variation, after passing the ten, of any importance, the principle of both being still the same; that is, repetition and compounding of the ordinals; thus ten and one, ten and two, are the forms of expression in both, and so, twice, &c. The Bhotiya word thampa, postfixed to the decimally increasing series, is a mere expletive, and often omitted in speech. The Newari names of the figures from one to ten, as given by Kirkpatrick, are not correct, and hence the difference between the Newari and Bhotiya names has been made to appear greater than it is: in fact, it seems to me, that even the little difference that remains in the present specimens may be resolved into mere modes of utterance. Although the following offer no verbal resemblances, the principle on which they are formed presents several analogies.

Bhotiya and Newari names of the twelve months.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newari</th>
<th>Bhotiya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>Dagava or Láwa (Tangbu.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>(Láwa) &quot; Gnipa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>(Láwa) &quot; Sumba.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>(Láwa) &quot; Zhiba.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>(Láwa) &quot; Gnappa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>(Láwa) &quot; Tuakpu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>(Láwa) &quot; Tumba.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>(Láwa) &quot; Gnappa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>(Láwa) &quot; Guabba.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>(Láwa) &quot; Chuba.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>(Láwa) &quot; Chu-chikpa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>(Láwa) &quot; Chu-gnipa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>(Láwa) &quot; Zhin’chala.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Láwa) &quot; Zhin’nala.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second set of Newari names is formed merely by compounding the word La, a month, with the names of the cardinals, one, two, &c. As for the first set of names, there too we have the final La; and the prefixes are mere characteristic epithets of the seasons; thus, February is called Chilla; but Chilla means also the cold month, or winter.

The Bhotiyas, like the Newars, have no simple names for the months, but call them periphrastically the first, &c. month. Da-
wa and Lawa, both mean a month; but in speech this word is never prefixed, save in speaking of the first Bhotiya month or February, for from February their year begins. What Tângbu means, I know not, unless it be the same with Thampa, the word that always closes the series of numbers, 10, 20, 30, &c. The names of all the others are easily explained, they being compounds of the numbers 2, 3, &c. with the syllable pá or bá—evidently the Lá of the Newars—postfixed.

**Newari names of the seven days**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newari names of the seven days</th>
<th>Bhotiya names of the seven days</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sunday, (S.) Adhwina, or Chanhu, Nima.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday, (S.) Swomwa, ,, Nenhu, Dawa.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday, (S.) Ongwa, ,, Swonhu, Mimer.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday, (S.) Budhwa, ,, Penhu, Lhákpa.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday, (S.) Bussowa, ,, Gniánhu, Phóorboo.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday, (S.) Sukrawa, ,, Khonhu, Pasang.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday, (S.) Sonchowa, ,, Nhainhu, Pemba.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first of the Newari series are wholly corrupt Sungskrit, and the second formed by compounding the word Nhi or Gni, a day, with the cardinals: the Newars have no simple words of their own, expressive of the seven days.

A variety of characters is met with in the Nepaulese and Bhotiya books, some of which are now obsolete. A manuscript, of which a copy is forwarded, contains a collection of these alphabets, each bearing a separate designation. Of the Newari, three kinds of letters are most familiarly known, and four of the Bhotiya.*

**Written Characters of Nepaul Proper.**

The three Newari alphabets (so to speak) are denominated Bhanjin Mola, Ranja, and Newari. Whether these three sorts of letters were formerly used by the Siva Márgi Newars,† I can-

* See Plates.

† The Siva Márgi or Brahmanical Newars are very few in comparison of the Buddha-Márgi. The former boast of a Southern race, and say they came from Tirhut in 1322, A. D. A few of them no doubt did; but they were soon merged in the prior dense population of Nepaul Proper, and now they are only distinguishable by their Brahmanical creed. They do not constitute a twentieth part of the Newar population.
in the prior census population of Nepaul Proper, and now they are only distinguishable by their Brahmanical creed. They do not constitute a twentieth part of the Newar population.
Lanja

चौबू हरी मी
फुंडवा बांहरा मा
not say; but old Buddha works exhibit them all, especially the two former. Newari alone is now used by both sects of Newars for profane purposes; and for sacred, both often employ the Devanárági, oftener the Newari. If the Siva Márqi Newars ever used (which I doubt,) Bhanjin Mola, or Ranja, at least, they do so no longer; and the Newars of the Buddha faith having long ceased ordinarily to employ those letters in making copies of their scriptures, few can now write them, and the learned only (who are accustomed to refer to their old works) can read them with facility.

In regard to the origin of these letters, we may at once refer the Newari to Nágári; but the other two present at first sight more difficulties. Dr. Carey was, some time back, of opinion, that they are mere fanciful specimens of calligraphy. This notion is refuted by the fact of their extensive practical application, of which Dr. Carey was not aware when he gave that opinion. By comparing one of them (the Ranja) with the fourth alphabet of the Bhotiyas, it will be seen, that the general forms of the letters have a striking resemblance. And as this Lanja or Ranja is deemed exotic by the Bhotiyas, I have no doubt it will prove the same with the Newari letters so called: for the words Lanja, Lantza and Ranja are one and the same.* Of the Bhanjin Mola, it may be observed that it has a very ornate appearance, and, if the ornamental parts were stripped from the letters, they (as well as the Ranja) might be traced to a Devanágarí origin, from the forms of which alphabet the Bauddhas might possibly alter them, in order to use them as a cover to the mysteries of their faith. The Bauddha literature is, originally, Indian. Now, though probability may warrant our supposing that those who originated it, together with its religion, might alter existing alphabetical forms for the purpose above hinted at, it will not warrant our conjecturing, that they would undergo the toil of inventing entirely new characters. All these systems of letters follow the Devanágarí arrangement, nor should I hesitate to assign them all a Devanágarí origin. Indeed it is well known to the learned, that there were anciently in the plains of India many sorts of written characters, since become ex-

* See a separate paper on this subject in the sequel.
tinct: and I have no doubt that the letters adverted to were part of these.

Written Characters of Tibet.

Of the Bhotiya characters, four kinds are distinguishable; but only two of them are known by name to the Newars: they are called (in Tibet as well as here) Uchhen and Umen. The first are capitals: the second, small letters: the third, running hand: and the fourth, as already observed, equivalent with the Nepalese Ranja. There is also a character in use in or near Tibet which is ascribed to the Sokhpos, who are said to be a fierce and powerful people, living on the confines of Northern China Proper.

Literature of Bhot or Tibet.

The great bulk of the literature of Bhot (as of Nepal) relates to the Baudhha religion. In Bhot the principal works are only to be found at the larger monasteries; but numerous Bhotiya books of inferior pretensions, are to be obtained at Katmandu from the poor traffickers and monks, who annually visit Nepaul on account of religion and trade.

The character of the great part of these latter, or the Bhotiya books procured in Nepaul, is that of popular tracts, suited to the capacity and wants of the humbler classes of society, among whom it is a subject of surprise, that literature of any kind should be so common in such a region as Bhot, and, more remarkably so, that it should be so widely diffused as to reach persons covered with filth, and destitute of every one of those thousand luxuries which (at least in our ideas) precede the great luxury of books.

Printing is, no doubt, the main cause of this great diffusion of books. Yet the very circumstance of printing being in such general use, is no less striking than this supposed effect of it; nor can I account for the one or other effect, unless by presuming that the hordes of religionists, with which that country (Tibet) swarms, have been driven by the tedium vitae, to these admirable uses of their time.

The invention of printing, the Bhotiyas got from China; but
the universal use they make of it is a merit of their own. The poore-
est individual who visits this Valley from the north is seldom with-
out his Pothi (book,) and from every part of his dress dangle
charms (Jantras,) made up in slight cases, the interior of which
exhibits the neatest workmanship in print.

Some allowance, however, should also be made for the very fa-
miliar power and habit of writing, possessed by the people at
large: another feature in the moral picture of Bhot, hardly less
striking than the prevalence of printing or the diffusion of books,
and which I should not venture to point out, had I not had suf-
ficient opportunities of satisfying myself of its truth among the
annual sojourners in Nepaul who come here in hundreds to pay
their devotions at the temple of the self-existent Supreme Buddha
(Swayambhu Adi Buddha).

In the collections forwarded to the Society will be found a vast
number of manuscripts—great and small—fragments, and entire
little treatises—all which were obtained (as well as the small
printed tracts) from the humblest individuals. Their number and
variety will, perhaps, be allowed to furnish sufficient evidence of
what I have said regarding the appliances of education in Tibet,
if due reference be had, when the estimate is made to the scanty
and entirely casual source whence the books were obtained in
such plenty.

The many different kinds of writing which the MSS. exhibit
will, perhaps, be admitted yet further to corroborate the general
power of writing possessed by almost all classes of the people. Or,
at all events, these various kinds and infinite degrees of penman-
ship, present a curious and ample specimen of Bhotiya proficiency
in writing, let this proficiency belong to what class or classes it
may.

Something of this familiar possession of the elements of educa-
tion, which I have just noticed as characterising Bhot, may be
found also in India; but more, I fear, in the theory of its institu-
tions than in the practice of its present society, because of the
successive floods of open violence which have, for ages, ravaged
that, till lately devoted land. The repose of Bhot, on the other
hand, has allowed its pacific institutions full room to produce their natural effect; and hence we see a great part of the people of Bhot able to write and read.

In whatever I have said regarding the Press, the general power and habit of writing, or the diffusion of books, in Bhot, I desire to be understood by my European readers with many grains of allowance. These words are names importing the most different things in the world in the favoured part of Europe, and in Asia. The intelligent resident in Hindoosthan will have no difficulty in apprehending the exact force which I desire should be attached to such comprehensive phrases, especially if he will recollect for a moment that the press, writing and books, though most mighty engines, are but engines; and that the example of China proves to us indisputably, they may continue in daily use for ages in a vast society, without once falling into the hands of the strong man of Milton; and consequently, without awaking one of those many sublime energies, the full development of which in Europe has shed such a glorious lustre around the path of man in this world.

The printing of Bhot is performed in the stereotype manner by wooden planks; which are often beautifully graved: nor are the limited powers of such an instrument felt as an inconvenience by a people, the entire body of whose literature is of an unchanging character.

The Bhotiya or Tibetan writing, again, often exhibits specimens of ready and graceful penmanship. But then it is never employed on any thing more useful than a note of business, or more informing than the dreams of blind mythology; and thus, too, the general diffusion of books (that most potent of spurs to improvement in our ideas) becomes, in Bhot, from the general worthlessness of the books diffused, at least but a comparatively innocent and agreeable means of filling up the tedious hours of the twilight of civilization.

With respect to the authorities of the Buddhist religion or their sacred scriptures, the universal tradition of the Nepaulese Buddhists, supported by sundry notices in their existing works, asserts, that the original body of these scriptures amounted, when com-
plete, to eighty-four thousand volumes—probably sutras or aphorisms, and not volumes in our sense.

_Sanskrit Bauddha Literature of Nepaul Proper._

The most authoritative of these works are known, collectively, and individually, by the names Sūtra and Dharma, and in a work called the Pūja Kānd there is the following passage:

"All that the Buddhas have said, as contained in the Maha Yāna Sūtra, and the rest of the Sūtras, is Dharma Ratna," or precious science. Hence the Scriptures are also frequently called "Buddha Vachana," the words of Buddha. Sākya Sinha first reduced these words to order, if indeed he did not originate them; and, in this important respect, Sākya is to Buddhism what Vyasa is to Brahmanism. Sākya is the last (if not also the first and only) of the seven perfect Buddhas.

The old books universally assert this; the modern Bauddhas admit it, in the face of that host of ascetics, whom the easiness of latter superstition has exalted to the rank of a Tathāgata. The sacred chronology is content with assigning Sākya to the Kali Yuga, and profane chronology is a science which the Buddhas seem never to have cultivated.* But the best opinion seems to be that Sākya died about five centuries before our era. In the subsequent enumeration, it will be seen that Sākya is the "Speaker" in all the great works. This word answers to "hearer," and refers to the form of the works, which is, for the most part, that of a report of a series of lectures or lessons delivered verbally by Sākya to his favourite disciples, but sometimes diverging into dialogue between them. That Sākya Sinha first gave definite form to the substance of this creed, such as it has come down to our times, is demonstrable from the uniform tenour of that language of the great scriptural authorities to which I have adverted: for, before or after the enunciation of every cardinal text stand the words 'thus said Sākya Sinha,' or, 'so commanded Sākya Sinha.'

* Neither chronology, nor any thing else tangible and appreciable, extends beyond the age of Sākya.
The words Tantra and Purana, as expressive of the distinction of esoteric and exoteric works, are familiar to the Buddhias of Nepal; but it would seem that their own more peculiar names are Upadésa and Vyákarana. Gátha, Játaka, and Avadán, seem to be rather subdivisions of Vyákarana than distinct classes.

The word Sútra is explained Múla Grantha, Buddha Vachana, (chief book, words of Buddha) and in this sense it has been held to be equivalent to the Sruti of the Brahmans, as has their Smriti to the Bauddha Vyákarana. But, apt as Buddhism is to forget the distinction of divine and human nature, the analogy must be defective; and, in fact, the Sútra of the Buddhists often comprehends not only their own proper Buddha Vachana, but also Bódhisatwa and Bhikshu Vachana; which latter the Brahmans would denominate Rishi Vachana, and, of course, assign to the Smriti, or comments by holy men upon the eternal truth of the Sruti.

The Newars assert that, of the original body of their sacred literature, but a small portion now exists. A legend, familiar to this people, assigns the destruction to Sankara Achárya; and 'the incomparable Sankara' of Sir W. Jones, is execrated by the Nepalese Buddhias as a blood-stained bigot.*

Of the existing Bauddha writings of Nepaul (originally of Indian growth and still found unchanged in the Sungskrit language) by far the most important, of the speculative kind, are the five Khands of the Prajña Paramita or Racha Bhagavati, each of which contains 25,000 distiches. Of the narrative kind, the chief are eight of the nine works called the 'Nava Dharma;' the ninth being the Ashta Sahasrika Prajña Paramita. It is a valuable summary of the great work first mentioned, to which, therefore, rather than to these Dharmas, the Ashta Sahasrika bears essential affinity. In the sequel will be found a list of all the Sungskrit Buddha works known to me by name.†

* If the age in which Sankara flourished, be fixed with any correctness, he could not have been a persecutor of the Buddhias: for Sankara is placed in the eighth century before Christ; and Sákya, the founder of Buddhism, (for we have nothing authentic before him, or independent of him) certainly was not born sooner than about the middle of the sixth century, B. C.

† See the next paper for this list.
The five Rachas or Paramitas are enumerated in order in the immediately subsequent detail. They are of highly speculative character, belonging rather to philosophy than religion. The cast of thought is sceptical in the extreme: endless doubts are started, and few solutions of them attempted. Sakya appears surrounded by his disciples, by whom the arguments on each topic are chiefly maintained, Sakya acting generally as moderator, but sometimes as sole speaker. The topics discussed are the great first principles of Buddhism; the tenets of the four schools of Bauddha Philosophy are mentioned, but those of the Svabhāvika alone, largely discussed. The object of the whole work seems rather to be proof of the proposition, that doubt is the end as well as beginning, of wisdom, than the establishment of any particular dogmas of philosophy or religion: and from the evidence of this great work, it would appear, that the old Bauddha philosophers were rather sceptics than atheists.

The nine Dharmas are as follows:

1. Ashta Sahasrika.
2. Ganda Vyūha.
3. Dasa Bhūmeswara.
4. Samadhi Raja.
5. Lankavatara.
6. Sad Dharma Púndarikā.
7. Táthágata Guhyakā.
8. Lalita Vistara.

Divine worship is constantly offered to these nine works, as the Nava Dharma, by the Bauddhas of Nepal. The aggregation of the nine is now subservient to ritual fancies, but it was originally dictated by a just respect for the pre-eminent authority and importance of these works, which embrace, in the first, an abstract of the philosophy of Buddhism; in the seventh, a treatise on the esoteric doctrines; and in the seven remaining ones, a full illustration of every point of the ordinary doctrine and discipline.

* See the sequel at "Religion of Nepal and Bhot."

C 2
taught in the easy and effective way of example and anecdote, interspersed with occasional instances of dogmatic instruction. With the exception of the first, these works are, therefore, of a narrative kind; but interwoven with much occasional speculative matter. One of them (the Lalita Vistara) is the original authority for all those versions of the history of Sākya Sinha, which have crept, through various channels, into the notice of Europeans.

I esteem myself fortunate in having been first to discover and procure copies of these important works. To meditate and digest them is not for me; but I venture to hint that by so doing only can a knowledge of genuine Buddhism be acquired. Buddhism is not simple, but a vast and complicate structure, erected, during ages of leisure, by a literary people. It has its various schools divided by various Doctors; nor is the Buddhism of one age less different from that of another, than the Brahmanism of the Vedas, of the Puranas, and of the Bhagavat. Let it not be supposed, because these works were procured in Nepal, that they are therefore of a local character or mountain origin.

Such a notion is, in every view, utterly absurd; for the works bear intrinsic evidence of the contrary in almost every page; and their language (Sanskrit,) always wholly exotic in Nepal, most assuredly was never cultivated here with a zeal or ability such as the composition of these great works must have demanded.

These works were composed by the Sages of Magadha, Kosila, and Rajagriha, whence they were transferred to Nepal by Buddhist Missionaries soon after they had assumed their existing shape.

The Śāmbhu Pūrana is the only local work of importance in the large collection which I have made. Perhaps it may be surmised, that if (as is stated) the fire of Sankara's wrath consumed all, but some fragments of the sacred writings of the Buddhists, the ample works now produced must be spurious. But, in the first place, the legend is but a legend; and in the next, exaggeration may rea-

* The modern Bihar.
† Part of Oude and part of Rohilkhand.
‡ Rajmahal?
sonably be suspected, both as to number of books then extant and destroyed.

The Baudhhas never had eighty-four thousand principal scriptures;* nor could Sankara destroy more than a few of those which they really possessed when he came (if he ever came) to Nepaul. The proof of the latter statement is—that Buddhism was, long after Sankara's time, the prevalent and national faith of the Nepaulese Princes and subjects; and that it is so still in regard to the people, notwithstanding the Gorkha conquest. Sankara (or some other famous Brahmanical controversist) may have converted, one of the Princes of the Valley; but the others remained Buddhists; and, no doubt, took care of the faith and property of their subjects. All old Baudhha works are written in one of the three sorts of letters now peculiar to Nepaul Proper, usually in Ranja and Bhanjin Mola, and on Palmira leaves. Copies of the Racha Bhagavati or Prajna Paramita are very scarce. I am of opinion, after five years of enquiry, that there were but four copies of it in the Valley, prior to my obtaining one copy and a half: one copy more I got transcribed from an old one. No one had, for some time, been able fully to understand its contents; no new copy had been made for ages; and those few persons, who possessed one or more khandas or sections of it, as heir-looms, were content to offer to sealed volumes the silent homage of their puja (worship). Time and growing ignorance have been the chief enemies of Sungs-krit Buddha literature in Nepaul.


* We should doubtless read aphorism or text (Śūtra or vana), not book, with reference to the 84,000 in question. The universality of the notion proves that this definite number has truth, in some sense, attached to it.

The primitive meaning of Śūtra (aphorism, or thread of discourse,) implies that Sākya taught verbally; and if this be so, Śūtra only took its present sense of principal scripture after his death. These sayings of Sākya may still be found all over the sacred works of the sect in their original aphoristic form. The destruction of Buddha books adverted to in the text, has, I fancy, reference to the plains of India. There it was complete, eventually; but in the mean while the most valuable works had been saved in Nepaul.
Sūtras are the principal scriptures, (Mula Grantha) as the Rācha Bhagavati or Prajna Paramita; they are equivalent to the Vedas of the Brahmanists.

Gēyas, are works of praise, thanksgiving and pious fervour, in modulated language. The Gīta Govinda of the Brahmanists is equivalent to the Buddha Gīta Pushtaka, which belongs to the Geya.

Vyākarana are narrative works, containing histories of the several births of Sākya prior to his becoming Nirvān; and sundry actions of others who by their lives and opinions have illustrated this religion, with various forms of prayer and of praise. Vyākarana, in the sense of narration, is opposed generally to works of philosophy or speculation, such as the Prajna Paramita. It also characterises works of an exoteric kind, as opposed to the Upadesa or Tantras.

Gāthas are narrative works, in verse and prose, containing moral and religious tales, (Anék Dharma-kāthā) relative to the Buddhas, or elucidative of the discipline and doctrine of the sect. The Lalita Vistara, is a Vyākarana of the sort called Gātha.

Udan, treat of the nature and attributes of the Buddhas, in the form of a dialogue between a Buddhist adept and novice.

Nidān, are treatises, in which the causes of events are shewn; as for example, how did Sākya become a Buddha? the reason or cause; he fulfilled the Dān, and other Paramitas.*

Ityukta, whatever is spoken with reference to, and in conclusion: the explanation of some prior discourse, is Ityukta.

Jātaka, treat of the subject of transmigration or metempsychosis, the illustrations being drawn from the 550 births of Sākya.

Vaipulya, treat of several sorts of Dharma and Artha, that is, of the several means of acquiring the goods of this world (Artha) and of the world to come (Dharma).

Adbhuta Dharma, on preternatural events.

* Paramita here means virtue, the moral merit by which our escape (passage) from mortality is obtained. Dan, or charity, is the first of the ten cardinal virtues of the Buddhas: "and other" refers to the remaining nine. See Appendix Δ. of paper III.
Avadán, of the fruits of actions or moral law of Mundane existence.

Upadésa, of the esoteric doctrines equivalent to Tantra, the rites and ceremonies being almost identical with those of the Hindoo Tantras, but the chief objects of worship, different, though very many of the inferior ones are the same. According to the Upadésa, the Buddhas are styled Yogāmbara and Digāmbara. Tantrika works are very numerous. They are in general disgraced by obscenity and by all sorts of magic and demonology. But they are frequently redeemed by unusually explicit assertions of a supreme Godhead. Vajra Satwa Buddha is the magnus Apollo of the Tantrikas.

The following is an enumeration of some of the most important individual specimens of the preceding classes.

First khand, or section, of the Racha or Raksha Bhagavati or Prajna Paramita. It is a Maha Yāna Sūtra Sāstra. It begins with a relation (by himself) of how Sākya became Bhagavān (deified) ; and how he exhorted his disciples to study and meditate his principles; and how he explained the doctrine of Avidya, that is, as long as Avidya* lasts, the world lasts, when Avidya ceases, (Nirodha) the world ceases; aliter, Pravritti ends, and Nirvritti* begins. Such are the general contents of the former part of this khand; and the latter part of it is occupied with explanations of Sunyata and Maha Sunyata.* Sākya is the speaker, the hearers are Subhuti, and other Bhikshukas: the style is prose (Gadya).

Second and third khands of the Raksha Bhagavati. Contents the same as above.

The fourth khand of the Raksha Bhagavati relates, how any one becomes Sarvakarmajñā, or skilled in the knowledge of all things on earth and in heaven; in a word, omniscient; besides which, the subjects of the former khands are treated of, in continuation, in this.

The fifth khand of the Raksha Bhagavati. Besides Avidya,

* See the explanation of these terms in the sequel. They form the basis of the philosophy of Buddhism.
Swiyata, and all the other great topics of the prior khands, this khand contains the names of the Buddhas, and Bodhisatwas.

These five khands or divisions are each called Pancha, Vingsati, Sahasrika, Prajna Paramita; the three first words indicating the extent of each division, and the two last, the nature of the subject or transcendental wisdom. Sata Sahasrika is a collective name of the four first khands, to which the fifth is not necessarily adjunct; and indeed it is apparently an abstract of the Sata Sahasrika. Arya Bhagavati and Raksha Bhagavati, or holy Goddess and Goddess of Deliverance, are used, indifferently with Prajna Paramita, as titles of each or all of these five khands. The five khands are all in prose, and comprise the philosophy of Buddhism.

Ashtasahasrika Prajna Paramita, a Maha Yana Sutra. An epitome of the transcendental topics discoursed of at large in the Racha Bhagavati. It is prose. Sakyā is the speaker; and Subhuti and other Bhikshukas,* the hearers.

Ashta Sahasrika Vyakhya.

This is a comment on the last work by Hara Bhadra, in verse and prose.

Ganda Vyuha, a Vyakarana Sutra, contains forms of supplication and of thanksgiving, also how to obtain Budhijuyan, or the wisdom of Buddhism. Prose speaker, Sakyā; hearer, Sudhana Kumara.

Dasa Bhumeswara, a Vyakarana, containing an account of the ten Bhumis.† Prose speaker, Sakyā; hearer, Ananda Bhikshuka.

Samādhi Raja, a Vyakarana; an account of the actions by which the wisdom of Buddhism is acquired, and of the duties of Bodhisatwas. Prose speaker, Sakyā, and hearers, Ravana and others.

Sad Dharma Pundarika, a Vyakarana, an account of the Maha and other Dipa Dānas, or of the lights to be maintained in ho-

* Bhikshu, name of a Buddhist mendicant. See on to section on Religion.
† Ten heavens, or ten stages of perfectibility.
nour of the Buddhas, and Bodhisatwas; with narrations of the lives of several former Buddhas by Sákya, as well as prophetic indications of the future eminence of some of his disciples. Speakers and hearers, Sákya, Maitreya, Munjusri, &c.

**Lalita Vistara.** This is a Vyākarana of the sort called Gāthā. It contains a history of the several births of Sákya, and how, in his last birth, he acquired perfect wisdom, and became Buddha. Verse and prose speaker, Sákya; hearers, Maitreya and others.

**Guhya Samagha,** otherwise called Tathágata Guhyaka, an Upadesa or Tantra; contains numerous mantras, with explanations of the manner of performing esoteric rites. Prose and verse speaker, Bhagavan (i.e. Sákya); hearers, Vajra Pani Bodhisatwa and others.

**Śūrvarna Prabhāsa,** a Vyākarana Śāstra, discourses by Sákya for the benefit of Lakshmi, Saraswati and others; also an account of the Bhagavat Dhátu, or mansions of the deities. Prose and verse speaker, Sákya; hearers, Sītsavi Kumara, the above named Goddesses and others.

**Swayambhu Pūrana,** the greater; a Vyākarana of the sort called Gāthā: an account of the manifestation of Swayambhu or Adi Buddha* in Nepaul, and the early history of Nepaul. Verse speaker, Sákya; hearer, Ananda Bhikshuka.

**Swayambhu Pūrana,** the less, a Guti; summary of the above; an account of Swayambhu Chaitya, (or temple). Verse and prose speaker and hearer, as above.

**Karanda Vyūha,** an account of Lokeswara Padma Pani. Prose speaker and hearer, as above.

**Guna Karanda Vyūha,** a Guti; an amplification of the above in verse. Speaker and hearer, as above.

**Mahavastu,** an Avadán Śāstra; an account of the fruits of actions, like the Karma Vipaka of the Brahmans. Prose speaker and hearer, as before.

**Asóka Avadán,** an account of the Triad, or Buddha Dharma Sangha, also of the Chaityas, with the fruits of worshipping them. Verse speaker, Upagupta Bhikshuka; hearer, Asoka Raja.

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*Swayambhu means self-existent. Adi, first, and Buddha, wise.*
Bhadra Kalpika, an Avadhán Sástra; a detailed account of the Buddhas, past and to come. Verse and prose speaker, Sákya; hearers, Upagupta Bhikshuka, with a host of immortals and mortals.

Jáataka Málá; an account of the meritorious actions of Sákya in his several births, prior to his becoming a Tathágátá. Verse and prose speaker, Sákya; hearer, Ananda Bhikshu.

Manichura, an Avadhán; an account of the first birth of Sákya, and of the fruits of his actions. Prose speaker and hearer, as above.

Dvavinsati Avadhán, an Avadhán Sástra; an account of the fruits of building, worshipping and circumambulating* Chaityas. Verse and prose speaker, Sákya; hearer, Maitreya.

Nándi Mukha Swaghosha, an Avadhán; an account of the great fast called Vasundhara, and of the fruit of observing it. Prose speaker, Sákya; hearer, Ananda.

Bodhi-charyá, an Avadhán Sástra, of the sort called Kávyá; contains a highly laudatory account of the virtue of charity and of the Bodhi-Charyá, or Buddhist duties. Verse speaker, Maitreya; hearer, Sudhana Kumara.

Karuna-Púndarika, an Avadhán; an account of Arinemi Raja; of Samudra Renu, Purohit; of Ratna Garbha, Tathágátá; and of Avalokiteswara, (i. e. Padma Pani Bodhisatwa) interspersed with sundry philosophical topics which are discussed by Sákya in a broken manner. Sákya, then, in anticipation of his demise, gives directions as to the mode in which his system is to be taught. Prose speaker, Sákya; hearers, Maitreya, &c.

Chandórñrita Málá, a treatise of prosody; the measures illustrated by verses laudatory of Sákya Sinha. Verse and prose: the author Amrita Bhikshu.

Lokeswara Sataka, a hundred verses in praise of Padma Pani. Verse author, Vajra Datta Bhikshu.

* This circumambulation is one of the commonest and most pious actions of Buddhist devotion. Mental prayers are repeated all the while, and a small cylinder fixed upon the upper end of a short staff or handle, is held in the right hand and kept in perpetual revolution.
Saraka Dhāra, with a comment; a Kāvya in praise of Arya Tārā, Buddha Sakti. Verse: author, Sarvajna Mitrapāda, Bhikshu.

Aparamita Dharani, an Upadēsa; contains many Dharanis addressed to the Buddhas, who are immortal (Aparamitayusha Thāthagāta). Prose speaker, Sākya; hearer, Ananda Bhikshu.

Dharani Sangraha, a collection of Dharanis, as Maha Vairochans D. Maha Manjusris D. and those of many other Buddhas and Buddhisatwas. Verse speaker, Sākya; hearer, Vajra Pani.

Pancha Rakshā, an Upadēsa Dharani; an account of the five Buddha Saktis, called Pratisarā, &c.† Prose speaker, Sākya; hearer, Ananda.

Pratyangira Dharani, an Upadēsa Dharani; an account of Pratyangira Buddha Sakti. Prose speaker, Sākya; hearer, Ananda Bhikshu.

Tārā Satnama, an Upadēsa Dharani, contains an account of Arya Tārā, of her hundred names, her Vija mantras, &c. Verse speaker, Padma Pani; hearer, Vajra Pani.

Sugatavadān, an Avadān Sāstra, contains an account of the feast kept in honor of Sanghas or Buddhisatwas. Verse speaker, Vasundhara Buddhisatwa; hearer, Pushpaketu Rajkumar.

Sukhavati Loka, account of the so-called heaven of Amitabha Buddha. Verse speaker, Sākya; hearers, Ananda and others.

Saptavāra Dharani, an Upadēsa of the sort termed Dharani; an account of the seven Devis (Buddha Saktis) called Vasundhara, Vajra Vidarini, Ganapati Hridaya, Ushnisha Vijaya, Parna Savari, Marichi, Graha Matrikā, together with their Vija mantras. Prose speaker, Sākya; hearers, Ananda and others.

Sriya Sangraha, an Upadēsa; an account of the Tantrika ritual. Prose speaker, Sākya; hearers, Vajra Pani, &c. resembles the Mahodadhi of the Brahmans.

Sumaghāvadan, an Avadān Sāstra; an account of the heaven

* Dharani, though derived from the Upadesa, are exoteric. They are short significant forms of prayer, similar to the Panchanga of the Brahmans. Whoever constantly repeats or wears (made up in little lockets) a dharani, possesses a charmed life.

† See classified enumeration of the principal objects of Buddhist worship.
(Bhuvan) of the Bhikshukas; near the close is a story of the merchant Sumagha and his wife, whence the name of the work. Prose speaker, Sákya; hearer, Ananda.

Chaitya Pungava, an Avadán on the worship of the Chaityas. Prose speaker, Sákya; hearer, Suchetana Bhikshuka.

Kathinavadán, an Avadán Sástra; containing an account of the merit and reward of giving the Pindapatra,* Hikshari, Chivara and Nivasa to Bhikshukas. Prose speaker, Sákya; hearer, Kasyapa Bhikshu.

Pindapatravadán, an account of the begging platter of the Bhikshus, and of the merit of bestowing it to them. Prose speaker and hearer, as above.

Dhwajágra Keyuri, an Upadésa, or Tantra Dharani; an account of Dhwajagra Keyuri, Buddha Sakti. Prose speaker, Sákya; hearer, Indra Deva (the god).

Graha Matrika, a Tantra Dharani; account of Graha Matrika, Buddha Sakti. Speaker, Sákya; hearer, Ananda Bhikshu.

Nágapújá, a manual of worship to the Nagas for rain. It is extracted from the Sádhana Málā. It is of the same character as the Vrata Paddhati of the Brahmans.

Mahákála Tantra, an Upadésa; account of the worship to be paid to Mahákála. Prose, Vajra Satwa Bhagavan (i. e. Buddha); speaker and hearer, his Sakti, named Vajra Sattwatmaki.

Abhidhánottarottara, an Upadésa; account of the exoteric rites. Prose speaker, Vajra Satwa Bhagavan; hearer, Vajra Pani. The rites prescribed by this book resemble in character the Saiva ritual, and differ from it only in being addressed to different objects.

Vinaya Sútra, Treatise on Discipline. Author, Chandra Kirti Acharya. It is equivalent to the Vyása Sútra of the Brahmans.

Kalpalatávádán, an Avadán, a highly ornate account of the first birth of Sákya, and of the fruits of his actions in that birth. Verse: author, Kshemendra Bhikshu.

* The begging platter, staff, and slender habiliments of the Buddha mendicant are called by the names in the text. The Chivara is the upper, the Nivasa the lower, garb.
Gita Pushtaka, a Geya; a collection of songs on Tantrika topics, by various hands.

Stotra Sangraha, the praises of Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha. In verse of various measures and by various authors.

Divyāvadān, an Avadān Sāstra, containing various legends of the first birth of Sākya. Verse and prose speaker, Sākya; hearers, Ananda Bhikshu and others.*

Bhote Literature in the language of Tibet.

The following list of a more miscellaneous description.

Bhotiya Works.

Name, Sūmachik; author, Thula Lama; place where written, Khanam in Bhote; subject, Jurisprudence.

Name, Chama Dam; author, Aguchu Lama; place, Tija Nowa; subject, similar to the Sagun Pothi of the Hindoos.

Name, Charúg; author, Thiya Lama; place, Gejaketha; subject, the Jñyan Pothi of the Hindoos, or divine wisdom.

Name, Chúróge Chapah; author, Yepah Regreh Maha Lama; place, Pargreh ah chu; subject, cure of all diseases.

Name, Tuchurakh; author, Suka Lama; place, Jab-la Denuk; subject, read by mendicant monks to prosper their petition for alms.

Name, Mani Pothi; author, Chufil Lama; place, Gumewan; subject, the use and virtue of the mani or praying cylinder.

Name, Chú Dam; author, Gevighup Lama; place, Yeparkas; subject, medicine.

Name, Napache Pothi; author, Aberak Lama; place, Jatu Lam; subject, physical science, or the winds, rain, weather.

Name, Kichak; author, Kīlūah Lama; place, Botehi; subject, witchcraft, demonology, &c.

Name, Tui takh lu; author, Rakachandah Lama; place, Kubakh; subject, science of war.

* Since the above was composed, I have added greatly to my stock of Sungs-krit works. For their names, see the list appended to next paper—Note of 1837.
Name, Dutakh-a-si; author, Bajachik Lama; place, Gnama; subject, read by survivors on the death of a relation, that they may not be haunted by his ghost.

Name, Serua-takh; author, Takachik Lama; place, Yipurki. To be read by travellers, during their wanderings, for the sake of a safe return.

Name, Sata-tu-mah; author, Yisahsekar Lama; place, Sebhal; subject, read previous to sitting on a panchaet for a prosperous issue thereof.

Name, Kêrikh; author, Amadatakh Lama; place, Asi; subject, to be read for increase of temporal goods.

Name, Numbeh; author, Titakh Lama; place, Bere-ga-hakh; subject, to be read at times of gathering flowers for worship.

Name, Dekmujah; author, Mûntake-tan Lama; place, Mûnkâ; subject, to be read previous to laying the foundation of a house.

Name, Thaka-pah; author, Gagamatakh Lama; place, Maccha-lekoh; subject, to be read whilst feeding the sacred fishes at the temples; a very holy act.

Name, Kusa; author, Nemachala Lama; place, Yepareneshah; subject, to be read at the time of bathing.

Name, Lahassa-ki-pothi; author, Uma Lama; place, Lassa; subject, to be read before eating, while dinner is serving up, to keep off wicked spirits.

Name, Chandapu; author, Grahah Lama; place, Jubu-nasah; subject, to be read previous to making purchases.

Name, Sachah; author, Urjanh Lama; place, Jadûn; subject, to be repeated whilst exonerating themselves, that no evil spirit may come up.

Name, Báchah; author, Jahadegh Lama; place, Maharah; subject, to be read by lone travellers, in forests and bye-ways, for protection.

Name, Kajaw; author, Olachavah Lama; place, Kârâh; subject, to be read by a dead man's relatives to free his soul from purgatory.

Name, Yidaram; author, Machal Lama; place, Sadurl; sub-
ject, to facilitate interviews, and make them happy in their issues.

Name, Ditakh; author, Chopallah Lama; place, Urasikh; subject, to interpret the ominous croaking of crows, and other inauspicious birds.

Name, Karáchakh; author, Khuchak Lama; place, Pheragiah.

Name, Chalah; author, Gidu Lama; place, Bidakh; subject, to be read at the time of drinking, that no ill may come of the draught.

Name, Kegú; author, Tupathwo Lama; place, Kabajeh; subject, for increase of years, and a long life.

Name, Chabeh; author, Akabeh Lama; place, Ari Kalaguh; subject, to be read for removing the inclemencies of the season.

Name, Kaghatukh; author, Sughná Lama; place, Bole Káchar; subject, to be read by horsemen, at seasons of journies that they may come to no harm.

Name, Lúchú; author, Nowlah Lama; place, Chágúra Kahah; subject, to be read for increase of eloquence and knowledge of languages.

Name, Ghikatenah; author, Sujanna Lama; place, Seakuhah; subject, to be read by archers for success of their craft.

Name, the Baudh Pothi, or history of the founding of the Temple of Kasachit in Nepaul, with other matters appertaining to Buddhism in Nepaul.

Name, Siri Pothi; author, Bistakow Lama; place, Jamatakh; a general form of prayer for rich and poor, sick and healthy, man and woman.

The latter of these lists (of Bhotiya books) is a mere thing of shreds and patches, and, in fact, I have no means of enumerating the standard works of Tibetan literature. But I have no doubt that Tibet is indebted for its literature to Buddha Missionaries, and Refugees from Hindustan. These individuals carried with them, and subsequently procured from India, many of the sacred and profane works of their sect, and, as was their wont, they im-
mediately began to instruct the people of Bhot in their own, that is, in the Sungskrit, letters and language. They had, no doubt, some success in this measure in the first period of their emigration into Bhot; but, in the end, the difficulties of Sungskrit, and the succession of Native teachers to the chairs of the original Indian emigrants, led to the preference of the Bhogtiya language, and, consequently, to a translation of all the Sungskrit works they had, and could obtain from India, into the vernacular tongue of the country. This resort to translation took place very early; a circumstance which, aided by the lapse of time, and the further decline of the original literary ardour, inspired by the Indian Refugees, produced, at no distant period from the decease of the first Indian teachers, the oblivion of Sungskrit, and the entire supersession of original Sungskrit versions by translations into Tibetan.

The Bhotiyas,* however, although they thus soon lost the Sungskrit language, retained the Deva Nagari letters. The result of the whole is, that the body of Bhogtiya literature now is, and long has been, a mass of translations from Sungskrit; its language, native; its letters, (like its ideas,) Indian. To support this view of the case, I have to observe, that even the Nepaulese, much nearer as they are to India, and much more cultivated in some respects as they are, have resorted extensively to vernacular comments, and even translations of their books, which also are Sungskrit; and that, although the Newars have a good language of their own, they have no letters, but such as are clearly of Deva Nagari origin, and declared by themselves to be so: that all the Bhotiyas, with whom I have conversed, assure me that they got all their knowledge from India; that their books are translations; that the originals, here and there, still exist in Bhot, but that now no one can read them; lastly, that most of the great Bhotiya classics proclaim, by their very names, the fact.† These remarks are appli-

* Bhot is the Sungskrit, and Tibet the Persian, name of the country. The native name is Bot-pa, a mere corruption of the Sungskrit appellation, proving that the Tibetans had not reached a general designation for their country when their Indian teachers came among them.

† Note of 1837. It is needless now to say, how fully these views have been con-
ed, of course, to the classics of Bhot, for, in regard to works of
less esteem there, I believe such to be not translations, but origi-
nals; chiefly legends of the Lamas, and in the vernacular tongue,
(the best dialect of which is that spoken about Lassa and Digar-
chi,) but still, like the translated classics, written in letters es-
entially Indian.

Religion of Nepaul and of Bhot.

An accurate and complete view of the Bauddha system of be-
lief would involve the severe study of a number of the voluminous
Sungskrit works above specified, and would demand more time
than could be bestowed upon the task by any person, not other-
wise wholly unemployed. A few observations must, therefore,
suffice in this place on the religious notions of the Bauddhas of
this part of India, and in making them I shall keep chiefly in view
the facilitation of the study of a new subject on the part of those
who may find time and courage to explore the great and new mine of
Sungskrit literature which it has been my fortune to discover in
Nepaul.

Speculative Buddhism embraces four very distinct systems of
opinion respecting the origin of the world, the nature of a first
cause, and the nature and destiny of the soul.

These systems are denominated, from the diagnostick tenet of
each, Śvābhāvika, Aishwarikā, Yātnika, and Kārmika; and each
of these, again, admits of several sub-divisions, comprising divers
reconciling theories of the later Bauddha teachers, who, living in
quieter times than those of the first Doctors, and instructed by
the taunts of their adversaries, and by adversity, have attempted
to explain away what was most objectionable, as well as contra-
dictory, in the orginal system.

The Śvābhāvikas deny the existence of immateriality; they
assert that matter is the sole substance, and they give it two modes,
confirmed by the researches of De Coros. It is but justice to myself to add that
the real nature of the Kahgyur and Stangyur was expressly stated and proved
by me to the Secretary of the Asiatic Society some time before Mr. De Coros'
ampler revelations were made.

E
called Pravritti, and Nirvritti, or action and rest, concretion and abstraction. Matter, they say, is eternal as a crude mass (however infinitesimally attenuated in Nirvritti); and so are the powers of matter, which powers possess not only activity, but intelligence. The proper state of existence of these powers is that of rest, and of abstraction from every thing palpable and visible, (Nirvritti), in which state they are so attenuated, on the one hand, and so invested with infinite attributes of power and skill on the other, that they want only consciousness and moral perfections to become gods. When these powers pass from their proper and enduring state of rest into their casual and transitory state of activity, then all the beautiful forms of nature or of the world come into existence, not by a divine creation, nor by chance, but spontaneously; and all these beautiful forms of nature cease to exist, when the same powers repass again from this state of Pravritti, or activity, into the state of Nirvritti, or repose.

The revolution of the states of Pravritti* and Nirvritti† is eternal, and with them revolve the existence and destruction of nature or of palpable forms. The Swâbhâvikas are so far from ascribing the order and beauty of the world to blind chance, that they are peculiarly fond of quoting the beauty of visible form as a proof of the intelligence of the formative powers; and they infer their eternity from the eternal succession of new forms. But they insist that these powers are inherent in matter, and not impressed on it by the finger of God, that is, of an absolutely immaterial being. Inanimate forms are held to belong exclusively to Pravritti, and therefore to be perishable; but animate forms, among which man is not distinguished sufficiently, are deemed capable of becoming by their own efforts associated to the eternal state of Nirvritti; their bliss in which state consists of repose or release from an otherwise endlessly recurring migration through the visible forms of Pravritti. Men are endowed with consciousness, as well,

* Pra, an intensive prefix; and Vritti, action, avocation, from va to blow as the wind.
† Nir, a primitive prefix, and Vritti as before.
I believe, of the eternal bliss* of the rest of Nirvritti, as of the ceaseless pain of the activity of Pravritti. But these men who have won the eternity of Nirvritti, are not regarded as rulers of the universe, which rules itself; nor as mediators or judges of mankind still left in Pravritti; for the notions of mediation and judgement are not admitted by the Swábhávikas, who hold every man to be the arbiter of his own fate—good and evil in Pravritti being, by the constitution of nature, indissolubly linked to weal and woe; and the acquisition of Nirvritti being, by the same inherent law, the inevitable consequence of such an enlargement of his faculties, by habitual abstraction, as will enable a man to know what Nirvritti is. To know this, is to become omniscient, a Buddha; to be divinely worshipped as such, while yet lingering in Pravritti; and to become, beyond the grave, or in Nirvritti, all at least that man can become, an all respecting which some of the Swábhávikas have expressed much doubt, while others of them have insisted that it is eternal repose, and not eternal annihilation† (Sunyata); though, adds this more dogmatical school, were it even Sunyata, it would still be good; man being otherwise doomed to an eternal migration through all the forms of nature; the more desirable of which are little to be wished; and the less so, at any price to be shunned.

From the foregoing sketch it will be seen, that the most diagnostic tenets of the Swábhávikas are, the denial of immateriality, and the assertion that man is capable of enlarging his faculties to infinity. The end of this enlargement of human faculties is association to the eternal rest of Nirvritti, respecting the value of which there is some dispute; and the means of it are, Tapas and Dhyán; by the former of which terms, the Swábhávikas understand, not penance, or self-inflicted bodily pain, but a perfect rejection of all outward (Pravrittiká) things; and, by the latter, pure mental

* The prevalent doctrine is, that they are; some doctors, however, say no; the question turns on the prior acceptance of Sunyata, for which see on.
† This interpretation of the Swábhávika Sunyata is not the general one, though the opponents of Buddhism have attempted to make it so; for the prevalent sense of the word among the Buddhas, see on.
abstraction. In regard to physics, the Swábhávikas do not reject design or skill, but a designer, that is, a single, immaterial, self-conscious being, who gave existence and order to matter by volition. They admit what we call the laws of matter, but insist that those laws are primary causes, not secondary; are inherent eternally in matter, not impressed on it by an immaterial creator. They consider creation a spontaneity, resulting from powers which matter has had from all eternity, and will have to all eternity. So with respect to man, they admit intellectual and moral powers, but deny that immaterial essence or being, to which we ascribe those powers. Animate and inanimate causation, they alike attribute to the proper vigour of nature, or Swábháva. I believe the Swábhávika to be the oldest school of Buddhist philosophy; but that school has, from the earliest times, been divided into two parties, one called the Swábhávikas simply, whose tenets I have endeavoured to state above, the other termed the Prajnika Swábhávikas, from Prajna, * the supreme wisdom; viz. of nature.

