

The Buddhist Pictorial Wheel of Life.—By L. A. WADDELL, M. B.

(With three plates).

One of the most striking of the many frescoes which adorn the interiors of lamaic temples is the Sīd-pa-ī Khor-lô* (in Sanskrit *Bhavachakra*) or 'Cycle of Existence,' a symbolic and realistic picture of the most leading law of Buddhism—Metempsychosis—the secret of Buddha having consisted in the means he devised for escaping from this ceaseless round of re-births and its attendant suffering.

But although this picture of 'The Wheel of Life' is so interesting in itself as an epitome of Buddhist principles, and, perhaps, one of the purest relics of Indian Buddhism that the lamas have preserved to us; and extremely valuable as portraying in concrete and traditional form several of the abstract metaphysical conceptions of the Indian Buddhist philosophers, that are only known to the western world by their ambiguous† Sanskrit and Pali terms and Tibetan equivalents, as found in the old Buddhist Scriptures, it is remarkable that not even the most cursory description of it has yet been published. Georgi in his *Alphabetum Tibetanum* appears‡ to have given a rough sketch of a rather confused copy of this picture, and his wood-cut has been in part reproduced by Foucaux,§ but no description of its details seems to have been attempted.

Owing, doubtless, to its execution in perishable painted form and not as a sculpture, I can find no trace of its existence in India except among the modern cave-paintings of Ajaṅṭa. The painting at the left end of the verandah of Cave XVII, the so-called 'Zodiac' of Indian Archæologists, of which there is in the Society's collection the fine photograph here shown, *vide* Plate VII, is a fragment of a Buddhist Pictorial Cycle of Existence. And I am glad to be able, by means of lamaic sources of information, to interpret its hitherto unknown details and restore its blanks caused by the ravages of time.||

* Srid-pa-ī khor-loi phyag-rgya: སྤོ་པ་འི་ཀྲོ་ལོའི་ཕྱག་རྒྱ། (In Skt. *Bhavachakramudrā*).

† KOPPEN gives (*Die Religion des Buddha* I, 604) for one of these terms, *viz.*, *Saṅskāra*, which is pictorially symbolized in this fresco, a long list of the different renderings which have been attempted, each with widely different sense. And most of the other *Nidāna* terms are equally vague.

‡ I have been unable to consult GEORGI's work.

§ *Le Lalita Vistara* traduit du Sanskrit par PH. ED. FOUCAUX, Paris, 1884, p. 290, (forming Tome sixième *Annales du Musée Guimet*).

|| I have no doubt but that careful search at Ajaṅṭa, Ellora and other Buddhist caves in India would discover more of these pictorial cycles.

There are three forms of this pictorial wheel current in Tibet, *viz.*, (1st) the complete form showing all of the 5 or 6 regions of re-birth; (2nd) the form devoted solely to the human and animal form of existence, and (3rd) the variety devoted to existence in the various hells. The 1st is by far the most common in Tibet, and is here exhibited, *vide* Plate VIII. The 2nd form is that which is depicted in the Ajaṅṅa Cave. All agree in being constructed in the form of a disc held in the teeth and clutches of a monster; and displaying in compartments around the margin of the disc, in symbolic form, the twelve recognized Causes of Re-birth—the *Nidāna*—and usually in the centre of the disc the three Original Sins.

The avowed object of this picture is to present the causes of re-birth in so vivid a form that they can be readily perceived and overcome; while the realistic pictures of the evils of existence in its varied forms and the tortures of the damned are intended to intimidate evil-doers. The value of this picture for teaching purposes is fully utilized by the Lamas. It is placed in a conspicuous position, usually in the vestibule,* and is occasionally, as at Samye, 10 to 15 feet in diameter. Its strange objects and varied scenes strongly excite the curiosity of the junior monks and the laity, whose inquisitiveness is only to be satisfied, or whetted, by a short explanatory sermon. And so great is the belief in the power for good of this picture that Tibetan artists eagerly compete for the execution of so meritorious a work.

Before examining the details of the Ajaṅṅa picture it is desirable to study the more complete pictorial cycle as now found in modern Lamaism and here exhibited to the Society, *vide* plate VIII. And first of all as to the history of this latter form of the picture.

The picture, in its present form, is said to have been brought to Tibet from India. According to the Chronicles of the first Dalai Lama, a *Sid-pa-i Khor-lô* in 'the old style' was painted in the Samye Temple by the Indian Buddhist Monk Bande Ye-she in the 8th century A. D. And a slightly different version called 'the new style' was brought to Tibet by the great Indian Paṇḍit Atiśa, or as he is properly called Dipaṅkara Śrī Jñāna about the middle of the 11th century A. D. Buddha himself is reported to have been the author of the original figure which, in order to illustrate his oft repeated dogma of the Causes of Existence, (*Bhava*), he drew in diagrammatic form with grains of rice from a stalk-in-ear

* And usually on the left side as at Ajaṅṅa.

which he had plucked while teaching his disciples in a rice-field. And Nágárjuna, the Fourteenth Patriarch who lived about the 2nd century, A. D. and the reputed founder of the Maháyána School, is credited with having introduced the pictorial and graphic details of what is called the 'old' style.

The 'new' style differs from the old only in the addition of a figure of Buddha and Avalokita to the outside, and the introduction of a *thub-pa* or *muni*-form of Avalokita into each of the six worlds of re-birth; and in one or two different pictorial symbols for the causes of re-birth, as will be detailed presently. Its origin is evidently later than the epoch of Nágárjuna. Buddha, it is reported, personally directed its preparation at the request of the indigent king *gZugs-chen-snying-po* (Skt. *Rúpavatisára*) of 'the middle country,' as a return gift to the heretic (*mútek-pa*) king Utrayana* of the *mThah-khob sgra-sgrogs* (=the resounding barons) country. And this latter king by the mere inspection of the picture was converted to Buddhism. A copy of this famous picture fell into the hands of the great Tantric monk Phag-pa Thogs-med (Skt. *Árya Asaṅga*) about the Sixth Century A. D.; and later Atísa brought it to Tibet as aforesaid. Many of the pictorial details are Indian; but most of them are cast in Tibetan mould, as is to be expected where the artists for several centuries have been Tibetans.

The picture consists of a large disc with two concentric circles, the circular form symbolizing the ceaseless round of worldly existence—the 'whirling on the wheel' of Life. The disc is held in the clutches of a monster whose head is seen overtopping the whole. This ferocious demon,† who grips the disc with his claws and teeth, typifies the passionate clinging of worldly people to worldly matters. In the centre of the disc are symbolized the three original sins, and round the margin is the twelve-linked chain of Causes of Re-birth. While the remainder of the disc is divided by radii into six compartments representing the six regions of re-birth. This latter portion, together with the central part of the disc, are supposed to be in a state of perpetual rotation. In the upper part of the region representing hell is the *Bardo* or state intermediate between death and the great judgment. Outside the disc, in the upper right corner is a figure of Buddha pointing to the disc typified by a moon,‡ and in the left hand corner a

* (?) King Udayana of Kaushámbi. † Named *ma-fa-ru-fa* མ་པ་རུ་པ།

‡ The figure in the moon's disc is represented and regarded by the Tibetans as a hare. One of the Játaka stories connects this with Buddha's incarnation as a hare.

figure of Chénrésí (Skt. *Avalokita*) the patron god of Tibet and incarnate in the Dalai Lama—who has also in the six *thubas* a presiding representative in each of the worlds of re-birth. These two external figures as well as the *thubas* are absent from the 'old' style of the picture.

The three original sins or 'chief Causes of Demerit' are depicted as (1) a pig which has hold of the tail of (2) a cock which has hold of the tail of (3) a snake which in its turn, has hold of the pig's tail. The triad thus form a circle which revolves continuously around the world. The pig symbolizes Ignorance, the cock animal Desire or Lust, and the snake Anger or Hate.* These are at the core of re-birth, and if these three sins be avoided or overcome then virtue results and merit is accumulated.

The causes of re-birth, or *Nidána* (Tib. *ten-del*)† are categorically given as twelve in the form of a linked chain, the result of the first cause being the cause of the second and so on, the ultimate result being suffering. In isolated fashion each 'cause' is also considered as a veil which hides the truth.

The illustrations which metaphorically symbolize these causes, and their paraphrase according to the traditional interpretation of the lamas, which must prove so valuable to students of Buddhist philosophy, are the following :—

- I. A blind old woman groping her way = *Ma-rig-pa* or 'want of knowledge' (Skt. *Avidyá*) which is the cardinal cause of existence and misery, leading people to mistake for happiness the miseries of existence. In the 'old' style a man is figured leading the blind woman.

* These three sins are thus graphically described by Sir EDWIN ARNOLD in *The Light of Asia*, p. 164 :—

“ *Patigha*—HATE—

“ With serpents coiled about her waist, which suck

“ Poisonous milk from both her hanging dugs

“ And with her curses mix their angry hiss.

“ Then followed *Ruparaga*—LUST of days—

“ The sensual sin which out of greed for life.

“ Forgets to live ; and Lust of Fame * * * (the) Fiend of Pride

• * * * * And—IGNORANCE, the Dam

“ Of Fear and wrong, *Avidya* hideous hag

“ Whose footsteps left the midnight darker.”

† *Rten-hbrel* རྟེན་མཐུག་ལྔ་པ་

- II. A potter with his wheel making pots = *Du-che** or 'impressing or con-joining + action' (Skt. *Sañskāra*), showing the fruits of worldly labour are perishable objects—action being mis-directed as a result of ignorance. The Sanskrit equivalent *Sañskāra* is usually translated as 'tendencies or inherited instincts'; but neither the pictorial metaphor nor the Tibetan equivalent easily admit of this interpretation.
- III. A monkey eating fruit = *Nam-she†* or 'entire-knowledge' (Skt. *Vijñāna*) of good and evil fruits—tasting every fruit in the sense of a roving libertine, thus engendering Consciousness.
- IV. A dying man with a physician feeling his pulse = *Ming-zug‡* or 'name + body' or form (Skt. *Nāma-rūpa*), *i. e.*, individual being as the result of consciousness. Its fleeting character is shown by the individual being about to lose his name and personality in death. In the 'new' style the picture shows passengers being ferried across the ocean of life or individual existence.
- V. An empty house = *Kye-ched§* literally 'birth brothers,' or the 5 mortal sense-organs and volition (Skt. *Shadāyatana*), illustrating the organs and will which are the 'result' of individual being—the hollowness of these is typified.
- VI. A pair of lovers kissing = *Reg-pa* or 'contact,' (Skt. *Sparśa*) which results from the exercise of the sense organs and the will. In the 'new' style this is also represented as a man ploughing with a pair of oxen, or manually tilling a field.
- VII. An arrow entering a man's eye = *Tshor-wa* or 'perception' (Skt. *Vedanā*), the result of contact. It includes emotions as well as physical sensation and pain.
- VIII. A man drinking wine = *Sre-pa||* or 'desire for more' (Skt. *Trishnā*) which results from the exercise of the perceptive faculty.
- IX. A man gathering a large basketful of fruit = *Len-pa* or 'taking' (Skt. *Upādāna*)—grasping indulgence in worldly matters and amassing of worldly wealth, as the result of desire.
- X. A pregnant woman = *Srid-pa* or 'continuity of existence' or reproduction (Skt. *Bhava*), as the result of the clinging to worldly life and wealth.
- XI. A mother in child-birth = *Kye-wa¶* or 'birth' (Skt. *Jāti*) as a result of No. X.

* འད་ཅེད། † རྣམ་ཤེས། ‡ མིང་རུག་ལུག། § རྣེད་མཚེད། || རྩོད་པ། ¶ ལྷེ་བ།

XII. A human corpse being carried off = *Ga-shi** or 'decay + death' (Skt. *Jarámarāṣa*) with attendant sufferings and associated re-births which are thus made to be the ultimate results of ignorance.

I leave to Sanskrit and Pali scholars the detailed analysis and comparison of these lamaic pictures and their paraphrases.

The six regions of re-birth ('gro-bai rigs,' Skt. *Gáti*) are shown in the middle whorl. They are demarcated from each other by rainbow-coloured cordons representing the atmospheric zones that separate the different worlds. No place is allotted to the other phases of existence believed in by the lamas, *viz.*, the everlasting existence in the Western Paradise of *Devachen*, and of the celestial Buddhas and demoniacal protectors of lamaism, and the expressed absence of such expressions of the current modern beliefs favours the claim of the picture to considerable antiquity. Some of the older pictures in Tibet agree with the doctrine of the southern Buddhists,† in omitting from their theory of metempsychosis, the world of the *Asuras*, enumerating only the remaining five worlds of re-birth.

Classed in the order of their superiority, the six worlds are:—

1st. The heaven of the gods of the Hindus or *Lhá* (= Sanskt. *Sura* or *Deva*) the highest world.

2nd. The world of the ungodly spirits or *Lhamayin* (= Skt. *Asura*.)

3rd. The world of man or *mi*. (= Skt. *Nara*).

4th. The world of the Beasts or *du-dó*. (= Skt. *Tiryyak*).

5th. The world of the Tantalized ghosts or *Yi-dag* (= Skt. *Preta*).

6th. Hell or *Nyal-kham*, (Skt. *Náraka*) the lowest of all.