The Prajnikas agree with the Swábhávikas, in considering matter as the sole entity, in investing it with intelligence as well as activity, and in giving it two modes, or that of action and that of rest. But the Prajnikas incline to unitize the powers of matter in the state of Nirvritti; to make that unit, deity; and to consider man’s summum bonum, not as a vague and doubtful association to the state of Nirvritti; but as a specific and certain absorption into Prajna, the sum of all the powers, active and intellectual, of the universe. The Aishwarikás admit of immaterial essence, and of a supreme infinite, and self-existent Deity (Adi Buddha) whom some of them consider as the sole deity and cause of all things, while others associate with him a coequal and eternal material principle; believing that all things proceeded from the joint operation of these two principles. The Aishwarikás accept the two modes of the Swábhávikas and Prajnikas, or Pravritti and Nirvritti. But, though the Aishwarikás admit immaterial essence, and

* Prajna, from pra, an intensitive prefix, and Jnyána, wisdom, or perhaps, the simpler jna.
a God, they deny his providence and dominion; and though they believe Moksha to be an absorption into his essence, and vaguely appeal to him as the giver of the good things of Pravritti, they deem the connection of virtue and felicity in Pravritti to be independent of him, and the bliss of Nirvritti to be capable of being won only by their own efforts of Tapas and Dhyán, efforts which they too are confident will enlarge their faculties to infinity, will make them worthy of being worshipped as Buddhas on earth, and will raise them in heaven, to an equal and self-earned participation of the attributes and bliss of the Supreme Adi Buddha; for such is their idea of Moksha, or absorption into him, or, I should rather say, of union with him. All the Bauddhas agree in referring the use and value of mediation, (earthly and heavenly,) of the rights and duties of morality, and of the ceremonies of religion, solely to Pravritti, a state which they are all alike taught to contempt; and to seek, by their own efforts of abstraction, that infinite extension of their faculties, the accomplishment of which realizes, in their own persons, a godhead as complete as any of them, and the only one which some of them will acknowledge.

The Kármikas and Yátnikas derive their names, respectively, from Káarma, by which I understand conscious moral agency, and Yátna, which I interpret conscious intellectual agency. I believe these schools to be more recent than the others, and attribute their origin to an attempt to rectify that extravagant quietism, which, in the other schools, stripped the powers above, (whether considered as of material or immaterial natures,) of all personality, providence and dominion; and man, of all his active energies and duties. Assuming as just, the more general principles of their predecessors, they seem to have directed their chief attention to the phenomena of human nature, to have been struck with its free will, and the distinction between its cogitative and sensitive powers, and to have sought to prove, notwithstanding the necessary moral law of their first teachers, that the felicity of man must be secured, either by the proper culture of his moral sense, which was the

* Notwithstanding these sentiments, which are principally referable to the state
sentiment of the Kârmikas, or, by the just conduct of his understand-
ing, a conclusion which the Yâtnikas preferred: and this, I believe to be the ground of distinction between these two schools as compared with one another. As compared with their predeces-
sors, they held a closer affinity with the Aishwarikâs than with the other schools, inclined to admit the existence of immaterial entities, and endeavoured to correct the absolute impersonality and quiescence of the Causa Causarum, (whether material or immaterial,) by feigning Kârma or Yâtña, conscious moral, or con-
scious intellectual agency, to have been with causation from the beginning. The Kârmika texts often hold such a language as this, "Sâkya Sinha, who, according to some (the Svâbhâvikas), sprang from Svâbhâva, and, according to others, (the Aishwa-
rikâs,) from Adi Buddha, performed such and such Kâmas, and reaped such and such fruits from them."

In regard to the destiny of the soul, I can find no essential dif-
ference of opinion between the Bauddha and the Brahmanical sages. By all, metempsychosis and absorption are accepted. But absorb-
ed into what? into Brahme, say the Brahmans, into Sunyata, or Swâbhâva, or Prajna, or Adi Buddha, say the various sects of the Buddhists. And I should add, that by their doubtful Sunyata, I do not, in general, understand annihilation, nothingness, but ra-
ther that extreme and almost infinite attenuation which they as-
cribe to their material powers of forces in the state of Nirvritti, or of abstraction from all particular palpable forms, such as com-
pose the sensible world or Pravritti. By tracing the connexion of Sunyata with Akâsh, and, through it, with the more palpable elements, in the evolution and revolution of Pravritti, it may be plainly seen, that Sunyata is the ubi and the modus of primal entity in the last and highest state of abstraction from all particular modifi-
cations such as our senses and understanding are cogniz-
ant of.

How far, and in what exact sense, the followers of these diverse and opposite systems of speculation adopted the innumera-
state of Pravritti, the Kârmikas and Yâtnikas still held preferentially to the Tapas and Dhyân, the severe meditative asceticism, of the older schools.
ble deities of the existent Buddhist Pantheon, it must rest with
future research accurately to determine. For my part, I have
no stomach for the marshalling of such an immense, and for the
most part useless, host.* But some of the principal objects of
worship, with their relation and connexion, may be noticed. The
leading, and most fundamental association of these objects is,
that of the triad, or three persons named Buddha, Dharma, and
Sangha. In the transcendental and philosophic sense, Buddha
means mind, Dharma, matter, and Sangha, the concretion of the
two former in the sensible or phenomenal world. In a practical
and religious sense, Buddha means the mortal author of this re-
ligion (Śākya), Dharma, his law, and Sangha, the congregation of
the faithful.

The triad is liable to a theistic or atheistic interpretation in
the higher or philosophic sense, according as Buddha is preferred
or postponed to Dharma.

The next, and a very marked distinction of persons, is establish-
ed in this creed between those avowed mortals who win the rank
and powers of a Buddha by their own efforts, and the Buddhas of
a celestial nature and origin.

The former of these are seven† who are all characterised as “Má-
nushi” or human; the latter are five or six, and are contradistin-
guished as “Anupapádaká,” without parents, and also as “Dhy-
áni,” or divine.

This second appellation of the Celestial Buddhas is derived
from the Sungskrit name for that abstracted musing which has found
more or less favour with almost all the Asiatic religionists, but
which is peculiarly and pre-eminently characteristic of Buddhism.

The Dhyáni Buddhas, with Adi Buddha, their chief, are usually
and justly referred to the Theistic school.

The epithet Dhyáni, however, as applied to a class of Buddhas,
is obviously capable of an atheistic interpretation. It is neverthe-

* See Appendix B of Paper III. for a goodly array.
† Called Vipasyi, Sikhi, Viswabhu, Kakutsanda, Kanakamuni, Kasyapa, and Śākya Sinha.
less certain, that, in whatever sense other schools may admit this term, or the class of Divinities which it characterises, the Aishwariikás (beyond the bounds of Nepaul too) ascribe this creative Dhyán to a *self-existent, infinite, and omniscient* "Adi Buddha," one of whose attributes is the possession of five sorts of wisdom. Hence he is called "Pánchajñáná Atmiyá;" and it was by virtue of these five sorts of wisdom, that he, by five successive acts of Dhyán, created, from the beginning and for the duration of the present system of worlds, the "Pancha Buddha Dhyání."

The names and graduation of these Jñáns, Dhyánas, and Buddhas are thus:—

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Suvisuddha</td>
<td>The Dhyán of creati-</td>
<td>1. Vairochana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dharma Dhatu.</td>
<td>2. Akshobhya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adarshana.</td>
<td>generic name Loka-San-</td>
<td>3. Ratnasambhava.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prativí Kshana.</td>
<td>sarjana; and by five</td>
<td>4. Amitabha.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samta.</td>
<td>repetitions of this, the</td>
<td>5. Amoghasiddha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krityánushthán.</td>
<td>five Buddhas were cre-</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ated.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

It might be expected, that the supreme Buddha, having created these five celestials, would have devolved on them the active cares of the creation and government of the world. Not so, however; the genius of genuine Buddhism is eminently quiescent, and hence these most exalted Óeons are relieved from the degradation of action. Each of them receives, together with his existence, the virtues of that Jñán and Dhyán, to the exertion of which, by Adi Buddha, he owed his existence; and by a similar exertion of both, he again produces a Dhyáni Bodhisatwa. The Dhyáni Bodhisatwas are, one by one, in succession, the literary and active authors of creation. These creations are but perishable; and,

*Original of the Chinese O-mi-to, a word as utterly without meaning as their Bonze, of which latter the Sungskrit Bandya is the real and significant form. Amitábha is the immeasurably splendid. Bandya is a person entitled to reverence, and the collective or general appellation of all professed or ascetical followers of Buddha."
since the beginning of time, three of them have passed away. The present world is, therefore, the work of the fourth Bodhisatwa, who is now Lord of the ascendant, and his worshippers in Nepal are wont to invest him with all the powers of a supreme and sole God, the "Presens Divus" being, as usual, everything. When the existing system of worlds shall have run its course, the offices of creator and governor of the next will be assumed by the fifth Bodhisatwa.

The names and lineage of these Dhyâni Bodhisatwas are as follows:

**Buddhas.**
1. Vairochana.
2. Akshobhya.
3. Ratnasambhava.
4. Amitabha.
5. Amoghasiddha.

**Bodhisatwas.**
1. Samantabhadra.
2. Vajra Pani.
3. Retna Pani.
4. Padma Pani.
5. Viswa Pani.

The Dhyâni Buddhas and Bodhisatwas are considered to stand in the relation of fathers and sons to each other; and as there are Dhyâni Bodhisatwas, so are there Mánushi Bodhisatwas, who again bear to their respective Mánushi Buddhas, the connexion of pupil to teacher, of graduate to adept, of the aspirant after the wisdom of Buddhism to him who possesses that wisdom. I should add, that it is competent for a mortal man to become a Buddha, whilst he yet lingers in the flesh, albeit, the entire fulfilment of the rewards, if not of the prerogatives, of that transcendent character is assigned to a more unearthly state, viz. the state of Nirvrittı. In the above remarks I have inserted only the quinary series of Dhyâni Buddhas and Bodhisatwas. But there is, also, a series of six, the Buddha Vajra Satwa, and the Bodhisatwa Vajra Pani, being added to the series of five, to perfect the larger series. Further, as the five material elements, (1) the five senses, (2) and the five respective (outward) objects of sense, (3)

* Hence the Divine Lamas of Bhot; though the original idea has been perverted somewhat.

(1) Five Bhutas. (2) Five Indriyas. (3) Five Ayatanas.
are referred to the series of five Buddhas, so the intellect, (1) with apprehension in its kind, (2) and the express objects of such apprehension, or the moral laws of the universe, (3) are referred to Vajra Satwa Buddha. And it should not escape remark, that the above associations give somewhat of the dignity of useful knowledge to what must otherwise have been mere voces et præterea-nihil.

Nor is there any want of sufficing original authority for the series of six Celestial Buddhas, any more than for the series of five, though the latter may be, and perhaps is, the older. Wherefore I will take leave in this place to caution the reader against exclusive and confined opinions, founded upon any one enumeration he may find; as for instance, that of the Pancha Buddha Dhyāni. Any particular enumeration may have a definite object. But that does not imply that any other and larger enumeration, also with an express object, is inconsistent with the other series. The next material distinction of persons or divinities in this religion is into Exoteric or Purāṇika Buddhas and Esoteric or Tantrika. The first are those ordinarily so called and alone heretofore known to us. The second are more specially styled Yogambara and Digambara: they form the link of connexion between Jainism and Buddhism; and their statues or images are distinguished either by nudity or by a multiplicity of members: they are wholly unknown to Europeans. I have already adverted to the general character of the Tantrika ritual. It is a strange and unintelligible adjunct of Buddhism, though vouched by numerous scriptural authorities.

The images of the five Dhyāni Buddhas, which have been forwarded to the Society, occupy (and exclusively of all lower Buddhas) the base of every Mahāchaitiya,† or highest order of temples in Nepaul; and those images are invariably distinguished by the

(1) Manasa. (2) Dharana. (3) Dharma.

* E grege the Sarva Dharma Mahasanti, said by Mr. De Coros to be the bible of the ‘oldest Buddhist sect in Tibet.’ For authorities for Adi Buddha and the six Celestial Buddhas, see Quotations in Proof, 1637.

† Temple and monastery are the respective equivalents of Chaitya and of Vihar.
respective differences exhibited in the specimens transmitted, viz. the position of the hands; the nature of the supporters and the particular cognizance or mudra of each, which is placed between the supporters. Vairo Chana is seldom figured: the other four celestial Buddhas occupy shallow niches at the base of the hemisphere of the Chaitya, one opposite each cardinal point.

The Chaitya would appear to be the only exclusively Buddhist form of temple. It consists of a solid hemisphere, commonly surmounted by a graduated cone or tetragonal pyramid, the grades (of the cone or pyramid) being 13, typical of the 13 highest heavens of Buddhist cosmography. Between the hemisphere and the cone or pyramid is a short square basement for the latter, upon each of the four sides of which a pair of eyes is graved. The hemisphere is called the garbh; the basement, toran; and the cone or pyramid, chura mani. The Nepaulese are sufficiently familiar with Chaityas in the sense of tomb temples or mausolea or covers of relics (Dehgopa): but all their principal edifices of this nature are dedicated to the self-existent, first, supreme Buddha, and to his five celestial eons. Chaityas are frequently combined with small hollow temples, of which they form the superstructure: besides which many sacred edifices of Hindoo form are used by the Buddhists for enshrining their mortal Buddhas, as well as any of the numberless Gods and Goddesses of their ample Pantheon. The followers of Buddha are divided into regular and secular—a division exactly equivalent to the Grihastha Asram and Vairagi or Sunnyasi Asram of the Hindoos—but not equivalent to Laics and Clerics. The regulars are all monastic, as solitaries or as cœnobites, living in deserts or in monasteries (Vihar). Their collective name is Bandya (person entitled to reverence); and they are divided into four orders, called Bhikshu or mendicants, Sravaka or readers, Chailaka or the scantily robed, and Arhata or Arhanta or Adepts. They are all ascetics, and constitute the congregation of the faithful, or only real Buddhists; the seculars having always been regarded as little better than heretics, until political ambition began to qualify the high-toned enthusiasm of the primitive saints; and until very many having come in who could not all live in idleness,
these were allowed to follow the various business of the world, their instruction being provided for by the Monks, some of whom thus became invested with a partially clerical character which they exercised under the names of Achárya and Vajra Achárya or teacher and powerful teacher.

The following list of Buddhas completes all I have at present to offer on the subject. Two lists were prepared for me, some time ago, by an old Baudhá of Nepal, with whom I have long cultivated an acquaintance; but they were then laid aside for future examination and explanation when opportunity should serve.

I have accordingly had them compared, under my own eyes, with the scriptures whence they were extracted, and the comparison has suggested the following brief elucidatory remarks.

In the first place, the lesser list has proved to be superfluous, all its names being contained in the larger one. In the next place, the whole number of Buddhas in the greater catalogue has been found to amount to one hundred and thirty-one, and not to one hundred and forty-five, as stated elsewhere; the same name being repeated, in some instances, two and three times, by reason of this catalogue consisting of literal extracts from several independent works. And I have thought it better to leave it in statu quo, than to omit sundry names of one series because they occur in another. Such omission might have interfered with some established contiguity of time, place, or circumstances, in regard to the Buddhas, with which we are not acquainted; and with respect to the repetitions, they may be seen in the list, at a glance, by the references attached to them. There is one deviation from the catalogues as found in the works whence they are drawn, and it is this. After the names of the six great Mánushi Buddhas (No. 50 to 56) the name of Sákya Sinha, the seventh and last, is given in my list, though not found at that place in the Lalita Vistara: possibly because Sákya had not, when that work was compiled, become Nirván, and a Tathágata in the proper sense. His name, though occurring before, is, notwithstanding, reinserted in my catalogue in that place, in order to make up the complement of the now famous 'Sapta Buddha Mánushi,' or seven
mortal Buddhas. Before each distinct series of names, the work from which it is derived, is uniformly noted.

In the works cited, many more names, besides those given in the catalogue, are to be found, and from the whole of the books which have been procured and transmitted to Calcutta, hundreds of new names might be drawn.

In the *Samadhi Raja,* Sarvarthasiddha (Śākya, before he became a Buddha,) is asked by Maitreya and Vajra Pānī, how he acquired Samadhi Jñān. In reply, he begins by naming one hundred and twenty Tatthāgatas, who instructed him therein in his former births; and at the conclusion of his enumeration of Buddhas, Sarvartha Siddha observes, 'he has given so many names exempli gratia, but that his instructors were really no less in number than eighty erores!' There is a verse in the Aparimita Dharani (to be found in many other, and higher, authorities) purporting that "the Buddhas who have been, are, and will be, are more numerous than the grains of sand on the banks of the Ganges." Some of these Buddhas sprang, divinely not generatively, from other Buddhas; some from Akās, and some from the Lotos. These are evident nonentities, in regard to chronology and history. Yet it is often most difficult to distinguish them from their more substantial compeers, the origin of the latter having been frequently traced up to heaven by the vanity of superstition, while its grovelling genius no less frequently drew down the lineage of the former to earth. Again, among the Buddhas confessedly of mortal mould, there are three wide degrees, that of the Pratyéka Buddha, that of the Śrāvaka Buddha, and that of the Maha Yānīka Buddha. But the two former are regarded, even by their worshippers, as little more than mere men of superior sanctity; and as infinitely inferior to the Maha Yānika Buddhas, such as Śākya and his six great predecessors. We have, however, multitudes even of this highest degree; and besides, the title belongs, not only to the supreme Mánushi Tatthāgatas, but also to

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*I have this list before me extracted from the Samadhi Raja; but I do not think it worth while to add it to the lists already given."*
all the Dhyánis indiscriminately. Upon the whole, then, it seems peculiarly desirable, in the present state of our information, to keep a steady eye upon the authoritative assertion of the old scriptures, that Sákya is the seventh, and last of the Buddhas.

It is very worthy of remark, too, that, according to these scriptures, the duration of these seven Buddhas fills the whole extent of time; the two first being assigned to the Satya Yuga; the two second to the Tréta; the two third to the Dwápara; and Sákya and the Buddha yet to come, being the declared Lords of the Kali or present Yuga. It will hardly, I imagine, be considered an answer to this difficulty to observe, that the Chronology of the Buddhists supposes an eternal world and confounds time and eternity.

It has frequently occurred to me to doubt the historical existence of Sákya's six predecessors; for I have not failed to remark that, while the Buddhist writings make ample mention of Sákya's births, sayings, and doings, and while they ascribe to him, the effectual authorship of all the scriptural authorities of the sect, these writings are nearly silent with respect to the origin and actions of the six Buddhas who went before him: nor are any doctrines or dogmas referred to them in the authorities in question. To go farther into this matter would lead me beyond the bounds I have prescribed to myself on the present occasion. What I have said will suffice to shew why the catalogue of Buddhas has been so long withheld, and perhaps would justify the withholding of it still.

List of Tathágatas compiled from the Lalita Vistára, Kriya Sangraha and Rakshá Bhagavati.

Lalita Vistára, 1st Section.

1 Padmottara. 5 Mahákara.
2 Dharmaketu. 6 Rishideva.
3 Dípankara. 7 Sriteja.
4 Gunaketu. 8 Satyaketu.
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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Lalita Vistāra, 13th Section.</th>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Vajrasanhatā.</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Sarvābhībhū.</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Hemavarna.</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Atyuchchagāmī.</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Pravārasāgara.</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Pushpaketu.</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>Vararūpa.</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>Sulochana.</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>Rishigupta.</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>Jinavaktra.</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>Unnata.</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>Pushpita.</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>Urnātejā.</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>Pushkala.</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>Surasmi.</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>Mangala.</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>Sudarsana.</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>Mahasinhatejā.</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>Sthitabuddhidatta.</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>Vasantagandhi.</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>Satyadhermavipulakirtti.</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>Tīshya.</td>
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<td>31</td>
<td>Pushya.</td>
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<td>32</td>
<td>Lokasundara.</td>
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<td>33</td>
<td>Vistārnabheda.</td>
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<td>34</td>
<td>Ratnākirtti.</td>
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<td>35</td>
<td>Ugratejā.</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>Brahmatējā.</td>
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<td>37</td>
<td>Sughoṣha.</td>
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<td>38</td>
<td>Supushpa.</td>
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<td>39</td>
<td>Sumanojṅaghoṣha.</td>
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<td>40</td>
<td>Sucheshtārūpa.</td>
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<td>41</td>
<td>Prahasitanetra.</td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>Gunarāśi.</td>
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<td>43</td>
<td>Meghaswartr.</td>
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<td>44</td>
<td>Sundaravēna.</td>
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<td>45</td>
<td>Ayustēja.</td>
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<td>46</td>
<td>Salilagajagāmī.</td>
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<td>47</td>
<td>Lokābhilāshita.</td>
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<td>48</td>
<td>Jītasatru.</td>
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<td>49</td>
<td>Sampūjita.</td>
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<td>50</td>
<td>Vipasyī.</td>
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<td>51</td>
<td>Sikhi.</td>
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<td>52</td>
<td>Viswabhū.</td>
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<td>53</td>
<td>Kakutsanda.</td>
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<td>54</td>
<td>Kanakamuni.</td>
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<td>55</td>
<td>Kāsyapa.</td>
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<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Sākyamuni.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

57—1 Amoghadārśi. 67—11 Sarvābhībhū. (See No. 10.)
58—2 Vairochana. 68—12 Sāgara.
59—3 Dundubhiswara. 69—13 Padmāgarbha.
60—4 Dharmeswara. 70—14 Śālendraraja.
61—5 Samantadarsī. 71—15 Pushpita. (See No. 20.)
62—6 Mahārčhiskandhi. 72—16 Yāsottattva.
63—7 Dharmadhwaja. 73—17 Jñānameru.
64—8 Jnānaketu. 74—18 Satyadarsī.
65—9 Retnasikhi. 75—19 Nāgaḍatta.
66—10 Padmayonī.
76—20 Atyuchchagámí. (See No. 12.)
77—21 Maháviyúha.
78—22 Rasmúráj.
79—23 Sákyamuni. (See No. 56.)
80—24 Indraketu.
81—25 Súryánana.
82—26 Sumatí.
83—27 Nágábhíbhút.
84—28 Bhaishajyaráj.
85—29 Sihnaketu.

86—30 Gunágradhárt.
87—31 Kasyapa. (See No. 55.)
88—32 Archihketu.
89—33 Akshobhyaráj.
90—34 Tagarasikhit.
91—35 Sarvagandhi.
92—36 Mahápradípa.
93—37 Padmottara. (See No. 1.)
94—38 Dhermaketu. (See No. 2.)

Lalita Viótara, 20th Section.

95— 1 Vimalaprabhása.
96— 2 Retnárih.
97— 3 Pushpávalivanarárjiku-sumítá-bhijna.
98— 4 Chandrasurya jihmi-kaprabha.
99— 5 Gunarájaprabhása.

100— 6 Retnayashti.
101— 7 Meghakútábhí-garjita-swará.
102— 8 Retnachhatrá-bhyud-gatáva-bhása.
103— 9 Samantadersí.
104—10 Ganendra.

Kriyá Sangraha.

105— 1 Vairochana.* (See No. 58.)
106— 2 Mahoshnífsha.
107— 3 Sitátapatro-shnífsha.
108— 4 Tejórasi.
109— 5 Vijayoshnífsha.
110— 6 Vikiranoshnífsha.
111— 7 Udgatoshñosha.
112— 8 Mahodgatoshñosha.
113— 9 Vijayoshnífsha. (See No. 163.)
114—10 Akshobhya. (See No. 85.)
115—11 Vajarásatwa.
116—12 Vajrarája.
117—13 Vajrarága.
118—14 Vajarásádhu.
119—15 Retnasambhava.

* This name, although a repetition, is numbered; because the personage here indicated by the name Vairochana, is really Vairocana Avestar, Manjusri. The five celestial Buddhas of Nepal will be recognised in this list; but commenting were endless.
Soon after my arrival in Nepaul (now six years ago), I began to devise means of procuring some accurate information relative to Buddhism: for, though the regular investigation of such a subject was foreign to my pursuits, my respect for science in general led me cheerfully to avail myself of the opportunity afforded, by my residence in a Bauddha country, for collecting and transmitting to Calcutta the materials for such investigation. There were, however, serious obstacles in my way, arising out of the jealousy of the people in regard to any profanation of their sacred things by an European, and yet more, resulting
from the Chinese notions of policy adopted by this Government. I nevertheless persevered; and time, patience, and dexterous applications to the superior intelligence of the chief minister, at length rewarded my toils.

My first object was to ascertain the existence or otherwise of Bauddha Scriptures in Nepaul; and to this end I privately instituted inquiries in various directions, in the course of which the reputation for knowledge of an old Bauddha residing in the city of Pātan, drew one of my people to his abode. This old man assured me that Nepaul contained many large works relating to Buddhism; and of some of these he gave me a list. Subsequently, when better acquainted, he volunteered to procure me copies of them. His list gradually enlarged as his confidence increased; and at length, chiefly through his kindness, and his influence with his brethren in the Bauddha faith, I was enabled to procure and transmit to Calcutta a large collection of important Bauddha scriptures.

Meanwhile, as the Pātan Bauddha seemed very intelligent, and my curiosity was excited, I proposed to him (about four years ago) a set of questions, which I desired he would answer from his books. He did so; and these questions and answers form the text of the paper which I herewith forward. The reason why I have so long kept it to myself, is, that with the lapse of time my opportunities for obtaining information increased; and I at length persuaded the sensible minister of this state to permit my old friend to visit me. Having in his answers quoted sundry ślokas in proof of his statements; and many of the scriptures whence these were taken being now in my possession, I was tempted to try the truth of his quotations. Of that, my research gave me in general satisfactory proof. But the possession of the books led to questions respecting their relative age and authority; and, tried by this test, the Bauddha's quotations were not always so satisfactory. Thus one step led to another, until I conceived the idea of drawing up, with the aid of my old friend and his books, a sketch of the terminology and general disposition of the external parts of Buddhism, in the belief
that such a sketch, though but imperfectly executed, would be of some assistance to such of my countrymen as, with the books only before them, might be disposed to enter into a full and accurate investigation of this almost unknown subject.

When, however, I conceived that design, I little suspected where it would lead me; I began ere long to feel my want of languages, and (to confess the truth) of patience, and almost looked back with a sigh to the tolerably full and tolerably accurate account of Buddhism which I had obtained so long ago, and with little comparative labour, from my old friend's answers to my queries. I also saw certain notices of Buddhism coming from time to time before the world, ushered by the talents and industry of Klaproth and Remusat; and, so far as I had opportunity to learn what these notices contained, it seemed that the answers to my questions furnished much ampler and more accurate views of the subject than these distinguished men could extract from their limited sources of information.

These considerations have induced me to present, without further delay, the accompanying paper to Mr. Colebrooke, to whose sound knowledge if it be first submitted, there can be no danger of the publication being made without sufficient warrant for its usefulness. Whether or not I shall persevere in the undertaking before hinted at, I can hardly venture to say; but from the larger information latterly collected by me with a view to its completion, I have drawn some notes in correction or enlargement of the paper now transmitted, and have placed them on its margin.

I add to this letter a very considerable list of the Bauddha scriptures in general, extracted for me from those still existing in Nepaul.

Of so many of those scriptures as I have procured and sent to Calcutta, I have furnished to the Asiatic Society of Bengal a meagre explanatory catalogue. Of the rest I can obtain here only the names; and, as it would be useless to repeat what has been already said of some of these books, I forward the present list, without further observation on it, than, that its accuracy may be relied on, and that its contents are so far from being lo-
cal to Nepaul, that the largest portion of the books neither are, nor ever were procurable in this valley.

The *Bauddhas* were used, in old time, to insert at the end of any particular work, lists of the names of many of their sacred writings; and to this usage of theirs am I indebted for the large catalogue which I have obtained.

**LIST OF SANSKRIT BAUDDHA WORKS.**

1. *Puranas or Exoteric Works.*

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    Dhimitvadán.
    Sringabhé, &c.

50 Anúmán khanda.
51 Adikárná pradipa.
52 Shádhana yúga Tippáni.
53 Manjú Sri Párañiká.
54 Vajra Satwa Párañiká.
55 Lókeswara Párañiká.
56 Chhándó Mrittúlata.
57 Subarnavarnavadán.
58 Tara Satanasa.
59 Buddha Siksha Sammúchaya.
60 Pancha Raksha.
61 Buddhokta Sansáramaya.
62 Laksha Chaitya Vratanúsansa.
63 Prati Moksha Sútra.
64 Vajra Súchi.
65 Búddha Charita Kavya.
66 Gautama Kavya.
67 Púnya Pratsáha Kavya.
68 Lokeswura Sataka Kavya.
69 Sragadharma Kavya.
70 Bidagdha Mukhamándána Kavya.

2. Tantras or Esoteric Works.

71 Paramódyá Maha yúga Tantra.
72 Paramártha Séva Tantra.
73 Pindi Krama Tantra.
74 Sumpútodbhava Tantra.
75 Hevajra Tantra.
76 Búddha Kapála Tantra.
77 Sambara Tantra, or Sambaródya.
78 Barahi Tantra, or Barahi Kalpa.
79 Yogambara Tantra.
80 Dākini Jála Tantra.
81 Súkla Yamári Tantra.
82 Krishna Yamári Tantra.
83 Pita Yamári Tantra.
84 Rakta Yamári Tantra.
85 Syama Yamári Tantra.
86 Kriya Sangraha Tantra.
87 Kriya Kand Tantra.
88 Kriya Sagara Tantra.
89 Kriya Kalpa Druma Tantra.
90 Kriyarnaba Tantra.
91 Abhidhánottara Tantra.
92 Kriya Samúchya Tantra.
93 Sádhana Mála Tantra.
94 Sádhana Samúchya Tantra.
95 Sádhana Sangraha Tantra.
96 Sádhana Ratna Tantra.
97 Sádhana Pariksha Tantra.
98 Sádhana Kalpalata Tantra.
99 Tatwá Jnana Siddhi Tantra.
100 Jnana Siddhi Tantra.
101 Guhya Siddhi Tantra.
102 Udiyán Tantra.
103 Nagárjuna Tantra.
104 Yogpithá Tantra.
105 Pithávátar Tantra.
106 Kalavír Tantra, or Chanda Rókhuna.
107 Maha Kala Tantra.
108 Vajravír Tantra.
109 Vajra Satwa Tantra.
110 Mariehi Tantra.
111 Tara Tantra.
112 Vajradhatú Tantra.
113 Vimalaprabha Tantra.
114 Manikarnika Tantra.
115 Trilókyavijaya Tantra.
116 Sampūta Tantra.
117 Mārma Kalika Tantra.
118 Kūrū Kūla Tantra.
119 Bhūta Dāmara Tantra.
120 Kāla Chakra Tantra.
121 Yogini Tantra.
122 Yogini Sānchāra Tantra.
123 Yogini Jála Tantra.
124 Yogambarapith Tantra.
125 Uddamara Tantra.
126 Basundhara Sādhan Tantra.
127 Nairatma Tantra.
128 Dākarnava Tantra.
129 Kriya Sāra Tantra.
130 Yamantaka Tantra.
131 Manju Śrī Kalpa Tantra.
132 Tantra Samúchya Tantra.
133 Kriya Vatansa Tantra.
134 Tantra Sloka Sangraha.
135 Hayagriva Tantra.
136 Kangkirmā Tantra.
137 Namsangitī Vyakhya Tantra.
138 Amrita Karnika nāma Sangitī Tika.
139 Gudhopada nāma Sangitī Tika.
140 Maya jāla Tantra.
141 Jnānodaya Tantra.
142 Basanta Tilaka Tantra.
143 Nispanna Yogambara Tantra.

144 Dharani Sangraha. {Puncha Buddha Dharani—Pratingira Dharani. Saptabara Dhara-ni, with hundreds more, the work being a collection of them all.

N. B. Names on the right are portions of the work, written opposite them on the left; priorly they had been treated as separate works.

The whole of the above are classed under the two important heads of Exoteric and Esoteric, the subdivisions not being not-
ed. This list has been corrected since the paper to which it was originally attached was written.

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*Extract of a letter from Brian Houghton Hodgson, Esq. to Dr. Nathaniel Wallich.*

Nepaul, 17th October, 1827.

In a clever paper in the first and second numbers of the Calcutta Quarterly Oriental Magazine, (Review of the Bombay Literary Transactions), it is said that one of the distinctions between Jainism and Buddhism is, that the Jaina statues are all naked, and the Bauddha statues all clothed. The pictures now sent you are proofs that this notion is false. You see too that my Bauddha images are called Digambara, a name heretofore fancied to be peculiar to Jainism; this is another error, and were this the place for dissertation, I could bring forward many other presumptions in favour of the notion that the Jainas are sectarian Bauddhas, who dissented from their Bauddha brethren merely in carrying to a gross excess, and in promulgating publicly, certain dangerous dogmas, which the more prudent Buddhists chose to keep veiled from all but the initiated. The Nepaul Buddhists are very jealous of any intrusion into their esoteric dogmas and symbols; so much so, that though I have been for seven years enquiring after these things, my old Vajra Achārya friend only recently gave me a peep at the esoteric dogmas; and my Chitrakár, (Bauddha though he be,) has only within these last twelve months brought me some esoteric pictures: nor probably should I have got at these secret things at all, if I had not been able to examine the Bauddha books, in some small degree, myself; and if a Bhőtiya had not put into my hands a picture containing one of these naked saints. With these decisive means of questioning in my power, I at last got my Bauddha assistants to draw up the veil of the sanctuary, to bring me copies of the naked saints, and to tell me a little of the naked doctrines.
Extract of a letter from Brian Houghton Hodgson, Esq. to Dr. Nathaniel Wallich.

Nepaul, 1st November, 1827.

I cannot just now go into a description of the significance of all the details of the sculptures which I have sent. Suffice it to say, that every part of each image is significant; and that the differences between the five are marked, first, by the different position of the hands (which is called the mudra); secondly, by the variety of the supporters; thirdly, by the variety of the cognizances placed between the supporters; and fourthly (where painting and colours are used), by difference of colour. Vaiśrāvana's appropriate colour is white; Aksobhya's, blue; Ratna-Sambhava's, yellow, or golden; Amitābha's red; and Amogha-Siddha's, green.

Extract of a letter from Brian Houghton Hodgson, Esq. to Henry Thomas Colebrooke, Esq. Dir. R. A. S.

I beg to present you with the accompanying sketch of Buddhism. There are a few matters connected with it, which it may be advisable to state to you; and in the first rank stands the authority upon which I have assigned the meaning of intellectual essence to the word Buddha, and that of material essence to the word Dharma. The Bauddhas define the words thus: 'Bodhanatmakā iti Buddha; Dhāranatmakā iti Dharma.' About the former of these definitions there can be no difficulty; there may concerning the latter. To the word Dārana, or holding, containing, sustaining (from the root dhri), I have assigned a material sense; first, because it is opposed to bodhana; secondly, because the goddess Dharma, the pravrittiha personification of this principle, is often styled, in the most authentic books, 'Prakṛitēsvari,' the material goddess, or goddess of matter; and thirdly, because this goddess is, (under the names Dharma, Prajña, Arya Tara, &c.) in very many passages of old Bauddha works, described as the material cause of all things; conformably, indeed, with that bias towards materialism, which our heretofore scanty knowledge of Buddhism has led us to assign to the Saugata faith.
Sanga, the third member of the Triad, belongs not to the exalted state of nirvāṇa, in which no sect of Baudhāyas admits more than two principles of all things, or matter and mind, Buddha and Dharma. Sanga is defined ‘Samudayi atmakā iti Sangya,’ the multitudinous essence; because multitude is held to be as strong a characteristic of pravṛtti, or the palpable world, as unity is of the world of nirvāṇa, or abstraction.

In note 31, I have distinctly rejected the fifth order of Bandyas, or Vajra Achāryas, in opposition to my old Baudhā friend’s statement in the text of the Sketch. There can be no doubt that my friend is mistaken: for in many high authorities, the four original and true orders of Bandyas are called by the collective name of the ‘Chatuṛ Varna,’ and are therein described without mention of the Vajra Achāryas. It may serve to explain my friend’s statement, to tell you that he is himself a Vajra Achārya; and that as the genuine monachism of Buddhism has long since passed away in Nepal, sundry local books have been composed here by Vajra Achāryas, in which they have made their own modern order co-equal with the four ancient orders; and my old friend would hold these modern Nepal books sufficient warrant for the rank ascribed to his own class. I have lately spoken to him on this subject, and he has confessed that there is no old authority for his fifth order of Bandyas. In my note I have endeavoured carefully to separate Buddhism as it is (in Nepal) and Buddhism as it ought to be, quoad this point of classification. If you look into Kirkpatrick’s and Buchanan’s works on Nepal, you will see how they have been puzzled with the difference of things as they are from what they ought to be, in those casual and erroneous hints which they have afforded on the subject of Buddhism.

In note 15, I have stated that the Kārmikas and Vātnakas entertained tolerably just views on the grand subject of free-will and necessity; and I believe I am therein essentially correct: for how otherwise are we to understand their confession of faith, ‘the actions of a man’s prior births are his destiny?’ Exclude the metempsychosis, which is the vehicle of the sense of this passage, and we have our old adage, ‘Conduct is fate’: a law of freedom surely.
Still, were I cross-examined, I might be forced to confess, that the ideas which the Kármikas and Yátnakas entertain of free-will, seem to resemble rather the qualifications of our Collins and Edwards, than the full and absolute freedom of Clarke and the best European philosophers.

The Kármikas and Yátnakas seem to have been impressed with the fact of man's free-will, but to have been perplexed in reconciling such a notion with the general spirit and tendency of the old Svabhávica philosophy. But in the result, the Kármikas and Yátnakas seem to have adhered to free-will, though perhaps in the qualified sense above mentioned.

SKETCH OF BUDDHISM.

Question I.

How and when was the world created?

Answer.

According to the Sámbhú Purána, in the beginning all was void (śunya). The first light that was manifest was the word Aum; and from this Aum the alphabet was produced—called Mahá Varna, the letters of which are the seeds of the universe. (See note 1.) In the Guna Káranda Vyúha it is written, when nothing else was, Sambhu was; that is the self-existent (Swayambhu); and as he was before all, he is also called A’di-Buddha. He wished from one to become many, which desire is denominat-ed Prajnya. Buddha and Prajnya united became Prajnya Upa-ya, as Siva Sakti, or Brahma Maya. (See note 2.) In the instant of conceiving this desire, five forms or beings were produced, called the five Buddhas (see note 3), whose names are as follows: Vairochana, Akshobhya, Ratna-Sambhava, Amitabha, Amogha-Siddha. Each of these Buddhas, again, produced from himself, by means of Dhyán, another being called his Bódhí-Sat-wa, or son. Vairochana produced Samant-Bhadra; Akshobhya, Vajra-Pani; Ratna-Sambhava, Ratna-Pani; Amitabha, Padma-Pani; and Amogha-Siddha, Viswa-Pani.
Of these five Bódhi-Satwas, four are engrossed with the worship of Sambhu (Svayambhu), and nothing more is known of them than their names; the fifth, Padma-Pani, was engaged, by Sambhu's command, in creation (see note 4); and having, by the efficacy of Sambhu's Dhyān, assumed the virtues of the three Gunas, he created Brahma, Vishnu, and Mahesa, and delegated to them respectively, creation, preservation, and destruction. Accordingly, by Padma-Pani's commands, Brahma set about creating all things; and the Chatúr-yóni (or oviparous, viviparous, &c.*) came into existence by Brahma. The creation of Brahma, Vishnu, and Mahesa by Padma-Pani, is confirmed by the sloca (see note 5), the meaning of which is, Kamali (Padma-Pani) produced Bhāma for creating, Vishnu for preserving, and Mahesa for destroying. And the creation of Brahma is six-sorted, viz. Déva, Daitya, Mánusha, &c.; and, for the Dévas, Brahma made heaven; and for the Daityas, Pátála; and the four remaining kinds he placed between these two regions and upon the earth.

With respect to the mansions (Bhuvanas) of the universe, it is related, that the highest is called Agnistha Bhuvana; and this is the abode of A'Di-Buddha. And below it, according to some accounts, there are ten; and according to others, thirteen Bhuvanas (see note 6); named, Pramóditá, Vimalá, Prabhākari, Archishmati, Sudúrjayá, Abhimukhi, Dúrangamá, Achalá, Sádhúmati, Dharma-mégha (x), Samant-prabhá, Nirúpamá, Jñánavatí (xiii). These thirteen Bhuvanas are the work of A'Di-Buddha; they are the Bódhi-Satva Bhuvanas; and whoever is a faithful follower of Buddha will be translated to one of these mansions after death.

Below the thirteen Bódhi-Satva Bhuvanas are eighteen Bhuvanas, called collectively Rúpya Vachara. These are subject to Brahma, and are named individually: Brahma-káyiká, Brahma-púróhitá, Brahma-prashádyá, Mahá Brahmaná, Paritábhá, Apramánábhá, Abhásvará, Parita-subhá, Subhá-kishná, Anabhraká, Punya-prasavá, Vrihat-phulá, Arangi-satvá, Avariá, Apáyá, Sudrishá, Sudarsaná, and Sumukhá. Pious worshippers of Brahma shall go to one of these eighteen Bhuvanas after death.

* By et cetera always understand more Brahmanorum.
And below the eighteen mansions of BRAHMA, are six others subject to VISHNU, called collectively Káma-Váchará, and separately as follows: Chatúr-Mahá-rája-Káyiká, Trayestrinsá, Tushita, Yamá, Nirmánavati, Paranirmitá-Vásavarti. And whosoever worships VISHNU with pure heart shall go to one of these.

And below the six Bhuvanas of VISHNU are the three Bhuvanas of MAHA-DEVA, called generally A'rúpya-Váchará, and particularly as follows: Abhógá-Nítya-yatnópagá, Vijnýa-yatnópagá, Akinchanya-yatnópagá, and these are the heavens designed for pious Siva-Márgis. Below the mansions enumerated, are Indra Bhuvana, Yama Bhuvana, Súrya Bhuvana, and Chandra Bhuvana; together with the mansions of the fixed stars, of the planets, and various others which occupy the space down to the Agni Bhuvana, also called Agni-kúnd. And below Agni-kúnd is Vayu-kúnd; and below Vayu-kúnd is Prithví, or the earth; and on the earth are seven Dvípas, Jambu Dvípa, &c.; and seven Ságaras or seas, and eight Parvatas or mountains (see note 7), Suméru Parvata, &c. And below Prithví is Jala-kúnd, or the world of waters; and the earth is on the waters as a boat. And below the Jala-kúnd are seven Pátálas, as Dharani, &c.: six of them are the abodes of the Daityas; and the seventh is Naraka, consisting of eight separate abodes: and these eight compose the hell of sinners: and from the eighteen Bhuvanas of BRAHMA down to the eight chambers of Naraka, all is the work of MANJUSRI. MANJUSRI is by the Buddhás esteemed the great architect, who constructs the mansions of the world by A'dí-Buddha's command, as PADMAPANI, by his command, creates all animate things.

Thus MANJUSRI (see note 8) is the VISVA-HABMA of the Baudhás; and is also the author of the sixty-four Vidyas.

Question II.

What was the origin of mankind?

Answer.

It is written in the narrative portion of our Tantras, that originally the earth was uninhabited. In those times the inhabitants of Abhásward Bhuvana (which is one of the Bhuvanas of BRAHMA)
used frequently to visit the earth, and thence speedily to return to Abhásvará. It happened at length, that, when a few of these beings, who, though half males and half females, had never yet, from the purity of their minds, conceived the sexual desire, or even noticed their distinction of sex, came, as usual, to the earth, A’di-Buddha suddenly created in them so violent a longing to eat, that they ate some of the earth, which had the taste of almonds, and by eating it they lost their power of flying back to their Bhuvana, and so they remained on the earth. They were now constrained to eat the fruits of the earth for sustenance; and from eating these fruits they conceived the sexual desire, and began to associate together: and from that time, and in that manner, the origin of mankind commenced from the union of the sexes. (See note 9.)

When the beings above-mentioned came last from Abhásvará Maha Samvat was their leader, and he was the first king of the whole earth.

In another Tantra it is written, that A’di-Buddha is the immediate creator of all things in heaven and earth.

With respect to time we conceive the Satya-yuga to be the beginning of time, and the Kali-yuga the end of it: and the duration of the four yugas, the particulars of which are found in the Brahmanical scriptures, have no place in our’s: in which it is merely written that there are four yugas; and that in the first, men lived 80,000 years; in the second, 10,000; in the third 1,000; and the fourth is divided into four periods; in the first of which, men will live 100 years; in the second, fifty years; in the third, twenty-five years; and in the fourth, when the close of the Kali-yuga is approaching, seven years only; and their stature will be only the height of the thumb; and then all things will be destroyed, and A’di-Buddha alone remain: and this period of four yugas is a Pralaya. A’di-Buddha will then again create the four yugas, and all things else to live in their duration, which when completed, all things will be again destroyed, and thus there will be seventy-one pralayas, or completions of the four yugas, when Maha Pralaya will arrive. How many revolutions of the four yugas
(i. e. how many pralayas) have now passed, and how many remain to revolve, is nowhere written.

**Question III.**

What is matter, and what spirit?

**Answer.**

Body (see note 10), which is called *Sarīra* and *Déha*, was produced from the five elements; and soul, which is called *prāna* and *jīva*, is a particle of the essence of *A'di-Buddha*. Body, as created out of the elements, perisheth: soul, as a particle of the divine spirit, perisheth not; body is subject to changes—to be fat and lean, &c.; soul is unchangeable. Body is different in all animals; soul is alike in all, whether in man or any other creature. But men have, besides *prāna*, the faculty of speech, which other animals have not; according to the sloca, of which the meaning is this: "*Déha* is derived from the five *Bhūtas*, and *Jīva* from the *Angas* of *Swayambhū*." (See note 11.)

**Question IV.**

Is matter an independent existence, or derived from God?

**Answer.**

Body, according to some, depends upon the inhaling and exhalation of the *Prāna-Vāyu*; and this inhalation and exhalation of the breath is by virtue of the soul (*prāna*), which virtue, according to some, is derived from God, and according to others (see note 12), is inherent in itself: there is much diversity of opinion on this subject. Some of the *Buddha-mārgis* contend that *déha* (the body) is *Swabhávaka*; i. e. from the copulation of males and females, new bodies proceed; and they ask who makes the eyes, the flesh, the limbs, &c. of the foetus in the mother's womb? *Swabháva*! And the thorns of the desert, who points them? *Swabháva*! And the timidity of the deer kind, and the fury of the ravenous beasts, whence are they? from *Swabháva*!

And this is a specimen of their reasoning and proofs, according to a sloca of the *Buddha-Charita-Kavya*. (See note 13.) Some again say, that *déha* and *sansāra* are *Aishwarika* (see note 14), i. e.
produced by ISWARA, or A'DI-BUDDHA, according to another sloca.

Some again call the world and the human body Kārmika, i. e. that Karma is the cause of this existence of déha and sansára; and they liken the first déha to a field (kshétra), and works, to a seed. And they relate, that the first body which man received was created solely by A'DI-BUDDHA; and at that time works affected it not: but when man put off his first body, the next body which he received was subject to Karma, or the works of the first body (see note 15); and so was the next, and all future ones, until he attained to Múkti and Móksha: and therefore they say, that whoever would be free from transmigration must pay his devotions to BUDDHA, and consecrate all his worldly goods to BUDDHA, nor ever after suffer such things to excite his desires. And, in the Buddha-Charita-Kavya it is written, that with respect to these points, SAKYA expressed the following opinion: "Some persons say that Sánsára is Swabhávaka, some that it is Kārmiká, and some that it is Ātisvariká and Ātmaka; for myself, I can tell you nothing of these matters. Do you address your meditation to BUDDHA; and when you have attained Bódhíjyáná, you will know the truth yourselves."