Bournouff‡ writing from Chinese and Ceylonese sources classes *mankind* above the *Lhamayin*, but the order now given is that adopted by the lamas. Existence in the first three worlds is considered superior or good and in the last three inferior or bad. And these worlds are shown in this relation in the picture, the highest being heaven and the lowest hell.

Theoretically the place of one's re-birth is determined solely by one's own deeds (*las* = Skt. *karma*) during the latest worldly existence; but the lamas now make faith, charms and ritual take to a large extent

• ལ་ཤི།

† HARDY'S *Man. of Buddhism*, p. 37. The lamaic account is contained in the 'mngon-pa-i mdsod' translated by Lotsawa Bande-dpal rtsegs from the work of the Indian Paṇḍit slob-dpan dbyig-gnyen.

‡ *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, p. 377.

the place of the good works of the earlier Buddhists. Happiness and misery in this life are the result of the virtue and vice of past existences; while virtue and vice in the present life are only rewarded or punished in the next existence.

The judgment in every case is done at the impartial tribunal of *Shinje Chhō-gyal** or 'Religious king of the Dead'—a form of the Hindu Yama. He is painted of fearful form, enveloped in flames

and wielding a flaming sword, but this is his appearance only to the wicked. The religious see him in the mild form of Chénrésī (*Avalokita*) as incarnate in the Dalai Lama of Lhasa—who he really is, according to the lamas and to give effect to this idea he is usually given a monster attendant on either side as representing Manjusri and Vajrapāni—this triad forming the *defensores fidei* of Lamaism. The judgment scene is figured in the upper portion of the compartment devoted to the Hells. Here are seen entering the presence of The Great Judge the souls of a lama, a king, a man, woman, and child :

“Souls that by Fate
“Are doomed to take new Shapes.”

They are coming from *Bardo*, that is the ghostly state which intervenes between death and judgment, and during which the spirit is free to roam among its old haunts, and work harm on its quondam enemies and friends. During the interval of *Bardo* therefore, which lasts only for 7, 14, 21, 28, 35, 43, and at most forty-nine days, lamas are employed for a longer or less period, according to the means of the relatives, to prevent the wandering ghost harming the survivors. On arrival in the presence of the king of the dead, the soul is stripped of its clothes and manacled by the attendant *Shinjes* or underling Yamas. And at this juncture the personal angels of the individual who have accompanied him throughout his worldly life and also in *Bardo*—the good angel or *lha* who sat on his right shoulder and inspired him to good deeds, and the bad angel or *duḍ* (literally demon) who sat on his left shoulder and tempted him to sin—those two angels now leave him and become incorporated in the god and demon, who stand respectively on the right and left hand of the king of the dead as recording angels and advocates; and they now bear witness for and against the soul which is being tried. These personal angels are practically identical with the *Bonus Genius et Malus Genius* of the Romans—the *Genium Album et Nigrum*.†

The good angel pours out as white counters the good deeds done

* བཞིན་ཅོང་ལོ་སྤྱོད་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།

† HORAT. 2 *Epist.*

by the individual-during life; and the demon by black balls exposes the sins.* These are weighed one against the other in scales to ascertain which preponderates, and the result is called out to the judge.† There is also a record of the deeds in the book named *las-gya dé*. But this impartial judge does not implicitly trust his subordinates. He consults a divine mirror,‡ which he holds in his left hand, and in which the naked soul and all its past deeds, good and bad, are reflected, and he gives judgment accordingly.

If the virtues are in excess of the sins then the soul is reborn in one or other of the first three forms: as a god if the virtue be of the first degree, as an ungodly spirit if the virtue be of the second degree, and as a human being if the virtue is of the lowest order. While those whose sins preponderate are reborn in one or other of the last three forms, the most wicked going to hell and the least wicked to the beasts.

The details of these several regions and their inhabitants according to Tibetan books and traditions are as follow:—

I. THE GODS OR *LHA*. These are the gods of Hindu mythology rendered finite and subject to the general law of metempsychosis. Their life is the longest and most blissful of all the six states of being, but they too must die and be reborn in hell or another of the six regions. Their abode is an Olympus on the summit of Mount Ri-rab (Skt. *Meru*) an invisible mountain-heaven in the centre of the universe according to Hindu and Buddhist cosmography.

The atmosphere of this region is golden yellow. The picture of the region of the gods pourtrays the following states:—

1. *Godly Birth*. The god is born at once fully developed within a halo of glory from a lotus flower, and is provided with the special attributes of a god,—the oriental symbol of immaterial birth—*viz.*, (1) a lotus footstool, (2) splendid dress and ornaments, (3) goddess companions, (4) a *pag-sam-shing* (Skt. *Kalpataru*)§ or wish granting tree which instantly yields any fruit or food wished for, and bends

* This demon is more powerful than the good angel; and to indicate this and his knowledge of futurity the demon is given the 3rd eye—the eye of fore-knowledge.

† A similar ordeal by scales is a part of the creed of Muhammadans. WASHINGTON IRVING'S *Life of Mahomet*, p. 236.

‡ The *las-kyi melong* or 'mirror of deeds.'

§ The Wish-granting tree of Indra's heaven is described in the 45th Section of the *S'ilpa S'ástra*.

to the hand of the gatherer, (5) a wish granting cow which yields any drink wished for, (6) self-sprung crops (usually painted as Indian corn or maize), (7) in a golden stall a jewelled horse-of-fore-knowledge which Pegasus-like carries his rider wherever wished, throughout the worlds of the past, present, and future, (8) a lake of perfumed nectar (Skt. *Amrita*) which is the *elixir vitæ* and the source of the divine bodily lustre. Shining is a peculiarly divine attribute: the usually accepted etymology of the word for 'divinity,' viz., Skt. *Deva* and Latin *Deus*, is the root *Div*, 'to shine.'

2. *Godly Bliss.* The bliss of the gods is depicted by an assembly of be-jewelled gods and goddesses enjoying themselves in splendid palaces in the midst of a charming garden enamelled with flowers of which they make their wreaths. Gay birds warble in the foliage, and noble animals peacefully roam together there. Amongst the quadrupeds are deer, lions, and elephants with jewelled heads. Amongst the birds are the peacock, parrot, cuckoo and the '*Kala-pinka*,'* which repeats the mystic 'Om mani padme, Hung.'! One of the blissful conditions of godly life especially dwelt upon, is that the most dainty morsels may be eaten without sense of repletion, the last more being as much relished as the first.

In the centre of this paradise, and on a somewhat more magnificent scale, is the palace of the superior gods entitled "the peerless palace of Indra,"† which is situated in the celestial City of *Amarāvati*—*Indra's Capital*. It is invested by a wall and pierced by four gates which are guarded by the four divine kings of the quarters. It is a three-storied building; *Indra* occupying the basement, *Brahmá* the middle and the indigenous Tibetan war-god—the *dGra-lha* the uppermost story.

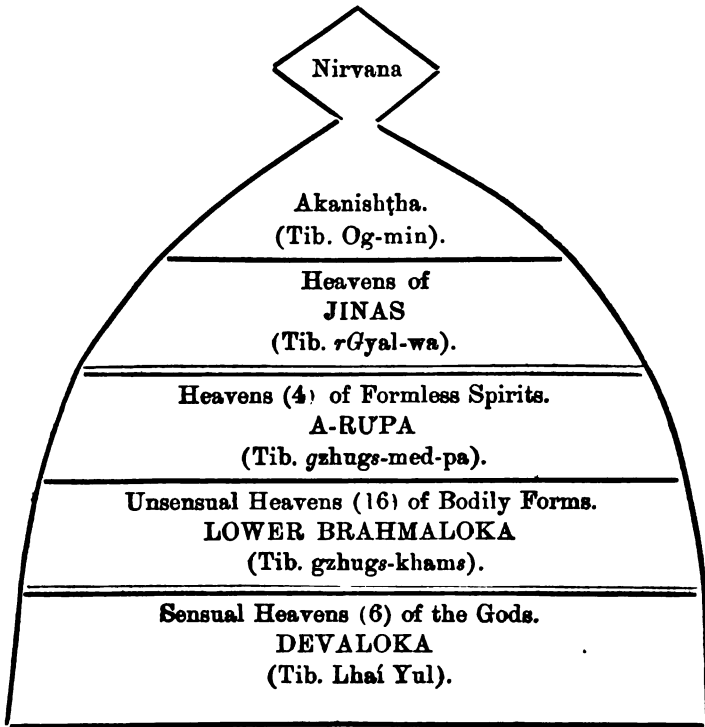
This curious perversion of the old Buddhist order of the heavens is typical of the more sordid devil-worship of the majority of the Lamas. The more learned Lamas, however, adhere to the orthodox Buddhist cosmogony and they pourtray the series of the heavens graphically in the form of a *Chaitya*, which I here reproduce, and which is very similar to that used diagrammatically by the Southern Buddhists.‡

* ལ་ལ་བྱ་བྱོལ།

† 'The transcendently superior house of *LHA-1 dbang-po brGya-byin*.

‡ UPHAM'S *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, p. 74.

THE HEAVENS OF THE NORTHERN BUDDHISTS.



The *Trailokya* (Tib. 'Khamṣ gsum' or 'The Three Regions; comprise The Regions of—

- I. **DESIRE, *Kāmadhātu*** (Tib. *Dod-pai Khamṣ*). The lowest of the 3 regions, comprising the earth and the six *devalokas* (Tib. *Lha-Yul*) or Heavens of the Gods.
- II. **FORM, *Rūpadhātu*** (Tib. *gzugs Kyi Khamṣ*) or form free from sensuality. It comprises the 18 *Brahmalokas*; which are divided into 4 regions of contemplation (*Dhyāna*).
- III. **FORMLESSNESS, *Arūpadhātu*** (Tib. *gzugs med-pai Khamṣ*). The Highest of the Heavens and near to *Nirvāna*.

The *Six Devalokas* are in series from below upwards:—

1. *Chāturmahādrājakāyikas*.—The abode of the 4 Guardian Kings of the Quarters.
2. *Trayastrīṅśas* (Tib. *Sum-chu tsa sum*) or 'The 33' Vedic Gods

with Indra (Jupiter) as chief. This heaven is the *Svarga* of Brahmanism.

3. *Yama.*

4. *Tushita.* (Tib. *dGa ldan*) or 'Joyful place'—the paradise of the Bodhisattvas prior to their final descent to the human world as Buddhas. Maitreya, the coming Buddha dwells at present in this heaven.

5. *Nirmāṇarati* (Tib. *hphrul dga*).

6. *Paranirmita Vasavartin* (Tib. *gzhan hphrul dbang byed*)—the highest of the heavens of the Gods and the abode of Māra.

The *Eighteen Brahmaloкас* are 1. Brahma parisadya, 2. Brahma purohita, 3. Mahā Brahma, 4. Parátābha, 5. Apramāṇa, 6. Abhāsvara, 7. Paritasubha, 8. Appramānasubha, 9. Subhakritsna, 10. Utpala, 11. Asañāsadya, 12. Avriha, 13. Atapa, 14. Sudasa, 15. Sudasi, 16. Punyaprasava, 17. Anabhaka, 18. Akanishṭha (Tib. *Og-min*) or 'The Highest'—the abode of the Primordial Buddha-God, the Ādi Buddha of the Lamas, viz., Samantabhadra or Kuntu-zangpo. This together with next subjacent Brahmaloका placed above the Arúpa Brahmaloкас.

The *Four Arúpa Brahmaloкас* are 1. Akásánantáyatana, 2. Viññánantáyatana, 3. Akinchañáyatana, 4. Naivásaññāna Saññāyatana.

In the Pictorial Wheel however only three heavens are depicted, viz.: the sensual heaven of Indra, the Trayastrinśa (=33), with its desire in various forms; above which is Brahma's pure heaven free from passion, and approaching nearer to Nirváṇa. But according to the Nyingmapa Lamaic scheme the passionate war-god of the Tibetans is held to be superior even to the divinely meditative state of the Brahmaloका.

3. *War with the Asuras.* The Tibetan war-god is also figured as directing the army of the gods in their war with the Lhama-yin or Asuras who are constantly trying to obtain some of the precious fruit of the great *Yong du sa tol** (Skt. *Párijáta*) tree, or "tree of the concentrated essence of earth's products," whose branches are in heaven, but whose root trunk are in the country of the Lhama-yin. The climber which encircles this tree is called the *Jambuti* tree, and is the medium by which the quintessence of the most rare delicacies of Jambudvīpa is instilled into the larger tree.

To account for this high position thus given to the War-god, it is related that formerly in fighting for the fruits of this tree the Asuras were victorious; and the defeated gods under Indra besought *gSang*

The story of the War-god.