Question V.

What are the attributes of God?

Answer.

His distinctive attributes are many; one of which is, that he is Panchjñánatmaka (see note 16), or, in his essence are five sorts of jñyána, possessed by him alone, and which are as follows: first, Suvissuddha-Dharma-Dhátúja; second, Adarsanája; third, Pratyavékshanája; fourth, Sántája; fifth, Anúshthánaja. The first created beings, VAIROCHANA, &c. were in number five, owing to these five jñyánas; and in each of these five Buddhas is one of the jñyánas. Another of A'DI-BUDDHA'S attributes is the faculty of individualizing, and multiplying himself, and again individualizing himself at pleasure: another is, possessing the qualities of passion and clemency.
Question VI.

Is the pleasure of God derived from action or repose?

Answer.

There are two modes of considering this subject: first, according to nirvrtti; and, secondly, according to pravrtti.

Nirvrtti (see note 17) is this: to know the world to be a mere semblance, unreal, and an illusion; and to know God to be one: and Pravrtti is the opposite of this sublime science and is the practice and notions of ordinary men. Therefore, according to nirvrtti, A'di-Buddha is the author and creator of all things, without whom nothing can be done; whose care sustains the world and its inhabitants; and the moment he averts his face from them they became annihilated, and nothing remains but himself. But some persons, who profess nirvrtti, contend that the world with all it containeth is distinct from A'di-Buddha: yet the wise know this to be an error. (See note 18.)

A'di-Buddha, though he comprehends all living things, is yet one. He is the soul, and they are but the limbs and outward members, of this monad. Such is nirvrtti, which, being deeply studied, is found to be unity; but pravrtti, which is multiplicity, may be distinguished in all things. And in this latter view of pravrtti, A'di-Buddha may be considered a king, who gives orders; and the five Buddhas, and other divinities of heaven, his ministers, who execute his orders; and we, poor mortals, his subjects, servants, and slaves. In this way the business of the world is distributed among the deities, each having his proper functions; and A'di-Buddha has no concern with it. Thus the five Buddhas give mukti (see note 19) and moksha to good men: Brahma, by the orders of Padma-Pani, performs the part of creator; Vishnu, by the same orders, cherishes all beings; and Mahadeva, by the same orders, destroys; Yama takes cognizance of sins, and punishes sinners; Indra and Varuna give rain; and the sun and moon fructify the earth with their rays; and so of the rest.
Question VII.

Who is BUDDHA? Is he God, or the creator, or a prophet or saint; born of heaven, or of a woman?

Answer.

Buddha means, in Sanskrit, the wise; also, that which is known by wisdom; and it is one of the names which we give to God, whom we also call A'(di-Buddha, because he was before all, and is not created, but is the creator: and the Pancha Buddha were created by him, and are in the heavens. Sakya, and the rest of the seven human Buddhas are earth-born or human. These latter, by the worship of Buddha, arrived at the highest eminence, and attained Nirvana Pad (i.e. were absorbed into A' (di-Buddha). (See note 20.) We therefore call them all Buddhas.

Question VIII.

What is the reason for Buddha being represented with curled locks?

Answer.

A' di-Buddha was never seen. He is merely light. (See note 21.) But in the pictures of Vairochana, and the other Buddhas, we have the curled hair; and since in the limbs and organs we discriminate thirty-two (lacshanas) points of beauty, such as expansion of forehead, blackness of the eyes, roundness of the head, elevation of the nose, and archedness of the eyebrows; so also the having curled locks is one of the points of beauty and there is no other reason for Buddha's being represented with curled locks. (See note 22.)

Question IX.

What are the names of the great Buddha? Does the Newari language admit the word Buddha, or any substitute for it? and what is the Bhutiya name for Buddha?

Answer.

The names of A'di-Buddha are innumerable: Sarvajnya, Sugata, Buddha, Dharma-Raja, Tathagata, Bhagavan.
SAMANT-BHADRA, MARAJITA, LOKAJITA, JINA, ANADINIDHANA, A'DI-BUDDHA, NIRANDHAKA, JNYANAIKACHAKSHU, AMALA, JNYANA-MURTI, VAChESWARA, MAHA-VADI, VADIRATA, VADI-PUNGAVA, VADISINHA, and PARAJATA. VAIROCHANA, and the other five Buddhas, have also many names. Some of VAIROCHANA's are as follows: MAHA-DIPTI, JNYANA, JYOTISH, JAGAT-PRA-VRITTI, MAHATEJAS, &c.; and so of the other four. PADMA-PANI also has many names, as PADMA-PANI, KAMALI, PADMA-HASTA, PADMA-KARA, KAMALA-HASTA, KAMALAKARA, KAMAL PANI, ARYAVALOKITESWARA, ARYAVALOKESWAR, AVLOKITESWAR, and LOKA-NATHA. (See note 23.) Many of the above names are intercommunicable between the several persons to whom they are here appropriated. BUDDHA is a Sanscrit word, not Néwrí: the Bhdtiya names I do not know; but I have heard they call SAKYA SINHA, SUNGI THUBA: Sungi meaning the deity, and Thuba his Alaya or Vihár.

Question X.

In the opinion of the Banras, did God ever make a descent on earth? if so, how often; and what is the Sanscrit and Néwrí name of each Avatára?

Answer.

According to the scriptures of the Buddhamárgts, neither A'DI-BUDDHA nor any of the Pancha Buddha Dhyání (see note 24), ever made a descent; that is to say, they were never conceived in mortal womb; nor had they father or mother; but certain persons of mortal mould have by degrees attained to such excellence of nature and such Bódhijmyána, as to have been gifted with divine wisdom, and to have taught the Bódhi-charya and Buddhamárga, and these were seven, named: VIPASYA, SIKHI, VISWA-BHU, KARKUTCHAND, KANAKAMUNI, KASYAPA, SAKYA SINHA.

In the Satya-yuga were three: VIPASYA, who was born in Vindúmati Nagar, in the house of VINDUMAN RAJA; SIKHI, in U'rna Désa; and VISVABHÚ, in Anúpamá Désa, in the house of a Kshatriya: in the Trétáyuga, two persons became Buddhas; one
KARKUTCHAND, in Kshémávati Nagar, in the house of a Brahman; the other KANAKA MUNI, in Súbhávati Nagar, in the house of a Brahman: and in the Dwapar-yuga, one person named KASYAPA, in Váránasi Nagar, in the house of a Brahman: and in the Kali-yuga, SAKYA, then called SARVARTHÁ SIDDHA (see note 25), in the house of SUDHODANA RAJA, a Sákyavansi, in the city of Kapálvastú, which is near Gangáságar, became Buddhas. Besides these seven, there are many illustrious persons; but none equal to these. The particular history of these seven, and of other Buddhas, is written in the Lalita Vistara. (See note 25.)

**Question XI.**

How many Avatáras of Buddhas have there been, according to the Lamas?

**Answer.**

They agree with us in the worship of the seven Buddhas, the difference in our notions being extremely small; but the Lamas go further than this, and contend that themselves are Avatáras. I have heard from my father, that, in his time, there were five Lamas esteemed divine: the names of three of them I have forgotten, but the remaining two are called SHAMURPA and KARMAPA.

**Question XII.**

Do the Lamas worship the Avatáras recognized by the Néwárs?

**Answer.**

The Lamas are orthodox Buddhámárgis, and even carry their orthodoxy to a greater extent than we do. Insomuch, that it is said, that SANKARA ACHARYA, Síva-Márgi, having destroyed the worship of BUDDHA and the scriptures containing its doctrine in Hindusthan, came to Nepal, where also he effected much mischief; and then proceeded to Bhóte. There he had a conference with the grand Lama. The Lama, who never bathes, and after natural evacuations does not use topical ablution, disgusted him to
that degree, that he commenced reviling the Lama. The Lama replied, "I keep my inside pure, although my outside be impure; while you carefully purify yourself without, but are filthy within:" and at the same time he drew out his whole entrails, and shewed them to Sankara; and then replaced them again. He then demanded an answer of Sankara. Sankara, by virtue of his yōga, ascended into the heavens; the Lama perceiving the shadow of Sankara's body on the ground, fixed a knife in the place of the shadow; Sankara directly fell upon the knife, which pierced his throat and killed him instantly. Such is the legend or tale that prevails, and thus we account for the fact; the Buddhhamārgṇi practice of Bhoṭe is purer, and its scriptures more numerous, than ours.

Question XIII.

What is the name of your sacred writings, and who is their author?

Answer.

We have nine Purāṇas, called "the nine Dharmas." (See note 26.) A Purāṇa is a narrative or historical work, containing a description of the rites and ceremonies of Buddhism, and the lives of our chief Tathāgatas. The first Dharma is called Prajna Paramita, and contains 8,000 slocas. This is a Nyāya Sāstra, or work of a scientific character, capable of being understood only by men of science; the second is named Ganda Vyūha, of 12,000 slocas, which contains the history of Sudhana Kumarā, who made sixty-four persons his gurus, from whom he acquired Bōdhijnāna; the third, is the Samādhi Rāja, of 3,000 slocas, in which the nature and value of japa and tapas are explained; the fourth is the Lāncavatār, of 3,000 slocas, in which is written how Rāvana, lord of Lāncā, having gone to Malayagiri mountain, and there heard the history of the Buddhas from Sakya Sinha, obtained Bōddhijnāna. The fifth, which is called Tathāgata Guhyā, is not to be found in Nepaul; the sixth, is the Sat Dharma Pundarikā, which contains an account of the method of building a
chaitya or Buddha-mandal, and the mode and fruits of worshipping it. (Chaitya* is the exclusive name of a temple dedicated to A'di-Buddha or to the Pancha Dhyāni Buddha, and whatever temple is erected to Sakya, or other Mānushi Buddhas, is called vihār;) the seventh, is the Lalita Vistāra, of 7,000 slocas, which contains the history of the several incarnations of Sakya Sinha Bhagavan, and an account of his perfections in virtue and knowledge, with some notices of other Buddhas. The eighth, is the Suvarna Prabhā, containing, in 1,500 slocas, an account of Saraswati, Lākshmi and Pṛthivi; how they lauded Sakya Sinha Bhagavan; and how he, in return, gave each of them what she desired. The ninth, is the Daśa Bhūmēswara, of 2,000 slocas, containing an account of the ten Bhuvanas of Buddha. All these Purānas we received from Sakya Sinha, and esteem them our primitive scriptures, because before the time of Sakya our religion was not reduced to writing, but retained in memory; the disadvantages of which latter method being evident to Sakya, he secured our institutes by writing them. Besides these Purānas, we received Tantras and Dhūranis from Sakya Sinha. Tantra is the name of those books in which Mantras and Yantras are written, explanatory of both of which we have very many works. Three of them are famous: first, Māyā Jāl, of 16,000 slocas; second, Kala Chakra, of 6,000; third, Sambhu Udaya, of 1,000. The Dhūranis were extracted from the Tantras, and are similar in nature to the Gūhya, or mysterious rites, of the Siva-Mārgis. A Dhūrani is never less than eight slocas, or more than five hundred; in the beginning and middle of which are written the “Viśa Mantra,” and at the end, the “Thūl Stotra,” or the Mahātmya, i. e. what desire may be accomplished or what business achieved by the perusal of that Dhūrani; such, for example, as obtaining children—advantage over an enemy—rain—or merely the approbation of Buddha. There are probably a thousand Dhūranis.

* Besides these chaityas and the Vihāras, the Nepalese have common temples, dedicated equally to the Diīminores of the Bauddhas, and to all the deities of the Saivas.
Question XIV.

What is the cause of good and evil?

Answer.

When PADMA-PANI, having become Tri-gun-Atmaka, that is, having assumed the form of SATYA-GUN, RAJA-GUN, and TAMAGUN, created BRAHMA, VISHNU, and MAHESA; then from SATYA-GUN, arose spontaneously (Swabhāvaka), punya or virtue, and from TAMAGUN, pāpa or evil, and from RAJA-GUN, the mean of the two, which is neither all good nor all evil: for these three gunas are of such a quality that good acts, mixed acts, and bad acts, necessarily flow from them. Each of these karmas or classes of actions is divided into ten species, so that pāpa is of ten kinds; first (see note 27) murder; second, robbery; third, adultery, which are called kāyaka or bodily, i.e. derived from Kāya; fourth, lying; fifth, secret slander; sixth, reviling; seventh, reporting such words between two persons as excite them to quarrels, and these four pāpas are called Vāchaka, i.e. derived from speech; eighth, coveting another's goods; ninth, malice, and tenth, disbelief of the scriptures and immorality; and these three are called mānasi, i.e. derived from manas (the mind). The ten actions opposite to these are good actions: and the ten actions, composed, half and half, of these two sorts, are mixed actions.

Question XV.

What is the motive of your good acts—the love of God—the fear of God—or the desiring of prospering in the world?

Answer.

The primary motive for doing well, and worshipping BUDDHA, according to the scriptures, is the hope of obtaining Mukti and Moksha, becoming Nirvāna, and being freed from transmigrations: these exalted blessings cannot be had without the love of God; therefore they, who make themselves accepted by God, are the true saints, and are rarely found; and between them and BUDDHA.
there is no difference, because they will eventually become Buddhas, and will obtain Nirvāna Pada, i.e. mukti (absorption), and their jyoti will be absorbed into the jyoti of Buddha; and to this degree SAKYA and the others of the "Sapta-Buddha" (see note 28) have arrived, and we call them Buddhās, because, whoever has reached this state is, in our creed, a Buddha. Those persons who do good from the fear of hell, and avoid evil from the desire of prospering in the world, are likewise rarely found, and their degree is much above that of the class of sinners. Their sufferings in Naraka will be therefore lessened; but they will be constrained to suffer several transmigrations, and endure pain and pleasure in this world, till they obtain Mukti and Moksha.

Question XVI.

Will you answer, in the world to come, to A'DI-BUDDHA for your acts in this world, or to whom will you answer? and what rewards for good, and pains for evil, will you reap in the next world?

Answer.

How can the wicked arrive at BUDDHA? (see note 29.) Their wicked deeds will hurry them away to Naraka; and the good, will, by virtue of their good acts, be transported to the Bhuvanas of Buddha, and will not be there interrogated at all; and those who have sometimes done good and sometimes evil, are destined to a series of births and deaths on earth, and the account of their actions is kept by YAMA RAJA.

Question XVII.

Do you believe in the metempsychosis?

Answer.

Yes. For it is written in the Jātaka Māla, and also in the Lalita Vistāra, that SAKYA, after having transmigrated through five hundred and one bodies, obtained Nirvāna Pada or Mukti in the last body; but so long as we cannot acquire Mukti, so long
we must pass through births and deaths on earth. Some acquire Móksha after the first birth, some after the seventy-seventh, and some after innumerable births. It is nowhere written that Móksha is to be obtained after a prescribed number of births; but every man must atone for the sins of each birth by a proportionate number of future births, and when the sins of the body are entirely purified and absolved, he will obtain absorption into A'(di-)Buddha.

Question XVIII.

What and from whence are the Néwar's, from Hindust'han or Bhote? (see note 30,) and what is the word Néwar, the name of a country or a people?

Answer.

The natives of the valley of Nepal are Néwars. In Sanscrit, the country is called Naipála, and the inhabitants Naipálí; and the words néwár and néwári are vulgarisms arising from the mutation of p to v, and l to r. Thus too the word Bandya, the name of the Buddhámárgi sect (because its followers make bandana, i. e. salutation and reverence to the proficient in Bódhijnána), is metamorphosed by ignorance into Bánra, a word which has no meaning.

Question XIX.

Do the Néwars follow the doctrine of caste or not?

Answer.

As inhabitants of one country they are one—but in regard to caste, they are diverse.

Question XX.

How many castes are there amongst the Bánras?

Answer.

Bánra, according to the true reading, is Bandya, as explained above. According to our Puránas, whoever has adopted the tenets
of Buddha, and has cut off the lock from the crown of his head, of whatever tribe or nation he be, becomes thereby a Bandya (see note 31). The Bhotiyas, for example, are Bandyas because they follow the tenets of Buddha, and have no lock on their heads. The Bandyas are divided into two classes; those who follow the Vāhya-chariya, and those who adopt the Abhyantara-chariya—words equivalent to the Grihashta āśram and Vairāgī āśram of the Brāhmanas. The first class is denominated Bhikshu; the second, Vajra A'chārya. The Bhikshu cannot marry; but the Vajra A'chārya is a family man. The latter is sometimes called; in the vernacular tongue of the Nepalis, Gbhhiti, which is not a Sanscrit word. Besides this distinction into monastic and secular orders, the Bandyas are again divided, according to the scriptures, into five classes: first, Arhan; second, Bhikshu; third, Śrāvaka; fourth, Chailaka; fifth, Vajra A'chārya. The Arhan is he who is perfect himself, and can give perfection to others: who eats what is offered to him, but never asks for any thing. The Bhikshu, is he who assumes a staff and beggar’s dish (khikshari and pinda pātra), sustains himself by alms, and devotes his attention solely to the contemplation (dhyāna) of A’di-Buddha, without ever meddling with worldly affairs. The Śrāvaka is he who devotes himself to hearing the Buddha scriptures read or reading them to others; these are his sole occupations, and he is sustained by the small presents of his audiences. The Chailaka is he who contains himself with such a portion of clothes (chilaka) as barely suffices to cover his nakedness, rejecting everything more as superfluous. The Bhikshu and the Chailaka very nearly resemble each other, and both (and the Arhan also) are bound to practice celibacy. The Vajra A'chārya is he who has a wife and children, and devotes himself to the active ministry of Buddhism. Such is the account of the five classes found in the scriptures; but there are no traces of them in Nepal. No one follows the rules of that class to which he nominally belongs. Among the Bhotiyas there are many Bhikshus, who never marry; and the Bhotiya Lamas are properly Arhans. But all the Nepaulese Buddhāmārgis are married men, who pursue the business of the world, and seldom think
of the injunctions of their religion. The Tantras and Dháraní, which ought to be read for their own salvation, they read only for the increase of their stipend and from a greedy desire of money. This division into five classes is according to the scriptures; but there is a popular division according to Vihárs, and these Vihárs being very numerous, the separate congregations of the Bandyas, have been thus greatly multiplied. In Pátan alone there are fifteen Vihárs. A temple to A'di-Buddha, or to the five Dhyání-Buddhas, called a Chaitya, is utterly distinct from the Vihár, and of the form of a sheaf of Dhárnya. But the temples of Sakya and the other of the “Sapta Buddha Mánushi,” as well as those of other chief saints and leaders of Buddhism are called Vihárs. The names of the fifteen Vihárs of Pátan are as follows: Tankal-Vihár, Tú-Vihár, Hak-Vihár, Bhú-Vihár, Haran-Varna-Mahá-Vihár, Rudra-Varna-Mahá-Vihár, Bhikshu-Vihár, Sákya-Vihár, Guhya-Vihár, Sú-Vihár, Dhom-Vihár, Un-Vihár, &c. (see note 32.) In short, if any Bandya die, and his son erect a temple in his name, such structure may be called such an one’s (after his name) Vihár. With this distinction, however, that a temple to an eminent saint is denominated Mahá-Vihár—one to an ordinary mortal, simply Vihár.

NOTES.

(1) Here a sloca of the Sambhu Purána is quoted in the original paper; and it was my first intention to have repeated it on the margin of the translation; but, upon reflection, I believe it will be better to observe, that the Sambhu Purána is a work peculiar to Nepaul. Many other Baudhá scriptures, however, which are not local, and are of high authority, symbolize the forming and changing powers of nature by the letters of the alphabet; and ascribe the pre-eminence among these letters to a, u, and m—making the mystic syllable om, which is not less reverenced by Baudhá than by Bráhmanas. A, the Baudhá say, is the Víja Mantra of the person Buddha; U, the Víja Mantra of the person Dharma; and M, that of the person Sanga—and these three persons form the Buddhist Triad.
The **Bauddhas**, however, differ in their mode of classing the three persons. According to the **Aishwarikas**, the male, **Buddha**, the symbol of generative power, is the first member; the female, **Dharma**, the type of productive power, is the second; and **Sanga**, their son, is the third, and represents actual creative power, or an active creator and ruler, deriving his origin from the union of the essences of **Buddha** and **Dharma**. **Sanga**, according to all the schools, though a member, is an inferior member, of the triad.

(2) Another sloca is here quoted; but it will not justify the language of the text, in which there is some confusion of the opposite doctrines of the **Aishwarikas** and **Swabhávikas**. In the triad of the latter, the female, **Dharma** (also called **Prajna**), the type of productive power, is the first member; **Upaya**, or **Buddha**, the symbol of generative power, the second; and **Sanga** the third; their son as before, and the active author of creation, or rather the type of that spontaneous creation, which results necessarily from the union of the two principles of nature before-mentioned.

**Buddha** and **Prajna** united become **Upáya Prajna**; or vice versa, according to the school, and *never* as in the text. (For some further remarks upon these chief objects of Bauddha worship, see Notes 12 and 29.)

I take this early opportunity to remark that candid criticism will compare, and not contrast, the statements made in Notes 10, 12, 17, 20, and 29, especially with reference to the **Swabhávika** doctrine. (See Note 16.)

(3) The deduction of the five **Dhyáni Buddhas**, and the five **Dhyáni Bódhisatwas**, from **A’di-Buddha**, according to the **Aishwarika Bauddhas**, will be stated farther on. It is a celestial or divine creation, and is here improperly mixed with the generative creations, theistic and atheistic, of various doctors.

(4) See Note 23.

(5) The sloca quoted is from the **Pájá Kánd**, which is a mere manual of worship, of recent origin, and probably local to Nepaul. It professes, however, to be a faithful compilation from the **Guna-
Kāranda Vyūha, and Kāranda Vyūha. The latter of these is a work of respectable authority, and contains the following partial justification of the language of the Pūjā Kānd. (Sakya, speaking to his disciple Sarvani Varana Vishkambhi, says,) "In the very distant times of Vipasya Buddha I was born as the son of Suganda Mukha, a merchant; in that birth I heard from Vipasya the following account of the qualities of Aryavalokiteshwari (Padma Pan) (Sakya, speaking to his disciple Sarvani Varana Vishkambhi, says,) "In the very distant times of Vipasya Buddha I was born as the son of Suganda Mukha, a merchant; in that birth I heard from Vipasya the following account of the qualities of Aryavalokiteshwari (Padma Pan.) The sun proceeded from one of his eyes: and from the other, the moon; from his forehead Mahadeva; from between his shoulders, Brahma; from his chest, Vishnu; from his teeth, Sarasvati; from his mouth, Vayu; from his feet, Prithvi; from his navel, Varuna." So many deities issued from Aryavalokiteshwara's body. This passage is expanded in the Guna-Kāranda Vyūha, wherein it is added, that when Aryavalokiteshwara had created Brahma, Vishnu, and Mahesa, they stood before him, and he said to the first, "be thou the lord of Satyaguna and create;" and to the second, "be thou the lord of Rajaguna and preserve;" and to the third, "be thou the lord of Tamaguna and destroy." The Guna-Kāranda Vyūha, is however a mere amplification of the Kāranda Vyūha, and of much less authority. In a passage of the Saraka Dhāra—which is not one of the sacred writings of Nepal, but a work of high authority, written by Sarvajna Mitrapada, a Bauddha ascetic of Cashmeer—the Hindu deities are made to issue from the body of the supreme Prajna just as, according to the Kāranda Vyūha, they proceed from that of Padma Pan.

(6) The authority for these ten mansions is the Dasa Bhūmeshwara, one of the nine great works spoken of in the answer to the thirteenth question; and which treats professedly of the subject. The thirteen mansions are, however, mentioned in sundry works of high authority; and the thirteen grades of the superior part of the Chaitya (or proper Bauddha temple) are typical of the thirteen celestial mansions alluded to in the text. The most essential part of the Chaitya is the solid hemisphere; but the vast majority of Chaityas in Nepal have the hemisphere surmounted by a pyramid or cone, called Chūrā Mani, and invariably divided into thirteen grades.
All this, as well as what follows, is a mere transcript from the Brahmanical writings. There is, nevertheless, authority for it in the Bauddha scriptures. The Bauddhas seem to have adopted without hesitation the cosmography and chronology of the Brahmans, and also a large part of their pantheon. They freely confess to have done so at this day. The favourite Brahmanical deities accepted by the Buddhists are, of males: MAHA KALA, IN- DRA, GANESA, HANUMAN, and the triad. Of females: LAKSHMI and SARASVATI. The Hindu triad are considered by the Buddhists as the mere servants of the Buddhas and Bódhisatwas, and only entitled to such reverence as may seem fit to be paid to faithful servants of so high masters. Of the origin of these deities, according to the Bauddha books, I have already given one account, and referred to another. The notions of the three gunas and of the creation, &c. by the Brahmanic triad as the delegates of the Bódhisatwas, I look upon to be modern inventions. According to genuine Buddhism, the Bódhisatwas are, each in his turn, the active agents of the creation and government of the world.

An important historical person, and the apparent introducer of Buddhism into Nepaul. (See note 30).

This is a most curious legend. I have not yet seen the Tantra whence it professes to be extracted, and suspect that the legend was stolen from our Bible, by some inhabitant of Nepaul, who had gathered a confused idea of the Mosaic history of the origin and fall of mankind from the Jesuit missionaries, formerly resident in this valley; or perhaps the legend in question was derived from some of those various corrupt versions of the biblical story which have been current among the Jews and Moslems of Asia for many centuries.

This limited reply is the fault of my friend and not of his books. Matter is called Prakriti by the Buddhists, as well as by the Brahmans. The Swabhávika school of Bauddha philosophy (apparently the oldest school) seems to have considered matter as the sole entity, to have ascribed to it all the attributes of deity, and to have assigned to it two modalities; one termed nirvritti, and the other pravritti. (See note 12.) To speak more precisely,
the above is rather the doctrine of the Prájniká Svabhávikas than of the simple Svabhávikas: for the former unitize the active and intelligent powers of nature, the latter do not unitize them; and prefer to all other symbols of those dispersed powers of nature the letters of the alphabet generally, and without much regard to the pre-eminence of a, u, and m. Indeed, it is probable that the mystic syllable Aum is altogether a comparatively recent importation into Buddhism. The Lotos is a very favourite type of creative power with all the Baudhás; and accordingly representations of it occur in a thousand places, and in as many forms in the Baudhá sculptures and architecture; for which, see the drawings which accompany this sketch, passim.

(11) The sloca quoted is from a modern little manual of Pújá. I have not seen any adequate original authority; but the Aishwárika Buddhists, who maintained an eternal, infinite, intellectual A’di-Buddhi, in all probability made the human soul an emanation from him; and considered Móksha a remanation to him.

(12) The Svabhávikas, the name assumed by one of the four schools of Baudhá philosophy, and apparently the oldest, are divided into two sects; one called Svabhávikas simply, the other Prájniká Svabhávikas. The former maintain that an eternal revolution of entity and non-entity is the system of nature, or of matter, which alone exists. The Prájnikás deify matter as the sole substance, and give it two modes, the abstract and the concrete: in the former, they unitize the active and intelligent powers held to be inherent in matter, and make this unit deity. Such is the abstract or proper mode, which is unity, immutability, rest, bliss. The second is the contingent or concrete mode, or that of actual, visible, nature. To this mode belong action, multiplicity, change, pain. It begins by the energies of matter passing from their proper and eternal state of rest into their contingent and transitory state of action; and ends when those energies resume their proper modality. The proper mode is called nirvritti; the contingent mode pravritti. The powers of matter cannot be described in their proper state of abstraction and unity. In the latter state, all the order and beauty of nature are images of their
quality: they are also symbolized by the Yômi, and personified as a female divinity called A'di-PRAJNA and A'di-DHARMA. Man's sumnum bonum is to pass from the transmigrations incident to the state of pravritti into the eternal rest or bliss of nirvritti. The Triadic doctrine of all the schools is referable solely to pravritti. In the state of nirvritti, with some of the Aishwârikas, BUDDHA represents intellectual essence and the then sole entity; with others of the Aishwârikas DHARMA, or material essence exists biunely with BUDDHA in nirvritti, the two being in that state one. With the Prajhnikas PRAJNA, in the state of nirvritti, is the sum- mum et solum numen, Diva Natura—the sum of all the intellectual and physical forces of matter, considered as the sole entity, and held to exist in the state of nirvritti abstracted from palpable material substance, eternally, unchangeably, and essentially one. When this essential principle of matter passes into the state of pravritti, BUDDHA, the type of active power, first proceeds from it and then associates with it, and from that association results the actual visible world. The principle is feigned to be a female, first the mother, and then the wife, of the male BUDDHA. (For a glimpse at the esoteric sense of these ænigmas, see note 29.)

(13) The work cited is of secondary authority; but the mode of reasoning exhibited in the text is to be found in all Bauddha works which treat of the Svaabhâvika doctrine.

(14) This is the name of the Theistic school of the Bauddha philosophers. The Sambhû Purâna and Guna-Kâranda Vyuha contain the least obscure enunciation of Theism—and these books belong to Nepaul. Other Bauddha scriptures, however, which are not local, contain abundant expressions capable of a Theistic interpretation. Even those Bauddha philosophers who have insisted that matter is the sole entity, have ever magnified the wisdom and power of nature: and doing so, they have reduced the difference of theism and atheism almost to a nominal one: so, at least, they frequently affirm.

The great defect of all the schools is the want of Providence and of dominion in their causa causarum, though the comparatively.
recent Kārmikas and Yātnikas appear to have attempted to remedy this defect. (See the following note.)

(15) Of two of the four schools of Baudhā philosophy, namely, the Svabhāvika and Aishwārīka, I have already said a few words: the two remaining schools are denominated the Kārmika and Yātnika—from the words Karma, meaning moral action; and Yatna, signifying intellectual force, skilful effort. The proper topics of these two schools seem to me to be confined to the phenomena of human nature—its free-will, its sense of right and wrong, and its mental power. To the wisdom of Swadhyāya, or Prajña, or Ādi-Buddha, the Baudhās, both Svabhāvikas and Aishwarikas, had assigned that eternal necessary connexion of virtue and felicity in which they alike believed. It remained for the Kārmikas and Yātnikas to discuss how each individual free-willed man might most surely hope to realize that connexion in regard to himself; whether by the just conduct of his understanding, or by the proper cultivation of his moral sense? And the Yātnikas seem to have decided in favour of the former mode; the Kārmikas, in favour of the latter. Having settled these points, it was easy for the Yātnikas and Kārmikas to exalt their systems by linking them to the throne of the causa causarum—to which they would be the more readily impelled, in order to remove from their faith the obloquy so justly attaching to the ancient Prājnika, and even to the Aishwarika school, because of the want of Providence and of Dominion in their first cause. That the Kārmikas and Yātnikas originally limited themselves to the phenomena of human nature, I think probable, from the circumstances that, out of some forty slocas which I have had collected to illustrate the doctrines of these schools, scarcely one goes beyond the point of whether man's felicity is secured by virtue or by intellect? And that, when these schools go further (as I have the evidence of two quotations from their books that they sometimes do), the trespassing on ground foreign to their systems seems obvious; thus in the Divya Avadān, Sākya says, "from the union of Upaya and Prajña arose manas—the lord of the senses; and from manas or mind proceeded good and evil;" and this union of Upaya and
PRAJNA is then declared to be a Karma. And in the same work, in regard to the Vâtnika doctrine, it is said, "ISHWARA (i. e. A'DI-BUDDHA) produced YATNA from PRAJNA, and the cause of pravritti and nirvritti is YATNA; and all the difficulties that occur in the affairs of this world or of the next are rendered easy by YATNA." Impersonality and quiescence were the objections probably made to the first cause of the Prâjnikas and Aishwarikas; and it was to remove these objections that the more recent Kârmikas and Vâtnikas feigned conscious moral agency (Karma), and conscious intellectual agency (Yatna) to have been with the causa causarum (whether material or immaterial) from the beginning. Of all the schools, the Kârmikas and Vâtnikas alone seem to have been duly sensible of man's free-will, and God's moral attributes. The Kârmika confession of faith is, "Purvajanma Kribang Kam tad Daivyam iti Khyati," which may be very well translated by our noble adage, "conduct is fate." Such sentiments of human nature naturally inclined them to the belief of immaterial existences, and accordingly they will be found to attach themselves in theology chiefly to the Aishwarika school.

This is the divine creation alluded to in the third note. The eternal, infinite and intellectual A'DI-BUDDHA possesses, as proper to his own essence, five sorts of wisdom. From these he, by five separate acts of Dhyân, created the five Dhyâni Buddhas, to whom he gave the virtue of that jnâna whence each derived his origin. These five Dhyâni Buddhas again created, each of them, a Dhyâni Bódhisatwa by the joint efficacy of the jnân received from A'DI-BUDDHA, and of an act of his own Dhyân.

The five Dhyâni Buddhas are, like A'DI-BUDDHA, quiescent—and the active work of creation and rule is devolved on the Bódhisatwas. This creation by Dhyân is eminently characteristic of Buddhism—but whose Dhyân possesses creative power? that of an eternal A'DI-BUDDHA, say the Aishwarikas of the Sámbhi Púrana—that of any Buddha, even a Mánushi or mortal Buddha, say the Saabhârakas. The Bauddhas have no other notion of creation (than that by Dhyân), which is not generative.

These terms are common to all the schools of Baudda.
philosophy; with the Aishwārīkas, nirvṛtti is the state in which mind exists independent of matter; pravṛtti, the state in which it exists while mixed with matter. With the simple Svabhāvikas the former term seems to import non-entity; the latter, entity. With the Prājnikā Svabhāvikas, the former term signifies the state in which the active and intellectual power of matter exists abstractedly from visible nature; the latter, imports the manner or state in which the same power exists in connexion with visible nature. The Māhākaṇḍa of the first is absorption into Ādi-Buddha; of the second, absorption into Shunya; of the third, identification with Prajña. In a word, nirvṛtti means abstraction, and pravṛtti, concretion—from nirvāṇa is formed nirvṛtti, but pravṛtti has no pravān.

(18) If so, I am afraid few Bauddhas can be called wise. The doctrine of the text in this place is that of the Aishwārīkas, set off to the best advantage: the doctrine incidentally objected is to that of the Svabhāvikas and Prājnikās. Sir W. Jones assures us that the Hindus “consider creation (I should here prefer the word change) rather as an energy than as a work.” This remark is yet more true in regard to the old Bauddha philosophers: and the mooted point with them is, what energy creates? an energy intrinsic in some archetypal state of matter, or extrinsic? The old Bauddha philosophers seem to have insisted that there is no sufficient evidence of immaterial entity. But, what is truly remarkable, some of them, at least, have united with that dogma a belief in moral and intellectual operations; nor is there one tenet so diagnostic of Buddhism as that which insists that man is capable of extending his moral and intellectual faculties to infinity. True it is, as Mr. Colebrooke has remarked, that the Hindu philosophy recognizes this dogma—coldly recognizes it, and that is all: whereas, the Bauddhas have pursued it into its most extravagant consequences, and made it the corner-stone of their faith and practice. (See note 29.)

(19) I have not yet found that these Dhyāni Bauddhas of the Theistic school do any thing. They seem to be mere personifications, according to a Theistic theory, of the active and intellectual
powers of nature—and hence are called Panch Bhūta, Panch Indriya, and Panch A'yatan-A'kār.

It may seem contrary to this notion of the quiescence of the five Dhyāni Buddhas, that, according at least to some Nepaul works, each of them has a Sakti. Vairochana's is Vajra-Dhateshvari; Akshobhya's, Lōchanā; Ratna Sambhava's, Māmukhi; Amitabha's, Pāndarā; Amogha Siddha's, Tārā. But I apprehend that these Buddha-Sakties are peculiar to Nepaul; and though I have found their names, I have not found that they do any thing.

There is indeed a secret and filthy system of Buddhas and Buddha-Sakties, in which the ladies act a conspicuous part; and according to which, A'Di-Buddha is styled Yogambara; and A'Di-Dharma, Jñān-Eshwari. But this system has only been recently revealed to me, and I cannot say more of it at present.

(20) According to the Aishwarikas: the Swabhrivikas say, into A'kāsh and Shūnyatā; the Prājnikas, into A'Di-Prajna. The Swabhāvika doctrine of Shūnyatā is the darkest corner of their metaphysical labyrinth. It cannot mean strictly nothingness, since there are seven degrees of Shūnyatā, whereof the first is A'kāsh: and A'kāsh is so far from being deemed nothingness that it is again and again said to be the only real substance. Language sinks under the expression of the Bauddha abstractions; and by their Shūnyatā I understand sometimes the place, and sometimes the form, in which the infinitely attenuated elements of all things exist in their state of separation from the palpable system of nature.

N. B. The images of all the seven great Mānushi Buddhas, referred to in the answer to the 7th question, are exactly similar to that of Sakya Sinha, the seventh of them. This image very nearly resembles that of Akshobhya, the second Dhyāni Buddha. The differences are found only in the supporters, and in the cognizances (chinas.) When coloured there is a more remarkable diagnosis, Akshobhya being blue, and Sakya and the other six Mānushis yellow.

(21) The Sambhū Purāna says, manifested in Nepaul in the...
form of flame (Jyoti rūpa.) According to the same work, Aḍi-Dharma's (or Prajna's) manifestation in Nepaul is in the form of water (jāl surūpa.)

(22) This is the true solution of a circumstance which has caused much idle speculation: though the notion is, no doubt, an odd one for a sect which insists on tonsure!

(23) These are Padma Pant's names in his character of active creator and governor of the present world. Three Dhyāni Bōdhisatvas preceded him in that character, and one (the fifth) remains to follow him.

(24) I have already stated that these deities, conformably with the quiescent genius of Buddhism, do nothing; they are merely the medium through which creative power is communicated to the Bōdhisatvas from Adi-Buddha. It is the Bōdhisatvas alone who exercise that power, one at a time, and each in his turn. It is a ludicrous instance of Bauddha contempt for action, that some recent writers have made a fourth delegation of active power to the three gods of the Hindu Triad.

(25) Until he attained bōdhnāna; and even then, while yet lingering in the flesh, he got the name of Sākya Sinha. This name has caused some speculation, on the asserted ground of its not being Indian. The Bauddha scriptures differ as to the city in which Sākya was born; but all the places named are Indian. They also say that the Shakvanasa was an Indian race or family; as was the Gātvamavansa, in which also Sākya was once born.

(25 bis) This must be received with some allowance. The Lañita Vistārá gives ample details of Sākya's numberless births and acts, but is nearly silent as to the origin or actions of his six great predecessors: and the like is true of many other Bauddha scriptures.

(26) These works are regularly worshipped in Nepaul as the "Nava Dharma." They are chiefly of a narrative kind. The most important work of the speculative kind now extant in Nepaul is the Raksha Bhagavati, consisting of no less than 125,000 slocas. This is a work of philosophy rather than of religion, and its spirit is sceptical to the very verge of pyrrhonism. The
Buddhas of Nepaul hold it in the highest esteem, and I have sent three copies of it to Calcutta. Its arrangement, at least, and reduction to writing, are attributed (as are those of all the other Baudhā scriptures) to Sākya Sinha. Whatever the Buddhas have said, (sugutai desita) is an object of worship with the Baudhās. Sākya having collected these words of the Buddhas, and secured them in a written form, they are now worshipped under the names Sūtra and Dharma. The aggregation of nine Dharmas is for ritual purposes; but why the nine specified works have been selected to be thus peculiarly honoured I cannot say. They are probably the oldest and most authentic scriptures existing in Nepaul, though this conjecture is certainly opposed to the reverence expressed for the Raksha Bhagavati, by the Buddhists. That work (as already stated) is of vast extent, containing no less than 125,000 slocas, divided into five equal parts or khands, which are known by the names of the five Pāramitas and the five Rakshas.

(27) The three first sins should be rendered, all destruction of life, all taking without right, and all sexual commerce whatever. The ten are the cardinal sins of Buddhism, and will bear a very favourable comparison with the five cardinal sins of Brahmanism.

(28) The Buddhas mentioned in the Baudhā scriptures are innumerable. Many of them, however, are evident non-entities in regard to history. Even the Buddhas of mortal mould are vastly numerous, and of various degrees of power and rank. These degrees are three, entitled, Pratýeka, Sravaka, and Mahā Yānikā. Sākya Sinha is often said to be the seventh and last Mānushi Buddha who has yet reached the supreme grade of the Mahā Yānikā. In the Lalita Vistāra, there is a formal enumeration of the perfections in knowledge and virtue requisite for attaining to each of these three grades—a monstrously impracticable and impious array of human perfectibility! The three grades are known by the collective name of “Tri Jāna,” or “Tri Yāna.”

(29) Genuine Buddhism never seems to contemplate any mea,
sures of acceptance with the deity; but, overleaping the barrier between finite and infinite mind, urges its followers to aspire by their own efforts to that divine perfectibility of which it teaches that man is capable, and by attaining which man becomes God—and thus is explained both the quiescence of the imaginary celestial, and the plenary omnipotence of the real Mánushi Buddhas—thus too we must account for the fact, that genuine Buddhism has no priesthood: the saint despises the priest; the saint scorns the aid of mediators, whether on earth or in heaven: “conquer (exclaims the adept or Buddha to the novice or Bódhi-Satva)—conquer the importunities of the body, urge your mind to the meditation of abstraction, and you shall, in time, discover the great secret (Prajna) of nature; know this, and you become, on the instant, whatever priests have feigned of Godhead—you become identified with Prajna, the sum of all the power and all the wisdom which sustain and govern the world, and which, as they are manifested out of matter, must belong solely to matter; not indeed in the gross and palpable state of pravritti, but in the archetypal and pure state of nirvritti. Put off therefore the vile, pravrittika necessities of the body, and the no less vile affections of the mind; urge your thoughts into pure abstraction (Dhyan), and then, as assuredly you can, so assuredly you shall, attain to the wisdom of a Buddha (Bódhijnán), and become associated with the eternal unity and rest of nirvritti.” Such, I believe, is the esoteric doctrine of the Prájnikás—that of the Svabhávikas is nearly allied to it, but more timid and sceptical; they too magnify the wisdom and power of nature so abundantly diffused throughout pravritti, but they seem not to unitize that wisdom and power in the state of nirvritti, and incline to conceive of nirvritti, as of a state of things concerning which nothing can be predicated; but which, even though it be nothingness (Shúnyatá), is at least a blissful rest to man, otherwise doomed to an eternity of transmigrations through all forms of visible nature: and while the Svabhávikas thus underrated the nirvritti of the Prájnikás, it is probable that they compensated themselves by magnifying, more than the Prájnikás did, that pravrittika omnipotence of which the wise man (Buddha) is capable,
even upon earth. It has been already stated that the second person of the Prájñika Triad is denominated Buddha and Upaya; of which terms the esoteric sense is this: Every man possesses in his understanding, when properly cultivated according to the rules of Buddhism, the means or expedient (Upáya) of discovering the supreme wisdom of nature (Prajña), and of realizing, by this discovery in his own person, a plenary omnipotence or divinity! which begins even while he yet lingers in the flesh (in pravritti); but which is not fully accomplished till he passes, by the body's decay, into the eternal state of nirvátti.

And as the wisdom of man is, in its origin, but an effluence of the Supreme wisdom (Prajña) of nature, so is it perfected by a refluence to its source, but without loss of individuality: whence Prajña is feigned in the exoteric system to be both the mother and the wife of all the Buddhas, "janani sarva Buddha," and "Jin-sánndari;" for the efflux is typified by a birth, and the reflux by a marriage.

The Buddha is the adept in the wisdom of Buddhism (Bódhijnán) whose first duty, so long as he remains on earth, is to communicate his wisdom to those who are willing to receive it. These willing learners are the "Bódhisatwas," so called from their hearts being inclined to the wisdom of Buddhism, and "Sangas," from their companionship with one-another, and with their Buddha or teacher, in the Vihárs or cenobitical establishments.

And such is the esoteric interpretation of the third (and inferior) member of the Prájñika Triad. The Bódhisatwa or Sanga continues to be such until he has surmounted the very last grade of that vast and laborious ascent by which he is instructed that he can "scale the heavens," and pluck immortal wisdom from its resplendent source: which achievement performed, he becomes a Buddha, that is, an Omniscient Being, and a Tathágata—a title implying the accomplishment of that gradual increase in wisdom by which man becomes a Buddha. These doctrines are very obscurely indicated in the Bauddha scriptures, whose words have another more obvious and very different sense; nor, but for the ambition of the commentators to exhibit their learning, would it be
easy to gather the esoteric sense of the words of most of the original scriptures. I never was more surprised than when my old friend recently (after a six years' acquaintance) brought to me, and explained, a valuable comment upon a passage in the Prajna Paramita. Let me add in this place, that I desire all searchers after the doctrine of Bodhijnán to look into the Bauddha scriptures, and judge for themselves; and to remember, meanwhile, that I am not a Sanscrit scholar, and am indebted for all I have gathered from the books of the Buddhists to the mediation of my old Bauddha friend, and of my Pundit.

(30) Their physiognomy, their language, their architecture, civil and religious; their notions in regard to women, and several less important traits in their manners and customs, seem to decide that the origin of the greater part of the Newars must be assigned to the north; and in the Sambhá Puráóá, a Bauddha teacher named Manj-Ghosh, and Manj-Nath and Manjusri, is stated to have led a colony into Nepal from China; to have cleared Nepal of the waters which then covered it; to have made the country habitable; to have built a temple to Jyoti-Rup-Adi-Buddha; and established Dharmakar (whom he brought with him) as first Raja of Nepal. But I nevertheless suppose (upon the authority of tradition) that Nepal received some colonists from India; and that some of the earliest propagators of Buddhism in Nepal came to the valley direct from India. Be that as it may, the Indian origin of Nepaulse Buddhism (whether it reached the valley direct, or via Bhote or China) seems to be unquestionable from the fact that all the great Saugata scriptures of Nepal are written in the Sanscrit language. From the gradual decay of literature and of a knowledge of Sanscrit among the Newars has resulted the practice, now very common, of translating ritual works into the vernacular tongue; and also the usage of adding to the original Sanscrit of such works comments in the vulgar language. The great scriptures however have never been subjected to the former process; seldom to the latter; for owing to Sanscrit having always been considered by the Buddhists of Nepal the language of literature, they have neglected to cultivate their vernacular tongue; nor does
there exist to this day a dictionary or grammar of the Newari language.

(31) Of course therefore the Baudhās of Nepal have not properly any diversity of caste; that is, any indelible distinction of ranks derived from birth, and necessarily carried to the grave. Genuine Buddhism proclaims the equality of all followers of Buddha—seems to deny to them the privilege of pursuing worldly vocations, and abhors the distinction of clergy and laity. All proper Baudhās are Bandyas; and all Bandyas are equal as brethren in the faith. They are properly all ascetics—some solitary, mostly cenobitical. Their convents are called Vihārs. The rule of these Vihārs is a rule of freedom; and the door of every Vihār is always open, both to the entrance of new comers, and to the departure of such of their old inmates as are tired of their vows. Each Vihār has a titular superior, whose authority over his brethren depends only on their voluntary deference to his superior learning or piety. Women are held equally worthy of admission with men, and each sex has its Vihārs.