* ཡོང་དུ་ས་ཏོག་གི་མེ་མེད།

bai-bdag-po* for counsel. This divinity advised the gods to call to their aid the war-god *dGra-lha* and also to obtain from the depths of the central ocean the invisible armour and the 9 self-created weapons, viz., (1) *rMog-bya khyung-keng-riis*, a helmet of the skeleton bones of the Garuda bird. (2) *Khrab-nyi-shar-lto-rgyab*, the coat of mail shining like the sun. (3) *Lba-khebs-rdorje-go-chha*, necklet. (4) *Lak-hay-mtshön-chhā-lam-lok*, a weapon resisting and returning glove. (5) *Snying-khebs-mdah-mtshön-kun thub*, a breast-plate entirely able to withstand arrows and other weapons. (6) *Püs-khebs-nyes-pa-skyobs-ched*, a knee-cap which defends against destruction. (7) *Phubm-sba-dmar-gling-drug* a 6 embossed shield. The nine sorts of weapons are:—(1) a *hKorlo* or spiked-wheel which entirely routes the enemy; (2) a *dGra-sta*, or an axe which chops the enemy; (3) a *ral-gri* or sword which slices the enemy; (4) a *Gzhu* or bow which scatters the brains of the enemy; (5) a 'mdah' or arrow that pierces the vitals; (6) a *zhagspa* or noose which ensnares the enemy; (7) a *mDung* or spear which pierces the hearts of the foe. (8) a *Ur-rdo* a whirring sling-stone that produces the sound of a thunder-dragon, and (9) a *Dorje* or thunder-bolt which demolishes the enemy. The story seems founded on the Brahmanical legend of Indra's obtaining from the Sea the talismanic banner which conferred victory over his enemies.†

The gods having obtained these weapons and armour invited the war-god *dGra-lha*, who came enveloped in thunder-clouds and attended by his nine sons, but he demanded worship from Indra and the other gods as the price of his assistance. On receiving this adoration the *dGra-lha* marshalled the forces of the gods and repeating 'Hung!' thrice the warriors became dazzling bright, and shouting *Kye-kye!* thrice their armour shone, and saying *Bswa-bswa!* thrice they became heroes in strength; and shouting *Ha-ha!* thrice they assailed and utterly routed the Lhamayin. Since this time the gods have systematically worshipped the *dGra-hla*.

The *dGra-hla*, who has many of the traits of the Hindu Ráhu, the monster who causes solar eclipses, is figured of white colour clad in golden mail and flying on a white horse through the clouds. In his uplifted right hand he holds a whip with three knots and in his left hand a red banner. His bow-sheath is of a leopard hide and his quiver of tiger skin. A sword is thrust into his waist-belt, and from each shoulder springs a lion and a tiger. The mirror of fore-knowledge is suspended

Appearance of the War-god.

* =? Dorje-chhang.

† *Brihat Saṅhita*, translated by Dr. KERN, J. Roy. A. S., VI, p. 44.

from his neck. He is accompanied by a black dog, a black bear, and a man-monkey; and birds circle around his head. Under his direction the warrior-gods are hurling their weapons across the frontier with appalling effect on the army of the Lhamayin.

4. *The misery of the Gods.* The misery of the gods is also depicted. The god enjoys bliss for almost incalculable time; but when his merit is exhausted then his lake of nectar dries up, his wish-granting tree, cow and horse die, his splendid dress and ornaments disappear, his garden and flowers wither, his body no longer bathed by nectar loses its lustre and his person becomes loathsome to his goddess-companions and the other gods who shun him, and he dies miserably. If he has led a virtuous life during his existence as a god then he may be reborn in heaven otherwise he goes to a lower region and may even be sent to hell.

II. THE TITANS OR 'UNGODLY SPIRITS'—THE *LHAMAYIN*. These are the *Asuras* of Hindu mythology. Their leading trait is pride, and this is the world of rebirth for those who during their human career pharasaically boast of being more religious than their neighbours. The class of Lhamayin were originally gods; but, through their pride, they were like Satan expelled from heaven; hence their name, which means 'not a god.'*

They occupy the region at the base of the Mount Ri-rab and are therefore intermediate in position between heaven and earth.

They have a duration of life infinitely greater than the human, and they have great luxury and resources for enjoyment; but through their pride they envy the greater bliss of the gods, and die prematurely, fighting vainly against the gods for some of the fruits of the heavenly wish-granting tree and the nectar.

Into this world, as into heaven, people are born at once fully grown from a lotus flower; and each immediately on birth receives a beauteous wife and a wish-granting tree and cow. The wish-granting tree and cow yield respectively whatever food or drink is wished for. But they receive no horse of fore-knowledge, or lotus-carpets like the gods.

They have three chiefs, the highest of whom is named *sGra-chen-hulsin* (Skt. *Rāhula*). The 3rd is 'the Commander of the Heroes' in their conflict with the gods under *Lhai-wang-po gya jin* (Skt. *Devendresvara*).

Their region is represented of an almost colourless atmosphere. They live in a large fort, the chief building in which is the three-storied palace of their king occupying the highest and the Commander-in-chief the lowest. The ground, both inside and outside the fort, is carpeted with

* Analogous to this is the common colloquial term *mi-ma-yin* or 'not a man' applied to those who lead vicious and dissolute lives.

flowers of which the inhabitants, male and female, make the wreaths and garlands which they wear. They are dressed in silk; and when the heroes are not engaged in fighting they spend their times in all sorts of gaiety with their wives. In the right hand corner is shown the birth from the lotus flower and the acquirement of a mate, a wish-granting tree and a cow. The rest of the picture is devoted to their misery, which consists in their hopeless struggle and fatal conflict with the gods. The commander of the forces is seen in conclave with his leaders,* horses are being saddled and the 'heroes' are arming themselves with coats of mail and weapons. Another scene shows the battle raging along the border separating their country from heaven, and the General mounted with his staff as spectators in the background. The warriors of the first line are all killed and horribly mangled by the weapons hurled at them by the gods, these weapons being composed of adamant (*Dorje phälom*), while the weapons of the *Lhamayin* are of mere iron. The *Dorje*—the thunderbolt of Jove is the peculiarly potent weapon of the gods. A most deadly weapon possessed both by gods and *Lhamayin* is a spiked wheel, which is thrown so as to revolve like a circular saw and each of the spikes is armed with a different sort of weapon. The other weapons used by both combatants are arrows, spears, swords, and hatchets. The second line of the troops is in full flight on perceiving the absolute defeat of their companions at the front.

The ultimate fate of every *Lhamayin* is to die painfully warring against the gods with whom they are in constant conflict, and they have no access to the nectar with which a wounded god obtains instant recovery. Another scene depicts the women of the community gathered round "The Reflecting Lake of Perfect Clearness" after the departure of their mates to the battle. In this lake are mirrored forth all the doings and ultimate fate of their absent mates, and there is also shown the region of rebirth of themselves and their spouses—which is nearly always hell owing to the passionate life which they lead in the *Asura* world. And while their lovers die painful and passionate deaths, the misery of the womenfolk of this world is to look into this fascinating lake and experience the horror of such hideous spectacles. In the picture some women are shown peering into the lake and on the other two banks they are giving vent to their grief.

One of the chief sources of the miseries of the *Lhamayin* world is that it has no book and is therefore void of religion. In this view it is lower than the human world, though otherwise of higher rank.

* Note that greatness of rank is shown by enlarged bodily dimensions.

III. **MANKIND.** The atmosphere of this region is colourless or blue. It shows the miseries and strife of human existence as well as some of its pleasures.