The old Baudha scriptures enumerate four sorts of Bandyas, named Arhaṇa, Bhikṣu, Sravaka and Chailaka, who are correctly described in the text; and from that description it will be seen that there is no essential distinction between them, the Arhaṇa being only segregated from the rest by his superior proficiency in Bódhijnān. Of these the proper institutes of Buddhism, there remains hardly a trace in Nepal. The very names of the Arhaṇ and Chailaka have passed away—the names, and the names only, of the other two exist; and out of the gradual, and now total, disuse of monastic institutes, an exclusive minister of the altar, denominated Vajra A'chārya, has derived his name, office, and existence in Nepal, not only without sanction from the Baudha scriptures, but in direct opposition to their spirit and tendency. Nepal is still covered with Vihārs; but these ample and comfortable abodes have long resounded with the hum of industry and the pleasant voices of women and children. The superior ministry of religion is now solely in the hands of the Bandyas, entitled, Vajra A'chārya in Sanscrit; Gūbhāl in Newari: the inferior ministry.
such Bhikshus as still follow religion as a lucrative and learned profession, are competent to discharge. And these professions of the Vajra A'chárya, and of the Bhikshu, have become by usage hereditary, as have all other avocations and pursuits, whether civil or religious, in Nepaul. And as in the modern corrupt Buddhism of Nepaul there are exclusive ministers of religion or priests, so are there many Bauddhás who retain the lock on the crown of the head, and are not Bandyas. These improper Bauddhás are called Udás: they never dwell in the Vihárs, look up to the Bandyas with a reverential respect derived from the misapplication of certain ancient tenets, and follow those trades and avocations which are comparatively disreputable (among which is foreign commerce); while the Bandyas, who have abandoned the profession of religion, practise those crafts which are most esteemed. Agriculture is equally open to both; but is, in fact, chiefly followed by the Udás, who have thus become, in course of time, more numerous than the Bandyas, notwithstanding the early abandonment by the Bandyas of those ascetical practices which their faith enjoins, the resort of the greater part of them to the active business of the world, and their usurpation of all the liberal, and three-fourths of the mechanical arts of their country; for the Bandyas have the exclusive inheritance of thirty-six professions and trades; the Udás, that of seven trades only. The Vajra A'chárya and Bhikshu are the religious guides and priests of both Bandyas and Udás. All Bandyas, whatever be the profession or trade they hereditarily exercise, are still equal; they intermarry, and communicate in all the social offices of life—and the like is true of all Udás—but between the one class and the other, growing superstition has erected an insuperable barrier. To the above remarks it may be well to add, that Buddhists, of some one or other of the above denominations, comprise the vast majority of the Newar race, and that the minority, are Saivus; but in a sense peculiar to themselves, and with which my subject does not entitle me here to meddle.

(33) The names are almost all barbarous; that is, not derived from Sanscrit, but from Newari. I have not thought it worth while to enumerate any more of these examples. The Vihár is
built round a large quadrangle, or open square, two stories high; the architecture is Chinese. *Chaitya* properly means a temple of *Buddha*, and *Vihár* an abode of cænobitical followers of *Buddha*. In the open square in the midst of every *Vihár*, is placed a *Chaitya*—but those words always bear the senses here attached to them; and *Vihár* can never be construed temple—it is a convent, of monastery, of religious house, but never *templum Dei vel Buddhæ*. At the base of the hemisphere of every *Nepaul Chaitya* are placed the images of the Dhyani *Buddhas*. The *Chaitya* has often been blended with sundry structures, more or less appropriate to *Buddhism*.

To conclude: with respect to the notes—that portion of this sketch, which is my own—no one can be more sensible than I am that the first half contains a sad jumble of cloudy metaphysics. How far the sin of this indistinctness is mine, and how far that of my original authorities, I cannot pretend to decide; but am ready to take a large share of it to myself. In regard to this, the most speculative part of *Buddhism*, it is sufficient happiness for me to have discovered and placed within the reach of my countrymen the *materials* for more accurate investigation, by those who have leisure, patience, and a knowledge of languages for the undertaking; and who, with competent talents, will be kind enough to afford the world the benefit of so irksome an exercise of them,

But I trust that the latter half of the notes, which embraces topics more practical and more within the range of the favourite pursuits of my leisure, will not be found wanting in distinctness; and I can venture confidently to warrant the *accuracy* of the information contained in it.
No. III.

QUOTATIONS FROM ORIGINAL SANSCRIT AUTHORITIES IN PROOF.
And ILLUSTRATION OF MR. HODGSON’S SKETCH OF BUDDHISM.

(Printed from the Bengal Asiatic Journal, Nos. 49 and 50, A. D. 1836.)

Preface.

Several distinguished orientalists having, whilst they applauded the novelty and importance of the information conveyed by my Sketch of Buddhism,* called upon me for proofs, I have been induced to prepare for publication the following translation of significant passages from the ancient books of the Saugatas, which still are extant in Nepaul in the original Sanscrit.

These extracts were made for me (whilst I was collecting the works† in question) some years ago by AMIRTA NANDA BANDYA, the most learned Buddhist then, or now, living in this country; they formed the materials from which chiefly I drew my sketch; and they would have been long since communicated to the public, had the translator felt sufficiently confident of his powers, or sufficiently assured that enlightened Europeans could be brought to tolerate the "ingens indigestaque moles" of these 'original authorities;' which however, in the present instance, are original in a far higher and better sense than those of De Koros, or even of

† The collection comprises, besides 60 volumes in Sanscrit, procured in Nepaul, the very names of which had previously been unknown, some 250 volumes, in the language of Tibet, which were obtained from Lassa and Digarchi. But for the existence of the latter at Calcutta, Mr. De Koros's attainments in Tibetan lore had been comparatively useless. The former or Sanscrit books of Nepaul are the authorities relied on in this paper. Since the first collection was made in Nepaul, very many new works in the Sanscrit language have been discovered and are yet daily under discovery. The probability now is, that the entire Kahgyur and Stangyur may be recovered, in the original language. The whole series has been obtained in that of Tibet, 327 large volumes.
UPHAM. Without stopping to question whether the sages who formed the *Bauddha* system of philosophy and religion used *Sanskrit* or high *Prácrit*, or both, or seeking to determine the consequent pretension of Mr. Upham’s authorities to be considered original,* it may be safely said, that those of Mr. De Koros can support no claims of the kind.

The native works which the latter gentleman relies on are avowedly *Tibetan* translations of my *Sanskrit* originals, and whoever will duly reflect upon the dark and profound abstractions, and the infinite-simally-multiplied and microscopically-distinquished personifications of Buddhism, may well doubt whether the language of *Tibet* does or can adequately sustain the weight that has been laid upon it.

*Sanskrit*, like its cognate Greek, may be characterised as a speech “capable of giving a soul to the objects of sense, and body to the abstractions of metaphysics.” But, as the *Tibetan* language can have no pretensions to a like power, those who are aware that the *Saugatas* taxed the whole powers of the *Sanskrit* to embody in

* These authorities however, even if allowed to be original, appear to consist entirely of childish legends. I allude to the three published volumes. The received hypothesis, viz. that the philosophers of *Ayudhya* and *Magadha*, (the acknowledged founders of *Buddhism*) postponed the use of Sanscrit to that of *Prácrit*, in the original exposition of their subtle system appears to me as absurd as it does probable that their successors, as Missionaries, resorted to Prácrit versions of the original Sanscrit authorities, in propagating the system in the remotest parts of the continent and in Ceylon. On this ground, I presume the Prácrit works of Ceylon and *Ava* to be translations, not originals:—a presumption so reasonable that nothing but the production from *Ceylon* or *Ava* of original Prácrit works, comparable in importance with the Sanscrit books discovered in Nepaul, will suffice to shake it in my mind. Sir W. Jones I believe to be the author of the assertion, that the *Buddhists* committed their system to high Prácrit or Pali; and so long at least as there were no Sanscrit works of the sect forthcoming, the presumption was not wholly unreasonable. It is, however, so now. And Sir W. Jones was not unaware that *Magadha* or *Bihar* was the original head-quarters of *Buddhism*, nor that the best Sanscrit lexicon extant was the work of a *Bauddha*; nor that the *Brahmans* themselves acknowledged the pre eminent literary merits of their heterodox adversaries.

But for his *Brahmanical* bias therefore, Sir William might have come at the truth, that the *Bauddha* philosophers employed the classical language.
words their system, will cautiously reserve, I apprehend, for the
Buddha books still extant in the classical language of India, the
title of original authorities. From such works, which, though now
found only in Nepaul, were composed in the plains of India before
the dispersion of the sect, I have drawn the accompanying extracts;
and though the merits of the "doing into English" may be small
indeed, they will yet, I hope, be borne up by the paramount and
(as I suspect) unique authority and originality of my "original
authorities," a phrase which, by the way, has been somewhat in-
vvidiously, as well as laxly used and applied in certain quarters.

It is still, I observe, questioned amongst us, whether Bráh-
manism or Buddhism be the more ancient creed, as well as whe-
ther the latter be of Indian or extra Indian growth. The Bud-
ghists themselves have no doubts upon either point. They un-
hesitatingly concede the palm of superior antiquity to their rivals
and persecutors, the Bráhmans; nor do they in any part of the
world hesitate in pointing to India as the cradle of their faith.

Formerly we might be pardoned for building fine-spun theories
of exotic origin of Buddhism upon the African locks of Buddha's
images: but surely it is now somewhat too late,* in the face of
the abundant direct evidence which we possess, against the exo-
tic theory, to go in quest of presumptions to the time-out-of-mind
illiterate Scythians, in order to give to them the glory of origin-
ating a system built upon the most subtle philosophy, and all the
copious original records of which are inshriined in Sanscrit,† a
language which, whencesoever primevally derived, had been,
when Buddhism appeared, for ages proper to the Indian continent.

The Buddhists make no serious pretensions to a very high an-
tiquity: never hint at an extra Indian origin.

* Recent discoveries make it more and more certain, that the cave temples of
the Western Coast and its vicinity, are exclusively Buddha. Every part of
India is illustrated by splendid remains of Buddhism.

† The difference between high Pracrit and Sanscrit, could not affect this
question, though it were conceded that the founders of Buddhism used the
former and not the latter—a concession however, which should not be facilely
made, and to which I wholly demur.
Saky Sinha is, avowedly, a Kshetriya; and, if his six predecessors had really any historical existence, the books which affirm it, affirm too, that all the six were of Brāhmanical or Kshetriya lineage. Saugata books treating on the subject of caste never call in question the antique fact of a fourfold division of the Hindu people, but only give a more liberal interpretation to it than the current Brāhmanical one of their day.* The Chinese, the Mongols, the Tibetans, the Indo-Chinese, the Ceylonese and other Indian Islanders, all point to India as the father-land of their creed. The records of Buddhism in Nepal and in Tibet, in both of which countries the people and their mother-tongues are of the Mongol stock, are still either Sanscrit or avowed translations from it by Indian pandits. Nor is there a single record or monument of this faith in existence, which bears intrinsic or extrinsic evidence of an extra Indian origin.†

The speculations of a writer of Sir W. Jones's day (Mr. Joinville), tending to prove, argumentatively, from the characters of Buddhism and Brāhmanism, the superior antiquity of the former, have been lately revived (see Asiatic Journal, No. CLX.) with applause. But besides that fine drawn presumptions are idle in the face of such a mass of direct evidence as we now possess, the reasonings of Joinville appear to me altogether based on errors of fact. Buddhism (to hazard a character in few words),

* See the Baudh disputation on caste. Royal Asiatic Society's Transactions.
† See Crawford's remarks, on the purely Indian character of all the great sculptural and architectural monuments of Buddhism in Java. Also Barrow's remarks to the same effect in his travels in China. The Chinese Pusa is Visvarupya Prajna or the polyform type of Diva Natura. See Oriental Quarterly Magazine, No. xvi. pp. 218—222, for proofs of the fact that numberless Baudhā remains have been mistaken for Brahmical by our antiquaries, and even by the natives. In the same work I have proved this in reference to Crawford's Archipelago, Oriental Quarterly, No. xvi. pp. 232, 235.

Yet, no sooner had I shown, from original authorities, how thoroughly Indian Buddhism is, than it was immediately exclaimed, 'oh! this is Nepalese corruption! these are merely popular grafts from Brahmanism.' The very same character belongs to the oldest monuments of Buddhism, extant in India and beyond it; and I have traced that character to the highest scriptural authorities.
is monastic asceticism in morals, philosophical scepticism in religion; and whilst ecclesiastical history all over the world affords abundant instances of such a state of things resulting from gross abuse of the religious sanction, that ample chronicle gives us no one instance of it as a primitive system of belief. Here is a legitimate inference from sound premises. But that Buddhism was, in truth, a reform or heresy, and not an original system, can be proved by the most abundant direct evidence both of friends and of enemies. The oldest Saugata works incessantly allude to the existing superstition as the Mārcharya or way of the serpent, contradicting their reformation thereof as the Bōddhi-charya or way of the wise; and the Brāhmaṇical impugners of those works (who, upon so plain a fact, could not lie), invariably speak of Buddhism as a notorious heresy.

An inconsiderable section of the Saugatas alone, ever held the bold doctrine of mortal souls: and the Svābhāvika denial of a creation of matter by the fiat of an absolutely immaterial being, springs, not out of the obesity of barbarian dulness, but out of the over refinement of philosophical ratiocination. Joinville's idea of the speculative tenets of Buddhism is utterly erroneous. Many of them are bad indeed: but they are of philosophy all compact profoundly and painfully subtle, sceptical too, rather than atheistically dogmatic.

At the risk of being somewhat miscellaneous in this preface, I must allude to another point. The lamented Abel Remusat sent me, just before he died, a copy of his essay on the Saugata doctrine of the Triad; and Mr. Upham, I find, has deduced from Remusat's interpretation of that doctrine, the inference (which he supports by reference to sundry expressions in the sacred books of Ceylon), that I am in error in denying that Buddhism, in its first, and most characteristic form, admits the distinction of Clerus et Laicus. It is difficult expressly to define that distinction; but it may be seen in all its breadth in Brāhmaṇism and in Popery; whilst in Islamism, and in the most enthusiastic of the Christian sects, which sprung out of the Reformation, it is wholly lost.
According to my view, Apostolic Christianity recognised it not; the congregation of the faithful, the Church, was a society of peers, of brethren in the faith, all essentially equal, in gifts, as in place and character. On earth, there were no indispensable mediators, no exclusive professional ones; and such alone I understand to be priests. Again, genuine monachism all over the world, I hold to be, in its own nature, essentially opposed to the distinction of clergyman and layman, though we all know that monastic institutions no sooner are rendered matters of public law and of extensive popular prevalence, than, ex vi necessitatis, the distinction in question is superinduced upon them, by the major part of the monks laicising, and the rest becoming clergy.† There are limits to the number of those whom the public can support in idleness: and whoso would eat the bread of the public must perform some duty to the public. Yet who can doubt that the true monk, whether cenobite or solitary, is he who abandons the world to save his own soul; as the true clergyman is he who mixes with the world to save the souls of others? The latter in respect to the people or laics has a distinctive function, and, it may be also an exclusive one: the former has no function at all. Amongst entirely monastic sects, then, the exclusive character of priest is objectless and absurd: and who that has glanced an eye over ecclesiastical history knows not that in proportion as sects are enthusiastic, they reject and hate, (though nothing tainted with monachism) the exclusive pretensions of the clergy! Whoever has been able to go along with me in the above reflections can need only to be told that primitive Buddhism was entirely monastic, and

* I would not be understood to lay stress on this opinion, which is merely adduced to illustrate my argument.

† History informs us that, soon after monachism supervened upon our holy and eminently social religion, there were in Egypt as many monks almost as peasants. Some of these monks necessarily laicised, and the rest became clergy. The community of the Gosains and several others, of strictly ascetical origin now in India, exhibit the same necessary change after the sects had become numerous followed.
of an unboundedly enthusiastic genius,* to be satisfied that it did not recognise the distinction in question. But if, being suspicious of the validity of argumentative inferences, he demand of me simple facts, here they are. In the Suta Sahasrika, Prajna Paramitā, or Racha Bhagavati, and also in the nine Dharmas (the oldest and highest written authorities), it is affirmed more or less directly, or is clearly deducible from the context, in a thousand passages (for the subject is not expressly treated), that the only true followers of BUDDHA are monks, the majority being cenobites, the rest, solitaries. The fullest enumeration of these followers (Bhikshu Sravaka or Srāmana, Chailaka, and Arhata or Arhana or Arhanta) proves them to have been all monks, tonsured, subject to the usual vows, (nature teaching to all mankind that wealth, women and power, are the grand tempters,) resident in monasteries (Vihār) or in deserts, and essentially peers, though of course acknowledging the claims of superior wisdom and piety. The true church, the congregation of the faithful, is constantly said to consist of such only; and I am greatly mistaken indeed if the church in this sense be synonymous with the clergy; or, if the primitive church of BUDDHA recognized an absolutely distinct body such as we (i. e. Catholics, Lutherans, and Kirkmen) ordinarily mean when we speak of the latter. The first mention of an exclusive, professional active, minister of religion, or priest, in the Bauddha books, is in those of a comparatively recent date, and not of scriptural authority. Therein the Vajra Achārya (for so he is called) first appears arrayed with the ordinary attributes of a priest. But his character is anomalous, as is that of every thing about him; and the learned Bauddhas of Nepaul at the present day universally admit the falling off from the true faith. We have in these books, Bhikshus, Sravakas, Chailakas, and Sākya Vansikas,† bound by

* Its distinguishing doctrine is that finite mind can be enlarged to infinite; all the schools uphold this towering tenet, postponing all others to it. As for the scepticism of the Swabhāvikas relative to those transcendent marvels, creation and providence, it is sufficient to prove its remoteness from "flat Atheism," simply to point to the coexistence of the cardinal tenet first named.

† An inscription at Carli identifies the splendid Salibahana with the head of the
their primitive rules for ten days (in memory of the olden time) and then released from them; tonsured, yet married; ostensibly monks, but really citizens of the world.

From any of the above, the *Vajra Achārya*, is drawn indiscriminately; he keeps the keys of the no longer open treasury; and he is surrounded with *untonsured* followers, who now present themselves for the first time. I pretend not to trace with historical nicety all the changes which marked the progress of *Buddhism* as a public institute and creed of millions up to the period of the dispersion: but I am well aware, that the primitive doctrines were not, because they could not be, *rigidly* adhered to, when what I hold to have been at first the closet speculation of some philosophers, had become the dominant creed of large kingdoms. That the latter character was, however, assumed by *Buddhism* in the plains of India, long before the dispersion, seems certain; and, as many persons may urge that the thing in question is the dominant public institute, not the closet speculation, and that whatever discipline prevailed before the dispersion must be held for primitive and orthodox, I can only observe that the ancient books of the *Saugatas*, whilst they glance at such changes as I have adverted to, do so in the language of censure; and that upon the whole, I still strongly incline to the opinion that genuine or primitive *Buddhism* (so I cautiously phrased it, originally) rejected the distinction of Clerus et Laicus; that the use of the word priest by *Upham*, is generally inaccurate; and that the *Sangha* of the

Saka tribe, which is that of *Sakya Sinha*. The *Sakya-Vansikas*, or people of the race of *Sakya*, appeared in Nepal as refugees from *Brahman* bigotry, some time after *Buddhism* had been planted in these hills. *Sakya* is universally allowed to have been the son of king *Suddhadana*, sovereign of Magadha, or *Bihar*. He is said to have been born in the "*Asthan of Kapila Muni*," at *Ganga Sagar*, according to some; in *Oude*, as others say. His birth place was not necessarily within his father's kingdom. He may have been born when his father was on a pilgrimage to the shrine of the Saint *Kapila*. *Sakya* died, according to my authorities, in Assam, and left one son named *Rahula Bhadra*. The *Sakas* were *Kshetriyus* of the solar line, according to *Baudhā* authorities; nor is it any proof of the contrary that they appear not in the *Brahmanical* genealogies. See note in the sequel.
Buddhist triad ought to have been invariably rendered by Remusat into 'congregation of the faithful' or 'church,' and never into 'clergy' or 'priesthood.' Remusat indeed seems to consider (Observations, 28-9, and 32), these phrases as synonymous; and yet the question which their discrimination involves is one which, in respect to our own religion, has been fiercely agitated for hundreds of years; and still, by the very shades of that discrimination, chiefly marks the subsisting distinction between the various Churches of Christ.

Following the authority he has relied on, Mr. Upham was at liberty, therefore, to adopt a sense which would consist with my interpretation of phrases such as he alluded to, and which, of course, I found copiously scattered over the works I consulted. I always rendered them advisedly into English, so as to exclude the idea of a priesthood, because I had previously satisfied myself, by separate inquiry and reflection, that that cardinal tenet was repugnant to the genius of the creed, and repudiated by its primitive teachers. This important point may have been wrongly determined by me; but assuredly the determination of it upon such grounds as Mr. Upham's is perfectly futile. Such words as Arhanta and Bandya, (which, by the way, are the correct forms of the Burmese Rahatun and the Chinese Bonze,) no more necessarily mean, priest, clergy, than do the Latin, fideles and milites, as applied to Christianity; and as for the word Sangha, it is indisputable that it does not mean literally priest,* and that it does mean literally congregation.

If, as Remusat and Upham appear to insist is the case, every monastic follower of Buddha be a priest, then Bandya or Bonze† must be rendered into English by the word 'clergyman.'

* Observations, p. 92.
† The possible meaning of this word has employed in vain the sagacity of sundry critics. In its proper form of Bandya, it is pure Sanscrit, signifying a person entitled to reverence, and is derived from Bandana.

Equally curious and instructive is it to find in the Sanscrit records of Buddhism the solution of so many enigmas collected by travellers from all parts of Asia; e.g. Elphinston's mound is a genuine Chaitya, and its proper name
But there will still remain as much difference between Bandya and Sangha as, in Christian estimation, between an ordinary parson of the present day, and one of the inspired primitive professors. Of old, the spirit descended upon all alike; and Sangha was this hallowed and gifted congregation. But the glory has passed away, and the term been long sanctified and set apart. So has, in part, and for similar reasons, the word Arhata. But Bandya, as a generic title, and Bhikshu, Sravaka, and Chailaka, as specific ones, are still every-day names of every-day people, priests, if it must be so, but as I conceive, ascetics or monks merely. In the thick night of ignorance and superstition which still envelopes Tibet, the people fancy they yet behold Arhatas in the persons of their divine Lamas. No such imagination however possesses the heads of the followers of Buddha in Nepaul, Ceylon, or extra Gangetic India; though in the last mentioned country the name Arhata is popularly applied to the modern order of the clergy, an order growing there, as in Nepaul, (if my opinions be sound) out of that deviation from the primitive genius and type of the system which resulted necessarily from its popular diffusion as the rule of life and practice of whole nations.

In conclusion I would observe, that, in my apprehension, REMUSAT's interpretation of the various senses of the Triadic doctrine is neither very complete, nor very accurate. In a religious point of view, by the first member is understood the founder of Manikalaya, or the place of the precious relic. The mound is a tomb temple. The 'tumuli eorum Christi altaria' of the poet, is more true of Buddhism than even of the most perverted model of Christianity, the cause being probably the same, originally, in reference to both creeds, viz. persecution and martyrdom, with consequent divine honours to the sufferers. The Bauddhas, however, have in this matter gone a step further in the descending scale of representative adoration than the Catholics; for they worship the mere image of that structure which is devoted to the inshrining of the relics of their saints; they worship the architectural model or form of the Chaitya.

The Chaitya of Sambhunath in Nepaul is affirmed to cover Jyoti rupya Swayambaru, self-existent, in the form of flame: nor was there ever any thing exclusive of theism in the connection of tomb and temple: for Chaityas were always dedicated to the Celestial Buddhas, not only in Nepaul, but in the plains of India, as the Chaityas of Sanchi, of Gya, and of Bag, demonstrate. The Dhyani Buddhas appear in the oldest monuments of the continent and islands.
the creed, and all who, following his steps, have reached the full rank of a Maha Yānīka Buddha; by the second, the law or scriptures of the sect; and by the third, the congregation of the faithful, or primitive church, or body of original disciples, or even, any and every assemblage of true, i.e. of conventual ascetical observers of the law, past or present.

In a philosophical light, the precedence of Buddha or of Dharma indicates the theistic or atheistic school. With the former, Buddha is intellectual essence,* the efficient cause of all, and undivered. Dharma is material essence,† the plastic cause, and undivered, a co-equal by unity with Buddha; or else the plastic cause, as before, but dependent and derived from Buddha. Sangha is derived from, and compounded of, Buddha and Dharma, is their collective energy in the state of action; the immediate operative cause of creation, its type or its agent.‡ With the latter or atheistic schools, Dharma is Diva natura, matter as the sole entity, invested with intrinsic activity and intelligence, the efficient and material cause of all.

Buddha is derivative from Dharma, is the active and intelligent force of nature, first put off from it and then operating upon it. Sangha is the result of that operation; is embryotic creation, the type and sum of all specific forms, which are spontaneously evolved from the union of Buddha with Dharma.§ The above are the principal distinctions, others there are which I cannot venture here to dwell on.

With regard to Remusat's remark, "on voit que les trois noms sont placés sur le même niveau, comme les trois representations des

* Bodhanatmaka iti Buddha, 'the intellectual essence is Buddha.'
† Dharanatmaka iti Dharma, 'the holding, sustaining or containing substance is Dharma.' Again, Prakrteśwari iti Prajna, 'the material goddess is Prajna,' one of the names of Dharma. The word Prajna is compounded of the intensive prefix pra, and jñyana wisdom, or jnā, to know. It imports the supreme wisdom of nature. Dharma is the universal substratum, is that which supports all form and quality in the versatile world.
‡ Samudayatmika iti Sangha, 'the multitudinous essence is Sangha:' multitude is the diagnosis of the versatile universe, as unity is of that of abstraction.
§ Prajnapaytmahāng Jaggata.
mêmes êtes dans les planches de M. Hodgson avec cette différence que sur celles-ci, Sangha est à droite, et Dharma à gauche,” I may just add, that the placing of Sangha to the right is a merely ritual technicality, conformable to the pujá of the Dakshináchárs,* and that all the philosophers and religionists are agreed in postponing Sangha to Dharma.

I possess very many drawings exhibiting the arrangement mentioned by Remusat; but all subservient to mere ritual purposes and consequently worthy of no serious attention. The Matantara, or variorum text of the Pujáris of the present day, displays an infinite variety of formula,† illustrated by corresponding sculptural and pictorial devices, embodied in those works, and transferred from them to the walls and interior of temples existing all over the valley of Nepaul.

QUOTATIONS.

The Swábhávika Doctrine.

1. All things are governed or perfected by Swabháva;† I too am governed by Swabháva. (Ashta Sahasrika.)

2. It is proper for the worshipper at the time of worship to reflect thus: I am Nirápt,§ and the object of my worship is Nirápt; I am that God (Iswara) to whom I address myself. Thus meditating, the worshipper should make puja to all the celestials: for example, to Vajra Satwa Buddha, let him pay his adorations, first, by recollecting that all things with their Vija Mantras came from Swabháva in this order:—from the vija|| of the letter Y, air; from that of the letter R, fire; from that of the letter V, or B, water,

* The theistic sects so call themselves, styling their opposites, the Swabhavikas and Prejnikes, Vanachars. The Purvanikas, too, often designate the Tantrikas by the latter name, which is equivalent to left-handed.

† See the classified enumeration of the principal objects of Buddha worship appended to this paper. Appendix B.

‡ Swa, own, and bhava, nature. Idiosyncrasis.

§ Intact and intangible, independent.

|| Root, radix, seed.

N
and from that of the letter 'L, earth; and from that of the letter S, Mount Sumérú. On the summit of Sumér is a lotus of precious stones, and above the lotus, a moon crescent, upon which sits, supremely exalted, Vajra Satwa. And as all (other) things proceed from Swabháva, so also does Vajra Satwa, thence called the self-existent.† (Pujá kand.)

3. All things and beings (in the versatile universe) which are alike perishable, false as a dream, treacherous as a mirage, proceed, according to some, from Swabháva (nature) and according to others, from God, (Iswara;), and hence it is said, that Swabháva and Iswara are essentially one, differing only in name.‡ (Ashta Sahasrika.)

4. At the general dissolution of all things, the four elements shall be absorbed in Súnyákár-Akásh (sheer space) in this order: Earth in water, water in fire, fire in air, and air in Akásh, and Akásh in Súnyáta, and Súnyáta in Tathatá, † and Tathata in Buddha, (which Mahá Súnyátas), and Bodhisattva in Bhávana, and Bhávana in Swabháva. And when existence is again involved, each shall in the inverse order, progress from the other. From that Swabháva, which communicates its property of infinity to Akásh proceeded into being, in Akásh the letter A. and the rest of the letters; and from the letters, Adi Buddha and the other Buddhas; and from the Buddhas, the Bodhi-Satwas, and from them the five elements, with their Vija Mantras. Such is the Swabhávika Sansár; which Sansár (universe) constantly re-

* This may teach us caution in the interpretation of terms. I understand the dogma to announce, that infinite intelligence is as much a part of the system of nature as finite. The mystic allusion to the alphabet imports nothing more than its being the indispensable instrument and means of knowledge or wisdom, which the Buddhists believe man has the capacity of perfecting up to the standard of infinity.

† See note on No. 3, on the Yatnika system.
‡ Tathata, says the comment, is Satya Juyan; and Bhavana is Bhava or Satta, i.e. sheer entity.
§ See note on quotation 1 of the section Adi-Buddha.
|| Here again I might repeat the caution and remark at quotation 2. I have elsewhere observed, that Swabhávika texts, differently interpreted, form the ba-
volves between Pravritti and Nirvritti, like a potter's wheel. (Divya Avadán.)

5. Mahá Súnyáta is, according to some, Swabhava, and according to others, Iswara; it is like the ethereal expanse, and self-sustained. In that Mahá Súnyáta, the letter A, which the Vija Mantra of Upaya,* and the chief of all the Vija Mantras of the letters, became manifest. (Rucha Bhágavati.)

6. Some say creation is from God: if so, what is the use of Yatna or of Karma?† That which made all things, will preserve and destroy them; that which governs Nirvritti, governs Pravritti also. (Buddha Charitrahávya.)

7. The sandal tree freely communicates its fragrance to him who tears off its bark. Who is not delighted with its odour? It is from Swabháva. (Kalpalata.)

8. The elephant's cub, if he find not leafless and thorny creepers in the green wood, becomes thin. The crow avoids the ripe mango.‡ The cause is still Swabháva. (Do.)

9. Who sharpened the thorn? Who gave their varied forms, colours, and habits to the deer kind, and to the birds? Swabháva! It is not according to the will (ichchha) of any; and if there be no desire or intention, there can be no intender or designer.§ (Buddha Charitra.)

sis of the Aiswarika doctrine, as well as that the Buddhás of the Swabhavikas, who derive their capacity of identifying themselves with the first cause from nature, which is that cause, are as largely gifted as the Buddhás of the Aiswarikas, deriving the same capacity from Adi-Buddha, who is that cause. See remarks on Remusat apud Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society, Nos. 32, 33, and 34.

* Upaya, the expedient, the energy of nature in a state of activity. See the note on No. 6, of the section Adi-Sangha.

† See the note on quotation 9 of this head. Yatna and Karma may here be rendered by intellect and morality.

‡ These are assumed facts in Natural History; but not correct.

§ Here is plainly announced that denial of self-consciousness or personality in the causa causarum which constitutes the great defect of the Swabhavika philosophy: and if this denial amount to atheism, the Swabhavikas are, for the most part, atheists; their denial also of a moral ruler of the universe being a necessary sequel to it. Excepting, however, a small and mean sect of them, they all affirm eternal necessary, entity; nor do any of them reject the soul's existence beyond the
10. The conch, which is worthy of all praise, bright as the moon, rated first among excellent things, and which is benevolent to all sentient beings, though it be itself insensate, yields its melodious music, purely by reason of Swabháva. (Kalpalata.)

11. That hands and feet, and belly and back, and head, in fine, organs of whatever kind, are found in the womb, the wise have attributed to Swabháva; and the union of the soul or life (Atma) with body, is also Swabháva. (Buddha Charitra Kávya.)

12. From Swabháva (nature) all things proceeded; by Swabháva all things are preserved. All their differences of structure and of habits are from Swabháva: and from Swabháva comes their destruction. All things are regulated (suddha) by Swabháva. Swabháva is known as the Supreme. (Pújâ hand,—from the Rucha Bhágavati, where the substance is found in sundry passages.)

13. Akásh is Swabhávika, because it is established, governed, perfected (suddha) by its own force or nature. All things are absorbed in it: it is uncreated or eternal; it is revealed by its own force; it is the essence (Atma*) of creation, preservation, and destruction; it is the essence of the five elements; it is infinite; it is intellectual essence (Bodhanátmika). The five colours are proper to it; and the five Buddhas; and the letters. It is Súnyáta; self-supported; omnipresent: to its essence belong both Pravritti and Nirvritti. This Akásh, which is omnipresent, and essentially intellectual,† because infinite things are absorbed into the grave, or the doctrine of atonement. Still Newton's is, upon the whole, the right judgment, 'Deus sine providentia et dominio nihil est nisi fatum et natura.' The Swabhávika attempts to deify nature are but a sad confusion of cause and effect. But, in a serious religious point of view, I fail to perceive any superiority possessed by the immaterial pantheism of Brahmans over the material pantheism of the Buddhists. Metempsychosis and absorption are common to both.

* One comment on the comment says, Atma here means sthan or alaya, i.e. the ubi of creation, &c.

† Akásh is here understood as synonymous with Súnyáta, that is, as the elemental state of all things, the universal ubi and modus of primal entity, in a state of abstraction from all specific forms: and it is worthy of note, that amidst these primal principles, intelligence has admission. It is therefore affirmed to be a necessary end, or eternal portion of the system of nature, though separated from self-
it, is declared to be infinite. From the infinite nature of this Akāsh were produced all moving things, each in its own time, in due procession from another, and with its proper difference of form and habits. From the secret nature of Akāsh proceeded likewise, together with the Vij Mantra of each one, air with its own mobility; and from air, fire with its own heat; and from fire, water with its intrinsic coldness; and from water, earth with its own proper solidity or heaviness; and from earth, Mount Suméru with its own substance of gold, or with its own sustaining power (Dhātvātmika); and from Suméru, all the various kinds of trees and vegetables; and from them, all the variety of colours, shapes, flavours, and fragrances, in leaves, flowers, and fruits. Each derived its essential property (as of fire to burn) from itself; and the order of its procession into existence from the one precedent, by virtue of Swabhāva, operating in time. The several manners of going peculiar to the six classes of animate beings (four-legged, two-legged, &c.) and their several modes of birth, (oviparous, &c.*) all proceeded from Swabhāva. From the Swabhāva of each mansion or habitat (Bhavana) resulted the differences existing between the several abodes of all the six orders of animate beings. The existence of the foetus in the womb proceeds from the Swabhāva of the union of male and female;

self-consciousness or personality. In the same manner, Prajna, the sum of all things, Diva natura, is declared to be eternal, and essentially intelligent, though a material principle.

* By etcetera, understand always (more Brahmanorum). That Buddhism forms an integral part of the Indian philosophy is sufficiently proved by the multitude of terms and classifications common to it, and to Brahmanism. The theogony and cosmogony of the latter are expressly those of the former, with sundry additions only, which serve to prove the posteriority of date, and schismatical secession, of the Buddhists. M. Cousin, in his course of philosophy, notices the absence of a sceptical school amongst the Indian philosophers. Buddhism, when fully explained, will supply the desideratum; and I would here notice the precipitation with which we are now constantly drawing general conclusions relative to the scope of Indian speculation, from a knowledge of the Brahmanical writings only—writings equalled or surpassed in number and value by those of the Buddhists, Jains, and other dissenters from the existing orthodox system of Vyasa and Sankara Acharya.
and its gradual growth and assumption of flesh, bones, skin, and organs, is caused by the joint energy of the Swabháva of the foetus, and that of time, or the Swabháva of the foetus, operating in time. The procession of all things from birth, through gradual increase, to maturity, and thence, through gradual decay, to death, results spontaneously from the nature of each being; as do the differences appropriated to the faculties of the senses and of the mind, and to those external things and internal, which are perceived by them. Speech and sustenance from dressed food in mankind, and the want of speech and the eating of grass in quadrupeds, together with the birth of birds from eggs, of insects from sweat, and of the Gods (Devatás) without parentage of any sort: all these marvels proceed from Swabháva. (Comment on the Puja kand, quotation 12.)

The Aiswarika System.

1. The self-existent God is the sum of perfections, infinite, eternal, without members or passions; one with all things (in Pravritti), and separate from all things (in Nirvritti), infiniformed and formless, the essence of Pravritti and of Nirvritti.* (Swayambhú Purána.)

2. He whose image is Súnyáta, who is like a cypher or point, infinite, unsustained (in Nirvritti), and sustained (in Pravritti), whose essence is Nirvritti, of whom all things are forms (in Pravritti,) and who is yet formless (in Nirvritti), who is the Isvara, the first intellectual essence, the A’di-Buddha, was revealed by his own will. This self-existent is he whom all know as the only true Being; and, though the state of Nirvritti be his proper and enduring state, yet, for the sake of Pravritti, (creation), having become Pancha-jñánátmika, he produced the five Buddhas thus; from Suvi-suddha-dharma-dhátu-jñyána, Vairo chana, the supremely wise, from whom proceed the element of earth, the sight,

* Pravritti, the versatile universe; Nirvritti, its opposite, this world and the next. Pravritti is compounded of Pra, an intensive, and vritti, action, occupation, from the root va, to blow as the wind; Nirvritti, of Nir, a privative, and vritti, as before.
and colours; and from Adarshana-jñyāṇa, Akshobhya, from whom proceed the element of water, the faculty of hearing, and all sounds; and from Pratyavekshana-jñyāṇa, Ratnasambhava, from whom proceed the element of fire, the sense of smell, and all odours; and from Samta-jñyāṇa, Amitābha, from whom proceed the element of air, the sense of taste, and all savours; and from Kritya-nuskha-jñyāṇa, Amogha Siddha, from whom proceed the element of ether, the faculty of touch, and all the sensible properties of outward things dependent thereon. All these five Buddhas are Pravritti kāmang, or the authors of creation. They possess the five jñyāṇas, the five colours, the five mudras, and the five vehicles.*

The five elements, five senses, and five respective objects of sense, are forms of them.† And these five Buddhas each produced a Bodhi-Satwā, (for the detail, see Asiatic Society’s Transactions, vol. xvi.) The five Bodhi-Satwas are Srishti-kāmang, or the immediate agents of creation; and each, in his turn, having become Sarvaguna, (invested with all qualities, or invested with the three gunas,) produced all things by his fiat. (Comment on quot. 1.)

3. All things existent (in the versatile universe) proceed from some cause (hetu): that cause is the Tathāgata‡ (Adi-Buddha); and that which is the cause of (versatile) existence is the cause

* See Appendix A.

† The five Dhyani Buddhas are said to be Pancha Bhuta, Pancha Indriya, and Pancha Ayatam akar. Hence my conjecture that they are mere personifications, according to a theistic theory of the phaenomena of the sensible world. The 6th Dhyani Buddha is, in like manner, the icon and source of the 6th sense, and its object, or Manasa and Dharma, i. e. the sentient principle, soul of the senses, or internal sense, and moral and intellectual phenomena. In the above passage, however, the association of the five elements is not the most accredited one, which (for example) associates hearing and sounds to Akash.

‡ This important word is compounded of Tatha, thus, and gata, gone or got, and is explained in three ways. 1st, thus got or obtained, viz. the rank of a Tathagata, obtained by observance of the rules prescribed for the acquisition of perfect wisdom, of which acquisition, total cessation of births is the efficient consequence. 2nd, thus gone, viz. the mundane existence of the Tathagata, gone
of the cessation or extinction of all (such) existence: so said Sākya Sinha. (Bhadra Kalpavan.)

4. Body is compounded of the five elements: soul, which animates it, is an emanation from the self-existent. (Swayambhu purāna.)

5. Those who have suffered many torments in this life, and have even burned in hell, shall, if they piously serve the Tri Ratna (or Triad), escape from the evils of both. (Avadān Kalpalatā.)

6. SUBANDU (a Rāja of Benares) was childless. He devoted so as never to return, mortal births having been closed, and Nirvṛtti obtained, by perfection of knowledge. 3rd, gone in the same manner as it or they (birth or births) came; the sceptical and necessitarian conclusion of those who held that both metempsychosis and absorption are beyond our intellect (as objects of knowledge), and independent of our efforts (as objects of desire and aversion—as contingencies to which we are liable); and that that which causes births, causes likewise (proprio vigore) the ultimate cessation of them. The epithet Tathagata, therefore, can only be applied to A'ḍī-Buddha, the self-existent, who is never incarnated, in a figurative, or at least a restricted, sense;—cessation of human births being the essence of what it implies. I have seen the question and answer, 'what is the Tathagata? It does not come again,' proposed and solved by the Raksha Bhaguvati, in the very spirit and almost in the words of the Vedas. One of a thousand proofs that have occurred to me how thoroughly Indian Buddhism is. Tathagata, thus gone, or gone as he came, as applied to A'ḍī-Buddha, alludes to his voluntary secession from the versatile world into that of abstraction, of which no mortal can predicate, more than that his departure and his advent are alike simple results of his volition. Some authors substitute this interpretation, exclusively applicable to A'ḍī-Buddha, for the third sceptical and general interpretation above given. The synonyme Sūgata, or 'well gone, for ever quit of versatile existence,' yet further illustrates the ordinary meaning of the word Tathagata, as well as the ultimate scope and genius of the Buddhist religion, of which the end is, freedom from metempsychosis; and the means, perfect and absolute enlightenment of the understanding, and consequent discovery of the grand secret of nature. What that grand secret, that ultimate truth, that single reality, is, whether all is God, or God is all, seems to be the sole propositum of the oriental philosophic religionists, who have all alike sought to discover it by taking the high priori road. That God is all, appears to be the prevalent and dogmatic determination of the Brahmanists; that all is God, the preferential but sceptical solution of the Buddhists; and, in a large view, I believe it would be difficult to indicate any further essential difference between their theoretic systems, both, as I conceive, the unquestionable growth of the Indian soil, and both founded upon transcendental speculations, conducted in the very same style and manner.
himself to the worship of Iswara (A'di Buddha;) and by the grace of Iswara a sugar-cane was produced from his semen, from which a son was born to him. The race* remains to this day, and is called Ikshava Aku. (Avadán Kalpatáta.)

7. When all was void, perfect void, (Súnya, Mahá Súnya) the triliteral syllable Aum became manifest, the first created, the ineffably splendid, surrounded by all the radical letters (Vijá Akshara), as by a necklace. In that Aum, he who is present in all things, formless and passionless, and who possesses the Tri Ratna, was produced by his own will. To him I make adoration. (Swayambhu purána).

The Kármika System.

1. From the union of Upáya and Prajñá,† arose Manas, the lord of the senses, and from Manas proceeded the ten virtues and the ten vices; so said Sákya Sinha. (Divya Avadán.)

2. The being of all things is derived from belief, reliance, (pratyaya,) in this order: from false knowledge, delusive impression; from delusive impression, general notions; from them, particulars; from them, the six seats (or outward objects) of the senses; from them, contact; from it, definite sensation and perception; from it, thirst or desire; from it, embryotic (physical) existence; from it, birth or actual physical existence; from it, all the distinctions of genus and species among animate things; from them, decay and death, after the manner and period peculiar to each. Such is the procession of all things into existence from Avidya, or delusion: and in the inverse order to that of their procession, they retrograde into non-existence. And the egress and regress are both Karmas,

* That of Sákya Sinha, and said by the Buddhists to belong to the solar line of Indian Princes. Nor is it any proof of the contrary, that the Purāṇika genealogies exhibit no trace of this race. Those genealogies have been altered again and again, to suit current prejudices or partialities. The Brahmins who obliterated throughout India every vestige of the splendid and extensive literature of the Buddhás, would have little scruple in expunging from their own sacred books the royal lineage of the great founder of Buddhism.

† See the note on quotation 6 of the section A'di Sangha. Also the note on quotation 1 of the Yatnīka system.
wherefore this system is called *Kārmika.* (*Sākya* to his disciples in the *Racha Bhagavati.*)

3. The existence of the versatile world is derived sheerly from fancy or imagination, or belief in its reality; and this false notion is the first *Karma* of *Manas,* or first act of the sentient principle, as yet unindividuated? and unembodied. This belief of the unembodied sentient principle in the reality of a mirage is attended with a longing after it, and a conviction of its worth and reality; which longing is called *Sanscār,* and constitutes the second *Karma* of *Manas.* When *Sanscār* becomes excessive, incipient individual, consciousness arises (third *Karma*); then proceeds an organised and definite, but archetypal body, the seat of that consciousness, (fourth *Karma*); from the last results the existence of [the six sensible and cognizable properties of] natural* objects, moral and physical, (fifth *Karma.*) When the archetypally embodied sentient principle comes to exercise itself on these properties of things, then definite perception or knowledge is produced, as that this is white, the other, black; this is right, the other wrong, (sixth *Karma.*) Thence arises desire or worldly affection in the archetypal body, (seventh *Karma,* which leads to corporeal conception, (eighth,) and that to physical birth, (ninth.) From birth result the varieties of genus and species distinguishing animated

* So I render, after much inquiry, the *Shad Ayatan,* or six seats of the senses external and internal; and which are in detail as follows: *Rupa, Savda, Ganda, Rasa, Sparsa, Dharma.* There is an obvious difficulty as to *Sparsa,* and some also as to *Dharma.* The whole category of the *Ayatanas* expresses outward things: and after much investigation, I gather, that under *Rupa* is comprised not only colour, but form too, so far as its discrimination (or, in *Karmika* terms, its existence) depends on sight; and that all other unspecified properties of body are referred to *Sparsa,* which therefore includes not only temperature, roughness, and smoothness, and hardness, and its opposite, but also gravity, and even extended figure, though not extension in the abstract.

Here we have not merely the secondary or sensible properties of matter, but also the primary ones; and, as the existence of the *Ayatanas* or outward objects perceived, is said to be derived from the *Indriyas,* (or from *Manas,* which is their collective energy,) in other words, to be derived from the sheer exercise of the percipient powers the *Karmika* system amounts to idealism. Nor is there any difficulty thence arising in reference to the *Karmika* doctrine, which clearly affirms that theory by its derivation
nature, (tenth Karma,) and thence come decay and death in the
time and manner peculiar to each, (eleventh and final Karma.)
Such is the evolution of all things in Pravritti; opposed to which
is Nirvritti, and the recurrence of Nirvritti is the sheer conse-
quence of the abandonment of all absurd ideas respecting the
reality and stability of Pravritti, or, which is the same thing, the
abandonment of Avidya: for, when Avidya is relinquished or
overcome, Sanscāra and all the rest of the Karmas or acts of the
sentient principle, vanish with it; and also, of course, all mun-
dane things and existences, which are thence only derived. Now,
therefore, we see that Pravritti or the versatile world is the con-
sequence of affection for a shadow, in the belief that it is a sub-
stance; and Nirvritti is the consequence of an abandonment of all
such affection and belief. And Pravritti and Nirvritti, which
divide the universe, are Karmas; wherefore the system is called
Kārmika. (Comment on Quotation 2.)