Mankind.

The following phases of life are depicted amongst others :—

- 1st. Birth in a cottage.
- 2nd. Children at play.
- 3rd. Manhood, village scenes, people drinking wine under shade of a tree, a man playing a flute, women spinning and weaving, a borrower, two traders, a drunken man.
- 4th. Labour by sweat of brow, men tilling a field, gathering fuel in a forest, carrying a heavy load.
- 5th. Accident, a man and horse falling into a river.
- 6th. Crime, two men fighting, one under trial before the judge, and one undergoing corporal punishment.
- 7th. Temporal Government: the king and his ministers.
- 8th. Old age—decript old people.
- 9th. Disease, a physician feeling pulse of a patient.
- 10th. Death, a corpse with a lama feeling whether breath be extinct, and a lama at head doing worship, and a woman and other relatives weeping.
- 11th. Funeral ceremonies. A corpse being carried off to the funeral pyre on the top of a hill preceded by a lama blowing a thigh-bone trumpet (*kangling*) and rattling a *damaru* drum: he also has hold of the end of a white scarf which is affixed to the corpse. The object of this scarf is to guide the soul by the white path to the pyre so that it may be disposed of in the orthodox manner and have the best chance of a good re-birth, and may not stray and get caught by outside demons. Behind the corpse-bearer is a porter with food and drink offerings and last of all a mourning relative.
- 12th. Religion is represented by a temple placed above all other habitations with a lama and monk performing worship; and a hermit in his cell with bell dorje, and *kangling*; and a chhorten (*chaitya*) being circumambulated by a devotee.

The most pessimistic view is taken of human existence. It is made to appear as almost unalloyed misery—the

Human miseries. sensations of ordinary heat and cold, thirst and hunger, depression of surfeiting with food, anxiety of the poor for their daily bread, of the farmer for his crops and cattle, unfulfilled desires, separation from relatives, subjection to temporal laws, infirmities of

old age and disease and accidents are amongst the chief miseries referred to. The lamas categorically divide the miseries of human existence into 8 sections, *viz.* :—The miseries of (1) birth ; (2) old age ; (3) sickness ; (4) death ; (5) ungratified wishes and struggle for existence ; (6) misfortunes and punishments for law-breaking ; (7) separation from relatives and cherished objects ; (8) offensive objects and sensations.

IV. THE BEASTS. The atmosphere of this region is darker, but it has hills and trees and also some men as hunters and cattle owners ; as it is merely a different phase of the human world. This is a state of greater misery than the human.

The Beasts.

This is the world of re-birth for the ignorant, irreligious, and *musteg-pa* (*viz.*, Brahmanical and other heretics) abusive disputators and savages (*kla-klo*).

The inhabitants of this world are divided into (1) the 'free' (*kha-kthor*) or land and air animals, and (2) the imprisoned (*bying*) aquatic animals.*

The picture shows animals of various kinds devouring one another, the larger preying on the small ; and also small ones combining to hunt and kill the larger ones. Human hunters also are setting nets for, and others are shooting game. Domestic animals are shown laden with burdens or ploughing and being goaded, some are being milked and shorn of their wool, others are being branded or castrated or having their nostrils bored, others killed for their flesh or skin, &c. All are suffering great misery through anxiety and pain of preying or being preyed upon.

In the water is shown a merman—*Nága's* house, with its inmates in grief at being preyed upon by the Garuda a monster bird like the fabled *roc* which by the rush of air of its wings cleaves the sea to its depths in search for *Nágas*.

V. THE TANTALIZED GHOSTS OR *YIDAGS*. The atmosphere of this region is of a dark smoky colour. This is

The Yidags.

the special world of those who in their earthly career were miserly covetous, uncharitable or gluttonous. It is a kind of outer hell. Its inhabitants are in constant distress through the pangs of hunger and thirst. Jewels, food and drink are found in plenty, but the Yidags are given microscopic mouths and gullets no thicker in diameter than a hair through which they can never ingest a satisfying amount of food for their huge bodies. And when any food

* Ruskin says "a fish is much freer than a man"—but the Lamas think otherwise.

is taken it becomes burning hot and changes in the stomach into sharp knives, saws, and other weapons which lacerate their way out from the bowels to the surface making large painful wounds. Their constant thirst is expressed by a flame which is seen to issue from their mouth and whenever they attempt to touch water it changes to liquid fire; frequently Avalokita is figured in the act of giving water to these Yidags to relieve their misery. And their tiny legs are unable to support comfortably their large bodies. Four kinds of Yidags are specified, viz.,—(1) *phyiyi sgrib-pa chan* or 'the foreign or gentile polluted beings.' (2) *Nang-gi sgrib-pa chan* or the lamaic polluted beings, (3) *Zas-skong-gyi sgrib-pa chan* or the eating and drinking polluted beings—these are they who on eating and drinking have the ingested material converted into lacerating weapons, and (5) *kha-thor* or free Yidags.' These are not confined in the Yidag prison but are free to roam about in the human world where they endeavour to injure man.

VI. THE HELLS OR *NYAL-KHAM** (Skt. *Nāraka*). The atmosphere of the hells is represented of the deepest black:

"Light was absent all. Bellowing there groan'd
A noise, as of a sea in tempest torn
By warring winds, the stormy blast of hell."

Dante Canto V. 29.

The lamaic hell is a true Inferno situated in the bowels of the earth like Hades. Only eight hells are mentioned in the older Buddhist works; but the lamas describe and figure eight hot and eight cold hells and give two extra hells, named respectively *nyal-tshe-wa†* which includes the state of being flies and insects in the human world, and *nyekhor-wa* an outer Hades through which all those escaping from hell must pass without a guide.

The *NYE-KHOR‡* is at the exit from, and outside Hell, properly so called. It is divided into five sections. The first bordering hell consists of hot suffocating ashes with foul, dead bodies and all kinds of offal. Then is reached a vast quagmire, beyond which is a forest of spears and spikes. Then a great deep ocean of freezing water; on the further shore of which the ground is thickly set with short squat tree trunks each surmounted by three sharp spikes which impale the unwary groping fugitives. Refer-

* དུམ་ཁམ་པ་ །

† ཉེ་ཚོ་བ་ - 'near to life.'

‡ ཉེ་འཇོ་རྩ་ - 'near to cycle' (i. e., re-birth).

T

ence to these last two localities occurs in the ordinary Litany for the dead which says 'may his *chhu-wo-rab-med* ocean become a small rivulet, and the *shal-ma-ri* tree a *pag-sam shing* or divine wish-granting tree.'

Those who have sinned in anger are sent to the hot hells; while those who have sinned through stupidity go to the cold hells; and each receive punishment appropriate to his misdeeds during life. The duration of stay in the cold hells is very much shorter than in the hot hells as the sin is of a more passive and venial kind.

The hot hells are seen in the picture to the left (of the spectator) and the cold hells to the right. The hot hells of the lamas bear names of apparently identical meaning with hells of the Southern Buddhists. The cold hells seem to be an invention of the lamas.

I. THE HOT HELLS. These are enveloped by a wall of fire and many of the fearful scenes are fit to illustrate Dantes' *Inferno*. The *shinjes* or executioners are hideous flame-enveloped monsters with heads of various animals, and all their pincers and other instruments of torture are red-hot. The following are the hot hells.

1. *Yang sö** (Skt. *Samjīva*) = 'again revived.' Here the bodies are cut and torn to pieces and then reunited, only to have the process repeated *ad infinitum* throughout the period spent in hell. This restoration of the body is an essential part of the process in all the hells. The body when thoroughly mangled is restored and the racking torture applied afresh, so that the agony never ceases.

2. *Thi-nag†* (Skt. *Kālasūtra*) = 'black lines.' Here the bodies are nailed down and 8 or 16 black lines drawn along the body which is then sawn asunder along these lines by a burning hot saw. Another punishment here is the especial one of the slanderer or gossip who has his or her tongue enlarged and pegged out and constantly harrowed by spikes ploughing through it.

3. *Du-jom‡* (Skt. *Samghāta*) = 'concentrated oppression.' Here bodies are squeezed between animal headed mountains, or monster iron books, this last is an especial punishment for monks, laymen and infidels who have disregarded or profaned the scriptures, and also for priests who have taken money for masses which they have not performed. Others here are pounded in iron mortars and beaten on anvils.

4. *Ngu-böd§* (Skt. *Raurava*) = 'weeping and screaming.' The torture here is to be kept in glowing white iron houses and have melted iron poured down the throat.

* ཡང་སྟོ་། † ཐི་ནག་། ‡ ལུ་འཇོམ་། § ལྷ་འབྲེལ་།

5. *Ngu bod chhenpo* (Skt. *Maháraurava*)='greater weeping and screaming.' Here they are cooked in cauldrons of molten iron.

6. *Tshawa** (Skt. *Tápana*)='heat.' The body is cast upon and transfixed by flaming iron spikes in a fiery chamber.

7. *Bab tu tshawa* (Skt. *Pratápana*)='highest heat.' A three spiked burning spear is thrust into body, and the latter is then rolled up within red-hot iron plates.

8. *Nar-med†* (Skt. *Avíchi*)='endless torture.' This is the most severe and longest punishment. The body is perpetually kept in flames though never consumed. This is the hell for those infidels and others who have injured or attempted to injure Lamaism or Buddhism.

II. THE COLD HELLS are encircled by icy mountains and have attendants of appalling aspect, as in the hot hells.

The Cold Hells.

1. *Chhu-bur chen* (Skt. *Arbuda*)='blistered or chapped.' The torture here is constant immersion of the naked body in icy cold water, under which the body becomes covered with chilblains.

2. *Chhu-bur dolwa* (Skt. *Nírabuda*).‡ The chilblains are forcibly cut and torn open producing raw sores.

3. *A-chhu* (Skt. *Aṭaṭa*)='Achhu' an exclamation of anguish beyond articulate expression—which resounds though this hell.

4. *Kyi-hüü* (Skt. *Hahava*). A worse degree of cold in which the tongue is paralysed and the exclamation *Kyi-hü* or *Ha-ha* alone possible.

5. *So-tham-pa* (Skt. *Ahaha*). Here both jaws and teeth are spasmodically clenched through cold.

6. *Ut-pal tar gé-pa* (Skt. *Utpála*).§ Livid sores which become everted like blue Ut-pal flowers.

7. *Péma tar gé-pa* (Skt. *Padma*). The raw sores become like red lotus flowers.

8. *Péma Chhenpo tar gé-pa* (Skt. *Puṇḍaríka*). Raw sores where the flesh falls away from the bones like the petals of the great red lotus; and which are continually pecked and gnawed by birds and insects with iron beaks.

It is a redeeming feature of the Buddhist hell that its torment is not everlasting. After the sins which have been committed in the previous existence are expiated—which may require a period ranging from a year, or two, to thousands of years, the soul is reborn in another world, usually the human. This result is due to the merit of good works done in a former existence. The lamas explain it by saying that it is

* ལྷ་མོ། † མཚན་མེད། ‡ ལྷ་མུར་བྲོ་བ། § ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མུར་གསལ་བ།

like the discharge of a criminal who has expiated his offence in jail; on release he gets back his clothes and any other properties he can justly lay claim to, and also the benefit of any virtuous deeds he formerly had done.

But through the aid of the lamas the duration of the stay in hell can

Extraction from hell by the Lamas.

be reduced to a few days or even hours. Although the ordinary mass for the dead urges the spirit to proceed direct to the Western Paradise, in practice the vast majority of human beings go inevitably to hell—the proportion of those who escape hell being not greater than the proportion which the quantity of earth which can lie on a finger nail bears to a fistful of earth. As a consequence special prayers to neutralize this hell-going tendency are always done within the period of *Bardo*, i. e., 49 days succeeding death; and when the *Bardo* period is over, it is customary to apply to the lamas for information as to where the soul then is. The lamas on casting lots and referring to certain books find the particular hell in which the soul is being tortured. An elaborate and costly worship is then prescribed for the extraction of the soul, and this is usually declared successful, though not unfrequently it is declared—as in the case of the priest and his client in *Lever's Story*—to be only partially effectual, and then it has to be repeated on a still more costly scale. The usual worship done in such cases is called *dge-ba* or virtue. It consists of offerings of (1) food, lamps, &c., to the Gods; (2) food, money, and other presents to the Lamas; (3) and of food, beer, clothes and other charity to the Poor. And the Lamas in return for their fees do masses, and especially appeal to *Thukje Chhenbo* or 'The Greater Pitier' who presides over the six worlds. The lamaic hell is not of a purgatorial or cleansing nature. It is merely a place of expiation where punishment is awarded in proportionate degrees for offences committed during the previous existence.

The six *Thub-pas* (=Skt. *Muni*) who preside over the six worlds

The six Thub-pas.

appear only in the 'newer' style of the Wheel of Life. They are all 'emanations' from *Chenresi* in his form of 'the great pitier.' Out of pity for the misery of the animal beings of the six worlds he became incarnate in each of these worlds. (1) In the world of the gods as *rGya-byin dkar-po* or the white, vast giver (*Indra*), with a harp and the mystic six-syllables (i. e., *Om mani padma Hung!*) he soothes the gods' misery of *hpho-thing*. (2) In the *Lhamayin* world as *Thags-bzang-ris ljang-khu* or the green weaver of good figures (and 2nd in rank to *Rahula*) dressed in full armour or holding a coat-of-mail he assists the *Lhamayin* in their

battles, but at the same time represses their fighting propensities. (3) In the human world as *Shakya Ser-po* or 'the Golden Śākya Muni' holding an alarm-stick and begging bowl he preaches salvation to men. (4) In the world of the beasts as *Senge-rab-rtan mthing-ga* or 'the Indigo coloured highest supported Lion,' holding a book he preaches the six syllables. (5) In the world of the Yidags as *Kha-hbar dmar-po* or 'the Red Burned Mouth, holding a cowrie-shaped box, he preaches the six syllables. (6) In hell as *Chhos-rgyal nag-po* or the Black King of Religion, holding water and fire he preaches the six syllables.