4. Since the world is produced by the Karma of Manas, or
sheer act of the sentient principle, it is therefore called Kármika.
The manner of procession of all things into existence is thus.
From the union of Upáya and of Prájna, Manas proceeded; and
from Manas, Avidya; and from Avidya, Sanscár; and from Sanscár,
Vijñána; and from Vijñána, Námarápa; and from Námarápa,
the Shad Ayatan;* and from them, Vedana; and from it, Trishna;
and from it, Upadána; and from it, Bhava; and from it, Jati; and
from it, Jàtrirypya Manas, (i.e. the sentient principle in organized animate beings) emanated the ten virtues
and ten vices. And as men's words and deeds partake of the
character of the one or the other, is their lot disposed, felicity be-
ing inseparably bound to virtue, and misery to vice, by the very
nature of Karma.

Such is the procession of all things into existence from Manas
through Avidyá; and when Avidyá ceases, all the rest cease
with it. Now, since Avidyá is a false knowledge, and is also the
medium of all mundane existence, when it ceases, the world
vanishes; and Manas, relieved from its illusion, is absorbed into
Upáya Prajna.† Pravritti is the state of things under the influ-
ence of Avidyá; and the cessation of Avidyá is Nirvritti: Právritti
and Nirvritti are both Karmas. (Another comment on Quot. 2.)

5. The actions of a man's former births constitute his dest-
iny.‡ (Punya paroda.)

6. He who has received from nature such wisdom as to read

* i.e. colour, odour, savour, sound, the properties dependent on touch,
(which are hardness, and its opposite, temperature, roughness and smoothness,
and also I believe gravity and extended figure,) and lastly, right and wrong.
They are called the seats of the six senses, the five ordinary, and one internal.
In this quotation I have purposely retained the original terms. Their import
may be gathered from the immediately preceding quotations and note, which
the curious may compare with Mr. Colebrooke's explication. See his paper
on the Buddhist philosophy, apud Trans. Roy. As. Socy. quarto vol.
† The Vamacharas say, into Prajna Upaya: see note on quotation 6 of the
section A'di Sangha.
‡ Duivya, identified with A'di Buddha by the theistic, and with Fate, by the
atheistic doctors. The precise equivalent of the maxim itself is our 'conduct
is fate.'
his own heart, and those of all others, even he cannot erase the characters which Vidhâtri* has written on his forehead. (Avadan Kalpalatâ.)

7. As the faithful servant walks behind his master when he walks, and stands behind him when he stands, so every animate being is bound in the chains of Karma. (Ditto.)

8. Karma accompanies every one, every where, every instant, through the forest, and across the ocean, and over the highest mountains, into the heaven of Indra, and into Pâtâla (hell); and no power can stay it. (Ditto.)

9. Kanâl, son of king Asoka, because in one birth he plucked out the golden eyes from a Chaitya,† had his own eyes plucked out in the next; and because he in that birth bestowed a pair of golden eyes on a Chaitya, received himself in the succeeding birth eyes of unequalled splendour. (Avadan Kalpalatâ.)

10. Sakya Sinha's son, named Râ'arna Bhadra, remained six years in the womb of his mother Yasodra. The pain and anxiety of mother and son were caused by the Karmas of their former births. (Ditto.)

11. Although I had required (Sîkya speaks of himself) a perfect body, still, even in this body, defect again appeared; because I had yet to expiate a small residue of the sins of former births. (Lallita Vistara.)

* Bramha, but here understood to be Karma.
† Chaitya is the name of the tomb temples or relic-consecrated churches of the Buddhists. The essential part of the structure is the lower hemisphere: above this a square basement or Toran always supports the acutely conical or pyramidal superstructure, and on all four sides of that basement two eyes are placed. Wherever the lower hemisphere is found, is indisputable evidence of Buddhism, e. g. 'the topes' of Manikâlaya and of Peshawar. In niches at the base of the hemisphere are frequently enshrined four of the five Dhyani Buddhas, one opposite to each cardinal point. Akshobhya occupies the eastern niche; Ratna-sambhava, the southern; Amitabha, the western, and Anogha-sidhâ, the northern. Vairocana, the first Dhyani Buddha, is supposed to occupy the centre, invisibly. Sometimes, however, he appears visibly, being placed at the right-hand of Akshobhya.
The Yātṛika System.

1. Isvarā (Adi Buddha) produced Yatna from Prajna;* and the cause of Pravritti and Nirvṛitti is Yatna; and all the difficulties that occur in the affairs of this world and the next are vanquished by Yatna (or conscious intellectual effort.) (Divya Avadan.)

2. That above mentioned Isvarā, by means of Yatna, produced the five Jñyāns, whence sprang the five Buddhās. The five Buddhās, in like manner, (i.e. by means of Yatna,) produced the five Bodhi satwas: and they again, by the same means, created the greater Devatās from their bodies, and the lesser ones, from the hairs of their bodies. In like manner, Brahma created the three Lokas† and all moving and motionless things. Among mortals, all difficulties are overcome by Yatna; for example, those of the sea by ships, those of illness by medicine, those of travelling by equipages—and want of paper, by prepared skin and bark of trees. And as all our worldly obstacles are removed by Yatna, so the wisdom which wins Nirvṛitti for us is the result of Yatna; because by it alone are charity and the rest of the virtues acquired. Since therefore all the goods of this world and of the next depend upon Yatna, Sākya Sinha wandered from region to region to teach mankind that cardinal truth. (Comment on Quotation 1.)

3. That Adi Buddha, whom the Swabhairvikas call Swabhairva, and the Aisvarikas, Isvarā,‡ produced a Bodhi satwa, who, having migrated through the three worlds, and through all six forms of animate existence, and experienced the goods and evils of every state of being, appeared, at last, as Sākya Sinha, to teach

* This, as I conceive, is an attempt to remedy that cardinal defect of the older Swabhāvika school, viz. the denial of personality, and conscious power and wisdom in the first cause. To the same effect is the Karmika assertion, that Manas proceeded from the union of Upaya and Prajna. Karma I understand to mean conscious moral effort, and Yatna, conscious intellectual effort. Their admission in respect to human nature implies its free will, as their ascription to the divine nature implies its personality.

† The celestial, terrene, and infernal divisions of the versatile universe.

‡ Passages of this entirely pyrrhonic tenure incessantly recur in the oldest and highest authorities of the Buddhists; hence the assertion of the preface that Sugatism is rather sceptical than atheistically dogmatic.
mankind the real sources of happiness and misery, and the doctrines of the four schools of philosophy;* and then, by means of \textit{Yatna}, having obtained \textit{Bodhi-jñān}, and having fulfilled all the \textit{Pāramitās} (transcendental virtues,) he at length became \textit{Nirvān.} (\textit{Divya Avadān.})

4. \textsc{Sakya Sinha}, having emanated from that self-existent, which, according to some, is \textit{Swabhāva}, and according to others, is \textit{Iswara}, was produced for the purpose of preserving all creatures. He first adopted the \textit{Pravṛtti Mārga} (secular character,) and in several births exercised \textit{Yatna} and \textit{Karma}, reaping the fruits of his actions in all the three worlds. He then exercised \textit{Yatna} and \textit{Karma} in the \textit{Nirvṛtti Mārga} (ascetical or monastic character) essaying a release from this mortal coil, fulfilling the ten virtues from the \textit{Satya} to the \textit{Satyapa Yuga}, till at last, in the \textit{Kali Yuga}, having completely freed himself from sublunary cares, having become a \textit{Bhikshuka},† and gone to \textit{Buddh Gya}, he rejected and reviled the Brāhmanical penance, did all sorts of true penance for six years under the tree of knowledge on banks of the \textit{Niranjana} river; conquered the \textit{Namuchimara},‡ obtained \textit{Bodhi-jñān}, became the most perfect of the \textit{Buddhas}, seated himself among the \textit{Bodhi satwas}, (\textit{Ananda 'Bhikshu'} and the rest,) granted wisdom to the simple, fulfilled the desires of millions of people, and gave \textit{Moksha}§ to them and to himself. (\textit{Lalita Vistāra.})

5. A hare fell in with a tiger: by means of \textit{Yatna} the hare threw the tiger into a well. Hence it appears that \textit{Yatna} prevails over physical force, knowledge, and the \textit{Mantras}. (\textit{Bhadra Kalpavādan.})

* Expressly called in the comment the \textit{Swabhāvika, Aiswarika, Yatniika,} and \textit{Karmika} systems. I find no authority in \textit{Saugata} books for the Brahmical nomenclature of the \textit{Bauddha} philosophical schools.

† Mendicant: one of the four regular orders of the \textit{Buddhās}. See the Preface.

‡ A \textit{Daitya} of \textit{Kanchanapara}, personification of the principle of evil. \textit{Bodhi-jñān} is the wisdom of \textit{Buddhism}. \textit{Ananda} was one of the first and ablest of \textsc{Sakya}'s disciples. The first code of \textit{Buddhism} is attributed to him.

§ Emancipation, absorption.
6. **Nara Sinha** (Rája of Benares) was a monster of cruelty. Satta Swáma Rája, by means of *Vatna*, compelled him to deliver up 100 Rájkumárs, whom Nara Sinha had destined for a sacrifice to the gods. (*Bhadra Kalpavadan.*)

7. **Sudhana Kumára** found a beautiful daughter of a horse-faced Rája named Druma. By means of *Vatna* he carried her off, and kept her; and was immortalized for the exploit. (*Swayambhu Purána.*)

*A'di Buddha.*

1. Know that when, in the beginning, all was perfect void (*Mahá sunyáta,*) and the five elements were not, then *A'di Buddha*, the stainless, was revealed in the form of flame or light.

2. He in whom are the three *gunas*, who is the *Mahá Múrti* and the *Visvarúpa* (form of all things,) became manifest: he is the self-existent great Buddha, the *A'di náth*, the Mahéswara.

3. He is the cause of all existences in the three worlds; the cause of their well being also. From his profound meditation (*Dhyán,*) the universe was produced by him.

4. He is the self-existent, the *Iswara*, the sum of perfections, the infinite, void of members or passions: all things are types of him, and yet he was no type: he is the form of all things, and yet formless.

* The doctrine of *Sunyata* is the darkest corner of the metaphysical labyrinth. 18 kinds of *Sunyata* are enumerated in the *Raksha Bhagavati*. I understand it to mean generally space, which some of our philosophers have held to be plenum, others a vacuum. In the transcendental sense of the *Buddhists*, it signifies not merely the universal * ubī*, but also the *modus existendi* of all things in the state of quiescence and abstraction from phenomenal being. The *Buddhists* have eternised matter or nature in that state. The energy of nature ever is, but is not ever exerted; and when not exerted, it is considered to be void of all those qualities which necessarily imply perishableness. Most of the *Buddhists* deem (upon different grounds) all phenomena to be as purely illusory as do the Vedantists. The phenomena of the latter are sheer energies of God; those of the former are sheer energies of Nature, deified and substituted for God. See note on quot. six of this section *A'di Sangha.* The *Aiswarikas* put their *A'di Buddha* in place of the nature of the older *Swabhavikas.* See Journal of As. Soc. No. 33, Art. 1.
5. He is without parts, shapeless, self-sustained, void of pain and care, eternal and not eternal;* him I salute. (Kāranda Vyūha.)

6. A'di Buddha is without beginning. He is perfect, pure within, the essence of the wisdom of thatness, or absolute truth. He knows all the past. His words are ever the same.

7. He is without second. He is omnipresent. He is the Nairatmya lion to the Kūṭīrtha deer.† (Nam sangti.)

8. I make salutation to A'di Buddha, who is one and sole in the universe; who gives every one Bodhi-jñān; whose name is Upāya; who became manifest in the greatest Sunyāta, as the letter A. Who is the Tathāgata; who is known only to those who have attained the wisdom of absolute truth. (Ditto.)

9. As in the mirror we mortals see our forms reflected, so A'di Buddha is known (in Pravṛtti) by the 32 lakhanas and 80 anuvinjanas. (Ditto.)

10. As the rainbow, by means of its five colours, forewarns mortals of the coming weather, so does A'di Buddha admonish the world of its good and evil actions by means of his five essential colours.‡ (Ditto.)

11. A'di Buddha delights in making happy every sentient being; he tenderly loves those who serve him. His majesty fills all with reverence and awe. He is the assuager of pain and grief. (Ditto.)

* One in Nirvṛtti; the other in Pravṛtti; and so of all the preceding contrasted epithets. Nirvṛtti is quiescence and abstraction; Pravṛtti, action and concretion. All the schools admit these two modes, and thus solve the difficulty of different properties existing in cause and in effects.

† Comment says, that Nairatmya is ' Sarva Dharmanam nirabhās lakshanang'; and that Tirtha means Moksha, and Katirtha, any perversion of the doctrine of Moksha, as to say it consists in absorption into Brahm: and it explains the whole thus, ' He thunders in the ears of all those who misinterpret Moksha; there is no true Moksha, but Sunyata.' Another comment gives the sense thus, dividing the sentence into two parts, ' There is no atma (life or soul) without him: he alarms the wicked as the lion the deer.' The first commentator is a Svabhāvika; the second, an Aśvārika one.

‡ White, blue, yellow, red, and green, assigned to the five Dhyāni Buddhas.

For a detail of the lakhanas, anuvinjanas, balas, bāsitas, &c. of the neighbouring quotations, see Appendix A.
12. He is the possessor of the 10 virtues; the giver of the 10 virtues; the lord of the 10 heavens; lord of the Universe; present in the 10 heavens. (Ditto.)

13. By reason of the 10 jñāns, his soul is enlightened. He too is the enlightener of the 10 jñāns. He has 10 forms and 10 significations, and 10 strengths, and 10 basitas. He is omnipresent, the chief of the Munis. (Ditto.)

14. He has five bodies, and five jñāns, and five sights; is the mukat of the five Buddhas, without partner. (Ditto.)

15. He is the creator of all the Buddhas: the chief of the Bodhi satwas are cherished by him. He is the creator of Prajñā, and of the world; himself unmade. Aliter, he made the world by the assistance of Prajñā; himself unmade. He is the author of virtue, the destroyer of all things.* (Ditto.)

16. He is the essence of all essences. He is the Vajra-ātma. He is the instantly-produced lord of the universe; the creator of Akāsh. He assumes the form of fire, by reason of the Prajnayarupi-jñān, to consume the straw of ignorance. (Ditto.)

_Aḍi Prajñā, or Dharma._

1. I salute that Prajñā Paramitā, who by reason of her omniscience causes the tranquillity-seeking Srāvakas† to obtain absorption; who, by her knowledge of all the ways of action, causes each to go in the path suited to his genius, of whom wise men have said, that the external and internal diversities belonging to all animate nature, as produced by her, who is the mother of Buddha (Buddha Mātra) of that Buddha to whose service all the Srāvakas and Bodhi-satwas dedicate themselves. (Panchavinsati Sahasrika.)

* The comment on this passage is very full, and very curious, in as much as it reduces many of these supreme deities to mere parts of speech. Here is the summing up of the comment: 'He (Aḍi Buddha) is the instructor of the Buddhas and of the Bodhi-satwas. He is known by the knowledge of spiritual wisdom. He is the creator and destroyer of all things, the fountain of virtue.' Spiritual wisdom is stated to consist of Sila, Samudhi, Prajña, Viśukhi, and jñān.

† Name of one of the ascetical orders of Buddhists. See Preface.
2. First air, then fire, then water, then earth,* and in the
centre of earth, Suméru, the sides of which are the residence of
the 33 millions of gods (Devatás,) and above these, upon a Lotos
of precious stones, sustaining the mansion of the moon (or a
moon-crescent) sits Prajñá Paramitá, in the Lallita-ásan man-
ner;† Prajñá, the mother of all the gods (Prasú-bhagavatáng,)
and without beginning or end, (anádyant.) (Bhadra Kalpavadán.)

3. I make salutation to the Prajñá Deví, who is the Prajñá
Paramitá, the Prajñá rupa, the Nir rupa, and the universal mo-
ther. (Pujá kand.)

4. Thou Prajñá art, like Akásh, intact and intangible; thou
art above all human wants; thou art established by thy own
power. He who devoutly serves thee serves the Tathágata also.
(Ashta Sahasriha.)

5. Thou mighty object of my worship! thou Prajñá, art the
sum of all good qualities; and Buddha is the Gúrú of the world.
The wise make no distinction between thee and Buddha. (Ashta
Sahasriha.)

6. O thou who art merciful to thy worshippers, the benevolent,
knowing thee to be the source of Baudhá excellence, attain per-
fected happiness by the worship of thee! (Ditto.)

7. Those Buddhas who are merciful, and the Gúrús of the
world, all such Buddhas are thy children. Thou art all good,
and the universal mother (Sakaljagat Pitá Mahi.) (Ditto.)

8. Every Buddha assembling his disciples instructs them
how from unity thou becomest multiformed and many named.
(Ditto.)

9. Thou comest not from any place, thou goest not to any
place. Do the wise nowhere find thee?‡ (Ditto.)

* In this enumeration of material elements, Akásh is omitted : but it is
mentioned, and most emphatically, in quot. 4, as in the 50 other places quoted.
In like manner, the five elements are frequently mentioned, without allusion to
the 6th, which however occurs in 81 places. Omission of this sort is no denial.
† i. e. one leg tucked under the other, advanced and resting on the bow of
the moon-crescent.
‡ The force of the question is this, the wise certainly find thee.
10. The *Buddhas, Pratyéka Buddhás, and Srávakas,* have all devoutly served thee. By thee alone is absorption obtained. These are truths revealed in all *Śástrás.* (Ditto.)

11. What tongue can utter thy praises, thou of whose being (or manifestation) there is no cause but thy own will. No *Purána* hath revealed any attribute by which thou mayest certainly be known. (Ditto.)

12. When all was *Sunyátá, Prájñá Deví* was revealed out of *Ākásh* with the letter U; *Prájñá,* the mother of all the *Buddhas* and *Bodhi-sattvas,* in whose heart *Dharma* ever resides; *Prájñá,* who is without the world and the world's wisdom, full of the wisdom of absolute truth: the giver and the icon of that wisdom; the ever living (*Sanatani*); the inscrutable; the mother of *Buddha.*† (Pujá kand.)

13. O *Prájñá Dévi!* thou art the mother (*Janani*) of all the *Buddhas,* the grandmother of the *Bodhi-sattvas,* and great grandmother of all (other) creatures! thou art the goddess (*Isáni.* (Ditto.)

14. Thou, *Sri Bhagavati Dévi Prájñá,* art the sum of all the sciences, the mother of all the *Buddhas,* the enlightener of *Bodhi-jňáán,* the light of the universe! (Gunákāranda Vyūha.)

15. The humbler of the pride of *Namuchi-mára,* and of all proud ones: the giver of the quality of *Satya*; the possessor of all the sciences, the *Lakshmi*; the protector of all mortals, such is the *Dharma Ratna.* (Ditto.)

16. All that the *Buddhas* have said, as contained in the *Mahá Yána Sútra* and the rest of the *Sútras,* is also *Dharma Ratna.*‡ (Ditto.)

* The *Buddhas* are of three grades: the highest is *Maha Yána,* the medial, *Pratyéka,* and the lowest, *Sravaka.* These three grades are called collectively the *Tri-Yána,* or three chariots, bearing their possessors to transcendental glory.

† *Sugatija,* which the *Vamachars* render, 'of whom *Buddha* was born;' the *Dakshinachars,* 'born of *Buddha,* or goer to *Buddha,*' as wife to husband.

‡ Hence the scriptures are worshipped as forms of *Aḍi Dharma Sutra,* means literally thread (of discourse,) aphorism. *Sákya,* like other Indian sages,
17. Because Buddha sits on the brow, the splendour thence derived to thy form illuminates all the ethereal expanse, and sheds over the three worlds the light of a million of suns, the four Devatás, Brahma, Vishnu, Mahésa, and Indra, are oppressed beneath thy feet, which is advanced in the Alir-Asan. O Arya Tárá! he who shall meditate on thee in this form shall be relieved from all future births. (Saraká Dhará.)*

18. Thy manifestation, say some of the wise, is thus, from the roots of the hairs of thy body sprang Akásh, heaven, earth, and hades, together with their inhabitants, the greater Devatás, the lesser, the Daityas, the Siddhás, Gandharbas, and Nagás. So too (from thy hairs,) wonderful to tell! were produced the various mansions of the Buddhas, together with the thousands of Buddhas who occupy them.† From thy own being were formed all moving and motionless things without exception. (Ditto.)

19. Salutation to Prájñá Dévi, from whom, in the form of desire, the production of the world was excellently obtained,‡ who is beautiful as the full moon, the mother of A'di Buddha, (Jinindra Matra,) and wife of (the other) Buddha, who is imperishable as adamant. (Sádhana Mála.)

sages, taught orally, and it is doubtful if he himself reduced his doctrines to a written code, though the great scriptures of the sect are now generally attributed to him. Sutra is now the title of the books of highest authority among the Baudhás.

* Composed by Sarvejna Mitrapada of Kashmir, and in very high esteem, though not of scriptural authority.

† These thousands of Buddhas of immortal mould are somewhat opposed to the so called simplicity of Buddhism !! whatever were the primitive doctrines of Sakya, it is certain that the system attributed to him, and now found in the written authorities of the sect, is the very antipodes of simplicity.

‡ Dharmadya-sangata Kamrupini, variously rendered, 'well got from the rise of virtue,' 'well got from the rise or origin of the world;' also as in text, Dharmaddya, the source of all things, signifies likewise the Yoni, of which the type is a triangle. See 20. The triangle is a familiar symbol in temples of the Buddha Saktis, and of the Triad. ▲ The point in the midst represents either A'di Buddha or A'di Prajna, according to the theistic or atheistic tendency of his opinions who uses it. Our commentator is of the Vamachar or Atheistic school, and such also is his text.
20. That Yoni, from which the world was made manifest, is the Trikonákar Yantra. In the midst of the Yantra or tríkon (triangle) is a bindú (point, cypher): from that bindú, A’dí Prájñá revealed herself by her own will. From one side of the triangle A’dí Prájñá produced Buddha, and from another side, Dharma, and from the third side, Sangha. That A’dí Prájñá is the mother of that Buddha who issued from the first side; and Dharma, who issued from the second side, is the wife of the Buddha of the first side, and the mother of the other Buddhas. (Comment on quotation 19.)

21. Salutation to Prájñá Páramitá, the infinite, who, when all was void, was revealed by her own will, out of the letter U. Prájñá, the Sakti of Upáya, the sustainer of all things, (Dharmikí) the mother of the world, (Jagatmátra;) the Dhyán-rúpa, the mother of the Buddhas. The modesty of women is a form of her, and the prosperity of all earthly things. She is the wisdom of mortals, and the ease, and the joy, and the emancipation, and the knowledge. Prájñá is present everywhere. (Sádhana Mála.)

A’di Sangha.

1. That A’mitabha, by virtue of his Samta-jñyán, created the Bodhi-satwa named Padma-páni, and committed to his hands the lotos. (Gunakáranda Vyciha.)

2. From between his (Padma-páni’s) shoulders sprang Brahma; from his forehead, Mahá Déva; from his two eyes, the sun.

* Type of creative power. A’mitabha is the 4th Dhyani or celestial Buddha: Padma-páni is his Æon and executive minister. Padma-páni is the presens Divus and creator of the existing system of worlds. Hence his identification with the third member of the Triad. He is figured as a graceful youth, erect, and bearing in either hand a lotus and a jewel. The last circumstance explains the meaning of the celebrated Shadakshari Mantra, or six-lettered invocation of him, viz. Om / Mane padme hám / of which so many corrupt versions and more corrupt interpretations have appeared from Chinese, Tibetan, Japanese, Mongol, and other sources. The mantra in question is one of three, addressed to the several members of the Triad. But the presens Divus, whether he be Augustus or Padma-páni, is every thing with the many. Hence the notoriety of this mantra, whilst the others are hardly ever heard of, and have thus remained unknown to our travellers.
and moon; from his mouth, the air; from his teeth, Saranvati; from his belly, Varuna; from his knees, Lakshmi; from his feet, the earth; from his navel, water; from the roots of his hair, the Indras and other Devatás. (Ditto.)

3. For the sake of obtaining Nirvṛtti, I devote myself to the feet of Sangha, who, having assumed the three Gunas, created the three worlds. (Pujā hand.)

4. He (Padma-pāni) is the possessor of Satya Dharma, the Bodhi-satva, the lord of the world, the Mahā-satvoa, the master of all the Dharmas. (Gunakāranda Vyūha.)

5. The lord of all worlds, (Sarvalokadhīpa,) the Sri-mán, the Dharma Rāja, the Lokēśvara, sprang from A'di-Buddha* (Jinat-muja.) Such is he whom men know for the Sangha Ratna. (Ditto.)

6. From the union of the essences of Upāya and of Prājñā† proceeded the world, which is Sangha.

P. S. With regard to the consistency or otherwise of the view of the subject taken in the sketch of Buddhism, with the general tenor of the foregone quotations, I would observe, that the ideal theory involved in the Prājñika, Swabhāvikas, and in the Karmika doctrines, was omitted by me in the sketch, from some then remain-

* From A'mitabha Buddha immediately: mediately from A'di Buddha.
† Such is the Aiswarika reading. The Prajñikas read 'from the union of Prajña and Upaya.'

With the former, Upaya is A'di Buddha, the efficient and plastic cause, or only the former; and Prajña is A'di Dharma, plastic cause, a biunity with Buddha, or only a product. With the latter, Upaya is the energy of Prajña, the universal material cause.

The original aphorism, as I believe, is, 'Prajñoupayatmakang jagata,' which I thus translate; 'From the universal material principle, in a state of activity, proceeded the world.' This original Sutra has, however, undergone two transformations to suit it to the respective doctrines of the Triadic Aiswarikas and of the Karmikas. The version of the former is, Upayaprajnamakang sangha, that of the latter is, Upayaprajnamakang manasa. Of both, the Upaya is identical with A'di Buddha, and the Prajña with A'di Dharma. But the result—the unsophisticated jagat of the Parjnikas, became A'di Sangha, a creator, with the Aiswarikas; and Manasa, the sentient principle in man, the first production, and producer of all other things, with the Karmikas. Avidya, or the condition of
ing hesitation as to its real drift, as well as its connexion with those schools, and no other. Upon this exclusive connexion I have still some doubt. For the rest, I retain unchanged the opinions expressed in the sketch, that the Karmika and Yâtnika schools are more recent than the others—that they owe their origin to attempts to qualify the extravagant quietism of the primitive Swabhâvikas, and even of the Aiswarikas—and that their contradistinguishing mark is the preference given by them respectively to morals, or to intellect, with a view to final beatitude. The assertion of the Ashtasahasrika, that Swabhâva, or nature absolutely disposes of us, not less than the assertion of others, that an immaterial abstraction so disposes of us, very logically leads the author of the Buddha Charitra to deny the use of virtue or intellect. To oppose these ancient notions was, I conceive, the especial object of those who, by laying due stress on Karma and Yatma, gave rise to the Kârmika and Yâtnika schools. But that these latter entertained such just and adequate notions of God's providence, or man's free will, as we are familiar with, it is not necessary to suppose, and is altogether improbable. None such they could entertain if, as I believe, they adopted the more general principles of their predecessors. The ideal theory or denial of the reality of the versatile world, has, in some of its numerous phrases, a philosophical foundation; but its prevalence and popularity among the

of mundane things and existences, is an illusion, alike with the Prajnikas and with the Karmikas. But, whilst the former consider Avidya the universal affection of the material and immediate cause of all things whatever; the latter regard Avidya as an affection of manas merely, which they hold to be an immaterial principle and the immediate cause of all things else, A'di Buddha being their final cause. The phenomena of both are homogeneous and unreal: but the Prajnikas derive them, directly, from a material source—the Karmikas, indirectly, from an immaterial fount. Our sober European thoughts and languages can scarcely cope with such extravagancies as these: but it would seem we must call the one doctrine material, the other, immaterial, idealism.

The phenomena of the Prajnikas are sheer energies of matter, those of the Karmikas, are sheer (human) perceptions. The notions of the former rest on general grounds—those of the latter, on particular ones, or (as it has been phrased) upon the putting the world into a man's self; the Greek "panton metron anthropos."
Buddhists are ascribable principally to that enthusiastic contempt of action for which these quietists are so remarkable. Their passionate love of abstractions is another prop of this theory.

APPENDIX A.

Detail of the principal attributes of A'di Buddha and of the 18 Sunyata.

The 32 Lakshana.

1. \{ Chakrāṅgkita pani pada \} talatā.
2. \{ Supratishthita pani pada \} talatā.
3. \{ Jālābuddha Vajrāngūli pani pada talatā \}.
4. \{ Mridū tarūna hastā pada talatā \}.
5. Saptō chandatā.
6. Dirghāṅgulitā.
7. Ayata parsha nitā.
8. Rīyu gātratā.
9. U'stanga pādatā.
10. U'rdhāṅga romatā.
11. Aīnaya Junghatā.
15. Sūkla chavitā.

16. \{ Pradakshina Vartaikā rōmatā \}.
17. U'rmalangkrita Mūkhatā.
19. Sūsambhita skandhatā.
20. Chittantarangatā.
22. Nyagradha parimandalatā.
23. U'shnisha Siraskatā.
25. Prastambaratā.
26. Singha hanūtā.
27. Sukla hanūtā.
28. Sama dāntatā.
29. Hansa Vikranta gamitā.
30. Avirala dāntatā.
31. Sama chatwa ringsat dāntatā.
32. Abhūnila nēttratā.

The 80 Vyanjana.

1. A'tāmra nakhatā.
2. Snigdha nakhatā.
3. Tūnga nakhatā.
5. Anúpúrvangúlitá.
7. Niggrándhirí Síratá.
8. Gúdhá gúlpñáltá.
10. Singha Vikránta gámitá.
15. Chárú gámitá.
17. Brita gátratá.
18. Mrísta gátratá.
19. Anúpúrva gátratá.
20. Suchí gátratá.
22. Bisúddha gátratá.
23. Paripúrna Vyanjanatá.
24. \{ Prathú charú mandala \ gátratá.
25. Sama kramátá.
27. Súkúmára gátratá.
28. Adína gátratá.
29. Útsaha gátratá.
30. Gambhíra kúkshátá.
31. Prasanna gátratá.
32. \{ Súbibhaktanga pratyan-
   gatá.
33. Bitimira Súdhwa lakatá.
34. Bitúnga kúkshítá.
35. Mrísta kúkshítá.
36. Abhyá kúkshítá.
37. Akshóbha kúkshítá.
38. Gambhíra nábhitá.
40. Samant prásádikátá.
41. Súchí samúda chaíratá.
42. Byapaga tailalak gátratá.
43. \{ Gandha sadrisa súkúmara \ panita.
44. Snigdha pani lékhítá.
45. Gambhíra pani lékhítá.
46. Ayta pani lékhítá.
47. Nátyaéta vachanátá.
49. Mrídú jíhwata.
50. Tánú jíhwata.
51. Mégha garjita ghosatá.
52. Rakta jíhwata.
53. \{ Madhúra Charú manjú \ Swurátá.
54. Vrittta dangstratá.
55. Tikshna dangstratá.
56. Súkla dangstratá.
57. Sama dangstratá.
58. Anúpúrva dangstratá.
59. Túnga násikatá.
60. Shúchi násikatá.
61. Visála nètttratá.
62. Chittra púkshmáta.
63. \{ Sitá sita kamala dala \ nètttratá.
64. Ayét krikátá.
65. Súkla bhrukátá.
66. Súnigdha bhrúkátá.
67. Pináyata bhója latátá.
68. Sama karnátá.
69. Anúpahata karnendriátá.
70. Aparisthana lalatatá.
71. Prithú lalatatá.
72. Súparipúrnottamangatá.
73. Bhramara sadrisa késahatá.
74. Chitra késahatá.
75. Gúhya késahatá.
76. Asangúnita késahatá.
77. Apúrusha késahatá.
78. Súrabhi késahatá.
79. Sribasta múkti kanangha.
80. Vartula chinhtita pani pa-
da talatá.

The 5 Varana.
1. Sweta.
2. Nila.
3. Pita.
4. Rakta.
5. Syama.

The 10 Páramitá.
1. Dána.
2. Sila.
4. Virya.
5. Dhyan.
6. Prajña.
7. Upaya.
8. Bala.

The 10 Bhúvana.
1. Pramúdhita.
2. Vimala.
3. Prabhákari.
4. Archishmati.
5. Súdúrjaya.
6. Abhimúkhi.
7. Dúrangama.
8. Sádhúmati.
10. Dharma mégha.

The 10 Jñánas.
1. Dúkh'ha Jñan.
2. Samúdyá Jñan.
5. Dharma Jñan.
6. Artha Jñan.
7. Sambirhti Jñan.
10. Anútpada Jñan.

The 10 Akára.
1. Prithivy akára.
2. Jal akára.
3. Agny akára.
4. Váyu akára.
5. Akas akára.
6. Akása nírodh akára.
7. Váyu nírodh akára.
8. Agni nírodh akára.
10. Prithiví nírodh akára.
The 10 Artha.
5. Vyán ártha. 10. Dhananjya ártha.

The 10 Bala.
1. Sthána sthána Jñan bala. 7. Dhyan, Vímaksha Sama-
2. Karma vipaka Jñan bala. dhi, Samápatti Sang-
3. Nánádhátú Jñan bala. klésh, Vyavadan Sthana
5. Satandria prápara Jñan 8. Purva nivása núsmriti
bala. Jñan bala.
bala. 10. Asrabakshaya Jñan bala.

The 10 Basita.
2. Chitta basita. 7. Adhimókti basita.

The 5 Kaya.
1. Dharma kaya. 4. Maha Súkha kaya.
3. Nirmána kaya.

The 5 Chakshu.
1. Mánsa chakshu. 4. Divya chakshu.
2. Dharma chakshu. 5. Buddha chakshu.
3. Prajñyan chakshu.

The 18 Sunyata.
1. Adhyatma sunyata. 5. Maha sunyata.
3. Adhyatma Bahirdha sunyata. 7. Sanscrito sunyata.
10. Anábarágra sunyata. 15. Anupalambha sunyata.

Matantara 20 Sunyata.


APPENDIX B.

Classified enumeration of the principal objectsof Bauddha Worship.

_Ekamnaya._
Upaya.
Adi-Buddha.
Maha-Vairochana.
_Ekamnayi._
Prajna.
Prajna-paramita.
_Dwayamnaya._
1. 2.
1. 2.
_Trayamnaya._
1. 2. 3.
2. 1. 3.
1. 2. 3.

_Pancha-Buddhamnaya._

4. 2. 1. 3. 5.
_Pancha-Prajnamnayi._

4. 2. 1. 3. 5.
_Pancha-Sanghamnaya._

4. 2. 1. 3. 5.
Pancha-Sangha-Prajnamnayi.

Matantara-Pancha-Buddhamnaya.

Matantara-Pancha-Prajnamnayi.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. Vajradhatwisvari. Lochana. Mamaki. Pandara. Tara.
Matantara-Pancha-Sanghamnaya.

Matantara-Pancha-Sangha-Prajnamnayi.

Matantara-Pancha-Prajnamnayi.

Vajrasatwathmika.

Shad-Amnaya-Buddhah.

Shat-Prajnamnayi.

Shat-Sanghamnaya.

Manushiya-Sapta-Buddhamnaya.

Matantara-Manushiya-Sapta-Buddhamnaya.

Prajna-Misrita-Dhyani-Nava-Buddhamnaya.


Dhyani-Nava-Buddhamnaya.


Dhyani-Nava-Prajnamayi.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

6. 7. 8. 9.

Dhyani-Nava-Sanghamnyah.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

6. 7. 8. 9.

Misrita-Nava-Buddhamanyanam ete Misita-Nava-Sanghamnyah.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9.


2. 1. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9.

8. 9. 10.
Lalita-vistara. Suvarna-prabha.

Nava-Bothhisatwa-Sangha-Prajnamayi.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

6. 7. 8. 9.

Nava-Devi-Prajnamayi.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9.


Misrita-Nava-Dharmamnyah.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

6. 7. 8. 9.

Munushiya-Nava-Buddhamnyah.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nava-Buddhamnayah</th>
<th>Nava-Prajnamnayi</th>
<th>Nava-Bhikshu-Sanghamnayi</th>
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N. B. The authority for these details is the Dharma Sangraha, or catalogue raisonne of the terminology of Bauddha system of philosophy and religion.

**No. IV.**

**EUROPEAN SPECULATIONS ON BUDDHISM.**

(Printed from the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Nos. 32, 33, and 34, A. D. 1834.)

In the late M. Abel Remusat's review of my sketch of Buddhism, (Journal des Savans, Mai, 1831,) with the perusal of which I have just been favoured by Mr. J. Prinsep, there occurs (p. 263) the following passage: "L'une des croyances les plus importantes, et celle sur laquelle l'essai de M. Hodgson fournit le moins de lumières, est celle des avénemens ou incarnations (avatâra). Le nom de Tathâgata (avenu*) qu'on donne à Sakia n'est point expliqué dans son mémoire; et quant aux incarnations, le religieux dont les reponses ont fourni la substance de ce mémoire, ne semble pas en reconnoître d'autres que celles des sept Bouddhas. Il est pourtant certain qu'on en compte une

* A radical mistake; see the sequel.
infinite d'autres ; et les lamas du Tibet se considèrent eux mêmes comme autant de divinités incarnées pour le salut des hommes."

I confess I am somewhat surprised by these observations, since whatever degree of useful information relative to Buddhism my essays in the Calcutta and London Transactions may furnish, they profess not to give any, (save ex vi necessitatis) concerning the 'veritable nonsens' of the system. And in what light, I pray you, is sober sense to regard "une infinité" of phantoms, challenging belief in their historical existence as the founders and propagators of a given code of laws? The Lallita Vistara gravely assigns 505, or according to another copy, 550, avatárs to Sakya alone. Was I seriously to incline to the task of collecting and recording all that is attributed to these palpable nonentities? or, was it merely desired that I should explain the rationale of the doctrine of incarnation? If the latter only be the desideratum, here is a summary recapitulation of what I thought I had already sufficiently explained.

The scale of Baudhá perfectibility has countless degrees, several of which towards the summit express attributes really divine, however short of the transcendental glory of a tathágata in nirváñca. Nevertheless, these attributes appertain to persons subject to mortal births and deaths, of which the series is as little limited as is that scale of cumulative merits to which it expressly refers. But, if the scale of increasing merits, with proportionate powers in the occupiers of each grade, have almost infinite extent, and yet mortal birth cleave to every grade but the very highest, what wonder that men-gods should be common? or, that the appearance again in the flesh, of beings, who are far more largely gifted than the greatest of the devás, should be called an avatára? Such avatáras, in all their successive mortal advents till they can reach the estate of a tathágata, are the arhantas, and the bodhisatvas, the pratyéka and the sávaka-Buddhas. They are gods and far more than gods; yet they were originally, and still quad birth and death are, mere men. When I stated that the divine Lamas of Tibet are, in fact, arhantas; but that a very gross superstition had wrested the just notion of the character of the lat-
ter to its own use, I thought I had enabled every reader to form a clear idea of that marvel of human folly, the immortal mortals, or present palpable divinities of Tibet! How few and easy the steps from a theory of human perfectibility, with an apparently interminable metempsychosis, to a practical tenet such as the Tibetans hold!

But Remusat speaks of the incarnations of the tathāgatas: this is a mistake, and a radical one. A tathāgata may be such whilst yet lingering in the flesh of that mortal birth in which he reached this supreme grade;—and here, by the way, is another very obvious foundation for the Tibetan extravagance—but when once, by that body's decay, the tathāgata has passed into nirvṛtti, he can never be again incarnated. The only true and proper Buddha is the Maha Yānīka or Tathāgata Buddha. Such are all the ‘supta Buddha;’ of whom it is abundantly certain that not one ever was, or by the principles of the creed, could be, incarnated. Sākyā's incarnations all belong to the period preceding his becoming a Tathāgata. Absolute quietism is the enduring state of a Tathāgata: and, had it been otherwise, Buddhism would have been justly chargeable with a more stupendous absurdity than that from which Remusat in vain essays to clear it. ‘Plusieurs absolus—plusieurs infinis’ there are; and they are bad enough, though the absolute infinity be restricted to the fruition of the subject. But the case would have been tenfold worse had activity been ascribed to these beings; for we should then have had an unlimited number of infinite ruling providences! The infinite of the Buddhists is never incarnated; nor the finite of the Brahmans. Aqatārs are an essential and consistent part of Brahmanism—an unessential and inconsistent part of Buddhism: and there is always this material difference between the avatār of the former and of the latter, that whereas in the one it is an incarnation of the supreme and infinite spirit, for recognised purposes of creation or rule; in the other, it is an incarnation of a mere human spirit—(however approximated by its own efforts to the infinite) and for what purpose it is impossible to say, consistently with the principles of the creed. I exclude here all consideration of the
dhyaṇī, or celestial Buddhas, because Remusat's reference is expressly to the seven mānushi or human ones.

The word tathāgata is reduced to its elements, and explained in three ways—1st. thus gone, which means gone in such a manner that he (the tathāgata) will never appear again; births having been closed by the attainment of perfection. 2nd. thus got or obtained, which is to say, (cessation of births) obtained, degree by degree, in the manner described in the Baudhā scripts, and by observance of the precepts therein laid down. 3rd. thus gone, that is, gone as it (birth) came—the pyrrhonic interpretation of those who hold that doubt is the end, as well as beginning, of wisdom; and that that which causes birth, causes likewise the ultimate cessation of them, whether that 'final close' be conscious immortality or virtual nothingness. Thus the epithet tathāgata, so far from meaning 'come' (avenu), and implying incarnation, as Remusat supposed, signifies the direct contrary, or 'gone for ever;' and expressly announces the impossibility of incarnation; and this according to all the schools, sceptical, theistic, and atheistic.

I shall not, I suppose, be again asked for the incarnations of the tathāgatas.* Nor, I fancy, will any philosophical peruser of the above etymology of this important word have much hesitation in refusing, on this ground alone, any portion of his serious attention to the 'infinite' of Buddhist avatārs, such as they really are. To my mind they belong to the very same category of mythological shadows with the infinity of distinct Buddhas, which latter, when I first disclosed it as a fact in relation to the belief of these sectaries, led me to warn my readers "to keep a steady eye upon the authoritative assertion of the old scriptures, that Sakya is the 7th and last of the Buddhas."†

The purpose of my two essays on Buddhism was to seize and render intelligible the leading and least absurd of the opinions and practices of these religionists, in order to facilitate to my country-

* To the question, what is the tathagata, the most holy of Buddhist scriptures returneth for answer, 'It does not come again, it does not come again.'
men the study of an entirely new and difficult subject in those original Sanscrit authorities* which I had discovered and placed within their reach, but no living interpreters of which, I knew, were accessible to them, in Bengal or in Europe.

I had no purpose, nor have I, to meddle with the interminable sheer absurdities of the Baudhha philosophy or religion; and, had I not been called upon for proofs of the numerous novel statements my two essays contained, I should not probably have recurred at all to the topic. But sensible of the prevalent literary scepticism of our day and race, I have answered that call, and furnished to the Royal Asiatic Society, a copious selection from those original works which I had some years previously discovered the existence of in Nepaul. I trust that a further consideration of my two published essays, as illustrated by the new paper just mentioned, will suffice to remove from the minds of my continental readers most of those doubts of Remusat, the solution of which does not necessarily imply conversancy on my part with details as absurd as interminable. I cannot, however, be answerable for the mistakes of my commentators. One signal one, on the part of the lamented author in question, I have just discussed: others of importance I have adverted to elsewhere: and I shall here confine myself to the mention of one more belonging to the review from which I have quoted. In speaking of the classification of the people, Remusat considers the vajra achárya to be laics; which is so far from being true that they and they alone constitute the clergy. The bhikshuka can indeed perform some of the lower offices of religion: but the vajra achárya solely are competent to the discharge of the higher; and, in point of fact, are the only real clergy. That the distinction of clerus et laicus in this creed is altogether an anomaly, resulting from the decay of the primitive asceticism of

* Nearly 50 vols. in Sanscrit, and four times as many in the language of Tibet, were sent by me to Calcutta between the years 1824 and 30. The former had never been before heard of, nor the latter possessed, by Europeans.

[See the notices of the contents of the Tibetan works and their Sanscrit originals by M. Csoma de Koros, and by Professor H. H. Wilson in the 3rd vol. of Gleanings, and 1st vol. of Journal As. Soc.—Ed.]
the sect, I have endeavoured to shew elsewhere, and cannot afford room for repetition in this place.

The critics generally have been, I observe, prompt to adopt my caution relative to local superstitions, as opposed to the original creed of the Bauddhas. But they have carried their caution too far, and by so doing, have cast a shade of doubt and suspicion over things sufficiently entitled to exemption therefrom. Allow me, then, to reverse the medal, and to shew the grounds upon which a great degree of certainty and uniformity may always be presumed to exist in reference to this creed, be it professed where it may.

Buddhism arose in an age and country celebrated for literature; and the consequence was, that its doctrine and discipline were fixed by means of one of the most perfect languages in the world (Sanscrit), during, or immediately after, the age of its founder.

Nor, though furious bigots dispersed the sect, and attempted to destroy its records, did they succeed in the latter attempt. The refugees found, not only safety, but protection, and honor, in the immediately adjacent countries, whither they safely conveyed most of their books, and where those books still exist, either in the original Sanscrit, or in most carefully-made translations from it. The Suta Sahasrika, Prajna Paramita, and the nine Dharmas, discovered by me in Nepaul, are as indisputably original evidence of Buddhism as the Vêdas and Purânas are of Brahmanism. The Kâhgyur of Tibet has been proved to have been rendered into Tibetan from Sanscrit, with pains and fidelity: and if the numerous books of the Burmese and Ceylonese be not originals, it is certain that they were translated in the earlier ages of Buddhism, and that they were rendered into a language (high Prakrit) which, from its close affinity to that of the original books of the sect, (Sanscrit,) must have afforded the translators every facility in the prosecution of their labours.

But if the Buddhists, whether of the continent or islands of India, or of the countries beyond the former, still possess and consult the primitive scriptures of their faith, either in the original language, or in careful translations, made in the best age of their
church—wherefore, I would fain know, should European scholars, from their study, incessantly prate about mere local rites and opinions, constituting the substance of whatever is told to the intelligent traveller by the present professors of this faith in diverse regions—nay, constituting the substance of whatever he can glean from their books? In regard to Nepal, it is just as absurd to insinuate, that the Prajna Paramita, and the nine Dharmas were composed in that country, and have exclusive reference to it, as to say that the Hebrew Old, or Greek New, Testament was composed in and for Italy, France, or Spain exclusively. Nor is it much less absurd to affirm, that the Buddhism of one country is essentially unlike the Buddhism of any and every other country professing it, than it would be to allege the same of Christianity.

Questionless, in the general case, documentary is superior to verbal evidence. But the superiority is not without limit: and where, on the one hand, the books referred to by our closet students are numerous and difficult, and respect an entirely new subject, whilst, on the other hand, our personal inquirers have time and opportunity at command, and can question and cross-question intelligent witnesses, the result of an appeal to the living oracles will oft times prove as valuable as that of one to the dead.