It is possible that this introduction of Chenresi into each of the six worlds and his identification also with the Judge of the Dead was the invention of the great Priest-King, Lama Ngag-wang Lō-zang, with the view of increasing his own and successors' prestige as the human incarnation of Chenresi (Avalokita), the Judge of the Dead and the Regent of each of the worlds of Existence.

We are now in a position to examine the mutilated fragment of the Indian picture—the so-called 'Zodiac'—in the **The Ajanta 'Zodi-** Ajaṅṭa cave. When Mr. Ralph visited this **ac.'** cave in 1828,* only about a third apparently was then wanting. In 1879 Mr. Burgess notes that only 'a mere fragment now remains,'† and it is the photograph of this fragment which is the only illustration now extant; and as this photograph has not been published and it is essential for comparison with the Tibetan form of the picture it is here re-produced *vide* plate VII.

This Ajaṅṭa picture it will be at once remarked differs from that above described, mainly in its realistic details being restricted to different phases of human and animal life.

The monster who holds the disc has, as in the Tibetan picture, gripped **Its monster-holder.** it with his tusks; but his hands have not seized it with such firmness, and he wears bracelets and other ornaments—in some of the Tibetan pictures he is also represented with ornaments. Burgess notes,‡ that the arms of this monster are *green*. It is probable that originally brown pigment has become thus changed, by oxidation or otherwise, during the lapse of centuries, as in Tibet the monster who holds the disc is always painted brown.

In the centre of the disc are no symbolized original sins; but the **The external snake.** snake which is one of this triad is figured outside and to the left of the disc holding

* B. A. S. J., 1836.

† *The Baudha Rock-Temples of Ajanta*, 1879, p. 62.

‡ *Op. cit.*, p. 62.

persons in a variety of occupations enslaved in its coils. It is possible that the remaining two original sins were also figured outside the disc. An animal resembling a pig seems to have seized hold of the head of this snake.

The pictures around the margin of the disc illustrating the causes of re-birth are of special interest for their metaphorical meaning. Burgess' statement that these have been sixteen in number was evidently deduced from the first pair almost coinciding with one of the internal divisions; but it will be noticed that none of these pictures really bear any such exact relation to the internal divisions. The original number must have been twelve.

As the fragment comprises little more than defaced portions of the upper half of the disc, we have only the first six and the last three pictorial causes of re-birth for comparison with those of the lamaic picture.

1st. *Avidyá*—which seems here to have been made the twelfth *Nidána*—is figured as a man leading a (blind ?) camel, instead of a man leading an old blind woman as in the lamaic picture. The idea is practically the same; but the difference in the emblem picture, it seems to me, is easily explained. The Lamas constructed many of their copies of the larger Indian Buddhist pictures and images from the written descriptions and notes of pilgrims. The Tibetan word for 'a camel' is 'rga-mo' and for 'an old woman' 'rgad-mo' (the *d* is silent); and as camels are almost unknown in Central Tibet, the word for camel was evidently interpreted as 'an old woman' to which word it bears such close resemblance. We may take it for granted that the camel of the Indian picture was *blind*, as blindness is always an essential part of the Lamaic definition of this emblem.

2nd. *Saṅskāra*. This is identical with the Lamaic picture, *viz*, a potter making pots.

3rd. *Vijñāna*. This too is identical with the lamaic picture.

4th. *Nāma-rūpa*. This too is identical with the lamaic picture.

5th. *Shaḍāyatana* or 'The sense organs.' This is pictured by a mask, —which is a much better representation of 'the empty house' of the senses than the empty house ordinarily depicted by the lamas.

6th. *Sparśa* or 'Contact.' Only the feet of two figures are seen, but the attitude and dress seem to indicate 'a pair of lovers kissing' as in the lamaic picture for No. VII. In most Tibetan pictures I have noticed that causes Nos. VI and VII are transposed.

10th *Bhava*. What I consider to be No. X, may be a pregnant woman drinking nourishment.

11th. *Jāti* or 'Birth' represents a child connected by a 'navel-string' with its parent.

12th. *Jarāmaraṇa* or 'Decay and Death.' This is a sitting figure, which the lamas, to whom I have shown the picture, say is a corpse bound and ready for removal.

The body of the disc appears to have been divided by radii into

A pictorial cycle of eight compartments, of which only portions of Buddha's own existence. five now remain. The scenes in these com-

partments, seem to me, illustrations of some of the more celebrated of the mythical former births of Buddha as contained in the *Jātaka* tales, e. g., a brahman giving charity, existence as Indra and earthly kings, a *garuḍa* and snake, an elephant, a deer, a monkey, a pigeon, a thief, ascetic, &c., &c. This Ajaṇṭa picture therefore seems to be the Pictorial Cycle of Existence of Buddha himself.

The Mihrán of Sind and its Tributaries: a Geographical and Historical Study.—By MAJOR H. G. RAVERTY, *Bombay Army (Retired).*

(With three plates).

The identification of the routes taken by Alexander the Macedonian, and the countries, towns, and rivers mentioned in his campaigns, extending from the mountains of Hindú-Kush to the Persian Sea, included in the present Afghán state, the territory of the Panj-áb, and Sind, has exercised the ingenuity of many oriental scholars, and also of many students of oriental subjects.¹ Later on come the travels of the Chinese pilgrims, Fa Hian and Hwen Thsang, of whom the former visited India about seven hundred, and the latter nearly one thousand years, after the time of Alexander; and these also exercise the ingenuity of scholars and students, and exercise it very greatly too, particularly the travels of the last named pilgrim, who enters into much greater detail. He remained many years in India, and is said to have been "well-versed in the Turkí and Indian languages," but he chose to write all the names of places and persons in the Chinese.

Most of the writers on these subjects, if we exclude their "identifications" in the Afghán state, appear to have based their theories chiefly upon the *present courses* of the rivers of Northern and Western India, which, probably, have altered their courses a hundred times over, and to have expected to find places on their banks *now* as they stood

¹ I make a difference between the two, as between those who can refer to the native writers for themselves, and those who have to depend upon Dow's and Briggs's 'Ferišta,' and the like.