Let the closet student, then, give reasonable faith to the traveller, even upon this subject; and, whatever may be the general intellectual inferiority of the orientals of our day, or the plastic facility of change peculiar to every form of polytheism, let him not suppose that the living followers of Buddha cannot be profitably interrogated touching the creed they live and die in; and, above all, let him not presume that a religion fixed, at its earliest period, by means of a noble written language, has no identity of character in the several countries where it is now professed, notwithstanding that that identity has been guarded, up to this day, by the possession and use of original scriptures, or of faithful translations from them, which were made in the best age of this Church.

For myself, and with reference to the latter point, I can safely say that my comparisons of the existing Buddhism of Nepal, with that of Tibet, the Indo-Chinese nations, and Ceylon, as reported
by our local inquirers, as well as with that of ancient India itself, as evidenced by the sculptures of Gya,* and of the cave temples of Aurungabad, have satisfied me that this faith possesses as much identity of character in all times and places as any other we know, of equal antiquity and diffusion.†

P. S.—Whether Remusat’s ‘avenu’ be understood loosely, as meaning come, or strictly, as signifying come to pass, it will be equally inadmissible as the interpretation of the word Tathágata; because Tathágata is designed expressly to announce that all reiteration and contingency whatever is barred with respect to the

* See the explanation of these sculptures by a Nepaulese Buddhist in the Quarterly Oriental Magazine, No. xiv. pp. 218, 222.

† As a proof of the close agreement of the Bauddha systems of different countries, we may take this opportunity of quoting a private letter from Colonel Burney, relative to the ‘Burmese Philosopher Prince,’ Mekkara Men, the King of Ava’s uncle.

“The prince has been reading with the greatest interest M. Csomá de Koros’s different translations from the Tibet scriptures in your journal, and he is most anxious to obtain the loan of some of the many Tibetan works, which the Society is said to possess. He considers many of the Tibetan letters to be the same as the Burmese, particularly the b, m, n, and y. He is particularly anxious to know if the monastery called Zedawuna still exists in Tibet, where according to the Burmese books, Godama dwelt a long time, and with his attendant Ananda planted a bough which he had brought from the great pipal tree, at Buddha-Gaya. The prince is also anxious to know whether the people of Tibet wear their hair as the Burmese do? how they dress, and how their priests dress and live? The city in which the monastery of Zedawuna stood, is called in the Burmese scriptures Thawothhi, and the prince ingeniously fancies, that Tibet must be derived from that word. The Burmese have no s, and always use their soft th, when they meet with that letter in Pali or foreign words—hence probably Thawothhi is from some Sanscrit name Sawot. I enclose a list of countries and cities mentioned in the Burmese writings, as the scene of Godama’s adventures, to which if the exact site and present designation of each can be assigned from the Sanscrit or the Tibetan authorities, it will confer an important favour on Burmese literati.” It is highly interesting to see the spirit of inquiry stirring in the high places of this hitherto benighted nation. The information desired is already furnished, and as might be expected, the Burmese names prove to be copied through the Prakrit or Pali, directly from the Sanscrit originals, in this respect differing from the Tibetan, which are translations of the same name.—Ed.
beings so designated. They cannot come; nor can any thing come to pass affecting them.∗

And if it be objected, that the mere use of the word avenum, in the past tense, does not necessarily imply such reiteration and conditional futurity, I answer that Remusat clearly meant it to convey these ideas, or what was the sense of calling on me for the successive incarnations of these avenus? It has been suggested to me that absolu, used substantively, implies activity. Perhaps so, in Parisian propriety of speech. But I use it merely as opposed to relative with reference to mere mortals; and I trust that the affirmation—there are many absolutes, many infinites, who are nevertheless inactive—may at least be distinctly understood. I have nothing to do with the reasonableness of the tenet so affirmed or stated, being only a reporter.

No. V.

FURTHER REMARKS ON M. REMUSAT'S REVIEW OF BUDDHISM.

(Printed from the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, No. 33. A. D. 1834.)

Adverting again to Remusat's Review in the Journal des Savans for May, 1831, I find myself charged with another omission more important than that of all mention of the Avatars. It is no less than the omission of all mention of any other Buddhas than the seven celebrated Mánūshis. The passage in which this singular allegation is advanced is the following: "Les noms de ces sept personnages (the 'Sapta Buddha') sont connus des Chinois, et ils en indiquent une infinité d'autres dont le Bouddhiste Nipálien ne parle pas."

∗ Avenu signifies quod evenit, contigit, that which hath happened.—(Dictionnaire de Trevis.) Tathagata; tatha thus (what really is), gata (known, obtained.)—(Wilson's Sans. Dict.)—Ed.
My Essay in the London Transactions was the complement and continuation of that in the Calcutta Researches. Remusat was equally well acquainted with both; and, unless he would have had me indulge in most useless repetition, he must have felt convinced that the points enlarged on in the former essay would be treated cursorily or omitted, in the latter. Why, then, did he not refer to the Calcutta paper for what was wanting in the London one? Unless I greatly deceive myself, I was the first person who shewed clearly, and proved by extracts from original Sanscrit works, that Buddhism recognises "une infinité" of Buddhas,—Dhyáni and Mánúshi, Pratyéka, Srávaka, and Mahá Yánika. The sixteenth volume of the Calcutta Transactions was published in 1828. In that volume appeared my first essay, the substance of which had, however, been in the hands of the Secretary nearly three years before it was published.* In that volume I gave an original list of nearly 150 Buddhas (p. 446, 449): I observed that the Buddhas named in the Buddhist scriptures were "as numerous as the grains of sand on the banks of the Ganges;" but that, as most of them were nonentities in regard to chronology and history, the list actually furnished would probably more than suffice to gratify rational curiosity; on which account I suppressed another list, drawn from the Samádhi Raja, which was then in my hands, (p. 444.) By fixing attention on that cardinal dogma of sugatism, viz. that man can enlarge his faculties to infinity, I enabled every inquirer to conclude with certainty that the Buddhas had been multiplied ad libitum. By tracing the connexion between the Arhatas and the Bodhisatwas; between the latter again, and the Buddhas of the first, second, and third degree of eminence and power; I pointed out the distinct steps by which the finite becomes confounded with the infinite,—

* According to usage in that matter provided: a statement in which I request the present Secretary will have the goodness to bear me out.

This delay was and is a necessary evil of the publication of an occasional volume of Researches. It was to obviate the inconvenience in some measure that the present form of the Journal was adopted, but still this is inadequate to the production of papers of any magnitude, as we fear Mr. Hodgson feels by experience!—Ed.
man with Buddha; and I observed in conclusion that the epithet Tathāgata, a synonyme of Buddha, _expressly pourtrays this transition._ (London Transactions, vol. ii. part i.) Facts and dates are awkward opponents except to those, who, with Remusat's compatriot, dismiss them with a 'tant pis pour les faits!' For years before I published my first essay, I had been in possession of hundreds of drawings, made from the Buddhist pictures and sculptures with which this land is saturated, and which drawings have not yet been published, owing to the delay incident to procuring authentic explanations of them from original sources. All the gentlemen of the residency can testify to the truth of this assertion; and can tell those who would be wiser for the knowledge, that it is often requisite to walk heedfully over the classic fields of the valley of Nepal, lest perchance you break your shins against an image of a Buddha! These images are to be met with every where, and of all sizes and shapes, very many of them endowed with a multiplicity of members sufficient to satisfy the teeming fancy of any Brahman of Madhya Dēsa! Start not, gentle reader, for it is literally thus, and not otherwise. Buddhas with three heads instead of one—six or ten arms in place of two! The necessity of reconciling these things with the so called first principles of Buddhism,* may reasonably account for delay in the production of my pictorial stores. Meantime, I cannot but smile to find myself condoled with for my poverty when I am really, and have been for ten years, accablé des richesses! One interesting result only have I reached by means of these interminable trifles; and that is, strong presumptive proof that the cave temples of Western India are the work of Buddhists _solely_, and that the most apparently Brahanical sculptures of those venerable fanes are, in fact, Buddhist. A hint to this effect I gave so long ago as 1827, in the Quarterly Oriental Magazine, (No. XIV. p. 219;)) and can only afford room to remark in this place, that subsequent research had tended strongly to confirm the impressions then derived from my very learned old friend Amīrta, Nanda. The existence of an infinite number of Buddhas; the existence of the

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* See Erskine's Essays in the Bombay Transactions.
whole Dhyāni class of Buddhas; the personality of the Triad: its philosophical meaning; the classification and nomenclature of the ascetical or true followers of this creed; the distinction of its various schools of philosophy; the peculiar tenets of each school, faintly but rationally indicated; the connexion of its philosophy with its religion; and, as the result of all these, the means of speaking consistently upon the general subject,* are matters for the knowledge of which, if Remusat be not wholly indebted to me and my authorities, it is absolutely certain that I am wholly unindebted to him and his; for till he sent me, ten months ago, (I speak of the date of receipt,) his essay on the Triad, I had never seen one line of his, or any other continental writer's lucubrations on Buddhism.

I have ventured to advance above that in the opinion of a learned friend, the Chinese and Mongolian works on Buddhism, from which the continental savans have drawn the information they possess on that topic, are not per se adequate to supply any very intelligible views of the general subject.

As this is an assertion which it may seem desirable to support by proof, allow me to propose the following. Remusat observes, that a work of the first order gives the subjoined sketch of the Buddhist cosmogony. "Tous les êtres étant contenus dans la très pure substance de la pensée, une idée surgit inopinément et produisit la fausse lumière; Quand la fausse lumière fut née, le vide et l'obscurité s'imposèrent réciproquement des limites. Les formes qui en résultèrent étant indéterminées, il y eut agitation et mouvement. De là naquit le tourbillon de vent qui contient les mondes. L'intelligence lumineuse etait le principe de solidité, d'ou naquit la roue d'or qui soutient et protège la terre. Le contact mutuel du vent et du metal produit le feu et la lumière, qui sont les principes des changemens et des modifications. La lumière précieuse engendre la liquidité qui bouillonne à la surface de la lumière ign-

* A learned friend assures me that "a world of Chinese and Mongolian enigmas have been solved by means of your general and consistent outline of the system, but for which outline the said enigmas would have continued to defy all the continental Ėdipuses."
Now I ask, is there a man living, not familiar with the subject, who can extract a particle of sense from the above passage? And are not such passages, produced in illustration of a novel theme, the veriest obscurations thereof? But let us see what can be made of the enigma. This aperçu cosmogonique of the Long-yan-king, is, in fact, a description of the procession of the five elements, one from another, and ultimately from Prajna, the universal material principle, very nearly akin to the Pradhān of the Kapila Sāṅkhya. This universal principle has two modes or states of being, one of which is the proper, absolute, and enduring mode; the other, the contingent, relative, and transitory.

The former is abstraction from all effects, or quiescence: the latter is concretion with all effects, or activity. When the intrinsic energy of matter is exerted, effects exist; when that energy relapses into repose, they exist not. All worlds and beings composing the versatile universe are cumulative effects; and though the so-called elements composing them be evolved and revolved in a given manner, one from and to another, and though each be distinguished by a given property or properties, the distinctions, as well as the orderly evolution and revolution, are mere results of the gradually increasing and decreasing energy of nature in a state of activity.* Upāya, or ‘the expedient,’ is the name of this energy;—increase of it is increase of phenomenal properties;—decrease of it is decrease of phenomenal properties. All phenomena are homogeneous and alike unreal; gravity and extended figure, no less so than colour or sound. Extension in the abstract is not a phenomenon, nor belongs pro-

* Causes and effects, quoad the versatile world, cannot be truly alleged to exist. There is merely customary conjunction, and certain limited effects of proximity in the precedent and subsequent, by virtue of the one true and universal cause, viz. Prajna. With the primitive Svabhavikas cause is not united: for the rest, their tenets are very much the same with those above explained in the text, only their conclusions incline rather to scepticism than dogmatism. It may also perhaps be doubted whether with the latter school, phenomena are unreal as well as homogeneous. In the text, I would be understood to state the tenets of the Prajnikas only.
perly to the versatile world. The productive energy begins at a minimum of intensity, and increasing to a maximum, thence decreases again to a minimum. Hence ākāśh, the first product, has but one quality or property; air, the second, has two; fire, the third, has three; water, the fourth, has four; and earth, the fifth, has five.*

These elements are evolved uniformly one from another in the above manner, and are revolved uniformly in the inverse order.

Sūnyatā, or the total abstraction of phenomenal properties, is the result of the total suspension of nature's activity. It is the ubi, and the modus, of the universal material principle in its proper and enduring state of nirvritī, or of rest. It is not nothingness, except with the sceptical few. The opposite of Sūnyatā is Avidya. Now, if we revert to the extract from the Long-yan-king, and remember that la pensée,† l'intelligence lumineuse,† and la lumière précieuse† refer alike to Prajna the material principle of all things, (which is personified as a goddess by the religionists,) we shall find nothing left to impede a distinct notion of the author's meaning, beyond some metaphorical flourishes analogous to that variety of descriptive epithets by which he has characterised the one universal principle. Tourbillon de vent, and tourbillon d'eau, are the elements of air and of water, respectively; and le principe de solidité is the element of earth.

"Tous les êtres étant contenus dans la pure substance de Prajna une idée surgit inopinement et produit la fausse lumière:"—that is, the universal material principle, or goddess Prajnā, whilst existing in its, or her, true and proper state of abstraction and repose, was suddenly disposed to activity, or impressed with delusive mundane affection (Avidya.) "Quand la fausse lumière fut née, le

* There is always cumulation of properties, but the number assigned to each element is variously stated.

† Prajna is literally the supreme wisdom, videlicet, of nature. Light and flame are types of this universal principle, in a state of activity. Nothing but extreme confusion can result from translating these terms au pied de la lettre, and without reference to their technical signification. That alone supremely governs both the literal and metaphorical sense of words.
vide et l'obscurité s'imposèrent reciprocement des limites.” The result of this errant disposition to activity, or this mundane affection, was that the universal void was limited by the coming into being of the first element, or ākāśh, which, as the primary modification of Śūnyaṭā (space), has scarcely any sensible properties. Such is the meaning of the passage “les formes qui en résultèrent étant indéterminées,” immediately succeeding the last quotation. Its sequel again, “il y eut agitation et mouvement,” merely refers to mobility being the characteristic property of that element (air) which is about to be produced. “De la naquit le tourbillon de vent, qui contient les mondes.” Thence (i. e. from ākāśh) proceeded the element of the circumambient air. “L'intelligence lumineuse eût le principe de solidité, d'ou naquit la roue d'or qui soutient et protège la terre.” Prajna in the form of light (her pravrittika manifestation) was the principle of solidity, whence proceeded the wheel of gold which sustains and protects the earth. Solidity, the diagnostic quality of the element of earth, stands for that element; and the wheel of gold is mount Merú, the distinctive attribute of which is protecting and sustaining power: this passage, therefore, simply announces the evolution of the element of earth, with its mythological appendage, mount Merú. But, according to all the authorities within my knowledge, earth is the last evolved of the material elements. Nor did I ever meet with an instance, such as here occurs, of the direct intervention of the first cause (Prajna) in the midst of this evolution of the elements. “Le contact mutuel du vent et du metal produit le feu et la lumière, qui sont les principes des changemens.” The mutual contact of the elements of air and of earth produced fire and light, which are the principles of change. This is intelligible, allowance being made for palpable mistakes. I understand by it, merely the evolution out of the element of air of that of fire, of which light is held to be a modification. To the igneous element is ascribed the special property of heat, which is assumed by our author as the principle of all changes and transformations. Metal for earth is an obvious misapprehension of Remusat's. Nor less so is the false allocation of this element (earth) in the general evolution of the five, and its introduction here.
"La lumière précieuse engendre la liquidité qui bouillonne à la surface de la lumière ignée, d'on provient le tourbillon d'eau qui embrasse les mondes."

Prajna (in the form of light) produces the liquidity which boils on the surface of igneous light, whence proceeds the element of water embracing the world.

This figurative nonsense, when reduced to plain prose, merely announces the evolution of the element of water from that of fire. Our terrestrial globe rests upon the waters like a boat, according to the Buddhists; and hence the allusion (embracing the world) of the text. What is deserving of notice is the direct interference, a second time, (and in respect to earth, a third time,) of the causans with the procession of the elements, one from another. All my authorities are silent in regard to any such repeated and direct agency; which amounts in fact, to creation properly so called—a tenet directly opposed to the fundamental doctrine of all the Swabhāvikas. Certain Buddhists hold the opinion, that all material substances in the versatile world have no existence independent of human perception. But that the Chinese author quoted by Mr. Remusat was one of these idealists, is by no means certain. His more immediate object, in the passage quoted, evidently was, to exhibit the procession of the five material elements, one from another. To that I at present confine myself, merely observing of the other notion, that what has been stated of the homogeneousness and unreality of all phenomena, is not tantamount to an admission of it. The doctrine of Avidya, the mundane affection of the universal principle, is not necessarily the same with the doctrine which makes the sentient principle in man the measure of all things.* Both may seem, in effect, to converge towards what we very vaguely call idealism; but there are many separate paths of inquiry by which that conclusion may be reached.

Nepaul, August, 1834.

* Manas, the sixth element, is the sentient principle in man. The Chinese author mentions it not, unless the passage beginning "la même force," and immediately following that I have quoted, was designed to announce its evolution. That passage as it stands, however, does not assert more than the homogeneousness of this sixth element with the other five.
I resume my notice of Remusat's speculations on Buddhism in the Journal des Savans.

He observes, "On ne seroit pas surpris de voir que, dans ce système, la formation* et la destruction des mondes soient présentés comme les résultats d'une révolution perpétuelle et spontanée, sans fin et sans interruption;" and afterwards remarks, "Il y a dans le fond même des idées Bouddhiques une objection contre l'éternité du monde que les théologiens de cette religion ne semblent pas avoir prévue. Si tous les êtres rentrent dans le repos réal et définitif à l'instant que les phénomènes cesseroient et disparaîtraient dans le sein de l'existence absolu, on conçoit un terme où tous les êtres seraient devenus Buddha, et où le monde aurait cessé d'exister."

This Buddha, it is said, is "l'intelligence infinie, la cause souveraine, dont la nature est un effet."

Now, if there be such a supreme immaterial cause of all things, what is the meaning of alleging that worlds and beings are spontaneously evolved and revolved? and, if these spontaneous operations of nature be expressly allowed to be incessant and endless, what becomes of the apprehension that they should ever fail or cease?

As to the real and definitive repose, and the absolute existence, spoken of, they are as certainly and customarily predicated of Diva natura by the Swabhávikas, as of God or Adi Buddha, by the Aiswárikas; to which two sects respectively the two opposite opinions confounded by Remusat exclusively belong.

Again, "Tout est vide, tout est delusion, pour l'intelligence

* The question of formation is a very different one from that of continuance. Yet Remusat would seem to have confounded the two. See the passage beginning "Mais ce qui merite d'être remarque."
suprême (Adi Buddha, as before defined.) L'Avidyā seul donne aux choses du monde sensible une sorte de réalité passagère et purement phénoménal.” Avidyā, therefore, must; according to this statement, be entirely dependant on the volition of the one supreme immaterial cause: yet, immediately after, it is observed, “on voit, à travers des brouillards d’un langage énigmatique, ressortir l'idée d'une double cause de tout ce qui existe, savoir l'intelligence suprême (Adi Buddha) et l'Avidyā ou matière.” But the fact is, that Avidyā is not a material or plastic cause. It is not a substance, but a mode—not a being, but an affection of a being—not a cause, but an effect. Avidyā, I repeat, is nothing primarily causal or substantial: it is a phenomenon, or rather the sum of phenomena; and it is “made of such stuff as dreams are.” In other words, phenomena are, according to this theory, utterly unreal. The Avidyālists, therefore, are so far from belonging to that set of philosophers who have inferred two distinct substances and causes from the two distinct classes of phenomena existing in the world, that they entirely deny the justice of the premises on which that inference is rested.

Remusat next observes, “Les effets matériels sont subordonnés aux effets psychologiques”—and in the very next page we hear that “on appelle lois les rapports qui lient les effets aux causes, tant dans l'ordre physique que dans l'ordre moral, ou, pour parler plus exactement, dans l'ordre unique, qui constitue l'univers.”

Now, if there be really but one class of phenomena in the world, it must be either the material, or the immaterial, class: consequently, with those who hold this doctrine, the question of the dependence or independence of mental upon physical phenomena, must, in one essential sense, be a mere façon de parler. And I shall venture to assert, that with most of the Buddhists—whose cardinal tenet is, that all phenomena are homogeneous, whatever they may think upon the further question of their reality or unreality—it is actually such.

It is, indeed, therefore necessary “joindre la notion d'esprit” before these puzzles can be allowed to be altogether so difficult as they seem, at least to be such as they seem; and if mind or soul
“have no name in the Chinese language,” the reason of that at least is obvious; its existence is denied; mind is only a peculiar modification of matter; et l’ordre unique de l’univers c’est l’ordre physique! Not 50 years since a man of genius in Europe declared that “the universal system does not consist of two principles so essentially different from one another as matter and spirit; but that the whole must be of some uniform composition; so that the material or immaterial part of the system is superfluous.”

This notion, unless I am mistaken, is to be found at the bottom of most of the Indian systems of philosophy, Brahmanical and Buddhist, connected with a rejection in some shape or other of phenomenal reality, in order to get rid of the difficulty of different properties existing in the cause (whether mind or matter) and in the effect.*

The assertion that “material effects are subordinate to psychological” is no otherwise a difficulty than as two absolutely distinct substances, or two absolutely distinct classes of phenomena, are assumed to have a real existence; and I believe that there is scarcely one school of Baudh philosophers which has not denied the one or the other assumption; and that the prevalent opinions include a denial of both. All known phenomena may be ascribed to mind or to matter without a palpable contradiction; nor, with the single exception of extent, is there a physical phenomenon which does not seem to countenance the rejection of phenomenal reality. Hence the doctrines of Avidyá and of Mayá; and I would ask those whose musings are in an impartial strain, whether the Baudha device be not as good a one as the Brahmanical, to

* Remusat desired to know how the Buddhists reconcile multiplicity with unity, relative with absolute, imperfect with perfect, variable with eternal, nature with intelligence?

I answer; by the hypothesis of two modes—one of quiescence, the other of activity. But when he joins “l’esprit et la matière” to the rest of his antitheses, I must beg leave to say the question is entirely altered, and must recommend the captious to a consideration of the extract given in the text from a European philosopher of eminence. Not that I have any sympathy with that extravagance, but that I wish merely to state the case fairly for the Buddhists.
stave off a difficulty which the unaided wit of man is utterly un-
able to cope with?

Questionless, it is not easy, if it be possible, to avoid the use of words equivalent to material and psychological; but the tenet obviously involved in the formal subordination of one to the other class of phenomena, when placed beside the tenet, that all phenomena are homogenous, at once renders the former a mere trick of words, or creates an irreconcileable contradiction between the two doctrines, and in fact Remusat has here again commingled tenets held exclusively by quite distinct schools of Buddhist philosophy.

If I have been held accountable for some of the notions above remarked on, I suspect that these my supposed opinions have been opposed by something more substantial than "des arguties mystiques." Remusat expressly says, "M. Hodgson a eu parfaitement raison d'admettre, comme base du système entier, l'existence d'un seul être souverainement parfait et intelligent, de celui qu'il nomme Adi Buddha." Now, I must crave leave to say that I never admitted any thing of the sort; but, on the contrary, carefully pointed out that the 'système entier' consists of four systems, all sufficiently different, and two of them, radically so—viz. the Swabhávika and the Aiswárika. It is most apparent to me that Remusat has made a melange out of the doctrines of all the four schools; and there are very sufficient indications in the course of this essay that his principal authority was of the Swabhávika sect.

In speaking of the two bodies of Buddha he remarks, that "le veritable corps est identifié avec la science et la loi. La substance même est la science (Prajña)." He had previously made the same observation, "La loi même est son principe et sa nature." Now those who are aware that Prajña (most idly translated law, science, and so forth,) is the name of the great material cause,* can

* Prakriteswari iti Prajña; and again, Dharanatmika iti Dharma. Dharma is a synonyme of Prajña. Prajña, means Supreme Wisdom. Whose? Nature's—and Nature's, as the sole, or only as the plastic, cause.

So, again, Dharma means morality in the abstract, or the moral religious code
have no difficulty in reaching the conviction that the Buddhist authority from whence this assertion was borrowed,—'of Prajñā being the very essence; nature, and principle of Buddha,'—belonged to the Swabhāvīka school, and would have laughed at the coordinate doctrine of his translator, that Buddha is the sovereign and sole cause, of whom nature (Prajñā) is an effect.

The Swabhāvīka Buddhas, who derive their capacity of identifying themselves with the first cause from nature, which is that cause, are as all accomplished as the Buddhas of the Aiswārikas, who derive the same capacity from Adi Buddha, who is that cause.

In this express character of sovereign cause only, is the Adi Buddha of the Aiswārikas distinguishable, amid the crowd of Buddhas of all sorts; and such are the interminable subtleties of the 'système entier' that he who shall not carefully mark this cardinal point of primary causation, will find all others unavailing to guide him unconfusedly through the various labyrinths of the several schools.

Did REMUSAT never meet with passages like the following?

"And as all other things and beings proceeded from Swabhāva or nature, so did Vajra, Satwa, Buddha, thence called the self-existent." Even the Swabhāvikas have their Dhyāni Buddhas, and their triad, including, of course, an Adi Buddha. Names therefore, are of little weight; and unmeasured epithets are so profusely scattered on every hand that the practised alone can avoid their snare. I did not admit a Theistic school, because I found a Buddha designated as Adi, or the first; nor yet because I found him yclept, infinite, omniscient, eternal, and so forth; but because I found him explicitly contradistinguished from nature, and systematically expounded as the efficient cause of all. Nor should it be forgotten that when I announced the fact of a Theistic sect of Buddhists, I

code of these religionists, or material cause, in either of the two senses hinted at above; or, lastly, material effects, viz. versatile worlds. These are points to be settled by the context, and by the known tenets of the writer who uses the one or other word: and when it is known that the very texts of the Swabhāvikas, differently interpreted, have served for the basis of the Aiswarika doctrine, I presume no further caveto can be required.
observed that this sect was, as compared with the Swabhāvika, both recent and confined.

If, in the course of this, and the three preceding letters, I have spoken harshly of Remusat's researches, let it be remembered, that I conceive my labours to have been adopted without acknowledgment, as well as my opinions to have been miserably distorted. I have been most courteously told, that "the learned of Europe are indebted to me for the name of Adi Buddha!" The inference is palpable that that is the extent of the obligation. Such insidious injustice compels me to avow in the face of the world my conviction that, whatever the Chinese and Mongolian works on Buddhism possessed by the French Savans may contain, no intelligible views were thence derived of the general subject before my essays appeared, or could have been afterwards, but for the lights those essays afforded.* I had access to the original Sanscrit scriptures of the Buddhists, and they were interpreted to me by learned natives, whose hopes hereafter depended upon a just understanding of their contents. No wonder therefore, and little merit, if I discovered very many things inscrutably hidden from those who were reduced to consult barbarian translations from the most refined and copious of languages upon the most subtle and interminable of topics, and who had no living oracle ever at hand to expound to them the dark signification of the written word—to guide their first steps through the most labyrinthine of human mazes.†

For the rest, and personally, there is bienséance for bienséance, and a sincere tear dropped over the untimely grave of the learned Remusat.

* The case is altered materially now; because my original authorities, which stand far less in need of living interpreters, are generally accessible. I have placed them in the hands of my countrymen and of others, and shall be happy to procure copies for any individual, or body of persons, in France, who may desire to possess them.

† I beg to propose, as an experimentum crucis, the celebrated text—Ye Dharmanitya of the Sata Sanaurika. If the several theistic, atheistic, and sceptical meanings wrapped up in these few words, can be reached through Chinese or Mongolian translations uninterpreted by living authorities, I am content to consider my argument worthless.
NOTE ON THE INSCRIPTION FROM SĀRNATH.

(Printed in the 40th No. of the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society.)

I have just got the 39th Number of the Journal of the Asiatic Society and hasten to tell you, that your enigma requires no Oedipus for its solution at Kathmandu, where almost everyman, woman, and child, of the Baudhā faith, can repeat the confessio fidei (for such it may be called), inscribed on the Sārnāth stone. Dr. Mill was perfectly right in denying the alleged necessary connexion between the inscription, and the complement to it produced by M. Csoma de Körös. No such complement is needed, nor is found in the great doctrinal authorities, wherein the passage occurs in numberless places, sometimes containing but half of the complete dogma of the inscription; thus:—"Yē Dharmā hetu-prabhavā; hetu teshān Tathāgata." Even thus curtained, the sense is complete, without the "Teshān cha yō nirodha, evang (vādi) Maha Sramana," as you may perceive by the following translation:

"Of all things proceeding from cause, the cause is Tathāgata;" or, with the additional word, "Of all things proceeding from cause; the cause of their procession hath the Tathāgata explained." To complete the dogma, according to the inscription, we must add, "The great Sramana hath likewise declared the cause of the extinction of all things." With the help of the commentators, I render this passage thus, "The cause, or causes of all sentient existence in the versatile world, the Tathāgata hath explained. The Great Sramana hath likewise explained the cause, or causes of the cessation of all such existence."

Nothing can be more complete, or more fundamental, than this doctrine. It asserts that Buddha hath revealed the causes of (animate) mundane existence, as well as the causes of its complete cessation, implying, by the latter, translation to the eternal quiescence of Nirvṛitti which is the grand object of all Baudhā
vows. The addition to the inscription supplied by M. Csoma, is the *ritual application* merely of the general doctrine of the inscription. It explains especially the manner in which, according to the scriptures, a devout Buddhist may hope to attain cessation from mundane existence, viz. by the practice of all virtues, avoidance of all vices, and by complete mental abstraction. More precise, and as usually interpreted here, more theistic too, than the first clause of the inscription is the terser sentence already given; which likewise is more familiar to the Nipalese, viz. “Of all things proceeding from cause; the cause is the Tathágata:”—understanding by Tathágata, *Adi Buddha*. And whenever, in playful mood, I used to reproach my old friend, Amírta Nanda, (now alas! no more) with the atheistic tendency of his creed, he would always silence me with, “*Ye Dharma hetu-prabhavā; hetu teshán Tathágata;*” insisting, that Tathágata referred to the supreme, self-existent (*Swayambhū*) Buddha.*

Nor did I *often* care to rejoin, that he had taught me *so* to interpret that important word (Tathágata,) as to strip the dogma of its necessarily theistic spirit! I have already remarked in your Journal, that the Swabhávika texts, differently interpreted, form the groundwork of the Aiswárika tenets. It will not, however, *therefore*, follow, that the theistic school of Buddhism is not entitled to distinct recognition upon the ground of original authorities; for the oldest and highest authority of all—the aphorisms of the founder of the creed—are justly deemed, and proved, by the theistic school, to bear legitimately the construction put upon them by this school—proved in many ancient books, both Puránika and Tantrika, the scriptural validity of which commands a necessary assent. As it seems to be supposed, that the theistic school has no other than Tantrika authorities for its support, I will just mention the

*The great temple of *Swayambhu Nath *is dedicated to *this Buddha:* whence its name. It stands about a mile west from Kathmandu, on a low, richly wooded, and detached hill, and consists of a hemisphere surmounted by a graduated cone.

The majestic size, and severe simplicity of outline, of this temple, with its burnished cone, set off by the dark garniture of woods, constitute the Chaitya of Swayambhu Nath a very beautiful object.*
Swayambhu Purâna and the Bhadra Kalpavadán, as instances of the contrary. In a word, the theistic school of Buddhism, though not so ancient or prevalent as the atheistic and the sceptical schools, is as authentic and legitimate a scion of the original stock of oral dogmata whence this religion sprung, as any of the other schools. Nor is it to be confounded altogether with the vile obscenity and mystic iniquity of the Tantras, though acknowledged to have considerable connexion with them. Far less is it to be considered peculiar to Nepal and Tibet, proofs of the contrary being accessible to all; for instance, the Pancha Buddha Dhyâni are inshrined in the cave at Bâgh, and in the minor temples surrounding the great edifice at Gya; and the assertion of our Ceylonese antiquaries, that there are only five Buddhas, is no other than a confusion of the five celestial, with the seven mortal, Buddhas! As I was looking over your Journal, my Newâri painter came into the room. I gave him the catch word, "Yé Dharmâ," and he immediately filled up the sentence, finishing with Tathágata. I then uttered "teshán cha," and he completed the doctrine according to the inscription. But it was to no purpose that I tried to carry him on through De Körös's ritual complement: he knew it not. After I had explained its meaning to him, he said, the substance of the passage was familiar to him, but that he had been taught to utter the sentiments in other words, which he gave, and in which, by the way, the ordinary Buddhist acceptation of Kushal and its opposite, or Akushal, came out. Kushal is good. Akushal is evil, in a moral or religious sense. Quod licitum vel mandatum: quod illicitum vel prohibitum.

I will presently send you a correct transcript of the words of the inscription, from some old and authentic copy of the Raksha Bhagavati, or Prajñâ Paramitâ, as you seem to prefer calling it. So will I of De Cörös's supplement so soon as I can lay my hands on the Shurangama Samâdhi, which I do not think I have by me. At all events, I do not at once recognise the name as that of a distinct Baudhâ work. Meanwhile, you will notice, that as my draftsman, above spoken of, is no pandit, but a perfectly illiterate craftsman merely, his familiar acquaintance with your
inscription may serve to show how perfectly familiar it is to all Buddhists. And here I would observe, by the way, that I have no doubt the inscription on the Dehli, Allahabad, and Behar pillars is some such cardinal dogma of this faith.

In the "Quotations in proof of my sketch of Buddhism," which I sent home last year, I find the following quotation in proof of the Aiswârika system.

"All things existent (in the versatile world) proceed from some cause; that cause is the Tathágata (Adi BUDDHA); and that which is the cause of (versatile) existence is likewise the cause of its total cessation. So said SAKYA SINHA."* The work from which this passage was extracted is the Bhadra Kalpavadán.

I am no competent critic of Sanscrit, but I have competent authority for the assertion, that Dharmá, as used in the inscription, means not human actions merely, but all sentient existences in the three versatile worlds (celestial, terrene, and infernal). Such is its meaning in the extract just given from the Bhadra Kalpavadán, and also in the famous Yé Dharmanitya of the Sata Sahasrika, where the sense is even larger, embracing the substance of all inanimate as well as animate entity, thus: "All things are imperishable," or, "The universe is eternal," (without maker or destroyer.) The passage just quoted from the Sata Sahasrika serves likewise (I am assured) to prove that the signification of ýé is not always strictly relative, but often expletive merely: but let that pass.

The points in question undoubtedly are,—existence in the PravrittdRa or versatile world, and cessation of such existence, by translation to the world of Nirvritti; and of such translation, animals generally, and not human beings solely, are capable. Witness the deer and the chakwa, which figure so much in Baudhã sculptures! The tales of their advancement to Nirvritti are popularly familiar. The word nirodh signifies, almost universally and exclusively, extinction, or total cessation of versatile existence; a meaning, by the way, which confirms and answers to the interpretation of dharmá, by general existences, entities, and not by merely human actions.

* The words bracketed are derived from commentators.
It is scarcely worth while to cumber the present question with the further remark that there is a sect of Baudhā philosophers holding opinions which confound conscious actions with universal entities throughout the versatile world, making the latter originate absolutely and physically from the former, (see my remarks on Remusat in the Journal, No. 33, p. 431.)

It is not, however, admissible so to render generally received texts, as to make them correspondent to very peculiar dogmata. "Dhāranatmika iti dharma," the holding, containing, or sustaining, essence (ens) is dharmā. The substratum of all form and quality in the versatile universe, the sustainer of versatile entity, mundane substances and existences, physical and moral, in a word, all things. Such is the general meaning of dharmā. How many other meanings it has, may be seen by reference to a note at the foot of p. 502, No. 34, of your Journal. The root of the word is dhri, to hold. Wilson's dictionary gives Nātūre as Amera Sinha's explanation of dharmā. This is essentially correct, as might be expected from a Baudhā lexicographer.

Note.—If Mr. Hodgson's general interpretation of dharmā is the true one, (which seems most probable, though its specification in the sense of moral duties is more agreeable to M. Csomá's supplement)—its implication, in the present reading, at least, appears manifestly atheistic. For that it cannot mean "Tathāgata or the Adi Būdha is the cause," is evident from the accusative hētun (which is also plural, causas.) Even if we were to strike out the word avadat or āha—the former of which is on the inscriptions, and the latter repeated in Ceylon—still some word of that meaning is plainly understood: and this may help to shew that the explanation given by the Aiswaraka Buddhists (as though the words were चेतुसेविन्ना तथागतम्: hētus tēsham Tathāgatam) is a more recent invention,—and that the Buddhist system properly recognizes no being superior to the sage expounder of physical and moral causes,—whose own exertions alone have raised him to the.
highest rank of existences,—the Epicurus of this great Oriental system,

qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,

Atque metus omnes et inexorabile fatum

Subjecit pedibus.

What is mere figure of speech in the Roman poet, to express the calm dignity of wisdom, becomes religious faith in the east; viz. the elevation of a philosophical opponent of popular superstition and Brahmanical caste, to the character of a being supreme over all visible and invisible things, and the object of universal worship.—W. H. M.

Note on the Note of W. H. M.—My friendly and learned annotator is right as to the comparative recency of the Aishwārika school and may find that opinion long since expressed by myself. But he is wrong in supposing that that school has no old or unquestionable basis; for both Mr. De Koros and myself have produced genuine and ancient authorities in its support. So that it is hardly fair to revert to the fancies of Sir W. Jones' day, under cover of a Latin quotation! As to verbal criticism, it is surely scarce necessary to observe that the governing verb being removed, the noun will take the nominative case. I quoted popular words popularly and omitted the nice inflexions of case and number. That my terser text is familiar to the mouths of Buddhists, is an unquestionable fact; and I never said, either that this terser form was that of the inscription, or that I had seen scriptural authority for it, ipsissimis verbis.

The express causes of versatile existence, alluded to by Sakya, in the text graved at Sarnath, are Avidya, Sanscar, &c. as enumerated in my Quotations in Proof under the head of the Karmika doctrines; and there, too, may be found the cause or causes of the extinction of such existence.
No. VIII.

NOTICE OF ADI BUDDHA AND OF THE SEVEN MORTAL BUDDHAS,

From the Swayambhu Purāna.

(Printed from the Bengal Asiatic Journal, No. 29, A.D. 1834.)

The Swayambhu Purāna relates in substance as follows: That formerly the valley of Nepaul was of circular form, and full of very deep water, and that the mountains confining it were clothed with the densest forests, giving shelter to numberless birds and beasts. Countless waterfowl rejoiced in the waters. The name of the lake was Nāga Vāsa; it was beautiful as the lake of Indra; south of the Hemāchal, the residence of Karkotaka, prince of the Nāgas; seven cos long, and as many broad. In the lake were many sorts of water-plants; but not the lotos. After a time, Vipāsya Buddha arrived, with very many disciples and Bhikshus, from Vindumati Nagar, in Madhya Dēsa, at the Lake of Nāga Vāsa, in the course of his customary religious peregrinations, Vipāsya, having thrice circumambulated the lake, seated himself in the N. W. (Vāyukona) side of it, and, having repeated several mantras over the root of a lotos, he threw it into the water, exclaiming, "What time this root shall produce a flower, then, from out of the flower, Swayambhū, the Lord of Aknishtha Bhavana, shall be revealed in the form of flame; and then shall the lake become a cultivated and populous country." Having repeated these words, Vipāsya departed. Long after the date of this prophecy, it was fulfilled according to the letter.

After Vipāsya Buddha, came Sīkhi Buddha to Nāga Vāsa with a great company of respectful followers, composed of rajas and persons of the four castes (chatr varana.) Sīkhi, so soon as he beheld Jyoti-rup-Swayambhū, offered to him many laudatory forms of prayer: then rising, he thrice walked round Nāga Vāsa, and, having done so, thus addressed his disciples:
This place shall hereafter, by the blessing of Swayambhū, become a delightful abode to those who shall resort to it from all quarters to dwell in it, and a sweet place of sojourn for the pilgrim and passenger: my apotheosis is now near at hand, do you all take your leave of me and depart to your own country.” So saying Sīkhi threw himself into the waters of Nāga Vāsa, grasping in his hands the stalk of the lotus, and his soul was absorbed into the essence of Swayambhū. Many of his disciples, following their master, threw themselves in the lake, and were absorbed into Swayambhu, (i.e. the self-existent;) the rest returned home. Visvabhū was the third Buddha who visited Nāga Vāsa. Visvabhū was born in Anúpama-puri-nagar, of Madhya Dēsa, (in the Trita yuga; ) his life was devoted to benefitting his fellow-creatures. His visit to Nepaul was long after that of Sīkhi, and, like Sīkhi, he brought with him a great many disciples and Bhikshas, Rajas and cultivators, natives of his own land. Having repeated the praises of Swayambhu-Jyoti-rupa, he observed; “In this lake Prajna-surūpa-Guhyāswari will be produced. A Bodhisatwa will, in time, make her manifest out of the waters: and this place, through the blessing of Swayambhu, will become replete with villages, towns, and tirthas, and inhabitants of various and diverse tribes.” Having thus prophesied he thrice circumambulated the lake and returned to his native country. The Bodhisatwa above alluded to is Manju Sri, whose native place is very far off, towards the north, and is, called Pancha Sīrsha Parvata, [which is situated in Maha China Dēsa.*] One day in the Trita yuga, and immediately after the coming of Visvabhū Buddha to Nāga Vāsa, Manju Sri, meditating upon what was passing in the world, discovered by means of his divine science that Swayambhu-Jyoti-rupa, that is, the self-existent, in the form of flame, was revealed out of a lotos in the lake of Nāga Vāsa. Again, he reflected within himself: “Let me behold that sacred spot, and my name will long be celebrated in the world; and on the instant, collecting together his disciples, comprising a multitude of the

* The bracketed portions are from the commentators.
peasantry of the land, and a Raja named DharmaKar, he assumed the form of Vishwakarma, and with his two Devis (wives,) and the persons above-mentioned, set out upon the long journey from Sirsha Parbata to Naga Vasa. There having arrived, and having made pūja to the self-existent, he began to circumambulate the lake, beseeching all the while the aid of Swayambhu in prayer. In the second circuit, when he had reached the central barrier mountain on the south, he became satisfied that that was the best place whereat to draw off the waters of the lake. Immediately he struck the mountain with his scimitar, when the sundered rock gave passage to the waters, and the bottom of the lake became dry. He then descended from the mountain, and began to walk about the valley in all directions. As he approached Guhyeswari, he beheld the water bubbling up violently from the spot, and betook himself with pious zeal to the task of stopping it. No sooner had he commenced than the ebullition of the water became less violent, when, leaving bare only the flower of the lotus, the root of which was the abode of Guhyeswari, he erected a protecting structure of stone and brick over the recumbent stalk, and called the structure, which rose into a considerable elevation as it neared the flower of the lotos, Satya Giri. This work completed, Manju Sri began to look about him in search of a fit place of residence, and at length constructed for that purpose a small hill, to which he gave the name of Manju Sri Parbata, (the western half of the little hill of Sambhu Nath,) and called the desiccated valley, Nepala—Né signifying the sender (to paradise,) who is Swayambhu; and pala, cherished, implying that the protecting genius of the valley was Swayambhu or Adi Buddha. Thus the valley got the name of Nepala: and, since very many persons had come from Mount Sirsha [or China]

* The site of the temple is near the centre of the valley, on the skirts of the lovely grove of Pasupati; and above 2½ or 3 miles east from mount Sambhu. The fable says, that the root of the lotos of Guhyeswari was at the former place, and the flower at the latter; the recumbent stalk being extended throughout the interval between them. Swayambhu or Adi Buddha is supposed to reside in the flower, in the form of flame; Prajna Paramita or Guhyeswari, in or at the root, in the form of water.
with MANJU SRI, for the residence of DHARMAKAR Raja and his suite, MANJU constructed a large place of abode, half way between Mount Swayambhu and Guhyésvari, and named it after himself, MANJA PATTANA, and established therein DHARMAKAR [of Maha China,] as Raja, subjecting the whole of the inferior sort of people who came from Sirsha Parbata to DHARMAKAR's rule, and providing abodes for them in the city of Manja Pattana.

Thus was Nepaul peopled: the first inhabitants of which came all from Mount Sirsha [which is in Maha China,] and thus the valley got the name of Népálé, and its inhabitants that of Népáli, [whose primitive language was Chinese.] [This language in course of time came to be much altered by the emigration of people from Madhya Désa, and by the necessary progress of corruption and change in a new country, till a new language arose in Nepaul by the natural course of things. The primitive inhabitants of Nepaul were all of one caste, or had no caste. But their descendants, in the course of time, became divided into many castes, according to the trades and professions which they followed; and of these, such as abandoned the world and shaved their heads, became Bhikshu, Sramana, Chailaka, and Arhana, and took up their abode in forests or in monasteries. The latter four orders are all ascetical; and in strictness absolutely excluded from all worldly commerce. But should any of them, still retaining the custom of tonsure, become worldly men, such are called Srávaka, &c. to a great extent of diverse names.] MANJU SRI, having by such deeds as these acquired the highest celebrity in Nepaul, ostensibly, and for the instruction of the people, relinquished his mortal form, and became nirván; but, in truth, departed for Mount Sirsha with his two Dévis, and in due course arrived at Pancha Sirsha Parbata. Some time after the disappearance of MANJU SRI [in the Trita yuga] KARKUT SAND BUDDHA came to Nepaul, with some Bhikshukas, DHARMAPALA Raja, and a multitude of the common people, from Kšhémávatínagar, of Madhya Désa. The beauty of the country delighted him, and he remarked that in such a land the cultivator must be sure to reap as he sowed. He paid his devotions to SWAYAMBHU, and then launched out in praise of the merits of
MANJU SRI, the Nepalese patriarch. Afterwards, he performed pūja to Guhyēśwari, and then ascended Sankhocha mountain (Siva Pūra;) the prospect of the valley from that mount filled him with fresh delight, and he again celebrated the excellence of the country. GUNADHVAJA, a brahman, and ABHAYANDADA, a kṣeṭriya, and others of the four castes (chatūr varana,) respectful followers of KURKUT SAND, here solicited at his hands the favour of being made Bhikshukas, in order that they might remain in this happy land, and by the worship of SWAYAMBHU attain to high merit and honour. KURKUT cheerfully complied, and agreed to make a great many of the company Bhikshukas; and since the mountain top afforded no water for that ceremony; he by his divine power caused a spring to issue from the rock, and with its waters gave to his followers the requisite Abhishēka or baptism. He called the river that originated with this spring Vāngmati;* and then related to his followers both the past and future history of the valley watered by the Vāngmati. Then, having left behind him at Nepaul, Raja DHANMAPAL and some Bhikshus and common folks, who had come with him, and desired to stay, KURKUT SAND departed with the rest of them to his native city of Kshemāvati. These companions of KURKUT SAND, or KRAKUCCHAND, were the first natives of the plains of India (Madhya Dēsa) who remained in Nepaul. Many of them, addicting themselves to the business of the world, became householders and the founders of several towns and villages in Nepaul; whilst others, who adopted the ascetical profession, dwelt in the forests and Vihārs. When these Madhyadésiyas had become numerous in Nepaul, they and their descendants were confounded with the former or northern colonists under the common appellation of Nēpāli and Nēwārī; being only separated and contradistinguished by the several trades and professions which they hereditarily practised. Thus, in the early ages, Nepaul had four classes of secular people, as Brahman, Kṣetriya, Vaisya, and Sudra, and four ascetical classes, namely, Bhikshu, Sramana, Chaityaka, and Arhanta, dwelling in forests and monasteries; and all were Buddh-márgi.

* From Vach, speech.
Account of Dharmākar Raja and Dharmapāl Raja.

Dharmakar, the before noted Chinese prince of Nepaul, being disgusted with the world, abandoned his sovereign power, and placed Dharmapāl, the Raja of Gour-dēs, already mentioned, upon his throne. Dharmapāl governed his subjects with perfect justice and clemency, and made pūja at the Chaitya erected by Dharmakar, and regarded with equal favor his subjects that came from Mount Sirsha [or Maha China,] and those who emigrated from Madhya-dēs.

Account of Prachanda Deva.—Prachanda Deva, a Raja of Gour-dēs, (which is adjacent to Madhya-dēs,) and of the Kshetriya tribe, was the wise man of his age and country. At length, being inspired with the ambition of becoming nirvan, he abandoned his princely sway; and taking with him a few sages, he began to wander over various countries, visiting all the shrines and pilgrimages, and in the course of his peregrinations arrived at Nepaul. He was delighted with the beauty of the country, and having visited every tīrtha, and pīth, and devata, and having made pūja to the Tri Ratna, or triad, he went to the temple of Swayambhu, and there performed his devotions. He then ascended Manju Sri Parbat, and offered his prayers to Manju Sri, and finished by becoming a disciple of Gunakar Bhiksaū, a follower of Manju Sri. One day Prachanda Deva so delighted Gunakar with the display of his excellent qualities, that Gunakar made him a Bhikshuka, and the said Raja Prachanda after becoming a Bhikshu obtained the titular appellation of Santa Sri. A great many brahmans and others who accompanied Prachanda to Nepaul received the tonsure, and became Bhikshus at the same time with Prachanda, and took up their abode in the monasteries of Nepaul. Some others of those that came with Prachanda to Nepaul preferring the pursuits of the world, continued to exercise them in Nepaul, where they also remained and became Buddhists. A third portion of Prachanda's companions returned to Gour-dēs. After a time, Santa Sri represented to his Gūra Gunakar his desire to protect the sacred flame of Swayambhu with a covering structure. Gunakar was charmed with
the proposition and proposer, and having purified him with 13 sprinklings of sacred water (trayodas abhiséka,) gave him the title of Dikshita Santíkar Vajra Achárya. [From these transactions is dated the arrival of the people of Gour-dés at Nepaul, and their becoming Buddhists.]

Account of Kanaka Muni.—Once on a time, from Súbhávatinagar of Madhya-dés, KANAKA MUNI BUDDHA, with many disciples, some illustrious persons, and a countless multitude of common people, arrived at Nepaul, in the course of his religious peregrinations, and spent some months in the worship of Swayambhu, and the Tri Ratna, and then departed with most of his attendants. A few remained at Nepaul, became Buddh-márgi and worshippers of Swayambhu; [and these too, like all the preceding, soon lost their name and character as Madhya-désiyas, and were blended with the Népalí or Néwári race.

Account of Kashyapa Buddha.—Once on a time, in Mrigadá-ba-vana, near Benares, KASHYAPA BUDDHA was born. He visited Nepaul in pilgrimage, and made his devotions to Sambhunath. [Most of the people who came with him staid in Nepaul, and soon became confounded with the aborigines.]

Account of Sákya Sinha Buddha.—Some time after Kashyapa's visit, in the beginning of Kali yuga, on the shores of Ganga Ságara, in the sthan of Kapila Muni, and city of Kapila-vasta, and reign of Sadhodana Raja, of the Sákya vansa, was born (as the son of that Raja) SARVARTHA SIDDHA, who afterwards became a Buddha with the name of SAKYA SINHA. SAKYA, with 1350 Bhikshukas, and the Raja of Benares, several counsellors of state, and a crowd of peasantry of that kingdom, set out on the pilgrimage to Nepaul. Having paid his devotions to the self-existent, in the form of flame, he went to the Chaitya on Púchágra Hill, and repeated to his disciples the past history of Nepaul, as well as its whole future history, with many praises of MANJU SRI BODHISATWA: he then observed, "In all the world are 24 Piths, and of all these that of Nepaul is the best." Having so said, he departed. His companions, who were of the Chatur várana, or four castes, [Brahman, Kshetriya, Vaisya, and Súdra,] and belong-
ed to the four orders, [Bhikshu, and Sramana, and Chailaka, and Arhanta,] being much pleased with Népâl-dés continued to dwell in it; [and in course of time were blended with the aboriginal Népâls, and became divided into several castes, according to the avocations which they hereditarily pursued.] Some time after the date of the above transaction, Raja GUNAKAMA Déva, prince of Cathmandú, a principal city of Nepaul, became the disciple of the above-mentioned Sântikar Vajra Ačhárya. GUN KAM DEVA, with the aid derived from the divine merits of Sântikar, brought the Nág Raja KARKUTAKA out of the lake or tank of Adhár, and conveyed him to Sântipúr with much ceremony and many religious rites. The cause of this act was that for many previous years there had been a deficiency of rain, whereby the people had been grievously distressed with famine; and its consequence was, an ample supply of rain, and the return of the usual fertility of the earth and plenty of food.

Subsequently, SRI NARENDRA Déva became Raja of Bhagatpattan, (or Bhatgaon;) he was the disciple of BANDUDATTA AČHÁRYA, and brought ARYAVALOKITESWARA (Padma Páni) from Pútalakáparvat (in Assam) to the city of Lalita pattan in Nepaul. The reason of inviting this divinity to Nepaul was a drought of 12 years' duration, and of the greatest severity. The measure was attended with like happy results, as in the case of conveying the Nág Raja with so much honour to Sântipúr.

No. IX.

REMARKS ON AN INSCRIPTION IN THE BANJA AND TIBETAN (U'CHHEN) CHARACTERS,

Taken from a Temple on the Confinés of the Valley of Nepaul.

(Printed from the Bengal Asiatic Journal, No. 40, A. D. 1835.)

On the main road from the valley of Nepaul to Tibet, by the Eastern or Kúti Pass of the Hemáchal, and about two miles be-
yond the ridge of hills environing the valley, there stands a di-
minutive stone chaitya, supported, as usual, by a wide, gradu-
ed, basement.

Upon the outer surface of the retaining walls of this basement
are inscribed a variety of texts from the Baudhda Scriptures, and
amongst others, the celebrated Shad-Akshari Mantra, Om Mani
Padme Hom. This is an invocation of PADMA PANI, the 4th
Dhyáni Bodhisatwa, and presens Divus of the Theistic school of
Buddhists—with an accessory mention of their triad, under that
symbolic, literal form which is common to them and to the Brah-
manists.* It is not, however, my present purpose to dwell upon
the real and full import of these words; but to exhibit the in-
scription itself, as an interesting specimen of the practical con-
junction of those two varieties of the Devanágari letters which
may be said to belong respectively and appropriately to the Sauga-
tas of Nepaul and of Tibet. Not that both forms have not been
long familiar to the Tibetans, but that they still consider, and call,
that one foreign and Indian which the Nepaulese Baudhda Scrip-
tures exhibit as the ordinary ecriture; and which, though allowed
by the Nepaulese to be Indian, and though most certainly deduce-
able from the Devanágari standard, is not now, nor has been for
ages, extant in any part of India.

It is peculiarly Nepaulese; and all the old Sanscrit works of the
Baudhhas of Nepaul are written in this character, or, in the cog-
nate style denominated Bhujin Múlá—which latter, however, I do
but incidentally name. I wish here to draw attention to the fact
that that form of writing or system of letters called Lantza in
Tibet, and there considered foreign and Indian, though no where
extant in the plains of India, is the common vehicle of the Sanscrit
language amongst the Baudhhas of Nepaul proper, by whom it is
denominated Ranjá, and written thus, in Devanágari रंजा; Ranjá
therefore, and not according to a barbarian metamorphosis Lant-
za, it should be called by us; and, by way of further and clearer

* Viz. the triliteral syllable Om, composed of the letters A, U, and M, typi-
ing, with the Brahmanists, Brahma, Vishnu, and Mahesa—but with the Bud-
dhists, Buddha, Dharma, and Sanga.
distinction, the Nepalese variety of Devanágari. Obviously deducible as this form is, from the Indian standard, and still enshrined as it is in numerous Sanscrit works, it is an interesting circumstance to observe it, in practical collocation with the ordinary Tibetan form—likewise, undoubtedly Indian, but far less easily traceable to its source in the Devanágari alphabet, and devoted to the expression of a language radically different from Sanscrit. Nor when it is considered that Ranjá is the common extant vehicle of those original Sanscrit works of which the Tibetan books are translations, will the interest of an inscription, traced on one slab in both characters, be denied to be considerable. Singular indications, indeed, are these of that gradual process of transplantation, whereby a large portion of Indian literature was naturalized beyond the Himálaya, as well as of the gradual eradication of that literature from the soil of its birth, where, for four centuries probably, the very memory of it has passed away! Those who are engaged at present in decyphering ancient inscriptions would do well, I conceive, to essay the tracing, through Ranjá and Bhujin Málá, of the transmutation of Devanágari into the Tibetan alphabet. In conclusion, I may observe, that this habit of promulgating the mantras of their faith, by inscriptions patent on the face of religious edifices, is peculiar to the Tibetan Buddhists, those of Nepaul considering it a high crime thus to subject them to vulgar, and perchance uninitiated utterance.

The Tibetan sentiment and practice are, in this respect, both the more orthodox and the more rational. But in another important respect, the Nepalese followers of Buddha are far more rational at least, if far less orthodox, than their neighbours: for they have utterly rejected that absurd and mischievous adherence to religious mendicancy and monachism which still distinguishes the Tibetans.

* The very names of the numerous Sanscrit Buddha works recently discovered in Nepaul were totally unknown to the Pandits of the plains, who received the announcement of the discovery with absolute disbelief.

† All the four systems of letters are given in the 16th volume of the Asiatic Researches.

‡ The curious may like to know that Tibetan Buddhism is distinguished from
I need hardly add, after what has been just stated, that the circumstance of the inscriptions being mantras proves the temple or chaitya, adverted to, to be the work of Tibetans, though existing on the very confines of Nepaul proper—a fact indeed which, on the spot, wants no such confirmation. It is notorious; and is referrible to times when Tibetan influence was predominant on this side of the Himalaya. The great temple of Khāsa chit, standing in the midst of the valley of Nepaul, is still exclusively appropriated by the Trans-Himalayans.

Note.—So much has been published on the subject of the mystical mantra above alluded to, that it is unnecessary to do more than direct the attention of the reader to the learned dissertation by Georgi in the Alphabetum Tibetanum, page 500, &c. and to a more recent elucidation of the same subject in Klaproth's Fragmens Bouddhiques in the Journ. Asiatique, Mars, 1831, p. 27. —The mantra is quite unknown to the Buddhists of Ceylon and the Eastern Peninsula, and it forms a peculiar feature of the Tibetan Buddhism, shewing its adoption of much of the Brahmanical mystic philosophy. A wooden block, cut in Tibet for printing the very passage in the two characters, and from its appearance of some antiquity, is deposited in the museum of the Asiatic Society.—Ed.

Note.—M. Klaproth, in his memoir in the Nouveau Journal Asiatique, where he has brought so much of the erudition of Eastern and Central Asia to bear upon this Buddhist formulary, attaches himself to two versions principally, as preferable to all that he finds elsewhere among Tibetans, Mongolians, and Chinese. The former is, "Oh precieux Lotus! Amen," on the supposition of being the true reading; but if it be read, from Nepaulese, solely by the two features above pointed out—unless we must add a qualified subjection on the part of the Saugatas of Nepaul to caste, from which the Tibetans are free; but which in Nepaul is a merely popular usage stript of the sanction of religion, and altogether a very different thing from caste, properly so called.
Inscription on a Chaille at Dunregn, 16 Miles E. of Kathmandu.

Tibetan Characters

Nepali Characters

Ranja Characters
as he justly prefers, चें मणिपद्मः हृं "Oh! le joyau est dans le Lotus. Amen."

There is no objection to the former translation, that of "Om manipadma hūm:" for the two nouns cannot be read as separate vocatives, "Oh jewel! Oh Lotus!" (as M. Csoma de Koros informs us it is understood in Tibet,) without reading manē मणी instead of मणि.

The latter translation of "Om mani padmē hūm" is not equally admissible: for it would require indispensably by grammatical rule, either the insertion of a Visarga after mani, or the substitution of a long i for the short one, so distinctly marked in the inscription; i.e. the nominative मणि: or मणी instead of the crude form मणि. The junction of the two nouns in one compound is therefore as necessary in the reading of the locative case, as in that of the vocative; and this makes it necessary to translate it thus: "AUM (i.e. the mystic triform divinity) is in the jewel-like Lotus. Amen."

The legend cited by M. Klaproth respecting Buddha apply as well to this version of the formulary as to his. I hope that Mr. Hodgson may hereafter favour us with the import of these words, as explained in the yet unexplored treasures of Sanscrit Buddhist literature in Nepaul."—W. H. M.

Note.—In reply to the query of my annotator, I beg to say, that the true sense of the mantra is, 'The mystic triform Deity is in him of the Jewel and the Lotus' id est, in Padma Pani, the fourth Dhyani Bodhisatwa, but lord of the ascendant at present, and therefore associated with Buddha and Dharma as the third person of the Triad; for this muntra is one of three, addressed to the three persons.
I trust that the drawings and inscriptions lately sent you from Bakra, Mathia, Radhiah, and Kesariah, will serve to draw attention towards the remains of Buddhist science and power still extant in this direction—the Mithila, or Maithila Desa of the Sstras, and North Bihar of the Moghuls. But it is not merely on the British side of the boundary that these astonishing traces of ancient civilization exist; for, in the Nepalese Tarai, also within a few miles of the hills, where now (or recently) the tiger, wild boar, and wild buffalo usurp the soil, and a deadly malaria infects the atmosphere for three-fourths of the year, similar vestiges are to be found. The Nepalese Tarai is synominous amongst Europeans with pestilential jungle. It was in the halls of Janakpur, however, that the youthful Rama sought a bride: it was from the battlements of Simroun that the last of the Deva dynasty defied so long the imperial arms of Toglak Shah!

But the ruins of Janakpur and of Simroun still exist in the Nepalese low-lands: and he who would form a just idea of what the Hindoos of Mithila achieved prior to the advent of the Moslems must bend his pilgrim steps from the columns of Radhiah and of Mathiah, in the British territories, to the last but still astonishing vestiges of the cities of Kings Janaka and Nanyupa, in those of Nepal.

Of the Nepalese Tarai it might justly be said, until very lately,

'A goodly place it was in days of yore,  
But something ails it now: the place is cursed.'

Five centuries of incessant struggle between Moslem bigotry and
Hindoo retaliation had indeed stricken this border land with the double curse of waste and pestilence. Nature, as it were, in very scorn of the vile passions of man, having turned the matchless luxuriance of the soil and climate into the means of debarring his future access! Such was the Nepaulese Tarai until 1816. But since that period the peace and alliance existing between the two efficient Governments of the hills and the plains have given security to the borderers, and man is now fast resuming his ancient tenure of this fertile region. Still, however, there is little temptation or opportunity for Europeans to enter it; and as chance recently conducted me past the ruins of Simroun, I purpose to give you a hasty sketch of what I saw and heard: because these ruins are evidently disjecta membra of the same magnificent body to which the mausoleum of Kesariah, and the solitary columns of Mathiah, of Radhiah, and of Bakhra belong. About 15 miles from the base of the hills, and at a nearly equal distance from the Bagmatty, south of the former, and west of the latter, stand the remains of Simroun, in the Nepaulese district of Rotahat, and opposite to the Champaran division of the British zillah of Sarun.

The boundary of Nepaul and of our territories confines the ruins to the south, and the Jamuni Nadí to the west. On the immediate east lies the village of Kachorwa, and on the north, that of Bhagwánpur, both belonging to Nepaul. Here, in the midst of a dense jungle, 12 miles probably in circuit, rife with malaria, and abounding in tigers, wild boar, and spotted axis, are secluded these wonderful traces of the olden time. The country around is well cultivated now, both on our and the Nepaulese side, but no one presumes to disturb the slumber of the genius of Simroun; superstition broods over the tainted atmosphere; and the vengeance of Káli is announced to the rash peasant who would dare to ply an axe, or urge a plough, within her appropriately desolate domain. It was only with difficulty that my elephants could make their way through the jungle; and when I had reached a central position, and ascended an elevation of some 25 feet, composed of the debris of the palace, nothing but a wilderness met my eye. Yet it is barely 500 years since Simroun was a pakka, fortified city, W
the pride and the defence of Mithila! After the war with Nepaul, Lieutenant Boileau, I think, surveyed these ruins, and drew up a plan of them. What is become of it, I know not; and regret that my own opportunity of research was limited to one hasty visit. In this, however, I traced the northern wall, in all its extent: measured the dimensions of the great Pókrá or reservoir called Isrá; and clambered to the top of what were once the citadel and the Ráni-bás or Mahal Sarai. On my return I had much conversation with an intelligent Brahman of Bhagwánpur, who told me that in April and May, when the jungle is at its barest state, the form and extent of the city may be distinctly traced. From his communications, and from my own observations, I gather that the form of the city is a parallelogram, surrounded by an outer and an inner wall, the former of unburnt, the latter of burnt, brick—the one having a compass of seven cos, and the other, of about five cos.

On the eastern side, six or seven wet ditches may still be traced, outside the pakka wall, and three or four on the western side. The Isrá reservoir or tank is still perfect. It is 333 paces along each greater, and 210 along each shorter, face; and its containing walls or sides consist of the finest burnt bricks, each of which is a cubit square, and nearly a maund in weight. 50 to 60 yards of causeway, constructed of similar bricks or tiles, are yet entire in the neighbourhood of the palace; and vestiges of the same causeway, traceable at other points, indicate that all the streets of the city were of this careful and expensive structure. The remains of the palace, of the citadel, and of the temple of the tutelary goddess, exhibit finely carved stone basements, with superstructures of the same beautifully moulded and polished bricks for which the temples and places of the valley of Nepal are so justly celebrated. I measured some of the basement stones, and found them each 5 feet long by 1½ broad and deep: and yet these blocks must have been brought from a distance of 25 miles at least, and over the lesser range of hills; for, till you come to the second or mountainous and rocky range, no such material is to be had.

Some twenty idols, extricated from the ruins by the pious la-
bour of a Gosain, are made of stone, and are superior in sculpture to modern specimens of the art. Many of them are much mutilated; and of those which are perfect, I had only time to observe that they bore the ordinary attributes of Purânic Brahmanism. Not a single inscription has yet been discovered: but wherefore speak of discovery where there has been no search? I noticed four or five pakka wells round, and each having a breast-work about three feet above the ground, similar precisely to the wells of this valley.

What I have called the citadel is styled on the spot the Kotwâli Choutara, and my palace is the Râni-bás. The latter has a very central position. The Kotwâli Choutara is in the northern quarter; and the great tank, called Isrâ Pokrá, is about \( \frac{3}{4} \) of a mile from the north-east corner of the city wall. As already mentioned, the last is still complete: the two former exist only as tumuli, some 20 to 25 feet high; and more or less coated with earth and trees.

Hindu tradition, eked out by a couple of Sanscrit slokas, a copy of which I subjoin, asserts that Simroun was founded by Nanyupa Deva, A. D. 1097; that six* of the dynasty reigned there with great splendour; and that the sixth, by name Hari Sinha Deva, was compelled to abandon his capital and kingdom, and take refuge in the hills A. D. 1322. The Moslem annals give 1323 for the date of the destruction of Simroun by Toglak Shah. Of the accuracy of the latter date there can be no doubt; nor is the difference between the Musalmân and Hindu chronology of the least moment. But, unless Nanyupa had more than five successors, we cannot place the foundation of Simroun higher than about 1200 A. D. That is clearly too recent; and, in fact, no part of the tradition can be trusted but that vouched by the memorial verses, which only give the date of destruction.

Memorial verses of the founding and desertion of Simroun.

The following is the substance of these memorial verses:

'The wealth accumulated by Rājás Rama, Nala, Pururava, and Alarka, was preserved in a tank (that of Isrā,) and guarded by a serpent. Nanyupa Deva destroyed the serpent; appropriated the wealth; and built (Simroun) Garh with it. (His descendant) Hari Sinha, compelled by cruel fate, abandoned his beautiful city, and went to the hills in the year of the Saka 1245.'

The kingdom of the Déva dynasty in the plains expired with the destruction or desertion of Simroun. It extended from the Kosi to the Gandak, and from the Ganges to the hills of Nepal: at least, such were its limits in the days of its greatest splendour, when consequently it embraced all the several localities from which I have recently forwarded to you such signal memorials of Hindu power and science.

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No. XI.

NOTE ON THE PRIMARY LANGUAGE OF THE BUDDHIST WRITINGS.

To the Editor, Journal Asiatic Society.

(Printed from the Bengal Asiatic Journal, No. 68, A. D. 1837.)

I have read article II. of the 66th No. of your Journal with great interest. With regard to the language in which the religion of Sakyā, 'was preached and spread among the people,' I perceive nothing opposed to my own opinions in the fact that that language was the vernacular.

There is merely in your case, as priorly in that of Mr. Tournour, some misapprehension of the sense in which I spoke to that point. The preaching and spreading of the religion is a very different thing from the elaboration of those speculative principles from
which the religion was deduced. In the one case, the appeal
would be to the many; in the other, to the few. And whilst I
am satisfied that the Buddhists as practical reformers addressed
themselves to the people, and as propagandists used the vulgar
tongue, I think that those philosophical dogmata which formed
the basis of the popular creed, were enounced, defended and sys-
tematised in Sanskrit. I never alleged that the Buddhists had es-
chewed the Prákrits: I only denied the allegation that they had
eschewed the Sanskrit; and I endeavoured, at the same time, to
reconcile their use of both, by drawing a distinction between the
means employed by their philosophers to establish the principles
of this religion, and the means employed by their missionaries to
propagate the religion itself.

JOINVILLE had argued that Buddhism was an original creed,
older than Brahmanism, because of the grossness of its leading
tenets which savour so much of ‘flat atheism.’

I answered that Buddhism was an innovation on the existing
creed, and that all the peculiarities of the religion of SAKYA could
be best and only explained by advertence to shameful prior abuse
of the religious sanction, whence arose the characteristic Baudhha
aversion to gods and priests, and that enthusiastic self-reliance
taught by Buddhism in express opposition to the servile extant
reference of all things to heavenly and earthly mediation. JONES,
again, had argued that the Buddhists used only the Prákrit be-
cause the books of Ceylon and Ava, (the only ones then forth-
coming,*) were solely in that language or dialect. I answered by
producing a whole library of Sanskrit works in which the princi-
ipples of Buddhism are more fully expounded than in all the le-
dendary tomes of Ceylon and Ava; I answered, further, by point-
ing to the abstruse philosophy of Buddhism, to the admitted pre-
eminence, as scholars, of its expounders; and to their location
in the most central and literary part of India (Behar and Oude).

* Sir W. JONES had, however, in his possession a Sanskrit copy of the Lalita
Vistara, and had noticed the personification of Diva Natura under the style of
Arya Tara.
With the Sanskrit at command, I asked and ask again, why men so placed and gifted, and having to defend their principles in the schools against ripe scholars from all parts of India (for those were days of high debate and of perpetual formal disputation in palaces and in cloisters) should be supposed to have resorted to a limited and feeble organ when they had the universal and more powerful one equally available? The presumption that they did not thus postpone Sanskrit to Prakrit is, in my judgment, worth a score of any inferences deducible from monumental slabs, backed as this presumption is by the Sanscrit records of Buddhism discovered here. Those records came direct from the proximate head quarters of Buddhism. And, if the principles of this creed were not expounded and systematised in the schools of India in Sanskrit, what are we to make of the Nepalese originals and of the avowed Tibetan translations? In my judgment the extent and character of these works settle the question that the philosophic founders of Buddhism used Sanskrit and Sanskrit only, to expound, defend and record the speculative principles of their system, principles without which the vulgar creed would be (for us,) mere leather and prunella! Nor is this opinion in the least opposed to your notion (mine too) that the practical system of belief, deduced from those principles, was spread among the people of the spot, as well as propagated to remoter spots by means of the vernacular.

It is admitted that Buddhism was long taught in Ceylon without the aid of books: and that the first book reached that island nearly 300 years after the introduction of the creed.

Here is a distinct admission of what I long since inferred from the general character of the religion of Sakya in that island, viz. the protracted total want, and ultimate imperfect supply, of those standard written authorities of the sect which regulated belief and practice in Magadha, in Kosala and Rájagriha,—in a word, in the Metropolis of Buddhism. From this metropolis the authorities in question were transferred directly and immediately to the proximate hills of Nepaul, where and where only, I believe, they are now to be found. If not translations, the books of Ceylon have all the ap-
pearance of being ritual collectanea, legendary hearsays, and loose
comments on received texts—all which would naturally be writ-
ten in the vulgar tongue.* To these, however, we must add some
very important historical annals, detailing the spread and diffu-
sion of Buddhism. Similar annals are yet found in Tibet, but, as
far as I know not in Nepaul, for what reason it is difficult to di-
vine.

But these annals, however valuable to us, for historical uses,
are not the original written standard of faith; and until I see
the Prajnà Pàramíta and the nine Dharmas† produced from
Ceylon, I must continue of the opinion that the Buddhists of that
island drew their faith from secondary, not primary sources; and
that whilst the former were in Ceylon as elsewhere, vernacular;
the latter were in Magadha and Kosala, as they are still in Ne-
paul, classical or Sanskrit!

Certainly Buddhism, considered in the practical view of a reli-
gious system, always appealed to the common sense and interest
of the many, inscribing its most sacred texts (Sanskrit and Prá-
krit) on temple walls and on pillars, placed in market, high-road
and cross-road.

This material fact (so opposite to the genius of Brahmanism,) I
long since called attention to; and thence argued that the inscrip-
tions on the lāts would be probably found to be scriptural texts!

The tendency of your researches to prove that the elaborate
forms of the Deva Nágará were constructed from simpler elements,
more or less appropriated to the popular Bháshás, is very curious;
and seems to strengthen the opinion of those who hold Hindí to be
indigenous, older than Sanskrit in India, and not (as Colebrooke
supposed) deduced from Sanskrit. If Buddhism used these pri-
mitive letters before the Deva Nágará existed, the date of this creed

* Such works written in the vulgar tongue are common in Nepaul and fre-
quently we have a Sanskrit text with a vernacular running commentary.

† They have one of the 9, viz. the Lallita Vistora; but M. Burnouf assures
me, in a miserably corrupted state. Now, as this work is forthcoming in a fault-
less state in Sanskrit, I say the Pali version must be a translation. (Await Mr.
Turnoue's extracts and translations before pronouncing judgment.—Ed.)
would seem to be thrown back to a remote æra, or, the Sanskrit letters and language must be comparatively recent.

I can trace something very like Buddhism, into far ages and realms; but I am sure that that Buddhism which has come down to us in the Sanskrit, Pâli and Tibetan books of the sect, and which only therefore we do or can know, is neither old nor exotic. That Buddhism (the doctrines of the so called seventh Buddha) arose in the middle of India in comparatively recent times, and expressly out of those prior abominations which had long held the people of India in cruel vassalage to a bloated priesthood.

The race of Sáka, or progenitors of Sâkya Sinha (by the way, the Sinha proves that the princely style was given to him until he assumed the ascetic habit) may have been Scythians or Northmen, in one sense; and so probably were the Brahmans in that same sense, viz. with reference to their original seat. (Brachmanes nomen gentis diffusissimae, cujus maxima pars in montibus degit; reliqui circa Gangem.)

If one's purpose and object were to search backwards to the original hive of nations, one might, as in consistency one should, draw Brahmanism and Buddhism, VYASA and SAKYA, from Tartary. All I say is, that quoad the known and recorded man and thing—SÁKYA SÍNGHA and his tenets—they are indisputably Indian and recent.*

I incline to the opinion that Hindi may be older in India than Sanskrit, and independent, originally, of Sanskrit. But were this so, and were it also true that the Buddhists used the best dialect of Hindi (that however is saturated with Sanskrit, whatever its primal independence) such admissions would rather strengthen than weaken the argument from language against the exotic origin of Buddhism.†

* According to all Baudhha authorities the lineage of the whole seven mortal Buddhas is expressly stated to be Brahmanical or Kshetriya! What is the answer to this?

† Our own distinguished WILSON has too easily followed the continental European writers in identifying the Sáka ñansa with the classical Sáca or Scythians, and Buddhism with Samanism. The Tartars of our day avow that they got all their knowledge from India: teste Kühgyur et Stangyur.
According to this hypothesis, Hindi is not less, but more, Indian than Sanskrit: and, a fortiori, so is the religion assumed to have committed its records to Hindi.

But, in very truth, the extant records of Buddhism, whether Sanskrit or Prākrit, exhibit both languages in a high state of refinement; and though one or both tongues came originally from Tartary, they received that refinement in India, where, certainly, what we know as Buddhism, (by means of these records) had its origin, long after Brahmanism had flourished there in all its mischievous might.

P. S. You will, I hope, excuse my having adverted to some other controverted topics besides that which your paper immediately suggested. These questions are, a good deal, linked together: for instance, if Buddhism furnishes internal evidence throughout its most authentic records that it is the express antithesis of Brahmanism, its posteriority of date to the latter is decided, as well as its jealousy of priestly pretensions. Nec clerici infinita aut libera potestas, is a deduction which only very precise and weighty evidence will suffice to set aside: I have seen none such yet from Ceylon or from Ava. And be it observed, I here advert to authentic scriptural tenets, and not to popular corruptions resulting from the facile confusion of the ascetic with the clerical profession.

Note. We are by no means prepared to enter into a controversy on a subject on which we profess but a slight and accidental acquaintance: nor will we arrogate to ourselves the distinction of having entered the lists already occupied by such champions as Mr. Hodgson and Mr. Turnour, who have both very strong arguments to bring forward, in support of their opposite views. As far as the Dharmalipi could be taken as evidence the vernacularists had the right to it; but on the other hand there can be no doubt, as Mr. Hodgson says, that all scholastic disputation with the existing Brahmanical schools which Sakya personally visited and overcame, must have been conducted in the classical language. The only question is, whether any of these early disquisitions have
been preserved, and whether, for example, the Life of SAKYA, called the *Lalita Vistāra*, found by Professor WILSON to agree verbatim with the Tibetan translate examined simultaneously by Mr. CSOMA, has a greater antiquity than the *Pitakattayan of Ceylon*? We happen fortuitously to have received at this moment two letters bearing upon the point in dispute from which we gladly avail ourselves of an extract or two:—Mr. TURNOUR, alluding to the notice of the life of SAKYA from the Tibetan authorities by Mr. CSOMA in the As. Res. vol. xx. writes—"The Tibetan life is apparently a very meagre performance, containing scarcely any thing valuable in the department of history; whereas had the materials whence it was taken been genuine, the translator would have been able to bring forward and illustrate much valuable information on the pilgrimages and the acts of SAKYA in various parts of India during the 45 years he was Buddha. Even the superstitious facts recorded are much more absurd than they are represented in the *Pitakattayan*. Thus the dream of MAYA DEVI of having been rubbed by a Chhadanta elephant, during her pregnancy,—is converted into a matter of fact, of SAKYA, "in the form of an elephant having entered by the right side into the womb or cavity of the body of MAYA DEVI!" 'Chhadanta' is taken literally as a six-tusked elephant, whereas by our books Chhadanta is the name of a lake beyond the Himālaya mountains where the elephants are of a superior breed. It is mentioned twice in the *Mahāwanso* (Chaps. 5 and 22)."

If the rationality of a story be a fair test of its genuineness, which few will deny, the Pāli record will here bear away the palm:—but it is much to be regretted that we have not a complete translation of the Sanskrit and of the Ceylonese "life" to place side by side. It is impossible that instruction should not be gained by such an impartial examination. But to return to the subject

* As an example of the information already obtained from Mr. Csoma's translated sketch, we may adduce the origin of the custom seemingly so universal among the Buddhists of preserving pictorial or sculptured representations of the facts of his life.—After his death the priests and minister at *Rajagriha* are afraid of telling the king *Ajata Satru* thereof lest he should faint from the
under discussion; my friend Mr. Csoma writes from Titalya in the Purniya district:—

"In reference to your and Mr. Turnour's opinion that the original records of the Buddhists in ancient India, were written in the Māgadhi dialect, I beg leave to add in support of it, that in the index or register ("मा ग स कर चहाग") of the Kahgyur, it is stated that the Sūtras in general—i. e. all the works in the Kahgyur except the 21 volumes of the Sher-chhin and the 22 volumes of the rGyud class, after the death of Shakyā, were first written in the Sindhu language and the Sher-chhin and rGyud in the Sanskrit: but part of the rGyud also in several other corrupt dialects. It is probable that in the seventh century and afterwards, the ancient Buddhistic religion was remodelled and generally written in Sanskrit, before the Tibetans commenced its introduction by translation into their own country."

This explanation, so simple and so authentic, ought to set the matter at rest, and that in the manner that the advocates of either view should most desire, for it shews that both are right!—It is generally allowed that the Pāli and the Zend are derivatives of nearly the same grade from the Sanskrit stock; and the modern dialect of Sinde as well as the Bhāshā of upper and western India present more striking analogies to the Pāli, in the re

the shock, and it is suggested by Maha'kAshyapa by way of breaking the intelligence to him, that the Mahamantra or chief priest should "go speedily into the king's garden, and cause to be represented in painting, how Chomdandas (Bhagavan) was in Tushita: how in the shape of an elephant he entered his mother's womb: how at the foot of the holy fig-tree he attained supreme perfection: how at Varanasi he turned the wheel of the law of twelve kinds, (taught his doctrines:)—how he at Sravasti displayed great miracles;—how at the city of Ghachen he descended from the Traya Strinsha heaven, whither he had gone to instruct his mother:—and lastly, how having accomplished his acts in civilizing and instructing men in his doctrine at several places, he went to his last repose in the city of Kushu in Assum." Now whether the book in question was written sooner or later, it explains the practice equally and teaches us how we may successfully analyze the events depicted in the drawings of Adjanta, perchance, or the sculptures of Bhīsā, with a full volume of the life of Shakya in our hand. Similar paintings are common in Ava. and an amusing, but rather apocryphal, series may be seen in Upham's folio history of Buddhism.
moral particularly of the r, and the modification of the auxiliary verbs, than any of the dialects of Bengal, Behar, or Ceylon.*

Plausible grounds for the existence of this western dialect in the heart of Magadhā, and the preference given it in writings of the period, may be found in the origin of the ruling dynasty of that province, which had confessedly proceeded from the north-west. At any rate those of the Sākya race, which had emigrated from Śinde to Kapila vastu (somewhere in the Gangetic valley) may have preserved the idiom of this native province and have caused it to prevail along with the religion which was promulgated through its means.

We are by no means of opinion that the Hindi, Sindhi, or Pāli had an independent origin prior to the Sanskrit. The more the first of these, which is the most modern form and the farthest removed from the classical language, is examined and analyzed, the more evidently is its modification and corruption from the ancient stock found to follow systematic rules, and to evince rather provincial dialectism (if I may use the word) than the mere engraftment of foreign words upon a pre-existent and written language. The aboriginal terms of Indian speech must be rather sought in the hills and in the peninsula; in the plains and populous districts of the north the evidences of their existence are necessarily smothered by the predominance of the refined and durable languages of the court, of religion, and of the educated classes. A writer in the Foreign Quarterly has lately been bold enough to revive the theory of Sanskrit being merely a derivative from the Greek through the intervention of the Zend, and subsequent to the Macedonian invasion! The Agathocles' coin ought to answer all such speculations. The Pāli of that day along with its appropriate symbols is proved to have held the same precise derivative relation to the Sanskrit as it does now—for the records on which we argue are not modern, but of that very period. All we still want is to find some graven Brahmanical record of the same period to shew the character then in use for writing Sanskrit; and to

* See the Rev. Dr. Mill's note on this subject in the Jour. Asiat. Soc. vol. v. p. 30; also Professor Wilson's remarks, vol. i. page 8.
add ocular demonstration to the proofs afforded by the profound researches of philologists as to the genuine antiquity of the venerable depository of the Vedas.—Ed.

No. XII.

(Printed from the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.)

EXTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

January, 1836.

The Secretary then read the following letter addressed to him by Brian Houghton Hodgson, Esq. the Hon. East India Company's Political Resident in Nepal:

"Nepaul, April 24, 1835.

"My dear Sir,—Through Dr. Wallich I have recently had the honour to transmit to you a copy of the Sata Sahasrika Prajna Paramita, or Raksha Bhagavati, as it is more commonly called here; and, in the course of the year, I trust to be enabled to send to you copies of the nine works denominated the Nava Dharma. They will be followed by despatches of the other Paurâñika and Tântrika books of the Saugatas, of which the names are enumerated in my Sketch of Buddhism.

"It is my hope and my ambition to be able to deposit in your archives a complete series of these original Sanskrit depositories of Baudhâ philosophy and religion; in the conviction that in them only can be traced with success the true features of a system which is far too subtle and complex to be apprehended through the medium of such languages as those of the Tibetans and Mongolians;—and which system demands our best attention, not less on account of its having divided with Brahmanism the empire of opinion for ages, within the limits of India proper, than for its unparalleled extension beyond those limits in more recent times, and up to the present day. It is probable, that, during four or five centuries at least, Buddhism was as influential within the
bounds of the continent of India as Brāhmanism; and, it is cer-
tain, that the period of its greatest influence there was synchro-
nous with the brightest era of the intellectual culture of that con-
tinent. The Brāhmans themselves attest, again and again, the
philosophical acumen and literary abilities of their detested ri-
vals; and, upon the whole, I fancy it can hardly be too much to
assert, that, until the speculations and arguments of Sākya, and
his successors, are as well known to us as those of Vyāsa and his,
we must remain, with respect to the knowledge of the Indian phi-
losophy of mind, and its collateral topics, pretty much in the con-
dition which we should be in, with regard to the same sciences in
Europe, were the records of Protestant sagacity obliterated, and
those of Catholic ingenuity alone left us to judge of and decide
by.

"As to the importance of a knowledge of the speculative tenets
of Buddhism, with a view to complete the history of Indian philo-
sophy and intellectual culture, there may be some difference of
opinion; but there can be none respecting the desirableness of
drawing from original and adequate sources our notions of that
existing system of faith which, for the number of its followers,
surpasses every religion on the face of the earth. Not to men-
tion that the researches of every year furnish us with fresh pre-
sumptions in favour of the former prevalence of Buddhism in
wide regions where it is now superseded by Islāmism, or by
Christianity. The works which it is my purpose to deposit co-
pies of in the library of your Society, constitute such original and
adequate sources of information respecting the Saugatas. They
are all written in the Sanskrit language, are of vast extent, and
embrace numerous treatises belonging to the Tāntrika, as well as
the Paurāṇika class. Till very recently, works of the former or-
der were withheld from me, owing to religious scruples; but I
have, within the last year, procured several, am daily obtaining
more, and am now of opinion, that nearly the whole contents of
the immense Kahgyur and Stanggyur collections of Tibet may yet
be had in the original Sanskrit in Nepaul. Such being the case,
I do not intend (unless the Society express a wish to that effect)
to continue the transmission of the Tibetan series; nor to make any additions to those volumes of the Yām division of the Kuh-gyûr, which were sent to you along with the Sata Sahasrika, in the original Sanskrit, because I am quite confident the Tibetan translations are infinitely inferior to the Sanskrit originals; and because there are as yet no Tibetan scholars in Europe.

"The general opinion amongst Europeans seems to be, that the Bauddha sages committed their doctrines to the Pâli language rather than to the Sanskrit,—an opinion founded, as I presume, upon the fact, that the Buddhist works extant in Ceylon are in the Pâli, as well as those of the Indo-Chinese nations, so far as the latter are not avowed translations therefrom into the vernacular tongues. But before I can subscribe to the opinion adverted to, I must see Pâli works produced, comparable in importance and number with the Sanskrit records of Buddhism that have been procured in Nepaul; and, in the mean while, it appears to me most extraordinary that the philosophers of Ayodhya and of Magadha, the acknowledged founders of Buddhism, should be presumed by us to have postponed Sanskrit to Pâli; whilst, on the other hand, I can easily conceive, that as the new opinions spread into the remote Dekkan, and thence to Ceylon, their propagators should have facilitated their operations by means of Pâli translations. In a word, I believe the Sanskrit books of Nepaul are the only original treatises on Buddhism yet discovered by us, or now extant; and I think I do not exaggerate the importance of those treatises when I say, that through them only shall we be enabled either to complete the history of Indian philosophy, or to elucidate the real nature of those religious doctrines which constitute the faith of the Indo-Chinese, Ceylonese, Tibetans, Mongolians; as well as of the bulk of the Chinese, of the Japanese, of the various nations usually called Tartars; and, lastly, of the Himalayan mountaineers of India."

B. H. HODGSON.

To the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.
A DISPUTATION RESPECTING CASTE BY A BUDDHIST,

In the form of a Series of Propositions supposed to be put by a Saiva and refuted by the Disputant.

(Printed from the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. iii.)

To the Secretary of the Asiatic Society.

SIR, Nepaul Residency, July 11th, 1829.

A few days since my learned old Baudhā friend brought me a little tract in Sanskrit, with such an evident air of pride and pleasure, that I immediately asked him what it contained. "Oh, my friend!" was his reply, "I have long been trying to procure for you this work, in the assurance that you must highly approve the wit and wisdom contained in it; and, after many applications to the owner, I have at length obtained the loan of it for three or four days. But I cannot let you have it, nor even a copy of it, such being the conditions on which I procured you a sight of it." These words of my old friend stimulated my curiosity, and with a few fair words I engaged the old gentleman to lend me and my pandit his aid in making a translation of it; a task which we accomplished within the limited period of my possession of the original, although my pandit (a Brahman of Benares) soon declined co-operation with us, full of indignation at the author and his work! Notwithstanding, however, the loss of the pandit's aid, I think I may venture to say that the translation gives a fair representation of the matter of the original, and is not altogether without some traces of its manner.

It consists of a shrewd and argumentative attack, by a Baudhā, upon the Brahmanical doctrine of caste: and what adds to its pungency is, that throughout, the truth of the Brahmanical writ-
ings is assumed, and that the author's proofs of the erroneousness of the doctrine of caste are all drawn from those writings. He possesses himself of the enemy's battery, and turns their own guns against them. To an English reader this circumstance gives a puerile character to a large portion of the Treatise, owing to the enormous absurdity of the data from which the author argues. His inferences, however, are almost always shrewdly drawn, and we must remember that not he but his antagonists must be answerable for the character of the data. To judge by the effect produced upon my Brahman pandit—a wise man in his generation, and accustomed for the last four years to the examination of Bauddha literature—by this little Treatise, it would seem that there is no method of assailing Brahmanism comparable to that of "judging it out of its own mouth:" and the resolution of the Committee of the Serampore College to make a thorough knowledge of Hindu learning the basis of the education of their destined young apostles of Christianity in India, would thence appear to be most wise and politic: but to return to my little Treatise.

We all know that the Brahmans scorn to consider the Sudras as of the same nature with themselves, in this respect resembling the bigoted Christians of the dark ages, who deemed in like manner of the Jews. The manner in which our author treats this part of his subject is, in my judgment, admirable, and altogether worthy of a European mind. Indeed it bears the closest resemblance to the style of argument used by Shakespeare; in covertly assailing the analogous European prejudice already adverted to. I need not point more particularly to the glorious passage in the Merchant of Venice: "Hath not a Jew eyes, hands, organs, dimensions, senses, passions; fed with the same food, hurt by the same diseases?" &c. &c.

The Bauddha Treatise commences in the sober manner of a title page to a book; but immediately after the author has announced himself with due pomp, he rushes "in medias res," and to the end of his work maintains the animated style of vivâ voce disputatation. Who Ashu Ghosha, the author, was, when he flourished and where, I cannot ascertain. All that is known of him at Nepaul
is, that he was a Maha pandit, or great sage, and wrote, besides
the little Treatise now translated, two larger Baudha works of
high repute, the names of which are mentioned in a note.*

I am, &c.

B. H. Hodgson.

I, ASHU GHOSHA, first invoking MANJA GHOSHA, the Guru of
the world, with all my soul and all my strength, proceed to com-
pose the book called Vajra Suchi, in accordance with the Shas-
tras (Hindu or Brahmanical Sastras.)

Allow then that your Vedas and Sûrîtis, and works involving
both Dharma and Artha, are good and valid, and that discourses
at variance with them are invalid, still what you say, that the
Brahman is the highest of the four castes, cannot be proved from
those books.

Tell me, first of all, what is Brahmanhood? Is it life, or pa-
rentage, or body, or wisdom, or the way (âchár,) or acts, i. e.
morality (Karam,) or the Vedas?

If you say it is life (jiva,) such an assertion cannot be reconcil-
ed with the Vedas; for, it is written in the Vedas, that "the sun
and the moon, INdra, and other deities, were at first quadrupeds;
and some other deities were first animals and afterwards became
gods; even the vilest of the vile (Swapah) have become gods." From
these words it is clear that Brahmanhood is not life (jiva),
a position which is further proved from these words of the Ma-
habharata: "Seven hunters and ten deer, of the hill of Kalinjal,
a goose of the lake Mansaravara, and a chakwa of Saradwipa, all these
were born as Brahmans, in the Kurukshetra (near Dehli), and be-
came very learned in the Vedas." It is also said by MANU, in his
Dharma Sastra, "Whatever Brahman learned in the four Vedas,
with their ang and upang, shall take charity from a Sudra, shall for
twelve births be an ass, and for sixty births a hog, and seventy births

* The Buddha Charitra Kavya, and the Nundi-Mukhasughosha Avadan,
and other works.
a dog." From these words it is clear that Brahmanhood is not life; for, if it were, how could such things be?

If, again, you say that Brahmanhood depends on parentage or birth (jāti); that is, that to be a Brahman one must be born of Brahman parents,—this notion is at variance with the known passage of the Smritti, that Achala Muni was born of an elephant, and Cesa Pingala of an owl, and Agastyā Muni from the Agasti flower, and Cousika Muni from the Cusa grass, and Capila from a monkey, and Gautami Rishi from a creeper that entwined a Saul tree, and Drona Acharya from an earthen pot, and Taittiri Rishi from a partridge, and Parswa Rama from dust, and Sringa Rishi from a deer, and Vyasa Muni from a fisherwoman, and Koshika Muni from a female Sudra, and Viswa Mitra from a Chandalai, and Vasishtha Muni from a strum-pet. Not one of them had a Brahman mother, and yet all were notoriously called Brahmans; whence I infer, that the title is a distinction of popular origin, and cannot be traced to parentage from written authorities.

Should you again say, that whoever is born of a Brahman father or mother is a Brahman, then the child of a slave even may become a Brahman; a consequence to which I have no objection, but which will not consort with your notions, I fancy.

Do you say, that he who is sprang of Brahman parents is a Brahman? Still I object that, since you must mean pure and true Brahmans, in such case the breed of Brahmans must be at an end; since the fathers of the present race of Brahmans are not, any of them, free from the suspicion of having wives, who notoriously commit adultery with Sudras. Now, if the real father be a Sudra, the son cannot be a Brahman, notwithstanding the Brahmanhood of his mother. From all which I infer, that Brahmanhood is not truly derivable from birth; and I draw fresh proofs of this from the Manava Dharma, which affirms that the Brahman who eats flesh loses instantly his rank; and also, that by selling wax, or salt, or milk, he becomes a Sudra in three days; and further, that even such a Brahman as can fly like a bird, directly ceases to be a Brahman by meddling with the flesh of.
From all this is it not clear that Brahmanhood is not the same with birth: since, if that were the case, it could not be lost by any acts however degrading. Knew you ever of a flying horse that by alighting on earth was turned into a pig?—'Tis impossible.

Say you that body (Sarīr) is the Brahman? this too is false; for, if body be the Brahman, then fire, when the Brahman's corpse is consumed by it, will be the murderer of a Brahman; and such also will be every one of the Brahman's relatives who consigned his body to the flames. Nor less will this other absurdity follow, that every one born of a Brahman, though his mother were a Kshatriya or Vaisya, would be a Brahman—being bone of the bone, and flesh of the flesh of his father: a monstrosity, you will allow, that was never heard of. Again, are not performing sacrifice, and causing others to perform it, reading and causing to read, receiving and giving charity, and other holy acts, sprung from the body of the Brahman?

Is then the virtue of all these destroyed by the destruction of the body of a Brahman? Surely not, according to your own principles; and, if not, then Brahmanhood cannot consist in body.

Say you that wisdom* constitutes the Brahman? This too is incorrect. Why? Because, if it were true, many Sudras must have become Brahmans from the great wisdom they acquired. I myself know many Sudras who are masters of the four Vedas, and of philology, and of the Mimansa, and Sanchya, and Vaisheshika and Jyotishika philosophies; yet not one of them is or ever was called a Brahman. It is clearly proved then, that Brahmanhood consists not in wisdom or learning. Then do you affirm that the Achār is Brahmanhood? This too is false; for if it were true, many Sudras would become Brahmans; since many Nats and Bhāts, and Kaiverta, and Bhānds, and others, are every where to be seen performing the severest and most laborious acts

* Perhaps it should rather be translated learning. The word in the original is jnyana.
of piety. Yet not one of these, who are all so pre-eminent in their Achár, is ever called a Brahman: from which it is clear that Achár does not constitute the Brahman.

Say you that Karam makes the Brahman? I answer, no; for the argument used above applies here with even greater force, altogether annihilating the notion that acts constitute the Brahman. Do you declare that by reading the Vedas a man becomes a Brahman? This is palpably false; for it is notorious that the Rakshasa Ravan was deeply versed in all the four Vedas; and that, indeed, all the Rakshasas studied the Vedas in Ravan's time: yet you do not say that one of them thereby became a Brahman. It is therefore proved that no one becomes a Brahman by reading the Vedas.

What then is this creature called a Brahman? If neither reading the Vedas, nor Sanskar, nor parentage, nor race (Kula), nor acts (Karam), confers Brahmanhood, what does or can? To my mind Brahmanhood is merely an immaculate quality, like the snowy whiteness of the Kundh flower. That which removes sin is Brahmanhood. It consists of Uráta, and Tapas, and Neyama, and Ripavas, and Dan, and Dáma, and Sháma, and Sanyama. It is written in the Vedas that the gods hold that man to be a Brahman who is free from intemperance and egotism; and from Sanga, and Parigraha, and Praga, and Dvesha. Moreover, it is written in all the Sastras that the signs of a Brahman are these, truth, penance, the command of the organs of sense, and mercy; as those of a Chándala are the vices opposed to those virtues. Another mark of the Brahman is a scrupulous abstinence from sexual commerce, whether he be born a god, or a man, or a beast. Yet further, Sukra Acharya has said, that the gods take no heed of caste, but deem him to be the Brahman who is a good man although he belong to the vilest. From all which I infer, that birth, and life, and body, and wisdom, and observance of religious rites (achár), and acts (karam), are all of no avail towards becoming a Brahman.

Then again, that opinion of your sect, that Pravrajaya is prohibited to the Sudra; and that for him service and obedience paid
to Brahmans are instead of pravrajaya,—because, forsooth, in speaking of the four castes, the Sudra is mentioned last, and is therefore the vilest,—is absurd; for, if it were correct, Indra would be made out to be the lowest and meanest of beings, Indra being mentioned in the Parni Sutra after the dog, thus—"Shua, Yua Maghwa." In truth, the order in which they are mentioned or written, cannot affect the relative rank and dignity of the beings spoken of.

What! is Parvati greater than Mahesa? or are the teeth superior in dignity to the lips, because we find the latter postponed to the former, for the mere sake of euphony, in some grammar sentence? Are the teeth older than the lips; or does your creed teach you to postpone Siva to his spouse? No; nor any more is it true that the Sudra is vile, and the Brahman high and mighty, because we are used to repeat the Chatur Varána in a particular order. And if this proposition be untenable, your deduction from it, viz. that the vile Sudra must be content to regard his service and obedience to Brahmans as his only pravrajaya, falls likewise to the ground.

Know further, that it is written in the Dharma Sastra of Manu, that the Brahman who has drank the milk of a Sudarni, or has been even breathed upon by a Sudarni, or has been born of such a female, is not restored to his rank by prayáschitta. In the same work it is further asserted, that if any Brahman eat and drink from the hands of a Sudarni, he becomes in life a Sudra, and after death a dog. Manu further says, that a Brahman who associates with female Sudras, or keeps a Sudra concubine, shall be rejected by gods and ancestors, and after death shall go to hell. From all these assertions of the Manavá Dharma, it is clear that Brahmanhood is nothing indefeasibly attached to any race or breed, but is merely a quality of good men. Further, it is written in the Sastra of Manu, that many Sudras became Brahmans by force of their piety; for example, Káthíni Muni, who was born of the sacrificial flame produced by the friction of wood, became a Brahman by dint of Tapas; and Vásishtha Muni, born of the courtezan Urbasi; and Vyasa Muni, born of a female of
the fisherman's caste; and Rishiya Sringa Muni, born of a
doe; and Vishva Mitra, born a Chandalni; and Nared Muni,
born of a female spirit-seller; all these became Brahmans by
virtue of their Tapas. Is it not clear then that Brahmanhood de-
pends not on birth? It is also notorious that he who has conquer-
ed himself is a Yati; that he who performs penance is a Tapas-
sya; and that he who observes the Brahma charya is a Brah-
man. It is clear then that he whose life is pure, and his temper
cheerful, is the true Brahman; and that lineage (Kula) has no-
ting to do with the matter. There are these slokas in the Ma-
nava Dharma, "Goodness of disposition and purity are the best
of all things; lineage is not alone deserving of respect. If the
race be royal and virtue be wanting to it, it is contemptible and
useless." Kathina Muni and Vyasa Muni, and other sages,
though born of Sudras, are famous among men as Brahmans;
and many persons born in the lowest ranks have attained heaven
by the practice of uniform good conduct (sila.) To say there-
fore that the Brahman is of one particular race is idle and false.

Your doctrine, that the Brahman was produced from the mouth,
the Kshatriya from the arms, the Vaisya from the thighs, and the
Sudra from the feet, cannot be supported. Brahmans are not of
one particular race. Many persons have lived who belonged to
the Kaivarta Kul, and the Rajaka Kul, and the Chandal Kul, and
yet, while they existed in this world, performed the Chura Karan,
and Mung-bandan, and Dant-kashtha, and other acts appropriat-
ed to Brahmans, and after their deaths became, and still are, fa-
mous under the Brahmans.

All that I have said about Brahmans you must know is equally
applicable to Kshatriyas; and that the doctrine of the four castes
is altogether false. All men are of one caste.

Wonderful! You affirm that all men proceeded from one, i.e.
Brahma; how then can there be a fourfold insuperable diversity
among them? If I have four sons by one wife, the four sons,
having one father and mother, must be all essentially alike.
Know too that distinctions of race among beings are broadly mark-
ed by differences of conformation and organization: thus, the
foot of the elephant is very different from that of the horse; that
of the tiger unlike that of the deer; and so of the rest: and by that
single diagnosis we learn that those animals belong to very differ-
ent races. But I never heard that the foot of a Kshatriya was
different from that of a Brahman, or that of a Sudra. All men
are formed alike, and are clearly of one race. Further, the ge-
erative organs, the colour, the figure, the ordure, the urine, the
odour, and utterance, of the ox, the buffalo, the horse, the ele-
phant, the ass, the monkey, the goat, the sheep, &c. furnish clear
diagnostics whereby to separate these various races of animals:
but in all those respects the Brahman resembles the Kshatriya,
and is therefore of the same race or species with him. I have
instanced among quadrupeds the diversities which separate di-
verse genera. I now proceed to give some more instances from
among birds. Thus, the goose, the dove, the parrot, the pea-
cock, &c. are known to be different by their diversities of figure,
and colour, and plumage, and beak: but the Brahman, Ksha-
triya, Vaisya and Sudra are alike without and within. How then
can we say they are essentially distinct? Again, among trees the
Báta, and Bakula, and Palás, and Ashoka, and Tamal, and Nag-
keswar, and Shirik, and Champa, and others, are clearly contra-
distinguished by their stems, and leaves, and flowers, and fruits,
and barks, and timber, and seeds, and juices, and odours; but
Brahmans, and Kshatriyas, and the rest, are alike in flesh, and
skin, and blood, and bones, and figure, and excrements, and mode
of birth. It is surely then clear that they are of one species or
race.

Again, tell me, is a Brahman's sense of pleasure and pain
different from that of a Kshatriya? Does not the one sustain
life in the same way, and find death from the same causes as the
other? Do they differ in intellectual faculties, in their actions,
or the objects of those actions; in the manner of their birth, or in
their subjection to fear and hope? Not a whit. It is therefore
clear that they are essentially the same. In the Udambára and
Panosa trees the fruit is produced from the branches, the stem,
the joints, and the roots. Is one fruit therefore different from
another, so that we may call that produced from the top of the stem the Brahman fruit, and that from the roots the Sudra fruit? Surely not. Nor can men be of four distinct races, because they sprang from four different parts of one body. You say that the Brahman was produced from the mouth; whence was the Brahman produced? From the mouth likewise? Grant it—and then you must marry the brother to the sister! a pretty business indeed! if such incest is to have place in this world of ours, all distinctions of right and wrong must be obliterated.

This consequence, flowing inevitably from your doctrine that the Brahman proceeded from the mouth, proves the falsity of that doctrine. The distinctions between Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras, are founded merely on the observance of divers rites, and the practice of different professions; as is clearly proved by the conversation of Baisham Payana Rishi with Yudhisthira Raja, which was as follows: One day the son of Pandu, named Yudhisthira, who was the wise man of his age, joining his hands reverentially, asked Baisham Payana, Whom do you call a Brahman; and what are the signs of Brahmanhood? Baisham answered, The first sign of a Brahman is, that he possesses long-suffering and the rest of the virtues, and never is guilty of violence and wrong doing; that he never eats flesh; and never hurts a sentient thing. The second sign is, that he never takes that which belongs to another without the owner's consent, even though he find it in the road. The third sign, that he masters all worldly affections and desires, and is absolutely indifferent to earthly considerations. The fourth, that whether he is born a man, or a god, or a beast, he never yields to sexual desires. The fifth that he possesses the following five pure qualities, truth, mercy, command of the senses, universal benevolence, and penance.* Whoever possesses these five signs of Brahmanhood I acknowledge to be a Brahman; and, if he possess them not, he is a Su-

* The word in the original is Tapas, which we are accustomed to translate "penance," and I have followed the usage, though "ascetism" would be a better word. The proud Tapasyi, whom the very gods regard with dread, never dreams of contrition and repentance.
dra. Brahmanhood depends not on race (Kuli,) or birth (Jat,) nor on the performance of certain ceremonies. If a Bhandal is virtuous, and possesses the signs above noted, he is a Brahman. Oh! Yudhisthira, formerly in this world of ours there was but one caste. The division into four castes originated with diversity of rites and of avocations. All men were born of woman in like manner. All are subject to the same physical necessities, and have the same organs and senses. But he whose conduct is uniformly good is a Brahman; and if it be otherwise he is a Sudra; aye, lower than a Sudra. The Sudra who, on the other hand, possesses these virtues is a Brahman.

Oh, Yudhisthira! If a Sudra be superior to the allurements of the five senses, to give him charity is a virtue that will be rewarded in heaven. Heed not his caste; but only mark his qualities. Whoever in this life ever does well, and is ever ready to benefit others, spending his days and nights in good acts, such an one is a Brahman; and whoever, relinquishing worldly ways, employs himself solely in the acquisition of Moksha, such an one also is a Brahman; and whoever refrains from destruction of life, and from worldly affections, and evil acts, and is free from passion and backbiting, such an one also is a Brahman; and whose possesses Kshema, and Daya, and Dama, and Dan, and Satya, and Souchana, and Smritti, and Ghrima, and Vidya, and Vijnan, &c. is a Brahman. Oh, Yudhisthira! if a person perform the Brahmacarya for one night, the merit of it is greater than that of a thousand sacrifices (yajna). And whose has read all the Vedas, and performed all the Tirthas, and observed all the commands and prohibitions of the Sastra, such an one is a Brahman! and whoso has never injured a sentient thing by act, word or thought, such a person shall instantly be absorbed (at his death) in Brahma. Such were the words of Baisham Payana. Oh, my friend, my design in the above discourse is, that all ignorant Brahmins and others should acquire wisdom by studying it, and take to the right way. Let them, if they approve it, heed it; and if they approve it not, let them neglect its admonitions.
ON THE EXTREME RESEMBLANCE THAT PREVAILS BETWEEN MANY OF THE SYMBOLS OF BUDDHISM AND SAIVISM.

(Printed from the Quarterly Oriental Magazine, No. 14, A. D. 1827.)

To the Editor of the Oriental Quarterly Magazine.

SIR,

It is the purpose of the following paper to furnish to those who have means and inclination to follow them out, a few hints relative to the extreme resemblance that prevails between many of the symbols of Buddhism and Saivism. Having resided myself some few years in a Bauddha country, I have had ample opportunities of noting this resemblance, and a perusal of the works of Crawfurd, of Raffles, and of the Bombay Literary Society, has satisfied me that this curious similitude is not peculiar to the land wherein I abide. I observe that my countrymen, to whom any degree of identity between faiths in general so opposite to each other as Saiivism and Buddhism, never seems to have occurred, have in their examinations of the monuments of India and its Islands, proceeded upon the assumption of an absolute incommuni
ty between the types of the two religions as well as between the things typified.* This assumption has puzzled them not a little so often as the evidence of their eyes has forced upon them, the observation of images in the closest juxta position which their previous ideas nevertheless obliged them to sunder as far apart as Brahmanism and Buddhism!

When in the country in which I reside, I observed images the most apparently Saiva placed in the precincts of Saugata temples,

* This remark is scarcely just, the possible connection of the Saiva and Buddha systems on Java and Bali having been frequently conjectured, and in India the intermixture of Jain, with Vaishnava, and even Sukta practices is not uncom-
mon.—Ed.

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I was at first inclined to consider the circumstance as an incongruity arising out of an ignorant confusion of the two creeds by the people of this country: but upon multiplying my observations such a solution gave me no satisfaction: these images often occupied the very penetralia of Saugata temples; and in the sequel I obtained sufficient access to the conversation, and books of the Baudhhas to convince me that the cause of the difficulty lay deeper than I had supposed. The best informed of the Baudhhas contemptuously rejected the notion of the images in question being Saiva, and in the books of their own faith they pointed out the Baudhha legends justifying and explaining their use of such, to me, doubtful symbols. Besides, my access to the European works of which I have already spoken exhibited to me the very same apparent anomaly existing in regions the most remote from one another, and from that wherein I dwell. Indeed, whencesoever Baudhha monuments, sculptural or architectural, had been drawn by European curiosity, the same dubious symbols were exhibited: nor could my curiosity be at all appeased by the assumption which I found employed to explain them. I shewed these monuments to a well informed old Baudhha, and asked him what he thought of them, particularly of the famous Tri-Múrti image of the Cave temple of the West. He recognised it as a genuine Baudhha image! As he did many—many others declared by our writers to be Saiva! Of these matters you may perchance hear hereafter, suffice it at present to say that I continued to interrogate my friend as to whether he had ever visited the plains of India, and had there found any remains of his faith. Yes, was the prompt reply, I made a pilgrimage to Gayah, in my youth: I then asked him if he remembered what he had seen and could tell me. He replied that he had, at the time, put a few remarks on paper which he had preserved, and would give me a copy of, if I desired it. I bid him do so, and was presented with a paper of which

* Causes are not at present my game: but consider the easy temper of superstition; the common origin of Buddhism and Brahmanism in India; the common tendency of both Saivism and Buddhism to asceticism, &c. &c. even Christianity adopted many of the rites and emblems of classic paganism.
the enclosed is a translation. Let me add that never having visited Gayah, I cannot say any thing relative to the accuracy of my friend's details, and that in regard to the topographical ones, there are probably a few slight mistakes. I am aware that an accurate explanation from the Baudhha books of the drawings that accompany my paper, would be of more value than that paper. But, Sir, non omnia possumus omnes, and I hope that a Baudhha comment on Brahmical ignorance will be found to possess some value, as a curiosity; and some utility, for the hints it furnishes relative to the topic adverted to in this letter.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

Valley of Nepal, Nov. 1827. H.

P. S.—Captain Dangerfield's five images in the Cave at Bag, and which the Brahmans told him were the five Pandus, are doubtless the "Pancha Buddha Dhyani;" as is the Captain's "Charan," said to be that of Vishnu, the Charan of Sakya Sinha; or that of Manj Ghok. If it be the latter, it has an eye engraved in the centre of each foot.

Buddh Gayah, according to a Nepaulese Baudhha who visited it.

In Buddh Gayah there is a temple* of Mahá Buddha in the interior of which is enshrined the image of Sakya Sinha: before the image is a Chaitya of stone, close to which are the images of three Lok Eshwaras, viz. Halá Halá Lok Eshwara,† &c. This temple

* The word in the original is Kutagar, and I understand that the temple of Maha Buddha in the city of Patan, in this valley, is built after the model of the Gayah temple. If so, the latter is of the same general form with the Orissan Jagannath. The Patan temple is divided in the interior, into five stories. Sakya Sinha, the genius loci, is enshrined in the centre of the first story; Amitabha, the fourth Dhyani Buddha, occupies the second story; a small stone Chaitya, the third; the Dharma Dhatu mandal, the fourth; and the Vajra Dhatu mandal, the fifth and highest story, and the whole structure is crowned on the outside, by a Chura Mani Chaitya.

† Hala Hala Lok Eshwara, a form of Padma Pani, the fourth Dhyani Bodhisatwa, and active creator and governor of the present system of nature. Three Dhyani
of Mahá Búddha, the Brahmans call the temple of Jagat Nátha, and the image of Sákya Sinha they denominate Mahá Múni;* of the three Lók Náths, one they call Mahá Déva, one Párvatí, and the third their son. On the south side of the temple of Mahá Búddha is a small stone temple in which are the images of the seven Búddhas,† and near to them on the left three other images, of Halá Halá Lók Eshwara, Maîtreya Bodhisatwa, and Dipankara Búddha. The Brahmans call six of the seven Búddhas, the Pándús and their bride, but know not what to make of the seventh Búddha, or of the remaining three images.

Upon the wall of the small temple containing the Sapta Búddha, and immediately above their images, is an image of Vajra Satwa,‡ one head, two hands, in the right hand a Vajra, and in the left a bell, with the lock on the crown of the head, twisted into a turban: the Brahmans call this image of Vajra Satwa Mahá Brahmaná. At the distance of 15 yards, perhaps, east of the great temple of Mahá Búddha is another small temple in which is placed a circular slab having the print of the feet of Sákya Sinha Dhyani Bodhisatwas preceded him in that office, and one remains to follow him.

* This name is equivocal: the Brahmans mean, I suppose, to designate by it the chief of their own Múnis. The Baudhás recognise it as just, since the Tri-Kand Sesh, and many of their scriptures give this name to Sakya Sinha.

† The Baudhá scriptures say that one form is common to all the seven great Manushi Búddhas. The figure I have given of Sakya has the Bhumisparsa Mudra, or right hand touching the earth. The Gayah image of him is said to have the Dhyana Mudra for the position of the hands. There is nothing improper in giving that Mudra to Sakya or other Manushi Búddhas, but usually it is appropriated to Amitabha; and almost all the images of Sakya that I have seen are characterised by the Bhumi-sparsa Mudra. Sakya's image is generally supported by lions, sometimes however by elephants. Sakya's appropriate colour is yellow or golden, which colour, like the other characteristics, belongs also to the remaining six great Manushis.

‡ Vajra Satwa is a Dhyani or celestial Búddha. There is a series of five celestial Búddhas, to whom are assigned the five elements of matter, the five powers of human sense, and the five respective objects of sensation. There is also a series of six Dhyani Búddhas, which is composed of the above five, with the addition of Vajra Satwa, and to him are ascribed intellectual force and the discrimination of good and evil.
graven on it. The feet are known to be those of Sákya, because the stone has the eight mangals, and the one thousand chakras upon it. The Brahmans of Gayah call this Charan, the Charan of Vishnú, but they are silent when the mangals and chakras are pointed out to them as decisive proofs of their error.

Somewhat further [perhaps 150 yards] from the great temple of Mahá Búdha towards the east, is a Kúnd called Páni Hata, and at the eastern corner of the well is the image of Maitreya Bódhisatwa.

The Kúnd is called Páni Hata because Sákya produced the spring of water by striking his hand on the ground there. That water has eight peculiar qualities. The Brahmans say that the Kúnd is Saraswati's, and insist that Maitreya's image is the image of Saraswatí. At a little distance to the north of the great Mahá Búdha temple are many small Chaityas, which the Brahmans call Siva Lingas, and as such worship them, having broken off the Chúrá Mani from each. Much astonished was I to find the great temple of my religion consecrated to Brahman worship, and Brahmans ignorantly falling down before the Gods of my fathers.

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To the Editor of the Quarterly Oriental Magazine.

Sir,

Some time ago I sent you a paper containing remarks upon the resemblance that prevails between the symbols of Buddhism and Sivaism. From a note which you appended to that paper on publishing it, I apprehend that the scope and object of my remarks were misunderstood; and, as whatever is worth doing at all, is worth doing effectually, I shall (availing myself of Craw-

* The Chaitya is the only proper temple of Buddhism, though many other temples have been adopted by the Saugatas for inshrining their Dii Mínores. In Nepaul, the Chaitya is exclusively appropriated to five Dhyani Buddhas, whose images are placed in niches around the base of the solid hemisphere which forms the most essential part of the Chaitya. Almost every Nepaul Chaitya has its hemisphere surmounted by a cone or pyramid called Chura Mani. The small and unadorned Chaitya might easily be taken for a Linga. It was so mistaken by Mr. Crawfurd, &c.
furd’s Archipelago, which has just now again fallen in my way) return briefly to the subject. The purpose of my former paper was to show that, very many symbols, the most apparently Saiva, are notwithstanding strictly and purely Baudhā; and that, therefore, in the examination of the antiquities of India and its islands, we need not vex ourselves, because on the sites of old Saugata temples we find the very genius loci arrayed with many of the apparent attributes of a Saiva God; far less, need we infer from the presence, on such sites, of seemingly Saiva images and types, the presence of actual Sivaism.

Crawfurd, standing in the midst of hundreds of images of Buddhas, on the platform of a temple, the general form and structure of which irresistibly demonstrated that it was consecrated to Sugatism, could yet allow certain appearances of Sivaism to conduct him to the conclusion, that the presiding Deity of the place was Hara himself! Nay, further, though he was persuaded that the ancient religion of the Javanese was Buddhism, yet having always found what he conceived to be unequivocal indices of the presidency of the Hindoo destroyer, in all the great Saugata temples, he came to the general conclusion, that “genuine Buddhism” is no other than Sivaism. Now, Sir, it was with an eye to these, and somewhat similar deductions of Crawfurd, Raffles, Erskine, &c. that I addressed my former paper to you; and I thought that when I had shown no reliance could be placed upon the inference from seemingly Saiva symbols to actual Sivaism, I had smoothed the way for the admission that those cave temples of the West of India, as well as those fine edifices at Java, whereat the majority of indications, both for number and weight, prove Buddhism, are Baudhā and exclusively Baudhā; notwithstanding the presence of symbols and images occupying the post of honour, which, strongly to the eye, but in fact, erroneously in these cases, seem to imply Sivaism, or at least a coalition of the two faiths. For such a coalition at any time and in any place, I have not seen one plausible argument adduced; and as for the one ordinarily derived from the existence of supposed Saiva images and emblems in and around Baudhā temples, it is both erroneous in fact, and insufficient were it true.
However probably borrowed from Sivaism, these images and symbols became genuinely Baudhha by their adoption into Buddhism—just as the statue of a Capitoline Jupiter became the very orthodox effigies of St. Paul, because the Romanists chose to adopt the Pagan idol in an orthodox sense. And were this explanation of the existence of seeming Sivaism in sites which were beyond doubt consecrated to Buddhism, far less satisfactory that it is, I would still say it is a thousand times more reasonable than the supposition of an identity or coalition* between two creeds, the speculative tenets of which are wide asunder as heaven and earth, and the followers of which are pretty well known to have been, so soon as Buddhism became important, furiously opposed to each other.

Upon the whole, therefore, I deem it certain, as well that the types of Sivaism and Buddhism are very frequently the same, as that the things typified are, always more or less, and generally radically, different.

Of the aptness of our writers to infer Siva from apparently Siva images and emblems, I shall adduce a few striking instances from Crawfurd's 2d vol. chap. 1, on the ancient religion of the Islanders; and to save time and avoid odium, I shall speak rather to his engravings, than to his text; and shall merely state matters, without arguing them.

Let me add, too, that Crawfurd's mistakes could not well have been avoided. He had no access to the dead or living oracles of Buddhism, and reasoning only from what he saw, reasonably inferred that images, the most apparently Siva, were really what they seemed to be; and that Siva images and emblems proved a Siva place of worship.

In his chapter already alluded to, there are several engravings. No. 27 is said to be "a figure of Mahá Deva as a devotee." It is, in fact, Sinha-Nátha-Lokeswara. Plate 28 is called "a representation of Siva." It is, in fact, Lokeswara Bhagawán, or Padma Páni, in his character of creator and ruler of the present system of

* In regard to those cave temples of the Western Continent of India, called mixed Siva and Baudhha, the best suggested solution is successive possession—but I believe them to have been wholly Buddhist.
nature. How Mr. Crawfurd could take it for Siva, I do not know, since in the forehead is placed a tiny image of Amitabha Buddha, whose son Padma Pani is feigned, by the Bauddha mythologists, to be. Again, the principal personage in plate 21 is said to be "Siva in his car." It is, in truth, Namuchi Mara, (the Bauddha personification of the evil principle,) proceeding to interrupt the Dhyân of Sákya Sinha; and plate 22 gives a continuation of this exploit, exhibiting Sákya meditating, and the frustration of Namuchi’s attempt by the opposition of force to force. The whole legend is to be found in the Sambhû pûrâna.

The same work contains likewise the elucidation of plate 24, of which Mr. C. could make nothing.

Of the remaining plates, and of the text of this chapter of Mr. C.’s on other subjects, very able work, it would be easy, but it would to me be wearisome, to furnish the true explanation from the books or oral communications of the Bauddhas of Nepal, to the more learned of whom the subjects of the plates in Mr. C.’s book are perfectly familiar. One quotation from Mr. C.’s text, and I have done. At p. 209, vol. ii. he observes: “The fact most worthy of attention, in respect to the images of Buddha is, that they never appear in any of the great central temples as the primary objects of worship, but in the smaller surrounding ones, seeming themselves to represent votaries. They are not found as single images, but always in numbers together, seeming, in a word, to represent, not Deities themselves, but sages worshipping Siva.”

The whole secret of this marvel is, that the temples seen by Mr. C. were not genuine Chaityas, but either composite Chaityas, or structures still less exclusively appropriated to the Divi majores of Buddhism. The genuine Chaitya is a solid structure exclusively appropriated to the Dhyâni Buddhas, whose images are placed in niches round the base of its hemisphere. Mánūshi

* And why not? for Buddha is a mere title: and though there are but five Dhyani Buddhas, there are hundreds of Manushis, which latter are constantly placed about temples in vast numbers; always as objects, though not, when so placed, special ones, of worship.
Buddhas and Dhyāni and Mānūshi Bodhisatwas and Lokeswaras, with their Saktis, are placed in and around various hollow temples, less sacred than the Chaityas. These Bodhisatwas and Lokeswaras never have the peculiar hair of the Buddhas, but, instead thereof, long-braided locks like Siva; often also the sacred thread and other indications apt to be set down as proofs, "strong as holy writ," of their being Brahmanical Deities. Such indications, however, are delusive, and the instances of plates 27 and 28, shew how Mr. C. was misled by them.

By the way, Mr. C. is biassed by his theory to discover Sivaism, where it did not and could not exist, of which propensity we have an odd instance (unless it be an oversight or misprint) in p. 219: for no one needs be told that Hari is Vishnu, not Siva,* and I may add that in adopting as Dī minores, the Gods of the Hindoo Pantheon, the Baudhās have not, by any means, entirely confined themselves to the Sectarian Deities of the Saivas.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

September 10, 1828.

P. S.—A theistic sect of Baudhās having been announced, as discovered in Nepaul, it is presently inferred that this is a local peculiarity. Let us not be in too great haste: Mr. Crawfurd's book, (loco citato) affords a very fine engraving of an image of Akshobhya, the 1st Dhyāni, or Celestial Baudhā, see plate 29, and I have remarked generally, that our engravings of Baudhā architecture and sculpture, drawn from the Indian Cave temples, from Java, &c. conform in the minutest particulars, to the existing Saugata monuments of Nepaul—which monuments prove here, (as at Java,) the Foreign and Indian origin of Buddhism, animals, implements, vehicles, dresses, being alien to Nepaul, and proper to India.

* See also pp. 221-2, for a singular error into which apparently Mr. C.'s pursuit of his theory could alone have led him. Flowers not offered by Hindoos to their Gods, and therefore Buddha was a sage merely, and not a God!!
The Pravrajya Vrata or Initiatory Rites of the Buddhists According to the Puja Kand.

If any one desires to become a Bandya (monastic or proper Buddhist) he must give notice thereof, not more than a month or less than four days, to his Gúrú, to whom he must present paun(Gfl and supári, and datchina and achat, requesting the Gúrú to give him the Pravrajya Vrata. The Gúrú, if he assent, must accept the offerings and perform the Kalas puja which is as follows. The Gúrú takes a kalas or vessel full of water and puts into it a lotos made of gold or other precious metal, and five confections, and five flowers, and five trees (small branches), and five drugs, and five fragrant things, and five Birih, and five Amrita, and five Ratna, and five threads of as many diverse colours. Above the vessel he places rice and then makes puja to it. He next seats the aspirant before the vessel in the Vajra asan fashion and draws on the ground before the aspirant four mandals or circular diagrams, three of which are devoted to the Tri Ratna and the fourth to the officiating Gúrú. Then the aspirant, repeats the following text, ‘I salute Buddhanath, and Dharma, and Sangha, and entreat them to bestow the Pravrajya Vrata on me, wherefore I perform this rite to them and to my Gúrú, and present these offerings.’ Reciting this text and holding five supáris in each hand, the aspirant, with joined hands, begs the Gúrú to make him a Bandya. The offerings above mentioned he gives to the Gúrú and datchina proportioned to his means. This ceremony is called Gwál Dán. On the next day the ceremony above related is repeated with the undermentioned variations only. As in the Gwál Dán the Kalas puja and Deva puja are performed, so here again: but the aspirant on the former occasion is seated in the Vajra asan manner, in this day’s ceremony in the Sústaka asan. The Sústaka asan
is thus, first of all, kus is spread on the ground, and above it, two unbaked bricks, and above them, the Sastak is inscribed thus upon which the aspirant is seated.

Then the aspirant is made Niranjana, that is, a light is kindled and shown to him, and some mantras repeated to him. Then the Vajra Raksha is performed, that is, upon the aspirant's head a Vajra is placed and the Guru reads some mantras. Next comes the ceremony of the Loha Raksha, that is, the Guru takes three iron padlocks, and places one on the belly and the two others on the shoulders of the neophyte, repeating some more mantras, the purport of which is an invocation of divine protection from ill, on the head of the aspirant. This rite is followed by the Agni Raksha, that is, the Guru puts a cup of wine (sura-patra) on the head of the Chela and utters some prayers over him.

Next is performed the Karas-Abhisheka, that is, holy water from the Kalas is sprinkled by the Guru on the Chela's head and prayers repeated over him; after which, the Naikya Bandya or head of the Vihar comes and puts a silver ring on the finger of the aspirant. The Naikya or superior aforesaid, then takes four seers of rice and milk mixed with flowers, and sprinkles the whole at three times, on the aspirant's head, next the Naikya performs the Vajra Raksha, and then makes puja to the Guru Mandal before mentioned, which ceremony completed, he rings a bell, and then sprinkles rice on the aspirant and on the images of the Gods.

Then the aspirant, rising, pays his devotions to his Guru, and having presented a small present and a plate of rice to him, and having received his blessing, departs. This second day's ceremony is called Dusala.

The third day's is denominated Pravrajya Vrata, and is as follows:

Early in the morning the following things, viz. the image of a Chaitya, those of the Tri Ratna or Triad, the Prajna Paramita scripture, and other sacred scriptures, a kalas, or water pot filled with the articles before enumerated, a platter of curds, four other
water pots filled with water only, a Chivara and Newás, a Pinda
patru and a Khikshari, a pair of wooden sandals, a small mixed
metal plate spread over with pounded sandal wood in which the
image of the moon is inscribed, a golden rasor and a silver one,
and, lastly, a plate of dressed rice, are collected, and the aspirant
is seated in the Sústak Asan and made to perform worship to the
Gúrú Mandala, and the Chaitya, and the Tri Ratna, and the Prajña
Paramita Sastra. Then the aspirant, kneeling with one knee on
the ground with joined hands, entreats the Gúrú to make him a
Bandya, and to teach him whatsoever it is needful for him to know.
The Gúrú answers, 'O! disciple! if you desire to perform the Pra-
vrájya Vrata, first of all devote yourself to the worship of the
Chaitya and of the Tri Ratna; you must observe the five pre-
cepts or Naucha Siksha, the fastings and the vows prescribed ;
you must kill no living thing; nor take another's property without the
owner's leave; nor go near women, nor speak untruths, nor touch
all intoxicating liquors and drugs; nor be proud of heart in conse-
quence of your observance of your religious and moral duties?'
Then the aspirant pledges him thrice to observe the whole of
the above precepts; upon which the Gúrú tells him, 'If while you
live you will keep the above rules, then will I make you a Ban-
dya.' He assents, when the Gúrú having again given the three
Rakshas above mentioned to the Chela, delivers a cloth for the
loins to him to put on. Then the Gúrú brings the aspirant out
into the Court yard, and having seated him, touches his hair with
rice and oil and gives those articles to a barber. The Gúrú next
puts on the ground a little pulse and desires the Chela to apply it
to his own feet. Then the Gúrú gives the Chela a cloth of four
finger's breadth and one cubit in length, woven with threads of
five colours, and which is especially manufactured for this pur-
pose, to bind round his head. Then he causes the aspirant to
perform his ablutions; after which he makes puja to the hands of
the barber in the name of Viswakarma, and then causes the bar-
ber to shave all the hair, save the forelock, off the aspirant's head.
Then the paternal or maternal aunt of the aspirant takes the ves-
sel of mixed metal above noted and collects the hair into it. The
aspirant is now bathed again and his nails pared; when the above party puts the parings into the pot with the hair. Another ablution of the aspirant follows, after which the aspirant is taken again within, and seated. Then the Gúrú causes him to eat and also sprinkles upon him the Pancha Gabha, and says to him, ‘Heretofore you have lived a householder; have you a real desire to abandon that state and assume the state of an ascetic?’ The aspirant answers in the affirmative, when the Gúrú or Naikya, or maternal uncle, cuts off with his own hand, the aspirant’s forelock. Then the Gúrú puts a tiara adorned with the images of the five Buddhas on his own head, and taking the kalas or water pot, sprinkles the aspirant with holy water, repeating prayers at the same time over him.

The neophyte is then again brought below, when four Naikyas or superiors of proximate Vihars and the aspirant’s Gúrú perform the Pancha Abhisheka, i. e. the Gúrú takes water from the kalas and pours it into a conch; and then, ringing a bell and repeating prayers, sprinkles the water from the conch on the aspirant’s head; whilst the four Naikyas, taking water from the other four water pots named above, severally baptize the aspirant. The musicians present then strike up, when the Naikyas and Gúrú invoke the following blessing on the neophyte. ‘May you be happy as he who dwells in the hearts of all, who is the universal Atma, the lord of all, the Buddha called Ratna Sambhava.’ The aspirant is next led by the Naikyas and Gúrú above stairs, and seated as before.

He is then made to perform puja to the Gúrú Mandal and to sprinkle rice on the images of the Deities. The Gúrú next gives him the Chivara, and Navasa, and golden earrings, when the aspirant thrice says to the Gúrú, ‘O Gúrú, I, who am such an one, have abandoned the state of a householder for this whole birth, and have become an ascetic.’ Upon which the aspirant’s former name is relinquished and a new one given him, such as Ananda Shali Putra, Kasyapa, Dharma Sri Mitra, Paramita Sagar. Then the Gúrú causes him to perform puja to the Tri Ratna, after having given him a golden tika, and repeated some prayers over him. The Gúrú then repeats the following praises of the Tri Ratna, ‘I salute that Buddha who is the
lord of the three worlds, whom Gods and men alike worship, who is apart from the world, long-suffering, profound as the ocean, the quintessence of all good, the Dharma Raj and Munendra, the destroyer of desire and affection, and vice and darkness; who is void of avarice and lust, who is the icon of wisdom. I ever invoke him, placing my head on his feet.'

'I salute that Dharma, who is the Prajna Paramita, pointing out the way of perfect tranquillity to all mortals, leading them into the paths of perfect wisdom; who, by the testimony of all the sages, produced or created all things; who is the mother of all the Bodhisatwas and Sravakas, I salute that Sangha, who is Padma Pani, and Maitreya, and Gagan Ganja, and Samanta Bhadra, and Vajra Pani, and Manju Ghosha, and Sarvani Varana Viskambhi, and Kshitti Garbha and Kha Garbha.' The aspirant then says to the Gúrú, 'I will devote my whole life to the Tri Ratna, nor ever desert them.' Then the Gúrú gives him the Das Sikhya or ten precepts observed by all the Buddhas and Bhikshukas; and commands his observance of them. They are, 1. Thou shalt not destroy life; 2. Thou shalt not steal; 3. Thou shalt not follow strange faiths; 4. Thou shalt not lie; 5. Thou shalt not touch intoxicating liquors or drugs; 6. Thou shalt not be proud of heart; 7. Thou shalt avoid music, dancing and all such idle toys; 8. Thou shalt not dress in fine clothes, nor use perfumes or ornaments; 9. Thou shalt sit and sleep in lowly places; 10. Thou shalt not eat out of the prescribed hours.

The Gúrú then says, 'All these things the Buddhas avoided. You are now become a Bhikshu and must avoid them too;' which said, the Gúrú obliterates the Tri Ratna Mandala. Next, the aspirant asks from the Gúrú the Chivara and Nivasa, the Pinda Patra and Khikshari and Gandhar. The aspirant proceeds to make a Mandala and places in it five flowers and five Druba-Kund and some khil and some rice, and assuming the Utkútak Așan, and joining his hands, he repeats the praises of the Tri Ratna above cited, and then again requests his Gúrú to give him three suits of the Chivara and the like number of the Nivasa—one for occasions of ceremony as attending the palace, another for wearing at meals,
and the third for ordinary wear. He also requests from his Gúrú the like number of Gandhár or drinking cups, of Pinda Patra and of Khikhshari. One entire suit of these the aspirant then assumes, receiving them from the hands of the Gúrú, who, previously to giving them, consecrate them, by prayers. The aspirant then says, 'Now I have received the Pravrajya Vratta, I will religiously observe the Sil-asgand, the Sádhd-asgand, the Prajna-asgand, and the Vimokhti-asgand.'

Then the Gúrú gives him four sprinklings of holy water and presents him with an umbrella having 32 radii. Next he sprinkles him once again and gives him a pair of wooden sandals—after which the Gúrú draws on the ground linearly, and near to each other, seven images of the lotos flower, upon each of which he puts a supári, and then commands the aspirant to traverse them, placing a foot on each as he proceeds. When the Chela has done so, the Gúrú placing the Pancha Raksha Sastra on his head, sends him into the sanctum, where stands the image of Saktya Sinha, to offer to it pán, and supári, and datchina. All this the Chela does, and likewise performs the Pancha Upachárya puja; when, having circumambulated the image, he returns to the Gúrú.

Then the Gúrú performs the ceremony called Shik Adhivásan, which is thus: The ball of five-coloured thread mentioned in the first day's proceedings as being deposited in the kalas, is taken out of the kalas and one end of it twisted thrice round the neck of the kalas; it is then unrolled and carried on to the Chela and twined in like manner round the Khikhshari he holds in his hands, whence it is continued unbroken to the Gúrú and delivered into his hands. The Gúrú holding the clue in his hands, repeats prayers and then rolls up the thread and redeposits it in the kalas. He next performs the Pancha Upachárya puja to the kalas and the Khikhshari; next he gives flowers and a blessing to the aspirant; next he gives him the Abhisheka, invests his neck with a cord composed of a piece of the thread just adverted to; places the Pancha Raksha Sastra on his head, and repeats over him some prayers. The Mandal is then obliterated, when the aspirant is made to perform the Maha Bali ceremony which is thus:—
In a large earthen vessel four seers of dressed rice, and a quarter of the quantity of Bhatmas and a nose mask faced like Bhairava, having a small quantity of flesh in the mouth of it, are placed; and the aspirant makes puja to Bhairava, presenting to the mask the naśved and a light, and pouring out water from a conch he holds in his hands so that it shall fall into the vessel. The Gūrū repeats mantras, and invoking the Devatas and Nāgas, and Yakshas, and Rākshasas, and Gandharvas, and Mūharaj, and Mortals, and Amanushas, and Prētas, and Pisāchas, and Dākas, and Dākinis, and Mātrika Grahas, and Apas Marga, and all motionless and moving things, he says, 'Accept this Bali and be propitious to this aspirant, since the sacrifice has been performed according to the directions of Vajra Sata.' Such is the Sarva Bhuta Bali: and in like manner the Balis of Maha Kāla, and of the Graha, and of the Pancha Raksha, and of the Graha Mātrika, and of Chand Maha Rakshana, and of the guardians of the four quarters, and of Ekvingsati, and of Basundhara, and of the Chaitya, and of Pindi Karṇa, and of Amoghpaśa, and of Sarak Dhāra, and of Tārā, and of Hevajra, and of Kārūkūla, and of Vajra Krodha, and of Mārchi, and of Uṣnīśa, and of Hūrīti, are performed; and then those denominated the Tshāga Bali, and the Sankha Bali, which are thus: In the conch are put flesh, and blood and spirits which are poured, as before, into the great vessel, whilst the Deities of all the six quarters are invoked with prayers. Then the Pancha Upachara puja is made in the vessel, after which the aspirant is commanded to perform the Chakra puja, which completed, he returns to his seat. The Chakra puja is that which is made to all the images in the Vihar by going round to them all. The Gūrū then causes the aspirant to perform the Gūrū Mandal puja and afterwards to sprinkle rice on all the images, which done, the aspirant gives Datchina to the Gūrū, and the Gūrū, in return, gives the aspirant a small quantity of rice and a trifle of money. Then the Gūrū causes him to perform the Dēs-Bali-Yātra, which is, the aspirant removes the great earthen vessel with its contents, by means of carriers, and distributes the contents in small quantities to all the shrines of Daityas, and Pisāchas, and
other evil spirits throughout the city; and having distributed them, returns with the empty vessel.

Then the Gúrú and ten Naikyas take the aspirant to make the circuit of all the shrines in the neighbourhood, and to present at each, offerings of rice, and pán, and supári, and flowers; after which they go to the Chela's home, when his relatives come out and give him four seers of rice, and then conduct the aspirant and the rest within and feed them with khil. The Gúrú then returns to the Vihár, and the Chela remains at home. Then the aspirant must, at all events, practise mendicity and the other rules of his order, for four days; but if at the end of that time, he becomes tired of the ascetical profession he must go to his Gúrú at the Vihár and to his Upadhayaya, (the latter is his instructor in the forms of puja, according to the Púja Kand) and addressing the Gúrú, must say, 'O Gúrú! I cannot remain an ascetic, pray take back the Chiva-ra and other ensigns of it; and having delivered me from the Srávaka Charya, teach me Maha Yan Charya.' The Gúrú replies, 'Truly, in these degenerate days to keep the Pravrajya Vrat is hard, adopt then the Maha Yan Charya. But if you abandon the Pravrajya, still you cannot be relieved from observing the following commandments:—Not to destroy life. Not to steal. Not to commit adultery. Not to speak falsehoods. Not to take spirituous liquors and drugs. To be clement to all living beings. The observance of the above rules shall be a pravrajya to you, and if you obey them, you shall attain to Mókti.' The aspirant then washes the Gúrú's feet, and having done so, returns to his seat, when the Gúrú having prepared the materials of puja noted in the first day's ceremonies, makes púja to the kalas, after which he makes puja to the vessel, holding the aspirant's shorn locks. He then draws Mandals for the Tri Ratna and for himself, and makes the aspirant offer puja to all four; when he obliterates the whole and says, 'You have abandoned the Bhiksha Charya and adopted the Máha Yan Charya; attend to the obligations of the latter, as just explained to you.'

The badges of mendicity are then taken from the aspirant by the Gúrú who gives him the Pancha Raksha as before related,
and then sends him to make the Chakraw puja, which done, he causes him to perform the Gürū Mandal puja, and then to sprinkle rice on the Deities. Then the Gürū Mandal is erased, the aspirant makes an offering to the Gürū, and the Gürū gives him his blessing. The Gürū then sends the aspirant to throw into the river the hair shaven from his head and on his return makes the Agam puja and Kumari puja; when the whole is concluded by a feast.

P. S. Since the above papers were written, I have perused Mr. Turnour's essays in the Bengal Asiatic Journal, and I fully admit (as anticipated by Mr. Prinsep) that the honours of Ceylonese literature and of the Pali language are no longer disputable. I may add in regard to the latter point, that recent research has established the following very curious fact, viz. that the Sanscrit Buddhist works discovered by me in Nepaul, are now found to be copiously interspersed with passages in various Pracrits—Pali among the rest—pretty much in the manner of the Hindoo Drama wherein this mixture of less finished dialects with the Sanscrit is of common occurrence.

B. H. H.